

THE IMPACT OF HYBRID WAR ON 21ST CENTURY CONFLICT: UKRAINE AND TAIWAN

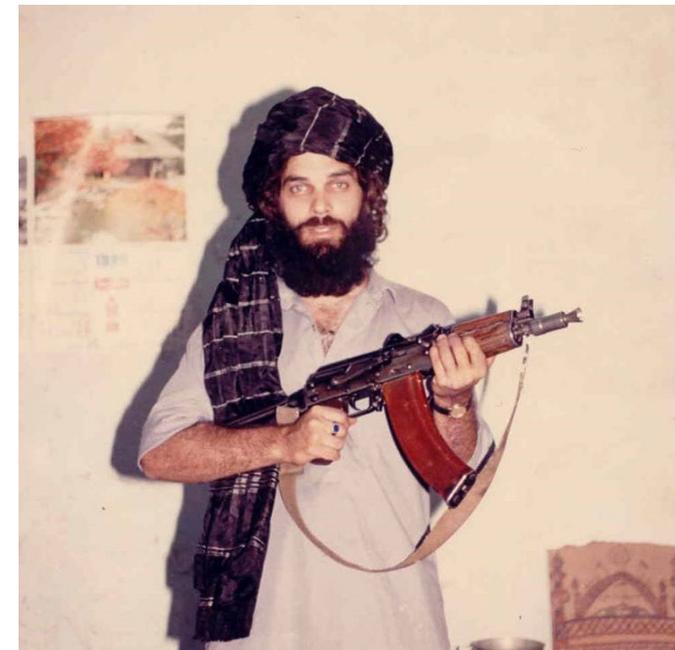
LARRY P. GOODSON, PH.D.

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE

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LARRY GOODSON

- Ph.D. (UNC, 1990)
 - Political Science and Economics
 - War Studies
- Lived/traveled Middle East/South Asia since 1986
 - American U. Cairo (1994-2000)
 - U. Peshawar (1986-1987)
- Elections Advisor, Afghanistan (2002)
- U.S. Army War College (2002-Present)
 - CENTCOM Fellow (2004)
 - CENTCOM Assessment Team (2008-2009)
- Visiting Fellow, Changing Character of War Center, Pembroke College, Oxford University (2018-2019)
- Author, *Afghanistan's Endless War* (2001), *First Great War of the 21st Century: From Syria to the South China Sea* (forthcoming)



CHANGING CHARACTER OF WAR – RISE OF HYBRID WARFARE

New Domains

- Land, Maritime, Air; now Space and Cyber

Nuclear Weapons

- 9 Nuclear Weapons States

Other Instruments of Power

- DIME much expanded

US Military Dominance

- \$732 billion, more than next 10 countries combined (SIPRI, 2020)

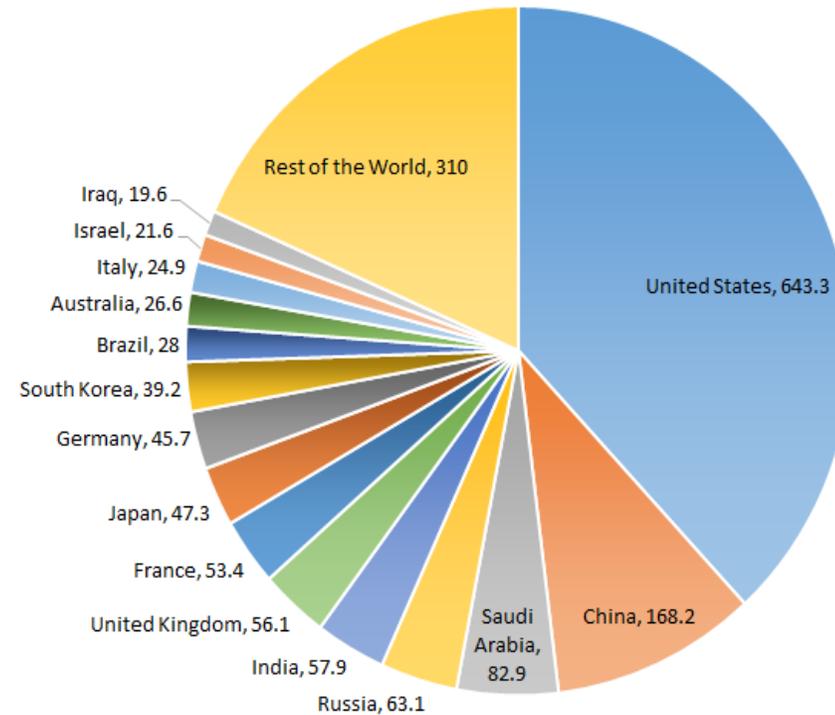
Globalization

- Currency, Trade, People, Culture

Realism and Nationalism

- Liberalism vs. Realism and Nationalism

Military Expenditures by Country (in US\$ billions) 2018



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies

THE GREAT DELUSION

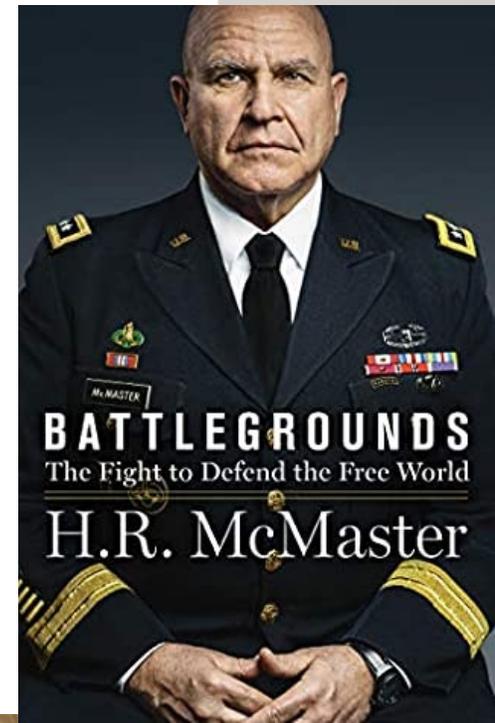
LIBERAL DREAMS AND INTERNATIONAL REALITIES



JOHN J.

MEARSHEIMER

Author of *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*



FROM CLAUSEWITZ TO HYBRID WARFARE

Clausewitz defines war in two important ways – “War is an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will” (violent) and “war is the continuation of politics by other means” (political) (*On War*, 1832).

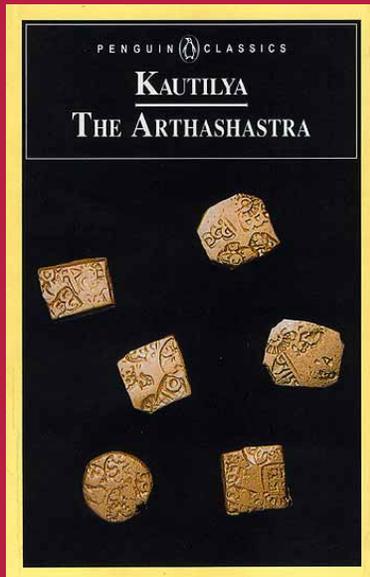
Political Warfare – “logical application of Clausewitz’s doctrine in time of peace...the employment of all the means at a nation’s command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives.” (“The inauguration of organized political warfare,” George Kennan, 1948).

Hybrid Warfare – Use of all instruments, elements, determinants of power in coordinated, comprehensive, and holistic ways (including violence or threat) to achieve national ends.

- Tactics – as many as can be imagined
 - Attack an opponent’s economy
 - Attack an opponent’s cyber systems and/or critical infrastructure
 - Attack an opponent’s government and electoral systems
 - Spread rumors and fake news by social media
 - Utilize agents of influence
 - Engage in targeted assassination
 - Deploy military assets under thin cover of legality or deniability
 - Construct islands to then claim territorial waters
 - Steal opponent’s intellectual and real property and enrich yourself
 - Use organized criminal networks to destabilize an adversary’s society through the trafficking of drugs or narcotics
 - Use proxies to do any of the foregoing (can pay bounties if desired or fund with cash or in kind)
- Hybrid war is endless, everywhere war

21ST CENTURY WAR BASED ON ANCIENT THEORY

Chanakya Kautilya
Author of *The Arthashastra*



Yuddha (Types of War)

Open war = conventional combat

Concealed war = unconventional

Silent war = covert action

War by counsel = diplomacy

Raja-Mandala (Circle of Kings, or States)

“Two states sharing a common border are intrinsically hostile to each other.”

Thus, the enemy of my enemy is my friend

Sadgunya (Six-Fold Royal Policy)

Agreement with pledges is peace

Offensive operation is war

Indifference is neutrality

Making preparations is marching

Seeking the protection of another is alliance

Making peace with one and waging war with another is double policy

Upayas (Approaches)

Sama (Negotiation or Alliances)

Dana (Gifts or Compensation)

Behda (Intrigue or Trickery)

Danda (Force or Armaments)

CHINESE AND RUSSIAN VIEWS OF HYBRID WARFARE

China's Unrestricted Warfare – “If we acknowledge that the new principles of war are no longer ‘using armed force to compel the enemy to submit to one's will,’ but rather are ‘using all means, including armed force or nonarmed force, military and non-military, and lethal and non-lethal means to compel the enemy to accept one's interests.’” (Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare*, Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, 1999, p. 7).

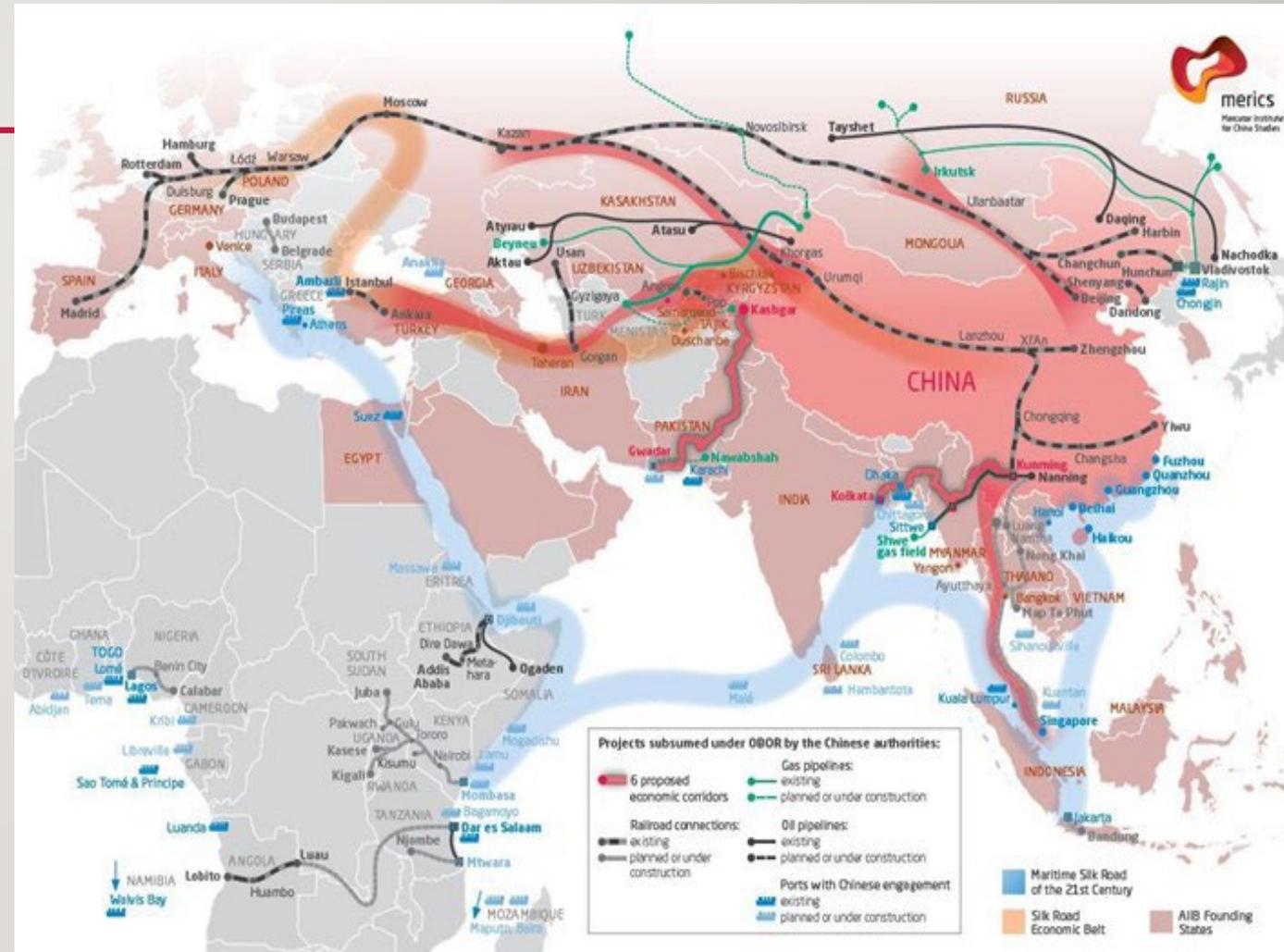
- Omni-directionality
- Synchrony
- Limited objectives but unrestricted means
- Asymmetry
- Minimal consumption
- Multi-dimensionality
- Continuous, dynamic adjustment

Russia's “Gerasimov Doctrine” (New Generation Warfare or Nonlinear War) – “In the 21st century we have seen a tendency toward blurring the lines between the states of war and peace. Wars are no longer declared and, having begun, proceed according to an unfamiliar template...The role of nonmilitary means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness....” (“The Value of Science in Prediction,” General Valery Gerasimov, Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Federation, *Military-Industrial Kurier*, February 27, 2013)

- South Ossetian War of 1991-1992
- Chechnyan Wars of 1994-1996 and 1999-2000
- Georgian War of 2008
- Syrian War of 2011-Present
- Ukraine War I (2014-2022) and II (2022-Present)

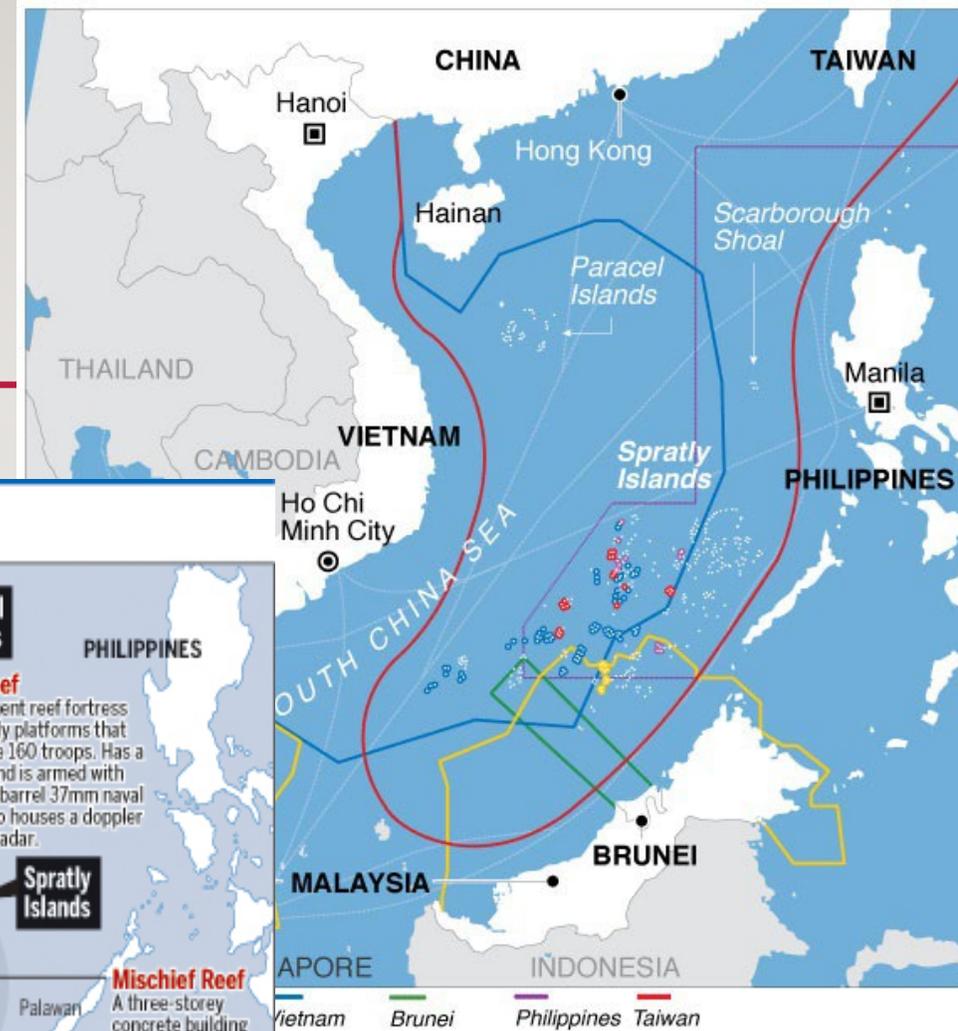
CHINA'S GRAND STRATEGY

- Dominate Asia and Rise to Lead the World
- Belt-Road Initiative (began 2013 as OBOR)
 - Acquire Resources and Markets and Ports
 - “Infrastructure development” or “debt-trap” diplomacy?
- Made in China 2025 (announced in 2015)
- Military-Civil Fusion (since 2014)
- Intellectual property theft, gaining market share, industrial espionage
- Internal population control
- Hong Kong and Taiwan
- Control South China Sea and East China Sea



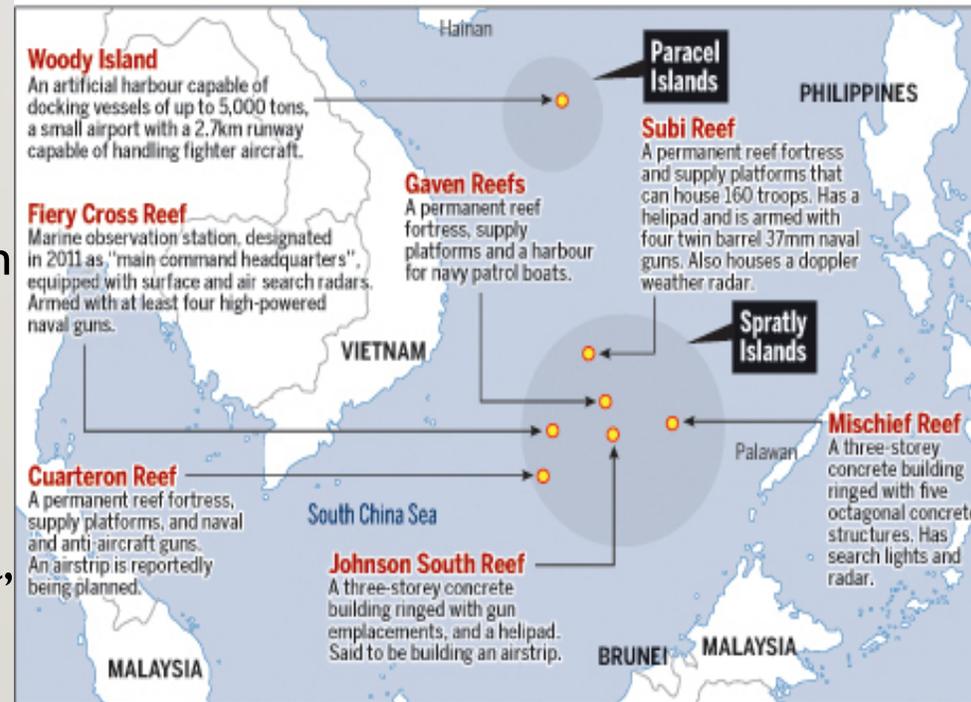
A2/AD IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

- 80/40/33% (oil, trade, global shipping)
- Maritime disputes in SCS
 - Nine-dash line
 - Island building
- Conventional military modernization and expansion (15-30 yr plan)
- American allies and partners in region are not as unified or as strong as NATO (ANZUS, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan).



Chinese structures in disputed South China Sea

What China has in the Spratlys and Paracels:



Sources: www.lib.utexas.edu; Centre for Intelligence and National Security Studies.

ST GRAPHICS

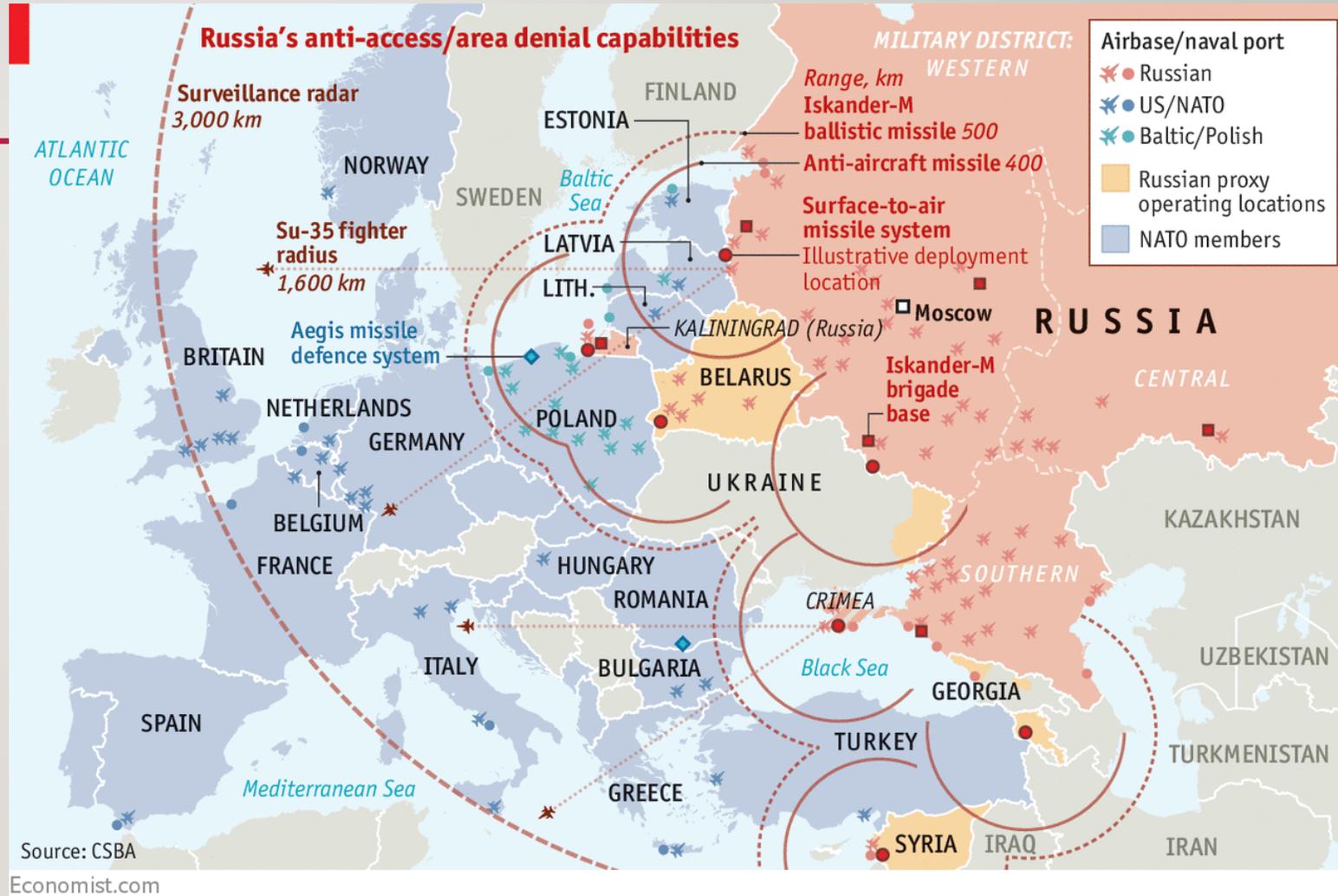
RUSSIA'S GRAND STRATEGY

- Stop NATO's Eastward Expansion (Ukraine and Elections) and Regain Near Abroad/Slavic Union
- Use military and non-military
- Control Black Sea and Have Presence in Eastern Mediterranean Sea
- Seek Warm Water Port



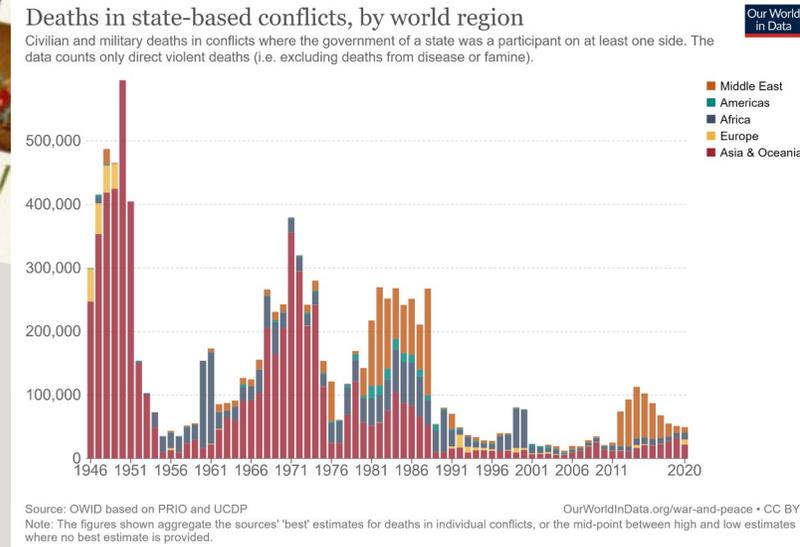
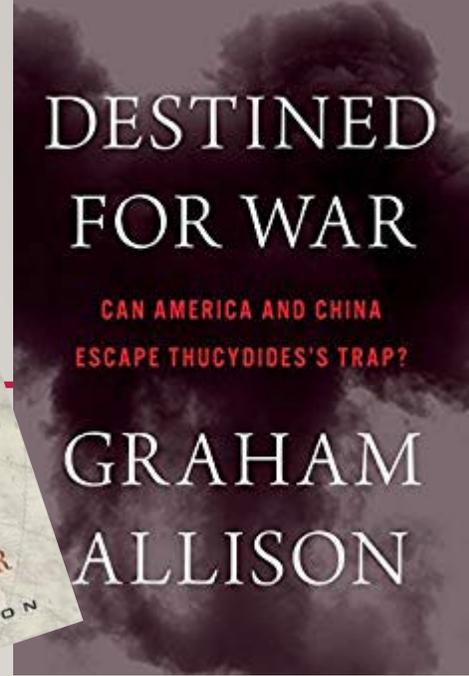
A2/AD IN EUROPE

- Rebuilding a “Near Abroad” centered on Slavic Union in face of NATO requires an A2/AD system
 - S-400 and S-500 systems
- Sweden and Finland have joined NATO, Ukraine still wants to do so
- Ukraine also wants to join the EU
- Russia still wants to use gas to break NATO



IS A GREAT WAR POSSIBLE?

- **Framework – Great Power Competition**
 - Will “Thucydides Trap” produce Great War?
 - Already Underway
 - Can Russia regain its “Near Abroad,” or build a “Slavic Union”?
 - Also Already Underway
 - But, the weaponization of everything may make war less common
- **Great War Characteristics**
 - Spans more than one continent or region (Global)
 - Produces excessive death and destruction (350 m.)
 - Involves multiple Great Powers (USA, China, Russia)
 - Produces profound changes to existing world order (China rises, USA declines)
- **16 Great Wars in History (Data – 44 Great Power Wars from 4 Eras)**



QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS

Larry P. Goodson, Ph.D.

Larry.goodson@armywarcollege.edu

717-991-6399