Ambassador Stephen Krasner's Orienting Principle for Foreign Policy (and Military Management) – Responsible Sovereignty

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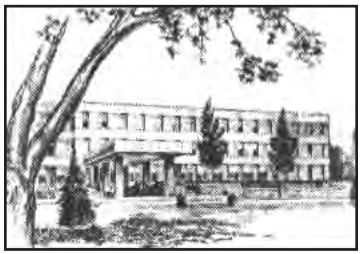

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AMBASSADOR STEPHEN KRASNER'S ORIENTING PRINCIPLE FOR FOREIGN POLICY (AND MILITARY MANAGEMENT)—RESPONSIBLE SOVEREIGNTY

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Comments pertaining to this report are invited and should be forwarded to: Director, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 45 Ashburn Dr., Bldg. 47, Carlisle, PA 17013.

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FOREWORD

The principal security threats of the past several centuries—war between or among major powers—do not have the urgency they once did. Two new types of threats have been introduced into the global security arena. Violent nonstate actors and other indirect political, economic, and social causes of poverty, social exclusion, corruption, terrorism, transnational crime, the global drug problem, and gangs are a few examples of "new" threats to global security and stability. Today, even more so than in the past, the evolving concept of national security implies the protection—provided through a variety of nonmilitary and military ways and means—of the popular interests that provide for the well-being of society. This broadened definition of the contemporary security problem makes the concept so vague as to render it useless as an analytical tool. The genius of Ambassador Stephen Krasner, however, helps solve the problem.

He contends that policymakers can aspire to developing grand strategies based on a rational ends, ways, and means formula. They rarely succeed, however. The most obvious alternative is no strategy at all, or a simple "wish list." Nevertheless, Krasner argues that reliance on one or more orienting principles is a second, better, alternative to an impossible to implement grand strategy or wish list. He thus proposes the concept of responsible sovereignty (legitimate governance) as the logical orienting principle for foreign policy and military management. In these terms, the nation-state and its governance (or lack thereof) becomes the primary (dependent) variable and defining element in operationalizing the notion of contemporary security. The concept of responsible sovereignty

makes the resultant security paradigm intellectually manageable and analytically useful. If successful, the principle of responsible sovereignty would provide a viable foundation for a reasonable foreign policy, relevant military management, and a safer and more just world.

Dr. Manwaring, operationalizes and elaborates Ambassador Krasner's orienting principle and generates a legitimate governance security paradigm to help policymakers and military managers understand why, when, and how to intervene (or not) to protect people, prevent egregious human suffering, and assure responsible sovereignty. The author's analysis is cogent, and the Strategic Studies Institute is pleased to offer this monograph as a part of the ongoing dialogue on global and regional security and stability.

DOUGLAS C. LOVELACE, JR.
Director
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MAX G. MANWARING is a Professor of Military Strategy in the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the U.S. Army War College (USAWC), has held the General Douglas MacArthur Chair of Research at the USAWC, and is a retired U.S. Army colonel. He has served in various civilian and military positions, including the U.S. Southern Command, the Defense Intelligence Agency, Dickinson College, and Memphis University. Dr. Manwaring is the author and coauthor of several articles, chapters, and books dealing with Latin American security affairs, political-military affairs, and insurgency and counterinsurgency. His most recent book is *The Complexity of Modern Irregular War,* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming. His most recent article is "Security, Stability, and Sovereignty Challenges of Politicized Gangs and Insurgents in the Americas," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, December 2011, pp. 860-889. His most recent SSI monograph is *The Strategic Logic of the Contemporary Security Dilemma*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, December 2011. Dr. Manwaring is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College, and holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois.

SUMMARY

Ambassador Stephen D. Krasner reminds us that policymakers in great power nations such as the United States can aspire to realizing grand strategies based on a rational ends, ways, and means formula. They rarely succeed, however. It has proved too hard to align vision, policies, and resources. Moreover, multiple state and nonstate actors, conflicts, interests, changing technological dynamics, and exposure to unexpected political, economic, and social shocks are too complex for such a rational process. The most obvious alternative to a grand strategy is no strategy at all, or a simple "wish list." Nevertheless, Krasner argues that reliance on one or more orienting principles is a second—better—alternative to a grand strategy.

The principle of responsible sovereignty focuses on the need to create nation-states capable of legitimate governance within their own borders, and to realize stability, security, and well-being for their citizens. Moreover, responsible sovereignty would have rhetorical traction; would point to the policy objective (i.e., goal, end, or aim) toward which resources might be directed; could accept different views about the threats to security; and would accommodate different policies and approaches to state-building. If that were successful, Krasner argues that the principle of responsible sovereignty would provide a viable foundation for a reasonable foreign policy and military management architecture, and a safer and more just world. Krasner's responsible sovereignty concept, thus, has serious implications for the transition and relevance of contemporary and future armed forces and other instruments of state power, as well as foreign policy.

To help civilian and military leaders, opinion makers, and interested citizens come to grips analytically with the implications and realities of the contemporary security environment, this monograph seeks to do four things. First, we briefly define the contemporary security dilemma and put the doctrines of the responsibility to protect and the responsibility to prevent into the context of the larger principle of responsible sovereignty. Second, we outline the major components of a legitimate governance paradigm as the basis for Ambassador Krasner's orienting principle for foreign policy and military asset management. Third, we discuss some considerations for foreign policymakers, and those individuals responsible for military management, in dealing with indirect and implicit threats to stability and human well-being. Fourth, we discuss some considerations for military management, and those responsible for foreign policymaking, in dealing with indirect and implicit threats to stability and citizen well-being. Last, we argue that substantially more sophisticated security-stability concepts, policy structures, and decision and policymaking precautions based on Krasner's orienting principle of responsible sovereignty are required for the United States to play more effectively in the security arena now and in the future.

AMBASSADOR STEPHEN KRASNER'S ORIENTING PRINCIPLE FOR FOREIGN POLICY (AND MILITARY MANAGEMENT)—RESPONSIBLE SOVEREIGNTY

The cerebral Ambassador Stephen D. Krasner reminds us that policymakers in great power nations, such as the United States, can aspire to realizing grand strategies based on a rational ends, ways, and means formula. They rarely succeed, however. It has proved hard to align vision, policies, and resources. Moreover, multiple state and nonstate actors, conflicts, interests, changing technological dynamics, and exposure to unexpected political, economic, and social shocks are too complex for such a rational process. The most obvious alternative to a grand strategy is no strategy at all, or a simple "wish list." Nevertheless, Krasner argues that reliance on one or more orienting principles is a second—better—alternative to a grand strategy.[1]

That reasoning begins with the fact that the principal security threat of the past several centuries—war between or among major powers—is gone. Irresponsible governments; poorly governed, failing, and failed states; and violent nonstate actors now present the greatest threats to global security. Thus, two new types of threats have been introduced into the global security arena. They are: 1) hegemonic/violent nonstate actors (e.g., insurgents, transnational criminal organizations, terrorists, private armies, militias, and gangs) that are taking on roles that were once reserved exclusively for traditional nation-states; and 2) indirect and implicit threats to stability and human well-being (e.g., poverty, social exclusion, environmental degradation, and political, economic, and social expectations).[2]

These threats are really not new. What is new is that:

- Internal threats are now recognized to have external implications and, thus draw the attention of external as well as internal state and nonstate actors;
- External and internal international, national, and nonstate actors are now understood to be acting as new state-making or state-breaking institutions, and some hegemonic/violent nonstate actors are waging new forms of insurgency that have the potential to radically alter the political-economic-social structure and purposes of targeted regimes/governments; and,
- In these terms, the future will likely be dominated by 1) peace enforcement in failing and failed states; 2) new violent and nonviolent ways and means of profoundly reshaping the global political, cultural, and socio-economic landscape; and 3) new cognitive attempts to achieve unusually high levels of understanding of the holistic political context of a given security situation and the roles of the military and other instruments of power within it.[3]

Consequently, General Sir Rupert Smith (United Kingdom [UK], Ret.), adroitly observes that "War no longer exists . . . war as cognitively known to most non-combatants, . . . war as a massive deciding event in a dispute in international affairs: such war no longer exists."[4]

Western political-military elites have struggled to respond effectively to these new realities. Given the security dilemma regarding why, when, and how to intervene to protect peoples from hegemonic/violent

nonstate actors and indirect threats to human well-being, another challenge is to identify an appropriate orienting principle. The intent would be that that principle could guide some policies, some of the time, rather than aspire to a grand strategy that could align overarching goals, policies, resources, and domestic and international support all the time. Thus, Krasner argues that the principle of responsible sovereignty offers the best alternative to a grand strategy in the contemporary global security environment.[5]

Responsible sovereignty focuses on the need to create nation-states capable of legitimate governance within their own borders, and to realize stability, security, and well-being for their citizens. Moreover, responsible sovereignty would have rhetorical traction; would point the policy objective (i.e., goal, end, or aim) toward which resources might be directed; could accept different views about the threats to security; and would accommodate different policies and approaches to state building. If that were successful, Krasner argues that the principle of responsible sovereignty would provide a viable foundation for a reasonable foreign policy, a military management architecture, and a safer and more just world.[6] Krasner's responsible sovereignty concept, thus, has serious implications for the transition and relevance of armed forces and other instruments of state power, as well as foreign policy.

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THE CONTEMPORARY SECURITY DILEMMA AND THE RESPONSIBLE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE: TOWARD AN ORIENTING PRINCIPLE FOR FOREIGN POLICY AND MILITARY MANAGEMENT

Before World War II, especially in the West, security had been almost exclusively the province of soldiers. Security was a term primarily associated with possible or probable threats from other nation-states concerning strategic access or denial to raw materials, markets, lines of communication, choke points, and/or national territory. As a corollary, strategy was generally the use of military ways and means to achieve those objectives of national policy.[7] In 1996, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, the Secretary General of the United

Nations (UN), described the most important dialectics at work in the post-Cold War world as globalization and fragmentation. He observed that globalization was creating a world that has become increasingly interconnected, and a positive force for, *inter alia*, decolonization, good government, socio-economic development, human rights, and the environment. The Secretary General understood, too, that fragmentation was acting as a negative force for leading people everywhere to seek refuge in smaller groups characterized by isolationism, separatism, fanaticism, and the proliferation of intrastate conflict. He also recognized that that kind of fragmentation can act as an important cause—related to poverty, social exclusion, and poor governance—of state failure. That, in turn, exposes the global community to human migration, proliferation of nonstate actors (good and bad), and transnational criminal activity. At the same time, indirect and implicit unmet needs (e.g., poverty) lead people into greater and greater personal and collective insecurity.[8]

In response to the Secretary General's vision of contemporary reality, the 2003 Organization of American States (OAS) Declaration on Security included everything the Doctrines of the Responsibility to Protect and to Prevent required—and more. The new legitimized external and internal threats list noted corrupt governance, extreme poverty, social exclusion, terrorism, transnational crime, the global drug problem, illicit trafficking in weapons, trafficking in persons, use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), attacks on cyber security, natural and man-made disasters, other health risks, and environmental degradation as threats to global security.[9]

Thus, we see new threats generated by nonstate perpetrators of global violence and a complicated set of indirect and implicit threats to international stability,

security, and personal well-being.[10] Accordingly, the current international security dialogue goes beyond traditional national security objectives and focuses on "why, when, and how to intervene to protect people and prevent egregious human suffering." This, then, encompasses more than a redefinition of security. It is nothing less than a redefinition of sovereignty.[11]

Further Development of the Concept.

What happened then was that in 2009 Professor Amitai Etzioni wisely brought the notions of responsibility to protect and the responsibility to prevent together, articulating a principle of sovereignty that explicitly made sovereignty conditional—the principle of responsible sovereignty. With that, sovereignty has become more than simple control of territory and the people in it. Sovereignty is now the responsibility to prevent insecurity and instability and protect people from governments that do not or cannot protect the safety and well-being of their peoples. If governments do not exercise the resultant responsible sovereignty, they lack legitimacy and forfeit their *de facto* or *de jure* sovereignty.[12] This broadened security concept, however, is not new. Professor Etzioni worked from the long-existing base of international law that deals with intervention for humanitarian purposes. It simply interpolates from post-Cold War developments in International Relations and International Law (e.g., Equity Law and the 2003 OAS Declaration on Security) in which old rules have proved counterproductive at best, and murderous at worst.

Before and after Etzioni's thoughtful effort, political forces were at work. Merging the principles of protection and prevention appears to have given

way to the principle of the responsibility to protect. At present, the related duty to prevent appears to be too hard to deal with, and is all but ignored. As examples, Etzioni recalls that Hillary Clinton—during her 2008 Democratic Party presidential race and reflecting on her husband's (President Bill Clinton) "Blackhawk down" drama and withdrawal from Somalia in 1993—promised to operationalize the *responsibility to protect* doctrine in U.S. foreign policy. Then, in 2010, UN Security Council Resolution 1973 authorized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to enforce a No-Fly Zone in Libya to *protect* citizens. Subsequently, the Barack Obama administration invoked the *responsibility to protect principle* in its case for intervention in Libya. Since then, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and several Western countries have consistently called on the global community to intervene and protect Syrians who are protesting against the government of President Bashar al-Asad.[13] Yet, since 1993, international politics and international law have implicitly made the responsibility to prevent an integral part of the responsibility to protect principle. And, as Professor Etzioni warned, contemporary sovereignty must be conditional on nation-states conducting themselves in a manner that would *prevent* governments from abusing their populations. Prevention of governments' abuse of their peoples is a proverbial security dilemma from hell, but the amplified responsibility to protect principle (i.e., responsible sovereignty)—honed by the preventive aspects of experiences from Mogadishu to Tripoli (and perhaps to Damascus)—now appears to be well integrated into the concept of responsible sovereignty. [14]

Thus, more and more, national security implies protection—through a variety of nonmilitary and military ways and means—of ambiguous political,

economic, social, and ideological interests that add up to popular well-being. Additionally, the contemporary security dialogue stresses that challenges to the national well-being are generated by a lack of political, economic, and social development and resultant chronic poverty, instability, and violence. Failure of a government to protect and provide for the popular well-being is what gives a violent nonstate actor the opening and justification for its existence and action. The primary implication of this broadened concept of security is that it is targeted against violent nonstate actors, and failing and failed states.[15] Violent nonstate actors and other indirect political, economic, and social causes of failing states, thus, represent a difficult multidimensional nontraditional and complex global security conundrum.

Krasner's Elusive Holy Grail.

Given the long tradition of war between or among nation-states adhering to generally accepted rules and practices initiated with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, it is hard to equate the multidimensional responsibility to protect (responsible sovereignty) concept with war or conflict—say nothing of understanding how to respond to it. It has been considered too hard, too complex, and too ambiguous. This broadened definition of the contemporary security problem makes the concept so vague as to render it useless as an analytical tool. The genius of Ambassador Krasner, however, helps solve the problem.

The theoretical basis for advocating a single orienting principle (responsible sovereignty) begins with Professor David Easton's now universally accepted and radically innovative definition of politics—"the

authoritative allocation of values for a society." In these terms, politics refers to a separable dimension of human activity—legitimate governance. The state and its governance (or lack thereof) becomes the primary (dependent) variable and defining element in operationalizing the concept of contemporary security, and makes the concept of legitimate governance intellectually manageable and analytically useful.[16] Thomas Homer-Dixon, a leading authority in socio-environmental-political studies further elaborates the issue. He explains that the role of governance in shaping a society's response to socio-economic-political stressors is the critical variable in determining stability or instability, development or nondevelopment, prosperity or poverty, and peace or conflict. In short, without the guarantee of legitimate state administered control of the national territory and the people in it, every other form of security is likely to remain elusive.[17] Implicitly, then, because of globalization and the extra-porous nature of national frontiers, the security of even the most powerful nations can be compromised by the actions of irresponsible sovereigns (governments), violent nonstate actors, and failing and failed states. Legitimate governance, then, provides the theoretical foundation for Krasner's orienting principle for foreign policy and military asset management, and a "safer and more just world."[18]

THE ESSENTIAL ARCHITECTURE FOR A FOUNDATION OF MORAL LEGITIMACY

For a fragile or vulnerable government, the highest priority must be legitimizing and strengthening the state. The data show that there are five salient conditional indicators (i.e., independent variables) of moral

legitimacy that must be implemented by virtually any political actor facing the nontraditional and traditional threats and internal violence inherent in the current global disequilibrium. These variables are not new in discussions dealing with the idea of state legitimacy. They reflect traditional theoretical concepts closely associated with the classical political-philosophical (e.g., Locke, Mill, Rousseau) notion of legitimacy.[19]

What is new is, first, the specific combination of variables considered to be the most powerful indicators of legitimacy. Second, the interdependence of these variables has not often been stressed. Third, the interdependence of the legitimacy dimension with the other principal components of our general legitimate governance-stability paradigm (equation) has not been stressed. Fourth, these variables can be used as objective measures of effectiveness at the macro level for winning or losing in the contemporary conflict arena. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this model was not conceived *a priori*. It was developed empirically and warrants confidence that the findings are universal and explain much of the reality of the contemporary security environment.[20] The logic of the process reminds us that if too many accidents demonstrate the same phenomenon, can you still view them as accidents? "No. At this moment, one must admit that there is a rule here."[21]

The five variables that explain and define the legitimizing and strengthening of the state are: 1) free, fair, and frequent *selection* of leaders; 2) the level of participation in or acceptance of the political process; 3) the level of governmental corruption; 4) the level of security and concomitant political-economic-social development; and 5) the level of regime acceptance by major social institutions. The first indicator of legiti-

macy is associated with the philosophical concept of popular sovereignty. It is that of free, fair (open and transparent) and frequent selection of leaders. In this context, free election or selection of leaders means the absence of corruption in the process that is used. Free and fair selection of leaders also means that the process used must be culturally understood and acceptable to the people involved. It must be remembered, however, that elections are not an endpoint. Elections are only a first step in building local and national legitimacy. This universal requirement for the selection of leaders is a strong indicator—and measure—of governmental moral legitimacy.

The second component and indicator of legitimacy is that of individual participation in the political process or individual support of the political process. This variable is also associated with the concept of popular sovereignty. Although the periodic free and fair selection or election of leaders is an important element in defining moral legitimacy, it should not be considered by itself as a sufficient indicator. Uncoerced popular participation in or acceptance of the political process is another key to a foundation of moral legitimacy for any given method of governance. Participation or acceptance subsumes the subsequent manifest support of the results of that process—and the government—by a large majority of the governed. Thus, a high level of popular support for the political process is another strong indicator—and measure—of government legitimacy.

Third, the level of corruption of the political, economic, social, and security organs of a nation-state is closely related to the degree of strength or weakness of the state governmental apparatus. Moreover, corruption can be a major agent for destabilization.

The corruption phenomenon has a crucial impact on a regime's ability to perform its governing functions fairly and equitably. Experience demonstrates that the necessity of meeting a specific client's needs (at the expense of the general welfare), and the intensity of the client's expectations and demands, mitigates against legitimate governance—and against any allegiance to the notion of the public good or consent of the governed. As such, the level of corruption is one more important indicator—and measure—of stability and moral legitimacy.

The fourth significant component of moral legitimacy is that of security and political, economic, and social development. The reasons are straightforward. These elements are the bases for the internal strengthening of the state, developing the capability to protect and enhance national interests in an aggressive and disorderly world, and developing national and global socio-economic well-being. A perceived high level of these elements reflects a political system that is responsive to the needs of the governed. Such a system is inherently just and stable—and socio-economic development is measureable.

The fifth and last component of moral legitimacy is that of regime acceptance by major social institutions. History illustrates that the problems of a society in transition and becoming more and more complex (i.e., modern) cannot be solved by a central government acting alone. This effort requires the cooperation of business and industry; urban and rural labor unions; educational, religious, and cultural institutions; local, regional, and national bureaucracies; security forces; and friends and allies. As a consequence, active acceptance of the existing and nascent societal institutions of a nation-state and its allies is a reinforcing require-

ment for legitimacy. A high level of social acceptance is the final indicator—and measure—of moral legitimacy.

All these five indicators of legitimacy in the past and the present focus on the moral right of a regime to govern. That moral right can be perceived as having been originally derived from the governed in the form of a "social contract." The social contract as described in traditional political theory is maintained through the continuing consent of the governed, and through the continuing acceptance of a nation's social institutions. That consent and acceptance depend on governments providing or creating propitious conditions for personal and collective security and the general well-being in a morally acceptable manner. If a regime—for any reason—breaks that contract, internal and external instability is the likely result.[22]

These key indicators and measures of moral legitimacy are not exhaustive, but they statistically explain a high percentage of the legitimacy phenomenon and provide the basic architecture for the common actions necessary to assist governments constructively in their struggle to survive, develop, and prosper. As such, these indicators constitute a strong coherent conceptual framework, or paradigm, from which policy, strategy, and operational efforts might flow. The paradigm is equally valid for policymakers of threatened states as well as policymakers of major powers supporting vulnerable states. The degree to which a political actor effectively manages a balanced mix of these five variables enables political competence. At the same time, these variables provide the basic foundation for the long term, holistic application of proactive political, economic, moral, informational, and security actions necessary for legitimizing and strengthening, and stabilizing a governing regime.[23]

The Resultant Security Equation.

The fulfillment of a holistic (multidimensional) legitimate governance and stability-security (responsible effective sovereignty) equation (paradigm) consists of three principal elements that are necessary to strengthen government through substantive, coordinated improvement in the civil and military bureaucracies, the economy, and the society. They are derived from the five variables that define the legitimizing and strengthening of the state. The three elements are: 1) personal and collective security (coercive capacity); 2) economic and social justice (infrastructural power; and 3) legitimacy (legitimate political competence). Responsible effective sovereignty (i.e., S) depends on, first, an appropriately coercive police-military capability (i.e., M) to provide an acceptable level of internal law and order as well as external security; second, the economic ability (i.e., E) to generate socio-economic development; and, third, the political competence (i.e., PC) to develop a type of governance to which a people can relate and support. It is heuristically valuable to portray the relationships among these three elements in a mathematical formula: S = (M + E) X PC.

The political competence component of the equation is so critical that it merits a multiplier in our proposed equation. The use of the multiplier means that the sum of the whole can be substantially altered by the elements that constitute national political competence. The ultimate value of the economic and security elements of the equation can be reduced to nothing or nearly nothing if the political competence component is absent or weak—for example, 100 X 0 = 0.[24]

The socioeconomic (i.e., E) component of the legitimate governance-stability equation is generally well-understood. As an example, the Brazilian security dialogue has been attempting to define national well-being only in terms of economic development since the early 1960s. Brazilians and others, including U.S. policymakers, have emphasized economic development under the assumption that social and political development and personal and collective security would automatically follow. That has not happened. Clearly, in Brazil and elsewhere, the key security (M) and political competence (PC) components of the equation are not as well-understood, developed, and implemented as the socio-economic development (E) component.[25] Nevertheless, the development of political competence upon a foundation of moral legitimacy and personal security is a challenge that must be met—the sooner the better. This paradigm, thus, provides general guidelines as to how best to deal with a given conflict situation based on the application of the three critical action components (i.e., E, M, and PC). This, of course, must be done within the context of the five variables that define moral legitimacy (legitimate governance/responsible sovereignty). None of this should be interpreted literally. As with any paradigm, it is necessary to grasp the essence and apply the principle.

Another Cautionary Note.

Another cautionary note should be added here. That is, the difficult political problem of creating a foundation of legitimacy upon which to build political competence for legitimate governance cannot be wished away. It is a problem that ultimately must be

resolved internally by indigenous leaders. Nevertheless, that effort will often require some outside help. Thus, when U.S. and global interests are threatened by events in a weak and menaced state, the main element of policy and strategy must go beyond promoting simple "democracy" (i.e., the election of civilian leaders) to guiding supported leaders in a long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant pursuit of moral legitimacy. At the same time, within that context, the illustrious George Kennan would caution us to remember that the only test for involvement—whatever its form and level—is that of self-interest.[26]

In this era of geopolitical change, the United States has the opportunity and responsibility to redirect policy from one that is essentially *ad hoc* crisis management, and too subject to the whim of television coverage and domestic polling, to one that is basically deliberate, proactive, and positive, and to which the American people can relate. By emphasizing the foundation of moral legitimacy, along with socioeconomic, security, and political competence factors, Krasner's responsible sovereignty orienting principle draws on the major currents of U.S. foreign policymaking to provide a logical, feasible paradigm. It is, thus, a marriage of Wilsonian idealism with *realpolitik*.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR FOREIGN POLICYMAKERS—AND OTHERS

In order to infuse some empirical life into the discussion of the principle of responsible sovereignty (legitimate governance/moral legitimacy), and note some of the pitfalls in the fusion of implicit threats with the threats inherent in dealing with violent nonstate actors, it is helpful to look at the contemporary global

security arena. We note two unconventional issues associated with contemporary instability and violence, poorly or ungoverned populations, and failing and failed states. These issues have theoretical (responsible sovereignty) meaning for foreign policymakers and also for those responsible for the management of military assets. First, we see a compound complex set of variables (dimensions) that illustrate some of the indirect and implicit threats to stability and well-being that are arguably causes and consequences of instability and possible state failure. Second, we see the differences and similarities in the types of nontraditional (nonstate) asymmetric conflict ongoing in the world today. Admittedly, putting the indirect and implicit social needs issue and the environmental security issue together with the complex and ambiguous violent nonstate actor issue into the larger global stability-security context (responsible sovereignty) generates serious analytical and implementation difficulties. But, ignoring the problem or hoping it will go away, admits defeat and invites even worse. Thus, we begin the process of defining the unconventional threats and examining the related challenges that foreign policymakers—and others who might be responsible for military asset management—might face.

Violent Characteristics of Poorly Governed Populations.

The contemporary security dialogue stresses that challenges to the national well-being are generated by a lack of development and resultant chronic poverty, violence, and instability. As a consequence, security can no longer be considered in terms of only protecting national territory and interests against outside

military aggressors. Rather, security is being defined as stability—and stability depends on the legitimate political, economic, and social development of the entire global community. The primary implication of this broadened concept is that it ultimately depends on eradicating the root causes of instability. In these terms, ecological degradation is not simply a moral humanitarian concern. It is also the root cause of various types and levels of conflict, and poses an indirect and potentially serious threat to national well-being and international stability. Environmental, as well as socio-political-economic problems or stressors, thus, represent a nontraditional and complex fundamental national security threat that requires a new look at the new world disorder.[27]

The underlying verities and implications of the current global security situation are clear. First, the world has seen and will continue to see a wide range of ambiguous and uncomfortable threats in the gray area between conventional war and peace. These conflict threats—observable in transnational organized crime, corruption, terrorism, warlordism, insurgency, civil war, regional wars, humanitarian problems such as disenfranchisement, poverty, racial and ethnic prejudice, large scale refugee flows and famine, and the horrors of ethnic cleansing—are the consequences of root cause pressures and problems perpetrated and/or exploited by a variety of internal and global political actors. What these threats have in common is that they are motivated and complicated by misguided, corrupt, insensitive, incompetent governance, and/or no governance. Moreover, the one aspect of conflict (war) that remains constant over time is the ultimate intent of war. That intent is to *compel* an adversary to do one's will.[28]

Second, acting separately and together, the conflict threats arising out of a lack of legitimate governance increasingly undermine the capability of governments to govern, to provide meaningful development, and to provide adequate and acceptable personal and collective security measures. These instabilities generate further disorder, cause violent internal conflicts that resist easy solution, and create mushrooming demands by ethnic and regional groups for political autonomy. Success in dealing with these challenges or threats is not determined exclusively or primarily by the results of police or military actions. Instead, success in dealing with these instability problems depends on a protracted, multistage use of political, economic, and moral as well as physical efforts to gain influence over or control of the society and its political system. In short, success depends on the ability to achieve publically perceived political competence and legitimacy.[29]

Third, in this environment of "unstable peace," legitimacy issues—aggravated by religious, ethnic, racial, ideological, and financial profit motivations and coupled with easy access to armaments and external state and nonstate support—translate themselves into constant, subtle and not-so-subtle struggles for power that dominate life in many countries and regions today. These kinds of destabilizing situations become opportunities for exploitation by virtually any political actor—large or small, internal or external, national or transnational, or conventional or unconventional. In this context, legal national boundaries have little or no meaning. Additionally, there is: 1) no territory that cannot be bypassed or that cannot be used; 2) no national or international laws that cannot be ignored or used; 3) no battlefield (dimension of conflict) that can-

not be ignored or used; 4) no national, transnational or nonstate actor, or international organization that cannot be ignored or used; and 5) no type of weapon or other means—military or nonmilitary, lethal or nonlethal, and direct or indirect—that can be ignored or used in some combination.[30] The fusion of the fragmenting threats associated with indirect social needs and violent nonstate actors means that these nonwar threats may be new factors constituting current and future warfare, and have implications for the transition and relevance of U.S. and other armed forces now and in the future. This also means that military operations will never again be the entire or major part of war. Rather, the military dimension of contemporary and future war is only one dimension within the totality of military and nonmilitary dimensions.

Fourth, in these terms, the enemy may not necessarily be a recognizable military entity or the traditional industrial/technical capability to make conventional war. At base, the enemy becomes the individual or organizational political actor that plans and implements the kind of violence that threatens national well-being and exploits the root causes of instability. In this context, every policy, every program, and every action of a "besieged" or failing state and its external allies must contribute directly and positively to developing, maintaining, and enhancing the ability and willingness of the associate government to exercise effective sovereignty by controlling its territory and governing its people in a responsible and morally acceptable manner. This is a major personal and collective security issue. That, in turn, is a legitimate governance (responsible sovereignty) issue. Again, this concept is not new. Classical Western and Eastern theorists have articulated this view for at least the past 2,500 years. It is probably best stated by Sun Tzu. He warned us that,

"Those who excel in war first cultivate their own humanity and justice and maintain their laws and institutions. By these means they make their governments invincible."[31]

Fifth, the days of delineating a successful strategic end-state as a short-term material, political, or compassionate objective are over. The American public expects U.S. efforts, especially if they involve the expenditure of large amounts of tax revenue and/or the expenditure of even a few American lives, to make the world a better place. Thus, U.S. and other policymakers have the obligation to go beyond simple short-term or compassionate actions, and to advocate and defend the principles for which America stands. To do this, they must combine realism and pragmatism, as well as idealism into the security equation, and help develop an organized and effectively enforced international system for general global peace. In these terms, it is necessary to understand that contemporary conflict—-at whatever level—is more a multidimensional socio-economic-political-security matter (i.e., legitimate governance security equation) than a unilateral military task.

Lastly, this discussion leads us back to where we began—to the central strategic problem of legitimate governance in the 21st century that foreign policy and military asset management must address. Underlying this issue, however, is the problem of failed or failing states and "wars of national debilitation, a steady run of uncivil wars sundering fragile but functioning nation-states and gnawing at the well-being of stable nations."[32] The general task is to apply an orienting principle on the basis of a realistic calculation of threats, interests, and resources—in partnership with international organizations (e.g., the UN), allies and friends.[33]

Political and military leaders and opinion-makers all over the world have been struggling with these ambiguous political-psychological aspects of war since at least the end of the Cold War. Yet, the nature of the contemporary conflict/war phenomenon is still not well-understood. Many Western leaders tend to think of the legalistic and military dictums generated from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), and their own particular experiences as the only guidelines concerning war that are worth considering. As a result, there has been too much military-operational-tactical crisis management response to root cause situations that do not necessarily have military solutions. The best that can be expected militarily is to "keep a lid on the situation" and provide a secure and safe environment from which socio-economic development and a sustainable peace might be achieved. Strategic theory and action have played little part in the debate and actions involving contemporary war as a whole. As a consequence, countless people have suffered and died, and violence seems to remain the method of choice in terms of achieving one's ends.

Associated Threat Levels.

Threats must be understood and dealt with on four different levels. In these terms, it is helpful to think of the results/consequences of instability (e.g., increasing personal violence**,** strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, kidnappings, bank robberies, violent factory takeovers, death squads, bombings, murders/assassinations, criminal anarchy, and the beginnings of terrorism, insurgency, ethnic cleansing, and refugee flows) as *third level threats* to national and international security. Increases in *third level* instability; growing social

violence, poverty, and disenfranchisement; and lack of socio-economic development must be recognized as *second-level threats* to personal and collective security and stability. Increases in *third-level* instability also tend to result in better organized social violence, and further socio-economic-political degradation.

The inability or unwillingness of government to promulgate and enforce *second and third level* reforms to develop long-term, multidimensional, and principled means to maintain and enhance personal security and national well-being must be understood as the most fundamental *first-level* threat. Government unwillingness or inability to promulgate necessary reforms and provide personal and collective security results in further weakening of institutions and infrastructure; more internal class and ethnic conflicts; more internal and external migration; and terrorism, *coups d' etat*, warlordism, insurgency, intrastate conflict, and possible external intervention.[34]

Civilian and military strategic leaders and planners must contemplate all three levels of threat in dealing with contemporary fundamental unconventional security-stability matters stemming from ecological degradation, and indirect and implicit socio-economic problems. At the same time, another threat emerges at a *fourth level* that is both a cause and a consequence of instability violence. That is, once an internal hegemonic or violent nonstate actor becomes firmly established, *first-level* reforms and development efforts aimed at *second-level* root causes would be insufficient to control or neutralize a *third or fourth-level* (e.g., internal conflict over scarce resources, terrorism, insurgency, and/or possible external intervention through surrogates) threat. Failure to deal effectively with worsening socio-economic-political-security

problems results in increasing turmoil, chaos, violence, and possible state failure. State failure, in turn, has been known to lead to the violent imposition of a radical political-economic-social restructuring of the state and its governance in accordance with the values—good, bad, or nonexistent—of the best organized and disciplined group left standing.[35]

What Is To Be Done?

General Sir Robert Thompson reminds us that a *third or fourth-level* violent internal nonstate actor—regardless of whether or not it is sincerely trying to achieve specific political-economic-social-moral reforms, working as a proxy or surrogate for the interests of a traditional nation-state, or only trying to gain some visceral satisfaction—can only be dealt with effectively by a superior organization, a holistic and unified national and international approach designed to promulgate deeper and more fundamental reforms—and, possibly, very carefully applied deadly force. Accordingly, the sum of the parts of an effective response equals:

- The recognition at the highest levels of a destabilizing root-cause type responsible sovereignty (legitimacy) problem;
- A sure capability to coordinate (synchronize) national and international political-economic-social-moral security objectives on the first and second levels; and,
- A sure capability to exert morally acceptable effective hard and soft force at the *third and fourth levels* of threat.

Otherwise, once again, governments and the international community face the ultimate consequences of state failure.[36]

SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR MILITARY MANAGEMENT—AND POLICYMAKERS

It is hard, but necessary, to discuss separately the two highly related issues of indirect and implicit threats to stability and security, and nontraditional contemporary conflict. Nevertheless, it is useful to note a few issues that provide more empirical meaning for military management and foreign policymaking that relate to the orienting principle of responsible sovereignty. The intent, here, is to bring attention to the implications for the transition and relevance of armed forces—and other instruments of power for now and the future. In that context, it is important to understand that the principle of responsible sovereignty (legitimate governance) depends as much on holistic international and domestic policies and strategies that provide for political competence (honest uncorrupted governance), social justice, economic progress, and personal and collective security as on the exercise of traditional police and military power. None of this, however, should be understood literally in a narrow manner. Again, it is necessary to grasp the essence and apply the principle.

Defining the Hegemonic Nonstate Actor Threat: A Typology of Contemporary Conflict.

Thanks to the theoretical work of Steven Metz and Raymond Millen, we have an excellent typology of contemporary conflict. Contemporary conflict

is divided into four different groupings. The first is the most dangerous but most unlikely type of conflict—*Conventional War.* Conventional War is direct interstate aggression using conventional uniformed military forces, and generally adhering to traditional international norms and law. A relatively recent example would be the Malvinas/Falklands War between the UK and Argentina in 1982.

The second is widespread in terms of geography and societies, and appears to be the direct result of poor governance or no governance; that is, nonstate or *Insurgency War.* It encompasses direct and indirect nonstate vs. state actions. International norms and law come into play only when they might be of advantage to one insurgent group or another. This is one reason why this kind of conflict has been called "unrestricted warfare."[37] The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) has been an ongoing example in the Western Hemisphere from the mid-1940s to the present.

The third type of conflict is what Metz and Millen call *Irregular War*. Irregular War is differentiated from Insurgency War by the fact that the nonstate actor involved is acting as a proxy for a nation-state. Thus, Irregular War is, in fact, indirect state vs. state conflict (i.e., *Proxy War or Surrogate War*). Again, international norms and law come into play only when they might be of advantage to the proxy organization. Irregular War, thus, can also be considered unrestricted warfare. Hezbollah as a proxy for Iran in Lebanon vs. Israel in 2006-07 is a good example.

The fourth type of conflict is *Intrastate War*. Again, this type of war appears to be the direct result of poor or no governance. It involves nonstate vs. other nonstate actors. It might also involve nonstate vs. state ac-

tors, not as insurgents who want to compel a radical political change in government, but as nonstate organizations who want to control a government in order to have the freedom of movement and action that would maximize commercial/economic/ideological/religious objectives.[38] This is what the gang organizations in the Western Hemisphere (e.g., Maras and Zetas) and religious-oriented gangs in Iraq have been and continue to seek to accomplish. And, once more, this is an unrestricted type of war.

Clearly, fighting insurgencies, irregular wars, and trying to impose order on peripheral populations have become the predominant types of conflict in the Post-Cold War world. Undeniably, new and more sophisticated security-stability concepts, political-diplomatic structures, and relevant military organization, force structure, and training must be developed to play more effectively in the contemporary global security arena. In these terms, the differences between the various types of contemporary war are important, but so are the analytical commonalities. These commonalities have proved over the years and throughout the world that in unrestricted warfare there is no territory that cannot be violated; there is no means which cannot be used; and there is no method that cannot be used. There are no rules; nothing is forbidden. This is the essence of contemporary *Unrestricted War*.[39]

Further Defining the Unconventional Violent Nonstate Actor Threat: More Considerations for Military Asset Managers and Policymakers.

The basic realities of contemporary conflict have been articulated by General Sir Rupert Smith (UK). He points out that:

> The ends for which we fight are changing from the hard objectives that decide a political outcome to those that establish conditions through which an outcome may be decided;
>
> We fight among the people, not on a conventional virtually uninhabited battlefield;
>
> Our conflicts tend to be timeless, even unending; thus, time has become an important instrument of power;
>
> We fight so as to preserve the force rather than risk all to gain the military objective;
>
> The sides are mostly nonstate, comprising some form of multinational grouping against some nonstate party or parties, or vice versa; and,
>
> The center of gravity (the hub of all power and movement on which everything depends[40]) is no longer easily identified military forces; it is now leadership and public opinion.[41]

It must be emphasized that this kind of war is fought against enemies who are firmly embedded in the population and cannot present a traditional strategic or operational target. This is because winning a trial of military strength that also alienates the population cannot possibly deliver the support of the people. Fundamentally, gaining the support of the people is the only effective objective of any use of hard or soft power in modern conflict. The reality of contemporary conflict is that information—not firepower—is the currency upon which war is conducted. As one example, Somalia's insurgents reportedly use Twitter as a weapon.[42] Clearly, the new instruments of power are intelligence, public diplomacy, the media, time, and

flexibility. These are the basic tools of power that can ultimately capture the will and support of the people.[43]

This means that governments seeking to deal effectively with violent nonstate actors must generate the capabilities necessary to deal with a "rhizomatic" command system. Such a command system operates with an apparently hierarchical system above ground—visible in the operational and political arenas, and with another system centered in the roots underground. It is a horizontal system with many discrete groups. The system develops to suit its surroundings and purpose in a process of natural selection, and with no predetermined operational structure. Its basis is that of the social structure of its locale. The groups vary in size, but those that survive and prosper are usually small and organized in cells whose members will not necessarily know their relationship with, or the membership of, other cells. A cell will perform a minimum of three tasks: 1) direct and sometimes lead military action; 2) collect and hold resources such as money and weapons; and 3) direct and sometimes conduct political actions, which can range from bombing train stations or discos, to funding schools or electioneering. Cells will normally be allowed considerable latitude in the methods they adopt to suit the local circumstances—provided the cell is both successful and no more corrupt than what is condoned by the general movement. In all cases, the need for security is paramount.[44]

The rhizomatic command system is difficult to attack, just as rhizomatic weeds are difficult to eradicate. General Smith cautions that rhizomes are eradicated by one of three methods: 1) digging them up; 2) poisoning or removing the nutrients from the soil; or 3) penetrating the roots with a systemic poison. Cutting off the visible heads of rhizomes causes them to lie

dormant for a time—at best. The attack on a rhizomatic command system is done best from all three directions—operations in each direction being conducted to complement the others.[45] This takes us to the need to conduct a "holistic" war with a total unity of effort.

The challenge, here, is to come to terms with the fact that contemporary security, at whatever level, is at its base a holistic political-diplomatic, social-economic, psychological-moral, and military-police effort. The fundamental mindset must be changed from a singular military approach to a multidimensional, multiorganizational, and multinational-multicultural paradigm. This takes us to the concept of combinations. The two Chinese colonels who authored *Unrestricted Warfare*, Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, are adamant. They unequivocally argue that regardless of whether a war took place 2,500 years ago or last year, the data indicate that all victories or failures display one common denominator—the winner is the national power, international power bloc, or nonstate political actor that is best organized and disciplined, and has implemented a combination of multidimensional efforts.[46] The French experiences in Vietnam and Algeria are only two examples that attest to the fact that the loser is the political actor that *ad-hoced* a generally singular military effort.[47]

The purpose of combinations is to organize a system of offensive and defensive power that is a great force multiplier and facilitator within the global security arena—and would deprive the enemy of the same advantages. This system gives new and stronger meaning to the idea of a nation-state or other political actor using all available instruments of power to protect, maintain, and achieve its perceived political-economic and security interests. That is one reason Qaio

and Wang call this approach "Unrestricted Warfare." The dominating characteristic of a war of this kind is political-military, economic-commercial, or cultural-moral. As an example, political-military war must be strongly supported by media (propaganda/information/moral) warfare and a combination of other types that might include but are not limited to psychological war, financial war, trade war, cyber war, diplomatic war, proxy war, narco-criminal war, and guerrilla war. Examples might include but are not limited to the following: Political-Military war/cyber war/media war (e.g., Georgia, 2008); Economic-Commercial war/media war/diplomatic war (e.g., the current Syrian situation); and, Cultural-Moral war/media war/guerrilla war (e.g., *Sendero Luminoso* in Peru, to date).

Additionally, the general characteristics of contemporary conflict would also include but not be confined to the following: limited objectives, unlimited measures, asymmetry, minimal resources, constant multidimensional coordination, adjustments, and synchronized control of the entire process, well-schooled strategic civil-military leadership, as well as appropriate organizational structure. This is warfare in the age of globalization. It requires sophisticated and effective organizational architecture that can put together a combination of types of war noted above, and, ultimately, a mix of hard and soft power that equates to what Harvard Professor Joseph Nye calls "smart power."[48]

Any one of the above types of conflict or combinations can be combined with others to form completely new methods and combinations of conflict. There are no means that cannot be combined with others. The only limitation is one's imagination. As a consequence, politically effective contemporary warfare requires

the services of civilian warriors—as well as professional soldiers and policemen—who can conduct persuasion-coercion-propaganda war, media war, economic-financial war, insurgency war, chemical-biological-radiological war, etc. While not even close to unimportant, soldiers no longer have a monopoly on power. New civilian warriors must be included in the strategic architecture for contemporary conflict.[49]

What More Is To Be Done?

Nye makes the case that although the hard power of force is needed in combating violent nonstate actors, the soft power of attraction is required to win the hearts and minds of a population (i.e., the "new" center of gravity). Thus, smart power describes foreign policy and military management strategies that combine the resources of hard and soft power. Soft power, more specifically, relies on diplomacy, economic assistance, intelligence, and communications (information). But, wielding soft power is difficult because many of its resources reside in civil society, in bilateral alliances, multilateral institutions, and civil and military transnational contacts. Nevertheless, "By complementing military and economic might with greater investment in soft power, and focusing on global public goods [based on a foundation of responsible sovereignty], the United States [and other countries] can build the framework needed to tackle tough global challenges."[50]

What is being advocated here is of necessity a long-term approach that must come after significant debate, and long-term decisionmaking and implementation processes. It takes time to reeducate and train people, create more synchronizing and relevant

foreign policy and military management institutions, and time to build national and international trust. Ambassador Luigi Einaudi reminds us that it is not enough to know where you want to go.

> You also need to know how to get there. You need skilled strategic leadership. And you need friends—at home and abroad. Nothing will last unless the interests of all concerned are advanced. In international politics, there is no MapQuest where you can punch up directions. There is just a lot of hard work with others. Maybe we should call this approach a "diplomatic surge," or a "smart power surge."[51]

Some Final Thoughts.

The primary implication of the complex and ambiguous situations described above is straightforward. The contemporary, chaotic global strategic environment reflects a general lack of legitimate governance and civil-military cooperation in many parts of the world. Instability thrives under those conditions. Instability, violence, terrorism, and criminal anarchy are the general consequences of unreformed political, social, economic, and security institutions and concomitant poor, misguided, insensitive, or corrupt governance. Thus, inept governance is the root cause and the central strategic problem in the current unstable security arena. Ultimately, this instability—along with the human destabilizers who exploit it—lead to a final downward spiral into failing and failed state status. Nonetheless, we must remember that as important as instability might be, it is only a symptom—not the threat itself. Rather, the ultimate threat is state failure and that stems from a failure to alleviate the various manifestations of political, economic, and social injustice that are the root causes of instability.[52]

RECOMMENDATIONS

The realities of the global security environment and the fundamental tasks of regeneration and reform call for nothing less than a paradigm change. The primary task, then, is to come to terms with the fact that contemporary stability, security, and sovereignty, at whatever level, is at its base a holistic and long-term strategic-political level, and civil-military effort to preserve and enhance individual and collective security and stability. The corollary is to change from a singular tactical-operational level military or law enforcement approach to a multidimensional, multiorganizational, multinational strategic-political paradigm that addresses the legitimate and meaningful preservation of stability and sovereignty. That, in turn, requires a conceptual framework (i.e., the paradigm outlined in the section entitled The Essential Architecture for a Foundation of Moral Legitimacy) and an organizational structure superior to current approaches and architecture. The intent is to promulgate unified multilateral civil-military planning and implementation of Krasner's multidimensional responsible sovereignty concept. This should be done on the foundation of realistic calculations regarding threats, interests, and resources in partnership with international organizations, allies, and friends.

Ambassador Einaudi has already reminded us that the challenge and task of regeneration and reform takes time, and that it also takes time to develop skilled strategic civil-military leadership, organizational architecture, and political support at home and abroad. It also takes time to think-out and determine how and with what resources one might achieve desired legiti-

mate strategic political objectives.[53] As a consequence, it is beyond the scope of this monograph to outline specific recommendations. Rather, we will add four final cautionary notes.

Final Cautionary Notes.

First, Ambassador Krasner reminds us that policy and management based on an orienting principle (responsible sovereignty/legitimate governance) differs from one motivated by a grand strategy or "wish list" in four ways: 1) an orienting principle focuses on specific limited but actionable issue areas; 2) policy based on an orienting principle is distinct from *ad hocery*—it aspires to something beyond short-or medium-term material or political interests; 3) the frame offered by the principle of responsible sovereignty is that it is a necessary condition for peace and prosperity both within and among countries; and 4) there may be no specific formula (model, paradigm, recipe) that can be applied literally in any given situation, because particular local conditions at any given time will dictate a given action.[54] Thus, the use of innovative combinations of power is an absolute must in contemporary conflict situations.

Second, Professor Etzioni explains that intervening powers must also apply the principle of responsible sovereignty with the understanding that they cannot bring about liberal democratic states overnight. Experience could remind us that social engineering projects are best undertaken by internal actors. Moreover, objectives need to be tempered to match both local and international political constraints. Outsiders and domestic leaders must rely on local customs, politics, and practices to establish new institutions that can

move over the long-term toward international norms of accountable, legitimate, and democratic governance. At the same time, the earliest phases of an intervention must include a transition strategy; not an exit policy. Transition requires clearly delineated political and economic milestones, so the international and local authorities can focus on the broader long-term challenges of reconstruction, political reconciliation, socio-economic development, professionalization and modernization of the state bureaucracy, and the development of political competence on a foundation of moral legitimacy.[55] Otherwise, declaring victory, going home, and leaving a country without consistent and vigilant guidance tends to result in a sectarian or partisan autocracy leading a state into failure and/or civil war, or another foreign intervention. Contemporary Iraq is a case-in-point: The United States withdrew from Iraq without a transition strategy and an adequate implementing mechanism.

The sectarian majority in government began the process of:

- Eroding judicial independence;
- Including a nonstate actor militia in the government; and
- Placing the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of National Security under direct control of the Prime Minister.[56]

This kind of scenario has been known to precipitate regimes that protect themselves rather than the people of the country. At the same time, the nation's wealth finds its way into the hands of the political elite rather than into the socio-economic development of the country.[57]

Third, the ultimate threat of state failure is a process not an outcome. The process is brought on by poor, irresponsible, corrupt, and/or insensitive governance and leads to one other fundamental reason why states fail. That is, state failure can be a process exacerbated by nonstate groups (e.g., insurgents, transnational criminal organizations and their enforcer gangs, and/or civil or military bureaucracies) that, for whatever reason, want to depose an established government or exercise illicit control over a given country. Violent actions by nonstate groups or even state authorities weaken government and its institutions, and they become progressively less capable of performing the fundamental tasks of governance.[58] Somewhere near the end of the destabilization process, the state will be able to control less and less of its national territory and fewer and fewer of the people in it. Nevertheless, just because a state fails does not mean that it will go away. The diminishment of responsible governance and personal security generate greater poverty, violence, and instability—and a downward spiral in terms of development and well-being. It is a zero-sum game in which nonstate or individual actors (e.g., insurgents, transnational criminal organizations, and corrupt public officials) are the winners and the rest of the society is the loser. Ultimately, failing or failed states become dysfunctional states, dependencies, tribal states, rogue states, criminal states, narco-states, "new peoples' republics," draconian states (military dictatorships), or neo-populist states (civilian dictatorships). Moreover, failing or failed states may possibly dissolve and become parts of other states or may reconfigure into entirely new good or bad entities.[59]

Fourth, the venerable Carl von Clausewitz reminds us that war is not a mere act of policy, but a true political instrument of statecraft. The strategic-political ob-

jective is the goal, war is the means of reaching it, and ways and means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose. Consequently,

> The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish the kind of war in which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into, something that is alien to its nature, . . . This is the first of all strategic questions and the most comprehensive.[60]

The main task, once again, is to begin the long-term strategic-level process of developing the sophisticated expertise, organizational architecture, military force structure, and other national and international instruments of power appropriate to counter the dual threats of hegemonic/violent nonstate actors and indirect and implicit threats to stability and well-being. All this must be accomplished with responsible sovereignty as an orienting principle for foreign policy and military management.[61] None of this is easy or quickly accomplished, but better that than the probable murderous alternatives.

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22. Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 1951.

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24. Max G. Manwaring and Ambassador Edwin G. Corr, "Confronting the New World Disorder: A Legitimate Governance Theory of Engagement," in Max G. Manwaring and Wm. J. Olson, eds., *Managing Contemporary Conflict,* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996, pp. 40-41.

25. Brazilian national security doctrine provides the basic architecture and the rationale for governmental allocation of values and resources for national well-being. It is the result of work done over the years since the early 1960s to the present. The most recent authoritative document is Nelson A. Jobim, Gergio W. Etchegoyan, and Joao Paulo Alsina, *Seguranca Internacional: Perspectivas Brasileliras* (*International Security: Brazilian Perspectives*), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora FGV, 2010.

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27. Daniel C. Esty *et al*., "The State Failure Projects: Early Warning Research for U.S. Foreign Policy Planning," in John L. Davies and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Sysems,* New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988, pp. 27-38. Also see Thomas Homer Dixon, *Environment, Security, and Violence,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 138-168.

28. The use of the word compel, rather than force, is key. The word force implies military violence. The word compel implies that all means than can be brought to bear on a given conflict situation must be used to co-opt, urge, and/or force the enemy to bend to one's will. For a more complete discussion of this North American definition of war, based on the concept of war being primarily political-psychological, see Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis,* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976.

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31. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Samuel B. Griffith, trans, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 88.

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34. See Chap. 10, "The Environment as a Global Stability-Issue," in Max G. Manwaring, ed., *Environmental Security and Global Stability,* New York: Lexington Books, 2002, pp. 165-181.

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38. Steven Metz and Raymond Millen, *Future War/Future Battlespace: The Strategic Role of American Landpower,* Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2003, pp. 15-17.

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