CONSTRUCTING WAR AND MILITARY POWER AFTER THE COLD WAR

The Role of the United States in the Shared Western Understandings of War and Military Power in the Post-Cold War Era

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1. INTRODUCTION

Despite having played a crucial role in international relations for centuries, power remains a very elusive and contested concept. Questions related to different elements of power, the logic of power politics, balances of power, and the hegemonic aspirations of agents – to mention just few power-related themes within the study of international relations or the practice of international politics[1] – have animated scholars and policymakers for centuries. Similarly, questions concerning power have been at the core of the scientific discipline of international relations (IR), which has matured and developed into its current form over the last century. The focus of this study is not, however, on power in general, but on *military power* in particular. These two have often been conceptualised as the same thing, although most scholars today would probably acknowledge the intellectual poverty of equating military power with power. The second qualifying remark on this study's approach to power is that it deals with *military power in the post-Cold War era*.

My decision to undertake this study was animated by two recent developments that have influenced the way that international politics is understood: the end of the Cold War and the emergence of constructivist international relations theorising. The first of these, the celebrated end of the Cold War, has changed the familiar IR landscape through the demise of the Soviet Union and the marked increase of violence between non-state actors. Subsequently the American-launched War on Terror, declared soon after September 11th 2001, has once again altered the international scene.[2] In the military field, these two empirical tectonic shifts are reflected in the demise of the Cold War era deterrence policies and force structures and in the post-Cold War era operations against rogue states and non-state actors. Peace operations, stability and support operations, humanitarian interventions, military operations other than war, and crisis management describe the nature of warfare – at least from a western perspective[3] – more than the traditional Cold War era view of massed mechanised armed forces clashing in

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[1] In this work I will use "international relations" (IR) to describe the scientific discipline and "international politics" to describe practice within the international arena. This analytical distinction will be made despite their apparent closeness.

[2] See for example statement by NATO Secretary General George Robertson. "But 9/11 has demonstrated with brutal clarity that the scenarios of the past have passed their sell-by date." Robertson (2003); Hardt and Negri (2004), pp. 3-35.

[3] *'West'* is not understood here as a geographical region, but as a *historical construction*, which is described today by development, modernity, industrialisation, urbanisation, capitalism and secularity. Hall (1999), pp. 78-84. The concept of 'west' parallels the IR-theoretical concept of the western / European / Transatlantic security community. See e.g. the book edited by Adler and Barnett (1998).

Central Europe under the spectre of nuclear strikes. The above-mentioned statement about a western perspective on the nature of war articulates a third qualifying remark about this study's approach to power: this study is about *shared western understandings of military power in the post-Cold War era.*

The second major theme underlying this research report is the constructivist challenge to mainstream IR-theorising by placing added emphasis on the social structure of the international system. Instead of conducting research that begins from presumably accurate definitions of concepts and then observes the international reality objectively, constructivism is interested in how international reality is constructed by states and other actors via meaningful actions.

Power in general and military power particularly are often considered to be at the core of political realism (realism). Distinguishing between theories or scientific paradigms based on the topics surveyed or concepts used is not the only possible way to categorise theories. Another is to discover how they approach or frame a chosen topic or concept. As will be explicated in more detail in Chapter 2, the Cold War era literature on international relations and strategic studies associates realism almost exclusively with the topic of military power. The assumptions of realism have thus guided the vast majority of scholarly attention paid to the questions of military power and war. These assumptions have influenced not only the articulation of interesting, suitable, or even possible research questions, but also the nature of research results. After all, the limits of the possible conclusions that scientific research can draw are set by the questions that animate scientific inquiry.

The constructivist framework related to this study of military power in the post-Cold War world challenges two elements that have animated the realism-based research agenda: brute materialism and methodological individualism. Concerning materialism, constructivist framing of military power acknowledges the importance of material objects in determining the location of an actor on the spectrum of military power. Constructivism, however, highlights the social rules or norms that emerge in interaction within a pre-existing rule-structure. States thus construct the meaning of military power when they prepare for war or wage one. In doing so, they are not only developing and using efficient instruments of policy. This social reading of international politics locates an overall social structure of the international system – intersubjectively shared knowledge – that gives meaning to the material structure so often highlighted by proponents of realism. With regard to material artefacts (weapon systems for example), constructivism focuses on their instrumental and symbolic aspects. Armaments do have intrinsic qualities that are independent of mind, but they also

have symbolic-political qualities that imply, for example, the status, identity, or possible policies of their holder.[4] In addition, according to the theoretical framework advocated in this study, knowledge of the mind-independent qualities of material resources is always mediated by interpretive, socially constructed views of the world and the role that science has in them. The advocated constructivist framework, thus, "does not deny the existence of a phenomenal world, externally to thought, but, and this is something different, that phenomena could constitute themselves as objects independently of discursive practices."[5]

The other defining feature of constructivism in a study of military power is its rejection of methodological individualism, which highlights the self-interested utility-maximising quality of actors in the international system. From a constructivist perspective, actors may be or become self-interested utility-maximisers, but they are not such by assumption. Rather, their identities and interests are reproduced or transformed within the social structure of the international system. Knowing these identities and interests at any point of time is a task for empirical research. Actors' identities and interests today – as is the case with shared understandings concerning military power and war – are path-dependent, and in many instances they could have become different.

The process of reproducing or transforming the social structure of the international system, and the identities and interests of agents as part of the structure occurs through agents' practices – in other words in interaction. What agents do now has bearing on the content of the social structure in the future. Similarly, the conditions that agents face now are the product of past practices (interaction) and in this way not chosen by any individual agent. Mutual constitution of agents and structure defines the relations between them: one cannot think of one without the other.

Concerning the nature of military power in the international system, the constructivist framework of this study accentuates the shared understandings of what makes an agent powerful militarily. Although level of technology and physical resources are important factors in determining military power, the focus of this study is on the process by which military power is bestowed with meaning in the international arena. Military power is constructed, i.e. (re)produced or transformed, within the bounds of the social structure of the international system. This means that in conceptualisations of military power, the constructivist framework points to the political nature of power in general and of military power in particular. However, at

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[4] See for example Adler and Barnett (1998a), pp. 12-13.
[5] Guzzini (1994), p. 238 (quote).

any point in time, agents confront the international system as an objective fact, although it is of social origin.

Paraphrasing Alexander Wendt, military power is what states (and possibly other actors) make of it.[6] In other words, *the standards of military power are set by the intersubjective understandings of agents* (even today, mostly states) *in the international arena.* These intersubjective understandings concerning military power form the basis for developing necessary military and other resources as well for the attainment of goals by any individual state.

The research problem that animates this study is *how and through what mechanisms has the meaning of military power changed after the Cold War?* In order to answer this question, this study relies on a morphogenetic methodology[7] and on a qualitative process-tracing case study that concerns the most visible and fiercely debated western discourse of war and military power of the post-Cold War era – the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). The research method of process-tracing entails focusing on the sequence of events that has instantiated the shared understandings concerning military power within the international system and specifically among western developed states.

The above-mentioned changing nature or definition of military power within the international system implies also changes in the shared conceptualisations of war. From the constructivist perspective, *war is* not a permanently enduring static phenomena that occurs between states, but rather *an institution of the international system that is reproduced or transformed by the actions of states and other actors operating in that system.* Shared conceptualisations of war among the leading actors within the international system define war at any point in history. These conceptualisations of war emerge in the interaction of these actors within pre-existing shared understandings of war. Thus, what war is today is heavily influenced by past conceptualisations of war and thus by social structure of the international system. The interaction either reproduces – in other words strengthens – the pre-existing conceptualisations of war, or transforms them – often incrementally – into new shared definitions of war.

From the constructivist perspective of this study, the end of the Cold War not only meant the end of confrontation and tensions between the two superpower-led blocs and the decrease in the probability of a major war with catastrophic global consequences. It also challenged the most important actors of the international system – states – to understand the new rules of the

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[6] See Wendt (1992).
[7] See Chapter 4.4.2; Carlsnaes (1992); Archer (1995).

international system that began to emerge when the Cold War era operating logic of the system, threat perceptions, prescribed policy formulations, and military preparations gradually ceased to operate.[8] At the same time, however, these new rules did not emerge automatically. No self-evident and shared characterisation of the state of the international system emerged in full bloom to serve as a guide for states and other actors in their dealings with each other. States (re)constructed these new rules by their own interaction – and their interaction with some non-state actors – as the end of the Cold War was acknowledged as fact. It is noteworthy that positing the constructed nature of the post-Cold War era rules of the international system – including shared conceptualisations of war and military power – does not imply that the eventual form of these rules was controlled or planned in advance by one or some actors. The constructivist perspective – elaborated in Chapters 4 and 5 – highlights contingence in the interaction of social agents within a structure of shared knowledge. How these rules were constructed and how they developed is an empirical problem that animates this research.

The post-Cold War era (re)definition of the rules of the international system was not a one-time operation that then led to implementation. Rather, the rules of the post-Cold War era were constructed in an on-going continuous process. States and other actors are constantly either reproducing or transforming the shared understandings of how to operate within the international system. Furthermore, the rules of the system are not only regulative in nature, such that they would tell actors how to act. These rules have also constitutive effects, i.e. they 'inform' actors who they are (assign roles) and how this should affect their conduct.

The above-mentioned themes will be elaborated in Chapters 4 and 5. In this context one additional remark is necessary concerning the shared nature of rules concerning war and military power in the international system. To state that a shared view concerning war and military power – and more generally a shared set of rules – existed during the Cold War era and then was reconstructed in the post-Cold War epoch, does not mean that all actors agreed upon these rules or that they all viewed them in a similar fashion. Some degree of divergence is to be expected, but the high volume of interactions in multiple sectors of social activity is likely to produce a more or less coherent and shared worldview at least among similar kinds of actors – states for example. In addition – as the title of this study indicates – the perspective of analysing military power in this study is that of western states. As will be explicated below and in Chapter 5, it is assumed that *within a western community of states – where shared understandings*

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[8] See e.g. Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995); Keohane and Nye (1997a), p. 1; Keohane and Nye (1997b), pp. 106-107.

about the nature of the international system exist – intersubjective under-standings of war and military power are to be expected. This said, it is as-sumed in this research that a) within the international system, shared under-standings of the nature, functioning, and rules of the system emerge in in-teraction between states; b) the developed western world has shared under-standings of the international system that are more uniform than the glob-ally shared understandings of the international system; and c) within the west shared understandings of war and military power 'exist' and are con-tinually being (re)constructed by agents' practices.

This study will proceed in three parts. The first two parts of the study – Chapters 2-5 – present the theoretical grounding and provide the frame-work for the analysis of the shared post-Cold War era western understand-ings of war and military power. Parts 1 and 2 are structured according to a dialectical logic – reaching a synthesis through the interplay of thesis and antithesis. The first part – Chapters 2 and 3 – focuses on the Cold War era theorising concerning power in general and military power in particular, as well as on the postmodernist challenge to these orthodox or mainstream conceptualisations of the study of IR, power, and military power. In pro-viding a theoretical thesis and antithesis, Part 1 prepares the ground for the theoretical synthesis promulgated in Part 2 of the study. The constructivist synthesis is introduced in Chapter 4. The succeeding chapter – Chapter 5 – elaborates the constructivist theorising into a framework for an analysis of military power in the post-Cold War era. The third part of this research – the case study of post-Cold War era military power in Chapters 6-8 – will concentrate on an empirical study of post-Cold War military power. The aim of Part 3 is to open up the process of redefining military power in the post-Cold War world and to show the theoretical usefulness of constructiv-ism in the central field of realism, namely power and military power. The goal is also to broaden the scholarly understanding of military power from its traditional (Cold War era) reading and to demonstrate that the 'construc-tivist turn' offers new insights to the discipline of international relations, including its centre of gravity, power and military power.

The focus in Chapter 2 is on realism, on its foundational texts and the power literature that has been developing within the realist paradigm. It will also probe the social power literature that lies behind the discussions of power and military power within the discipline of international relations. Chapter 2 serves two main purposes. First, it presents a broad realist spec-trum of power analysis ranging from the classical realists to the newer vari-ants of the realist paradigm. Chapter 2 thus presents *one interpretation of realist power analysis during the Cold War – after all, it was realism that was mostly associated with power in the Cold War era IR literature,* and this association has not waned completely even today. Chapter 2 reviews the work of several well-known realist scholars and *scrutinises the way that*

many realist authors have been interpreted during the Cold War, when disciplinary and political factors tended to restrict the promulgation of IR theories and policy frameworks. *The perspective on realism in Chapter 2 is that of Cold War era strategic studies – the 'mainstream' way of conceptualising military power during the confrontational decades following the Second World War*. Relying on several esteemed scholars commonly labelled 'realists' within the discipline of IR during the Cold War, Chapter 2 will not attempt to make the case of what the 'real' essence of realism has been, or whether the propositions made in the name of realism were genuinely based on the essence of the realist paradigm. Limitations of space and the lack of any need to probe this deep in a constructivist analysis of post-Cold War era war and military power cause Chapter 2 to be restricted to a presentation of '*typical' and dominant realist narrative of military power in the international system of the Cold War years*. This dominant realist narrative is then implicitly and explicitly criticised in Chapter 2 and later when presenting the postmodern challenge to positivism-rationalism in general and realism particularly in Chapter 3.

Second, Chapter 2 presents a point of reference to the post-Cold War era deliberations concerning military power. It can be understood as an attempt to describe the conditions which faced scholars and policymakers at the end of the Cold War. After all, the realist understanding of the nature of the international system and the role of military power within it had sedimented into a widely accepted and taken-for-granted framework among policymakers during the forty odd years of the Cold War. Combining these above-mentioned two themes, Chapter 2 elaborates a historical background for understanding contemporary academic IR theorising and practical policy possibilities related to the military.

Chapter 3 presents – briefly – the postmodern antithesis to the orthodox realist conceptualisations of IR concerning international politics, power, and military power. This antithesis is presented with an emphasis upon the postmodern attack on the premises of the positivist-rationalist paradigm within IR. Postmodernism is not analysed in depth. Rather, postmodernism is evoked in order to highlight the socially constructed nature of the taken-for-granted dominance of realism within IR and international politics during the Cold War era. Chapter 3 builds upon the explicit and implicit criticism of realism presented in Chapter 2.

The realist assumptions and explanations of power have been widely hailed, but have been questioned yet again with the emergence of a focus upon second-order theorising in IR. The focal point of this latest criticism of realism has been based on questions of ontology and epistemology. But the extent of this criticism and associated attempts to ameliorate or redefine realism are not restricted to the metatheoretical level. Rather, these phi-

losophy of science questions have raised several substantive amendment proposals and counterarguments to realism. These are presented in Chapter 4. From a dialectical perspective, constructivism is a theoretical *synthesis* of the realist worldview and IR theory – the dominant mainstream *thesis* of IR and international politics during several decades – and the postmodern *antithesis* of epistemological relativism that challenged the positivist-rationalist paradigm. With the constructivist framing of power in general and military power in particular, Chapter 4 also enables a more thorough and exact presentation of research questions, methodology, and methods.

Chapter 5 draws on the literature presented in the preceding chapters relating to the subject matter of war, power, and military power within the international system. The chapter elaborates the constructivist *synthesis* and promulgates the constructivist framework for analysing war and military power in the post-Cold War era – the task taken up in Part 3 of this study. Although Chapter 5 draws upon constructivism, it is not totally unsympathetic to the assumptions, questions, and explanations of the realist paradigm – especially its classical and European variants. As will become evident in Chapter 2, the Cold War era mainstream realist interpretations of e.g. Edward Hallett Carr, Hans Morgenthau, or Raymond Aron – all 'classical European realists' – were one-eyed, biased, and caricatured. During the Cold War the IR-disciplinary and international political circumstances converged in a way that seemed to demand a uniform, simplifying, policy-relevant, and vigilant worldview – applicable to scientific research and policymaking.

Chapter 5 thus lays the foundation upon which the military power-related case study in Part 3 of the study will be built. This foundation is presented in the form of a theoretical framework for the analysis of war and military power. Referred to as a 'paradigm of war framework', this synthesis relies on empirical material concerning the shared understandings of war within the west during the post-Cold War era. This framework centres on the question of *linking shared understandings of military power to a wider set of shared understandings concerning war*: what is threatening agents, what constitute legitimate goals and means of warfare, and what are the armed forces' roles and modes of operations.

Chapter 5 accentuates the processes through which *the meaning of war and military power are 'negotiated' in discourses of war*. Within the framework of the widely accepted and even celebrated end of the Cold War – itself a discourse about international politics – this study assumes that the rather stable and sedimented Cold War era way to conceptualise war became problematic. This possibility for the 'opening up' of the international social structure does not intend to advocate any *a priori* assumptions about the extent or direction of transformation from the Cold War era conceptualisa-

tions of war in the post-Cold War era. Rather, the extent and direction of this transformation is at the heart of the research problem of this study – and will be addressed in Chapter 5 and Part 3 of the book.

The framework of Chapter 5 is not designed to refute the traditional Cold War era strategic studies approach to war and military power. Rather, the purpose of this study is to engage in a dialogue and to promote a 'less naturalistic and less objectivist' view of war and military power within the discipline of IR. In order to facilitate case study research of the research problem animating this study – *how and through what mechanisms has the meaning of military power changed after the Cold War* – the following research questions are answered in Part 3:

1. How have shared western conceptualisations of war changed after the demise of the Cold War?

2. What are the constituent elements of military power in the contemporary international system, especially from a western perspective?

3. How did these (research question 2) military capabilities become representative of military power?

4. How has the American discourse concerning the Revolution in Military Affairs affected contemporary western understandings of military power?

The answer to the first research question is provided in Chapter 5, where the framework for a more detailed constructivist analysis of military power is articulated. Chapter 6 begins the empirical research of this study, guided by the theoretical framework developed in the preceding chapter. Chapter 6 answers the second research question. It thus provides a point of departure for the contemporary western estimations of military power by analysing recent strategic official policy documents that were formulated and circulated by the United States of America, NATO, and the European Union. This choice of sources is based on the focus of the constructivist framework, which emphasises the nature of *military power as a politically negotiated phenomenon.* Thus, while the rather specific and detailed descriptions of military documents and manuals reflect the militaries' take on the constitutive elements of military power, this study's focus on shared western understandings of military power point towards the *significance of politically 'negotiated' intersubjective agreement about the constitutive elements of military power.* This choice of sources, emanating from constructivist IR theorising, does not mean rejecting or denying the significance of armed forces in the process of socially constructing the meaning of military power in the west. Rather, this means that the influence of the military –

whether through argumentation or by implementing military operations decided by politicians – is analysed via the political process of constructing shared understandings among a group of states. I.e. the west.

The case study presented in Chapters 7-8 relies on the above-mentioned analysis of discourses of war and the understanding that military power is a social construction, a practice-related discourse, that resides among the agents. It is not controllable by any single agent. Some agent or agents may be better positioned than others in shaping the military power discourse. The United States has held such a privileged position in the post-Cold War era, but this is not the same as saying that some agent or agents are able to define military power for others definitively. In addition, it is worth noting that the military power discourse is not an unproblematic collection of shared ideas: *some or even many elements in the discourse of military power are more or less contested* and thus only partially shared. The analytical choice to study military power from a western perspective arises from the assumption that within the west – or western / Euro-Atlantic security community – a greater consensus with respect to the nature of war and military power exists than throughout the global international system. This explicit western perspective does not, however, preclude the possibilities to analyse non-western agents through the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 5. In addition, whether non-western agents 'fit' this analysis is an empirical question, accessible through scientific research.

Chapter 5 identifies seven discourses of war, through which it is possible to approach the post-Cold War shared western conceptualisations of war in general and of military power in particular. Its analysis of the discourses of war indicates that in order to understand military power in the west and even more generally within the international system, all discourses need to be taken into account, but that one particular discourse has had greater influence on the western rearticulation of military power: the American-led discourse on the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). Part 3 of the book – particularly Chapters 7-8 – explores the effects of this RMA discourse upon the shared western understandings of military power by means of a qualitative process-tracing case study. Chapter 7 focuses on the United States – the main locus of the post-Cold War RMA discourse. Chapter 8 focuses on NATO, which has remained the main transatlantic security and collective defence organisation during the Cold War and thereafter. From the perspective of this study, analysing NATO in this context facilitates locating the shared transatlantic – and thus western – understandings concerning military power. NATO is conceptualised to be the arena where western governments 'negotiate' the content of the threats facing the western states and the alliance as a whole, the nature of contemporary armed conflicts, and the requirements that the contemporary security environment

poses on the development of national and/or alliance armed forces – i.e. the constitutive elements of military power.

In addition, Chapter 8 also analyses the emerging European Security and Defence Policy within the framework of the European Union. This analysis is conceptualised to deepen and/or broaden the analysis of military power within NATO as the inclusion of several non-NATO member-states of the EU and the different – more political – nature of the Union widen the conceptual reach of the notion of *western* understandings of military power. While the practical development of military capabilities within the European Union has a relatively short history – less than a decade – this ongoing process is based on shared European understandings of relevant military capabilities in the post-Cold War era. Thus, while many of the promulgated military goals of the Union still remain at the level of work in progress, unrealised visions, or political declarations, it is these collectively agreed visions and promulgated declarations that reflect the shared understandings of military power within Europe. These shared understandings guide the step-by-step implementation of European capability construction and transformation. Together Chapters 7-8 provide answers to research questions three and four.

This study will end with a conclusion – in Chapter 9 – that will tie together the constructivist synthesis provided for the analysis of military power, the Cold War era mainstream conceptualisations of military power, and the development of western conceptualisations of war and military power in post-Cold War international politics. In addition, avenues for further research are elaborated.

My focus on the changing shared western understandings of war and military power in the post-Cold War era from a constructivist theoretical perspective is not only based on the theoretical utility of engaging and criticising the mainstream position on the study of war and military power – political realism. Shared understandings of war and military power are significant also for the practical utility of better understanding the doctrines and policies of states in a particular historical context. As shared understandings of war and military power change, the nature of war and the constitutive elements of military power also change. The effects of these changes are not limited to the explicit use of physical violence only, but have wider implications for actors' identities, the norms of the international system, and thus also for the 'reality' of the international system.

Any analysis of the changing nature of war and military power in the west during the post-Cold War period is a monumental task. Similarly, a thoroughly conducted analysis and constructive criticism of the orthodox realist view on war and military power will require a great deal of additional re-

search. Therefore, this study does not claim to offer a complete or all-encompassing view on war and military power. Instead, I offer a limited, theoretically informed analysis of western conceptualisations of war and military power after the end of the Cold War.

PART I

Thesis and Antithesis

2. THESIS – REALISM, POWER, AND THE COLD WAR

If one could identify the one paradigm that has focused its attention on the expression of power, one would in almost all cases name political realism. Whether one draws inspiration from the classical writings of Thucydides or from Machiavellism, one is – so the story goes – a realist. The wisdom of realism is centuries old, but in its self-conscious expression it has been a paradigm for about fifty years. This paradigm has one focus above all others, namely power. This chapter will present the realist paradigm's conception of power in general and of military power in particular. Because not all realists share one similar view of power, this rather brief presentation of realism and the varying perspectives that different 'realisms' hold on power will serve to link contemporary theorising on power to its intellectual predecessors. The following discussion of realism in general and its views on power is thus not exhaustive, but it should be sufficient for the task at hand: it frames the challenge that any power framework needs to address in articulating new perspectives on power. This chapter also presents the already existing theoretical literature as an introduction to the constructivist framing of military power.

This presentation of realism and its perspectives on power is not intended to prove that some scholars had it all wrong during the Cold War. Rather, the idea is to show that when engaging in power analysis today, there is nothing that would force one to rely solely on realism and that power *à la realism,* which has dominated the IR for some decades, is in fact a caricature of classical realist power analysis. This caricature was drawn during the behaviourist period that succeeded the emergence of realist theorising in the 1940s. The discussion that follows acknowledges the merits of scientific simplification, but also highlights tendency within the discipline of international relations during the Cold War era to formulate rigorous and parsimonious theoretical constructs in order to explain big and significant outcomes with a handful of variables that were claimed to be universally true. In addition, this chapter posits that in the articulation and maturation processes of Cold War era realism, the work of the early classical realists – above all Edvard Hallet Carr[1] and Hans Morgenthau – were reduced into a few simple dictums that did not correspond well with what the authors actually said in their work. These maxims, which took on a life of their own, became unproblematic and virtually axiomatic premises for scientific research and policymaking as the Cold War progressed. *This chapter focuses*

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[1] To label E.H. Carr as a realist is problematic. However, as his work – especially T*he Twenty Years' Crisis* – has been interpreted to be at the core of the realist paradigm by a majority of the Cold War era realists, and has since been cited to advance 'the realist cause', this label – whether actually true or not – is used her as well. On the 'non-realist' side of Carr, see e.g. Booth (1991), Jones (1996), and Wilson (2000).

upon this caricature of classical realism, which dominated the Cold War era strategic thinking on military power.

When dealing with realism, conceptual confusion is hard to avoid. The supposed success of the realist paradigm over several decades led to its ramification. Realism is thus not a theory, but a paradigm or a theory-family. It is a set of assumptions that many scholars share in studying the world. Though it is "a theoretical broad church"[2] with many different branches, there are still some common unifying core beliefs. Power is one of those common characteristics, but a wider theoretical perspective is needed in order to grasp the core of realist theorising.[3]

2.1. The Articulation and Consolidation of Realism

Power is essentially a concept that international relations, strategic studies, or the realist paradigm cannot do without.[4] It is common to assign a leading role for the realist paradigm in IR studies that deal with power. Although power is too important a concept to be identified exclusively with realism, attempts to focus on power from non-realist perspectives need to address the genealogy of realist power theorising as well as the social power literature within IR in general.

A basic distinction is made in power analysis between an understanding of power as an attribute of an actor or as a relationship between two or several actors. The first conception holds that by looking at several factors (i.e. attributes of an actor) one can determine an actor's power without comparing it with that of any other actor. This means that objective measurement of an actors' power is possible. The conception of power as attributes usually refers to such factors as military and economic capabilities, population, and geography. The problem with this notion of power, which was borrowed from the natural sciences, lies in the inability to agree a common measure of power, that would allow us to get reliable and accurate information about an actor's power. The view that power is a function of attributes, which is attractive for scholars on account of its simplistic conceptualisation of power, has lost ground in favour

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[2] Dunne and Schmidt (2001), p. 150.

[3] Frankel (1996, p. ix) notes that realist theories have "a common center of philosophical gravity." This center of gravity rests in the notion that international politics is a struggle for power and security by states in their conflictual relationships in an anarchic world. Gilpin (1986, p. 304) believes that political "realism must be seen as a philosophical disposition and set of assumptions about the world". For a similar argument, see Mastanduno (1997), p. 50, also in footnote 4.

[4] For the coupling of realism and power, see Guzzini (2002a), p. 23 and Wendt (1999), p. 92.

of the relational view.[5] Whereas those who favour the attribute approach emphasise the power base of an actor, relationalists underline the power position of an actor and the power base seen from the power position in question. Viewed from this perspective, " the substantial attribute aspect is determined by the relational one."[6] It is worth mentioning that even though power is understood as a relational phenomenon, one cannot escape the dilemma of what constitutes power in a relationship between actors. In addition, the assessment of power from a relational perspective becomes more difficult, not only since the perceptual variables become more important than in the attribute power approach.[7]

In addition to the dichotomy of attribute vs. relational power, there are three other ways to conceptualise power. The first is to view power as a *property* concept. This means that certain resources give power to their holder. The second sees power as a *causal* concept, where the attainment of certain goals can be seen as the fulfilment of power. Thirdly, power can be seen as a *dispositional* concept. From this point of view, power is neither a property of the actor, not the realisation of an objective, but a potentiality of the actor, a capacity to effect. One should note that stating what power is in a particular context is not only a matter of definition. How a concept is defined also has consequences for value assumptions and for the empirical applications of the concept.[8]

William Fox's term 'doctrinal realists' is perhaps best suited to the group of scholars who regard power as an expression of an actor's capabilities, often with reference to military strength. This means, that the state's overall power is seen almost completely as a function of one resource base, namely military resources. The way ahead proposed by these realists is paved with simplifying assumptions, without which this power conception could not survive. Among the most important of these assumptions is that the international system is hostile and decentralised, thus placing the actors (states or statesmen) under pressure to guarantee their own security.[9] This assumption is the one that underlies the 'supremacy of military sphere' thesis in power calculations, since military force is the state's last resort to defend itself. The 'supremacy of military sphere' thesis draws on one of the unproblematic maxims of realism, which was stated by E.H. Carr in the late 1930s, though not in an attempt to build the foundations of realism in one or several short, profound utterances: "The supreme importance of the military instrument lies in the fact that the *ultima ratio* of power in international relations is war."[10] Another assumption hidden in the

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[5] Mokken and Stokman (1976), p. 41. See also Baldwin (1989), p. 16.
[6] Mokken and Stokman (1976), p. 43.
[7] Buzan, Jones and Little (1993), p. 68.
[8] See Morriss (1987); Guzzini (2002a), p. 16; Lukes (1980), p. 26.
[9] Spegele (1996), pp. 85-88.
[10] Carr (1939), p. 139 (original italics).

realist power conception is the 'fungibility of power' thesis. According to this thesis, the overall power of an actor always operates in the same (or almost the same) fashion in different situations or in different arenas (for example in military, economic and cultural matters). Power, conceptualised primarily as military resources, can achieve results with same level of effectiveness whether one is dealing with a military dispute or economic co-operation.[11]

The assumption that power resources are fungible is problematic. Certainly there are degrees of fungibility, and some resources are more fungible than others. But social sciences lack a medium of power that is comparable to money in economics. This means that the fungibility of political power resources in the political sphere is lower than that of financial resources in economies. Trying to press on with the view of the high fungibility of power resources leads to the paradox of unrealised power, i.e. the situation where some stakeholder that seems to possess 'enough' supposedly fungible power resources, but lacks the ability to achieve its will vis-à-vis some less powerful actor.[12]

It is noteworthy that Morgenthau warned against the reduction of power to military power alone. What he called militarism is the notion that the "power of a nation consists primarily, if not exclusively, in its military strength, conceived especially in quantitative terms." This reading would reduce power to material force. And, as he noted, since "the emergence of the modern state system in the fifteenth century, no single nation has succeeded in imposing its will for any length of time upon the rest of the world by sheer material force alone."[13]

According to Morgenthau, military preparedness gives the other tangible elements of national power (geography, natural resources, industrial capacity) their importance. As factors contributing to a nation's military preparedness he mentions technology, leadership, and the quantity and quality of armed forces. In order not to be overwhelmed by other nations' military preparedness and to be able to extract power from other elements of national power, a nation must master the technological innovations related to warfare, possess qualified military and strategic minds, and have its armed forces equipped with a sufficient amount of high-quality arms and men. All of these factors together make it possible to back the national power with the nation's military element.[14] But *as Morgenthau explicitly warned, attempts to evaluate the power of a nation by looking exclusively at military preparedness leads to an oversimplified and crude understanding of the relations between states.* The elements of national

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[11] Note that Fox (1985) did not explicitly connect doctrinal realists to the attribute view of power, nor did he reduce power to military power.
[12] Baldwin (1989), 133-135.
[13] Morgenthau (1967), pp. 156-158.
[14] Ibid., pp. 114-118.

power that Morgenthau listed are obviously linked to each other and as he described, *power is a dynamic, relative phenomenon that is culturally bound.*

When looking at power from a broader, resource-based perspective, some scholars have maintained that one way to assess power is to look at the overall power resources at one's disposal. Lists of various different important power resources are abundant. They refer to such elements as military capabilities, population, and geography, among others. These resource lists raise questions of how the important resources are selected and differentiated from other resources, how shifts in the importance of different resources relate to the chosen theory of power, and how the power of an actor can be measured based on the power resources chosen for analysis.[15] Morgenthau's list of the elements of national power is probably the best known such list.[16]

The first problem related to different power resources is related to the difficulty in assessing material and non-material resources within one conception of power. In its crudest form, power analysis from a resource-based view *decides* upon several indicators or categories of power and then either assigns a rank to the various agents or assigns a numerical value to different indicators. In the case of material and ideational elements of power, the former are more easily counted or evaluated; where as the latter are by their nature more difficult to quantify. Even if the purpose of a resource-based power analysis is not to measure or quantify overall power of an agent, the problem of equating resources to power becomes apparent in the case of an actor who is not willing or able to use its vast resource base for certain ends and other actors also acknowledge this fact.[17]

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[15] Forsberg (1997), pp. 177-181. Collins notes the difficulties in his analysis of military strength. "Just deciding how and what to count can be confusing." See Collins (1978), quote on p. 6; Archer (1995), p. 299; Morriss (1987), p. 138. Wohlforth also notes in his defense of realism after the end of the Cold War that "The predictive failure of realist theories … was linked to the difficulty of assessing power. … Any capabilities-based theory which recognizes that capabilities contain significant non-material elements must recognize the impossibility of making precise power assessments." Wohlforth (1994/5), p. 105.

[16] Morgenthau's list of the elements of national power can serve as a guide for a relational power assessment between nations. These elements include geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national morale, the quality of diplomacy and the quality of government. Of these elements of power, all but geography are constantly shifting. When presenting these elements and further developing their contents, Morgenthau expressed a deep concern for the possibility of error in making power evaluations. The most typical errors would be to see power as an absolute character of a nation, to exclude the dynamic character of the power relations between nations and to equate power with a single factor (element). See Morgenthau (1967), pp. 97-98, 106-158. On problems of measuring power, see also Waltz (1979), pp. 129-131.

[17] Morgenthau (1967). For examples of resource-based views of power see Ferris (1973), Cox and Jacobson (1974), Cline (1980).

Whether we draw on Morgenthau's elements of national power[18] or on conceptualisations of power as resources, we need to make an analytical distinction between the total power resources of agents and their will or skill to mobilise these resources into actual power. This complicates the task of power analysis even further, since this means that the researcher is responsible not only for judging which resources 'count', but also how much they count. This latter feature is variable, since as circumstances change, so does the degree of resource mobilisation.[19]

The material resources perspective of power described above is perhaps the simplest way to conceptualise and operationalise power in the field of international relations. Difficulties arise, however, when one has to decide which resources to include in on our power analysis or how to deal with situations with more than one actor. In the latter case, it is not only difficult to assess the power of the actors, but also to take into account the perceptions of the agents and their possibilities and willingness to be part of a power relationship. One problem highlighted by strategic studies and its focus on nuclear weapons is the process of converting from material nuclear capabilities to calculable power. Luttwak tried to show the connection between military (nuclear) capabilities and power (political utility of military capabilities) and concluded that "it should be clear no comparison of the *materiel inputs* can be at all adequate to define strategic balance. It is rather the *output* of operational capabilities, which must be compared".[20] But when one tries to operationalise this output of nuclear weaponry and the defences fielded against such weapons, one runs into severe difficulties: should one concentrate on the number of warheads, yield in megatons, available delivery systems, accuracy, survivability of weapon systems…? And these kinds of problems are not only confined to the nuclear realm, but extend to include the conventional material and nonmaterial aspects of power. As Collins mentions, "no one knows for sure how many bombers compensate for how many ballistic missiles".[21]

Another way to conceptualise power is to look for its manifestations in the actual behaviour of different agents in the international arena. This perspective

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[18] It is noteworthy that Morgenthau defined power in causal terms as "anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man" or "man's control over the minds and actions of other men." Morgenthau (1967), p. 9, 26. Taking this causal perspective, Morgenthau accentuated power resources as the power base of nations.

[19] A distinction is sometimes made between actual and potential resources (or capabilities) of states. The former are those that are immediately at the disposal of a state, where the latter require mobilisation to be actualised. While this distinction is useful, it does not address the question of the will or skill to mobilise power resources.

[20] Luttwak (1976), p. 68. On p. 53 under the title of 'measuring strategic power' Luttwak notes that "purported assessments of the strategic balance based on comparisons of any one attribute of the materiel are at best inadequate and at worse deliberately misleading."

[21] Collins (1978), p. 6.

does not exclude the resource-based view: it is fairly common, for example, to analyse manifest power – i.e. behaviour – and yet understand it from a resource-based point of view. Perhaps the best-known definition of power comes from Robert Dahl, who framed it in the following manner: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would not otherwise do."[22] This *causal definition* is often called the agency concept or formal model, which refers to the mechanical metaphors it uses for the development of the definition.[23] Intention was introduced to the concept of power by Russell, for whom power means "the production of intended effects".[24] In a way, this definition goes further than Dahl's, since the effects produced by power are intended by the power holder. But both of these still see power as a manifest event, something that is called the 'episodic power conception'. When power is conceptualised in this fashion, it can be said that power is *exercised*. The definition of power offered by Morgenthau – "man's control over the minds and actions of other men"[25] – follows the causal logic, but is combined with a strong resource-based view via his famous elements of national power.

A strong criticism of Dahl's pluralist conception of power was put forward by Bachrach and Baratz with their formulation of the two faces of power. Where Dahl focuses only on the exercise of power by an agent, Bachrach and Baratz tried to link agency and structure in a more comprehensive approach to power. In doing so, they coined the concepts of 'non-decision making' and 'non-issues', both of which both refer to a situation in which an agent "devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to" that agent.[26] In this context, non-issues refer to those issues not raised due to an agent's effort to manipulate the agenda.[27] According to Bachrach and Baratz, then, unobservable non-decisions can actually have consequences and a causal status.

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[22] Dahl (1957), pp. 202-203.

[23] The criticism of Dahl's conception of power concentrates not only on the issue of the 'right' meaning given to the concept, but also to the positivistic understanding of science/ power which underlies Dahl's formulation. See for example Clegg (1989), pp. 88-89. Morriss calls the merging of having power with the exercise of power the "exercise fallacy". See Morriss (1987), pp. 12-13, 15-17. On the close relationship between methodology and research results in power analysis, see Debnam (1984), p. 70.

[24] Wrong (1979), p. 2. See also Waltz (1959), p. 205, where power is defined as "the capacity to produce an intended effect."

[25] Morgenthau (1967), p. 26.

[26] Bachrach and Baratz (1962), p. 948. See also Clegg (1989), p. 76.

[27] Three filters that have an effect in the non-decision process are mobilization of bias, anticipated reactions and negative decision-making. See e.g. Clegg (1989), pp. 75-85. On the criticism of Dahl's view on power from structural perspective, see Spiro (1999), 12-13.

As part of an attempt to develop international relations into a rigorous science that not only produced empirical knowledge from historical cases, but used abstraction and deduction, Morton Kaplan wrote his *System and Process in International Politics*. It was published in 1957, when the behavioural revolution was under way.[28] Basing his argument on general systems theory, Kaplan defined a political system, but noted that contrary to nation states, the international system lacks one. Deducing different kinds of international systems (they could be called ideal types) and analysing roles and behaviour within them, Kaplan shifted the attention from the individual actor or state to the state system. In other words, his analytic category is the international system.

Kaplan explicated different forms of international systems in his work.[29] Kaplan noted that of six different kinds of systems, the balance of power system and the loose bipolar system are those that have actually existed. The remaining four systems are "deductive-rationalist" constructs.[30] The standard of theorising set by natural sciences was the basis of Kaplan's work and that of other behavioralists: Just as "the general pattern of behaviour of the gas may represent its adjustment to pressure and temperature conditions within the tank, the set of actions of national actors may correspond to the essential rules of the system when the other variables take the appropriate specified value. ... In this way the historical loses its quality of uniqueness and is translated into the universal language of science."[31]

The essence of Kaplan's balance of power system is based on the idea that great powers share the essential rules of the system. In short, these rules direct them to increase their own capabilities, even at the price of war, while at the same time preventing any one great power from acquiring predominant power. Should one or several great powers attempt to change the rules of the system or if their capabilities change significantly, the balance of power system may become unstable and change. But objective changes in capabilities (capability variable) of great powers (actor classificatory variable) do not cause changes; they have to be noticed by actors (information variable). Two bloc actors, some non-member national actors, and universal actors comprise the loose bipolar system that Kaplan sees as the system of the Post-World War II era. Depending on the level of hierarchy of the blocs, the loose bipolar system may be on its way to becoming either a tight bipolar system (and eventually a hierarchical

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[28] Kaplan (1957).

[29] The different systems Kaplan mentions are called the 'balance of power system', the 'loose bipolar system', the 'tight bipolar system', the 'universal system', the 'hierarchical system' and the 'unit veto system'. Each of the (analytical) systems can be described along several variables, which are 'essential rules', 'transformation rules', the 'actor classificatory variables', the 'capability variables' and 'information variables'. Kaplan (1957).

[30] Tellis (1996), p. 58.

[31] Kaplan (1957), pp. 10-11, 21-53, quote on p. 25.

system), or a balance-of-power system. It is in this context that Kaplan explicates the functions of non-member actors and universal actors. They have a stabilising effect in a system that in other ways suffers from inherent instability.[32]

In evaluating capability variables Kaplan uses territory, population, industrial capacity, skills, military forces, transportation and communication facilities, willingness to use capabilities, and the capacity to draw upon the aid of others. As far as the concept of power is concerned, he notes that the Hobbesian way of linking power to the attainment of goals is not satisfactory. However, Kaplan offers no precise definition of power, but mentions the problems one is sure to counter when using the concept. The problems, Kaplan sees derive in part from his behaviourist orientation, as is clear from his wish to quantify power for purposes of analysis. Seeing power as the attainment of goals (a Hobbesian definition that Kaplan rejects) makes it impossible to have an independent measure of power. Also the need to compare power between actors is not made possible. The problem of the imprecise nature of power as a concept for analysing international politics is highlighted in Kaplan's argument that power "intuitively appears to be a useful tool for social science until it is analysed closely."[33] It should be noted that the nature of the systemic theory of IR that Kaplan advanced in 1957 is not centred on the question of measuring power of individual states accurately, but rather on the ability to define the systemic model (the six different models Kaplan describes) based on his more general notion of power. He thus maintains – contrary to Morgenthau – that "power is not the individuating or distinguishing element of the political."[34] Although it is not possible to measure power precisely – and not even necessary for systemic theorising – the importance of states should not be overlooked in Kaplan's analysis: although his models reflect a systemic theory of IR, the way that one model is transformed into another depends on the actions of states, not on the system as a whole. In this way, Kaplan's analytic category of the state system exists alongside a theoretical category of states.[35]

Writing during the scientification of the discipline of IR and the realist paradigm, Raymond Aron continued to elaborate on the classical realist theses by applying them to the nuclear realm. In his approach, one can see criticism of the behavioural revolt and the subsequent drive towards general theories of IR. His response to systemic realism (Kaplan 1957, also Waltz's third-image theorising 1959) was to criticise the security dilemma caused by the anarchical character of the international system by devising concepts of homogenous and

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[32] Ibid., pp. 25-28, 36-43.
[33] Ibid., p. 13.
[34] Ibid., p. 13.
[35] Ibid., 9-13; Tellis (1996), p. 66.

heterogeneous international systems. Thus, international politics is not to be understood as the consequence of a single logic of anarchy. Anarchy has more than one logic, and the prevailing logic can be understood by looking at the system empirically. And since there is more than one logic of anarchy, a unified theory of power alone is insufficient.[36] For Aron, a homogenous system is characterised by states of similar type that "*obey the same conception of policy.*" A heterogeneous system is one where "*states are organized according to different principles and appeal to contradictory values.*"[37] This realisation introduces ideas and emotions into the discussion in addition to force alone.

Aron's criticism of realist IR theory was directed at the praxeology of realism in a theoretical disguise.[38] In other words, American realism was, according to Aron, more an ideology than a social scientific theory. In addition to criticising (American) realists for their theoretical treatment of anarchy and its one compelling logic, Aron opposed the way power was conceptualised in the mainstream realist literature. In this matter as well, Aron referred to Morgenthau and his elaborations of power. According to Aron, treating power as a *means* of fulfilling objectives and at the same time the immediate *objective* as well diminishes the theoretical utility of the concept of power. Citing Morgenthau, Aron found "oscillation" between three different interpretations of power that contradict each other.[39]

As determinants of power Aron listed space (milieu), available material and the number of men (resources) and collective capacity (collective action). With these very crude "three fundamental elements" his intent was to provide an understanding of power that can be used in different circumstances across history. Criticising the realist (Morgenthau's) representation of the national interest, defined in terms of power alone, Aron advanced three different eternal foreign policy objectives of states: power, security and glory (or idea). 'Eternal' in this

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[36] Aron (1966), pp. 99-104, 131-132; Guzzini (1998), pp. 40-42. Kissinger made a similar argument about different types of anarchic international systems. He distinguished between legitimate and revolutionary international orders. In the former, great powers solve their disputes within a common (international) framework, whereas in the latter "it is not the adjustment of differences within the given system which will be at issue, but the system itself." Kissinger (1973), pp. 1-6, quote on p. 2. This principle is developed further by Wendt, in an article entitled 'Anarchy is what states make of it'. See Wendt (1992).

[37] Aron (1966), p. 100 (original italics).

[38] Ibid., p. 599 "Hans Morgenthau has not devoted more time and effort to the analysis of these basic concepts [power, national interest] because he, too, is more concerned with praxeology than with theory." Also on p. 592: "In crossing the Atlantic, in becoming power politics, Treitschke's *Macht-politik* underwent a chiefly spiritual mutation. It became fact, not value. …The German nationalists desired power politics for itself. The American realists believe they are obliged to acknowledge its existence and accept its laws."

[39] Ibid., pp. 591-600; Carr also noted that "Military power … becomes not only an instrument, but an end in itself." Carr (1939), p. 142.

context points to a theoretical perspective that must be elaborated in empirical research based on the situation in question.[40] In other words, when carrying out research, one must move from the three broad eternal objectives to more narrow and specifically defined historical objectives of states. To define the national interest solely in terms of power would, according to Aron, be an attempt to imitate the discipline of economics, which is a "science of means".[41] The plurality of foreign policy goals and their combined material and ideational nature lead to the statement that one cannot rationally define one general, overarching national interest. It has to be done in a specific context with relation to relevant actors.

Aron defined power as "the capacity to do, make or destroy." In the international arena he specified this general conception by defining power as "the capacity of a political unit to impose its will upon other units." His *dispositional conceptualisation of power* called for the separation of resources and force from power. The former can be evaluated somewhat objectively and the latter, since it is relational, is not dependent on material resources only. Power is, then, based on the force (strength) of a unit having certain goals in a certain context. Aron further specified the concept of force. Potential force can be equated with all those resources that a unit possesses, and actual force consists of those resources that the unit mobilises.[42]

The dispositional view regards power as potential, latent or implicit as opposed to actual or manifest power. In this view, power is *possessed*; it is to be regarded as a *capacity*. Whereas the episodic conception has difficulties dealing with the non-decisions in a social system, the dispositional framing of power can deal with them. This way of thinking allows, for example, explanations with reference to anticipated reactions of the 'power subject'. On criticism of the behavioural power conception is that actual (manifest) behaviour, which can be observed, is often exerted by those who are viewed as powerless. This means that it is often the less powerful side that has to use manifest and observable power while the more powerful actor can implement its will without an overt conflict or even without the other party (parties) even realising that power is being exercised.[43]

The dispositional view of power does not reject resources or behaviour as aspects of power, but rejects the reduction of power to either. Regarding resources, one can certainly observe those concrete things or artefacts that exist, but in order to infer that those things are in fact power resources, one needs a

[40] Aron (1966), p. 77.
[41] Ibid., pp. 72-82, 88-89, 285, 597-600. Quote on p. 285. On Aron's criticism of the economic analogy, see Guzzini (1998), pp. 46-47.
[42] Aron (1966), pp. 47-49.
[43] See for example Waltz (1979), pp. 185-186.

theory of social interaction. One thus "cannot observe resources directly. … Most resources are resources only if others recognize them as such." Similarly, reducing power to behaviour alone confines the area of research to those situations where power becomes manifest. Many instances where power is present but remains out of view are then ignored. If one understands power to be a disposition, it is obvious that, in this form, it cannot be observed, and its existence can only be inferred. This of course is a problematic proposition from an empiricist's point of view. In addition, the idea that power assessments are – like facts – theory-laden means that differing views about some actors' power are not only disagreements over facts, but also over theories.[44] This explanatory perspectivism – the view that the meaning of concepts is derived from the metatheoretical assumptions and the 'substance' of theories in which these concepts are embedded[45] – challenges the realist paradigm and its conceptualisations of knowledge.

The notion that power does not have to be observable in order to operate within the international system is linked to the idea of *structural power*. This is partly related to the Bachrach and Baratz's discussion of non-issues and non-decisions. By controlling the agenda of interaction the concept of structural power refers to the indirect institutional effects of power. This facet of structural power "confers the power to decide how things shall be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to corporate enterprises."[46] Holders of structural power thus have the ability to define the form of the international game and its rules. Understanding power from this perspective has been mostly ignored, since it would have challenged the tendency to quantify power. The second aspect of structural power is related to the unintended – and even unconscious – effects of actions. The powerful may cause effects by their mere existence or via actions that were not intended to have some realised outcome. Structures thus have causal effects. The logic of this one facet of power cannot be incorporated into the causal model of power, where an agent's intention is connected to an outcome via power. The third aspect of structural power has been called 'impersonal power', which refers to the biases of existing social structures to favour some agents at the expense of others. The accepted rules of the international system – the rites, routines, and discourses – not only constrain agents, but also empower them. As these rites, routines, and discourses are intersubjective in nature and not dictated by any one agent, they are said to be impersonal.[47]

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[44] Morriss (1987), pp. 14-22, 138-144, quote on p. 139.
[45] Guzzini (1994), p. 4, 54.
[46] Strange (1989), p. 25.
[47] Guzzini (1994), pp. 101-114.

The notion of structural power does not necessitate an understanding of one overarching power structure. Instead one can conceptualise structural power to be located in separate related structures. Susan Strange describes four interrelated power structures, namely structures of security, finance, production and knowledge (including beliefs and ideas). In order to understand actions and outcomes within the international system, one should see how the interacting power structures relate to each other and to actors within the system. In this context she criticises the realists for over-emphasising the security structure and the role of military power.[48]

Strange's remarks on structural power relate to another topic concerning power analysis, namely whether to regard power as a whole or should it be understood from a sectoral or issue-specific perspective. The notion of power as a whole is clearly expressed by Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics*. In Waltz's systems theory "states … have to use their combined capabilities in order to serve their interests. The economic, military, and other capabilities of nations cannot be sectored and separately weighed."[49] This notion of aggregated power has been criticised by many scholars. In the interdependence literature, disaggregated power has been discussed in detail and even structural realists – the developers of neorealism – have rejected the logic of Waltz's aggregated power.[50] Although the simple aggregated power conception provides a parsimonious and simplistic theory of international relations, its usefulness is reduced because of its generality and the obvious difficulties of applying such a theory in practice.

2.2. The Evolution of Strategic Studies and Nuclear Theorising

The academic subject of strategic studies came into existence with the beginning of the Cold War and the nuclear revolution. Strategy as a concept and strategic thinking more generally had been used for centuries before. The textbook portrayal of the transformation of strategy begins with a summary of general's duties mainly during wartime (ancient Greece) and ends with a multi-faceted panorama of a state's preparations for war in the different fields of politics (diplomacy), economy and the military. With the advent of nuclear weapons, the word strategy came to refer to the art or science of avoiding war, and strategists with academic training practiced this science.[51] The focus here is on the development of the academic subject of strategic studies and the theorising concern-

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[48] Strange (1989), pp. 23-37. See also Buzan and Jones and Little (1993) p. 64.

[49] Waltz (1979), p. 131. Carr also noted that power is indivisible and that categorising it into three categories serves an analytical purpose. Carr (1939), p. 139.

[50] See for example Buzan and Jones and Little (1993), pp. 54-65; Keohane (1986), p. 184.

[51] See for example Booth and Herring (1994), pp. 3-7; and Buzan (1987a), p. 1, 31-35. On the changing nature of strategy, see Brodie (1946).

ing nuclear weapons and deterrence. Taking into consideration the enormous number of publications that started to appear in the latter part of the 1950s concerning primarily nuclear strategy, I will review the substance of strategic studies during the Cold War. My main interest here is in the links between the strategic studies community[52] with political realism and the assumptions that underlie the research programme of the strategic community. The following analysis of the western strategic discourse is based on the assumption that during the Cold War, deterrence literature and theorising had a major influence on the way that military power was conceptualised.

During the mid-1950s the academic subject of strategic studies was established in the form in which it is known today. Previously it had been more historical in nature and was confined to the efforts of individual scholars, mainly with a military background. But, beginning in the latter half of the 1950s, an increasing number of scholars started to work in this are in a more systematic way. The majority of the researchers had a civilian background. It is noteworthy that the subject established itself as an essentially American enterprise.[53]

Several defining characteristics of strategic studies were followed by the vast majority of scholars in the academic community during the Cold War. Perhaps the most important in its theoretical outlook is the adherence to *political realism*. Another common feature is the *moral neutrality* of the writing on the subject. This does not mean that the writing was value-neutral, but rather that moral considerations were mostly left out. The third factor that strategic studies have in common is the assumption of *rationality*: actors are assumed to be able to calculate the best means to achieve their objectives. The fourth feature shared by strategic studies is the tendency for many of the central questions or the way that research problems were treated to be indebted to the ideological bipolar system of hostility and suspicion that characterised Cold War international politics.[54]

> The Realist theory of international relations had its origins in a historical mode of thought. … Since the Second World War, some American scholars, notably Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, have transformed realism into a form of problem-solving theory. … [T]hey tended to adopt the fixed ahistorical view of the framework for action characteristic of problem-solving theory … It is no accident that this tendency in theory coincided with the Cold War, which imposed the category of bipolarity upon international rela-

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[52] By the phrase 'Strategic Studies community' I refer to the western (Anglo-American) scientific community that has dominated the literature on strategy.

[53] Booth (1995); Booth and Herring (1994), pp. 7-8; Buzan (1987a), p. 138; Klein (1994), p. 111-113; Licklider (1971), p. 40.

[54] Garnett (1987), pp. 9-20. On rationality in strategic literature and on deterrence theory, see Morgan (1977), pp. 77-100.

tions, and an overriding concern for the defense of American power as a bulwark of the maintenance of order.[55]

The Golden Age of strategic studies – from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s – was characterised by the nuclear arms race between the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (SU). After all, it was in 1949 that the Soviets exploded their first nuclear device. The theory of deterrence[56] reflected the uneasy situation between hostile blocs with arms that yield unimaginable destruction.[57]

The nature and sufficiency of deterrence was debated within the strategic community. The theoretical side of the debate concerned itself the logic of deterrence, and the 'empirical' side with the proper deterrence policy in the concrete Cold War situation. There were certain common assumptions about the nature of the nuclear rivalry, namely concentration on the relationship between the two *superpowers*, belief in *mutual vulnerability* due to the technological implications of nuclear weapons combined with delivery possibilities, and the *hostile* nature of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Developing from these premises a secure second-strike capability on both sides was deemed important if deterrence was to work. And the solution to this problem was provided by creating more sophisticated technical devices on both sides so that each could count on the fact that if attacked, they could still destroy the other – or at least, cause a sufficiently high number of casualties and severe destruction. It was this line of reasoning that led to one of the symbols of the Cold War, namely MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction). It was MAD, both as a description of the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union and as a nuclear doctrine, that "pointed to a neat technical fix by which a potentially unstable rivalry could be forced into a stable configuration".[58]

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[55] Cox (1986), p. 211. Cox called neorealism the "new American realism … which is the ideological form abstracted from the real historical framework imposed by the Cold War." See ibid., p. 211.

[56] "[T]he essence of deterrence is the making of military threats in order to prevent another actor from taking aggressive actions. Deterrence is about stopping unwanted actions before they occur." Buzan (1987a), p. 136 (original italics). The threat consists of capability and credibility. See for example Cimbala (2002a), p. 203 and Gray (1993), p. 149. One should note that it takes two parties for deterrence theory to 'work': deterrer and deterree.

[57] Buzan (1987a), pp. 144-146, quote on p. 146. See also Schaub (2002), pp. 19-20.

[58] Buzan (1987a), pp. 147-150, quote on p. 149. One should note that during the Cold War, deterrence was not understood in the United States and in the Soviet Union in the same way. In the Soviet Union (and China) nuclear weapons were integrated into the national strategy in a more conventional way, and the idea of vulnerability as a source of national security was not supported in the same fashion as in the US. From the 1970s on there seemed to be some convergence in the thinking, although differences remained. One of the obvious differences was the role of civilians in formulating nuclear strategy: in the Soviet Union this was left mainly to the military. On this point, see Booth (1987a), pp. 47-8; Buzan

The increasing number of Soviet nuclear explosives was not the only concern for the strategic community within the US. The development of delivery systems in the form of ballistic missiles opened the discussion of the possibility of a surprise attack capable of destroying the US nuclear retaliatory force. Vulnerability to a decapitating strike became thus one of the themes of deterrence theorising, and the invulnerability of nuclear retaliatory forces was given a central role in politics and research. The vulnerability assessments that were conducted were very often technical in nature, leaving political considerations aside.[59]

With the development of nuclear weapons and related delivery systems, as well as with the Soviet acquisition of a nuclear capability that could be delivered to the US or Europe, the US nuclear debate oscillated between maximalist and minimalist positions. Minimalists viewed the destructive power of nuclear weapons to be such that they call for "no first use" and "no defense" policies and ruled out the possibility of winning a nuclear war. According to the minimalist position, the use of nuclear weapons could only be accepted as a retaliatory policy. For the maximalists the view of nuclear weapons as purely retaliatory devices was questionable. They argued that this kind of understanding would leave the initiative to the enemy. Calls were made for the integration of nuclear weapons within the maxims of strategy. This meant that nuclear weapons and targeting practice should have been included in plans to wage war to win. A First-strike nuclear capability was requested and defences against nuclear attacks were favoured.[60]

The positions of the minimalists and maximalists illustrate the erosion of US nuclear supremacy and the increasing tension between MAD logic and the desire of the US to cover its allies with a 'nuclear umbrella'. Extended deterrence made little sense in the MAD framework and it was "the worm in the apple of Golden Age theory."[61] From the 1970s onwards, deterrence policy by retaliation was relegated to the back burner while deterrence by warfighting was developed as a solution to the problem posed by extended deterrence. MAD was not rejected in the limited nuclear war scenarios, but it remained the last resort, at the top of the escalation ladder, while more limited nuclear responses were developed as a way to deter Soviet aggression against US allies. Movement from the minimalist position to that of the maximalists was to enhance the credibility of western (US) deterrence, especially within the logic of extended deterrence. Curiously, the US nuclear doctrine moved toward the Soviet version of deterrence by denial.[62] Underlying this doctrinal shift one can locate not

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(1987a), pp. 137-140; Buzan (1987b), p. xvi, 175-178; Holloway (1983), p. 31-35.
[59] Kaplan (1983), particularly pp. 85-110; Schaub (2002), p. 21.
[60] Klein (1994), pp. 59-74, quotes on p. 60.
[61] Buzan (1987a), p. 152.
[62] Ibid., pp. 155-9; The convergence of US nuclear doctrine with its Soviet counterpart

only the logical disputes within the American strategic community, but also the Soviet conceptualisation of deterrence as denial, which challenged or rejected the American MAD thinking.

The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) was a manifestation of an attempted shift toward defence in the nuclear field. It became the focal point of deterrence theory along with the warfighting theorising that had emerged earlier. This new focus was facilitated by the 'saturation' of deterrence theory in the preceding decades and with the Reagan administration's proposal to revolutionise the foundations of nuclear deterrence. Since deterrence by denial (warfighting) had become mainstream and gained the upper hand over Golden Age deterrence by retaliation, SDI provided a promising avenue for research and policy. What is noteworthy, the SDI program – nicknamed 'Star Wars' by its opponents – highlighted the technical solution to the problematic nature of deterrence instead of focusing on diplomatic relations between superpowers. This was true despite the moral rationale presented for its adoption: was it not morally more humane to defend against the missile threat than to prepare for nuclear retaliation?

The end of the Cold War and the emerging 'new' threats marked a point of discontinuity in the field of strategic studies. The traditional focus on nuclear deterrence and arms control between the superpowers suddenly seemed unimportant, as almost everyone in the field was surprised by the unfolding of events that led to the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. Nuclear weapons remained visible after the end of the Cold War, but in the form of nuclear non-proliferation and the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by 'rogue states' or other new actors.[63] Deterrence theory started to concentrate on the problem of deterring an adversary that was not playing the same rational game that the superpowers had been playing for forty odd years.

On the one hand, the deterrence debate in the US was attentive to the developments in the real world throughout the Cold War. The very development of deterrence policy by retaliation after the Second World War reflected the status quo quality of the US in the 'new' international system. After the Soviet Union had acquired a nuclear capability, theorising about usability of nuclear weapons reflected the doubts of using them against the Soviet Union for fear of retaliation. Similarly, with the increase of nuclear forces on the opposing side, the doctrine of massive retaliation was questioned: was a massive attack with nuclear weapons reliable when one could expect a massive retaliation? In addition

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should not be overstated, since the MAD logic loomed in the background of the US doctrine. Limiter nuclear war scenarios were in a way developing Golden Age deterrence theory of MAD by adding specific provisions and conditions to deterrence. See ibid., p. 159, 198.
[63] On new deterrence theorising and policy, see e.g. Deutch (2005). See also Payne (2004).

the spectre of a possible Soviet attack in Europe and the US response to such an attack was evoked.

On the other hand, deterrence theorising generated an internal logic that drifted away from the real world. The problem with nuclear theorising lies in the fact that the shortage of empirical evidence makes assessments of different theories or hypotheses difficult: the internal logic of the theory is highlighted at the cost of neglecting its ability to explain actual practices in the international system. The state actors, as instrumental utility maximisers, became reified within strategic studies in general and deterrence theory particularly.[64] This meant that the analytical utility that was sought in assuming the characteristics of states was transformed into reality. Another difficulty related to deterrence theory is the fact that one can never be sure why something did *not* happen. Did deterring by means of a nuclear strike cause the observed outcome or were there some other causes? What effect did political considerations have on the matter in question (for example upholding common norms)?[65] In fact, there may be some inclination to see deterrence as having been effective if the opposing party does not commit the act deterrence is supposed to prevent.[66]

The above-mentioned problem of lacking empirical evidence concerning nuclear deterrence and the difficulty of determining whether deterrence was actually the cause of a certain outcome is revealed in the credibility theorising so important in deterrence. According to Sivonen, from the early 1950s on, US deterrence policy aimed at gaining maximum effect from the military posture that existed. This led to over-commitment in a situation where the failure of deterrence was rarely considered and the focal point of policy was to exploit deterrence as much as possible. Where classical realists stressed the importance of national interest (as power) and the context of each particular situation policy was made in, the deterrence 'theory' emphasised the political *credibility* of deterrence. The logic of credibility then was diverted from the national interests that classical realists stressed, and the defense of the 'free world' or 'west' became the primary objective.[67] This shift from the national interests to the defense of the western way of life, or the rejection of the distinction that George Kennan had made between peripheral and vital interests, is shown in the NSC-

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[64] E.g. Hurwitz (1989), p. 211.

[65] Art (1993), p. 6; Booth (1987b), p. 55; Buzan (1987a), p. 163-165; Cimbala (2002b), p. 32-37; Klein (1994), p. 109; Williams (1996), p. 231; van Creveld describes the Cold War era 'best available estimates' related to deterrence theorising as "guesses based on assumptions, every one of which could be challenged". See van Creveld (1991), p. 9.

[66] Buzan (1987a), pp. 163-164.

[67] Sivonen (1992), ch. 3, also on p. 41. "In the 'Golden Age', deterrence theory developed in a direction where the conception of the interaction between states in a crisis situation became more and more dominated by deterrence theory's internal starting points and assumptions." (My translation). See also Klein (1994), ch. 5.

68 document, which states that "a defeat of free institutions anywhere is a defeat everywhere."[68] It was at this juncture that deterrence theory started drifting away from reality and started generating a logic and momentum that became a substitute for reality. This resulting reality – generated in this fashion – then served as the foundation of explanations.

Cold War era deterrence theorising was also narrow in its focus. It concentrated on the costs and benefits of defiance to the deterree, while the costs and benefits of compliance were ignored. This framework distorted the analytical perspective of deterrence theorising and shifted the focus of the analysis "from the adversary's [deterree's] choice to the dererrer's actions."[69] This analytical short-sightedness not only had consequences for the theoretical deterrence literature, but also gave political legitimation to the adoption of different deterrence doctrines in the US.

One aspect of the problem of theories drifting apart from reality and following their internal logic instead of being sensitive to the events in the world, is the often-ignored quality of theories to constitute reality. The basic principle of political realism – and strategic studies – has been to observe the world as it is instead of how it should be and then infer explanations and policy recommendations from this premise. This kind of description is a powerful tool in the debate between paradigms, since it automatically favours those paradigms that are 'scientific' and explain events in a presumably 'realistic' fashion. Who would like to be 'unrealistic' or 'unscientific' in his or her choice of theories? Political realism and strategic studies have benefited from this kind of depiction as the only way to portray the reality of international politics. When one conceptualises the role of paradigms and specific theories in the field of social sciences in a broader way that was the case during the heyday of realism (until the 1980s), one is immediately confronted with the relationship between theories (images) of the world and actions subsequently taken in order to achieve certain valued outcomes. How one perceives the world has consequences for how one deals with it. In other words, in addition to being explanatory devices for a deeper understanding of the world, theories of international relations also constitute the international system and its agents. Theories thus aid in constructing the reality that they are designed to explain.[70]

> Deterrence is tendentially based on 'worst-case'-thinking, because there is no assurance that the 'other' will not use any weakness, if it is offered. Yet, the never ending 'gaps' that the deterrence discourse finds are not the mere product of technological changes, but the result of the very premises of deterrence practices[.] … Deterrence policies dispose for a particular stereotyped

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[68] Gaddis (1987), p. 3; NSC-68 (1950), section IV (quote).
[69] Schaub (2002), p. 4.
[70] See for example Booth (1998), p. 41.

understanding of the world which reproduces autonomously the perceptions of threats. [The Cold War era] superpower relations were decreasingly the product of their interaction and increasingly the result of the juxtaposition of their internal dynamics.[71]

The constitutive quality of 'theories' – or images of the world – is visible in the Truman administration's document NSC-68 on US national security objectives and programs. The underlying world-view of credible deterrence logic was presented in NSC-68, and within years of its introduction, consecutive US administrations up to the late 1960s more or less followed this logic. It was, after all, NSC-68 that was the blueprint for the military application of containment.[72] Bradley Klein has suggested that in addition to describing the post-World War II international context, NSC-68 employed a rhetorical strategy of transforming the ontological character of hypothetical scenarios into certainties. The document described the main players of the post-war international system and constructed a fundamental difference between the United States and the Soviet Union in their political character and interests. The document then used this depiction of the evil intentions of the Soviet Union and its potential military capabilities as a criterion for extensive armament programs. With this rhetorical strategy the future capabilities of the Soviet Union were transformed from merely possible to almost certain. Klein argues that this mode of representation was typical for the entire Cold War era.[73] John Keegan has also criticised the practice of conflating hypotheses and ontology in Cold War era strategic studies and political practice. For him, the source of this conflation can be found at the intersection of an observation that war is a universal phenomenon and the hypothesis that there exists a theory of objects of war that is universal in nature.[74]

Ken Booth presented a similar criticism of Cold War era international relations theorising and the way that statesmen and academics interpreted the character of international system and the relationship between the two principal actors. Writing about the Cold Wars of the mind, Booth called attention to the eschatological Cold War world-view, which suffers from ethnocentrism, ideological fundamentalism, strategic reductionism, and the one-sided reading of political realism. This worldview was not limited – according to Booth – to the Cold War period only, but it reached its peak during the nuclear stalemate of the Cold War. Nor has the end of the Cold War meant the abandonment of this confrontational conception of the world. Similarly, Anthony Cordesman has noted the effect of unintentional bias inherent in strategic studies or "National security studies" as he called it. According to him, the majority of analysts in the strategic community favoured strong military forces and defense, while only

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[71] Guzzini (1994), pp. 249-250 (original italics).
[72] Sivonen (1992), p. 193.
[73] Klein (1994), pp. 112-118. See also Gaddis (1982), pp. 89-126; NSC-68 (1950).
[74] Keegan (1993), pp. 48-49.

a minority were interested in analysing arms control or the effects of reducing military spending. These national security analysts, according to Cordesman, "develop an unintentional bias toward larger U.S. forces and toward a pessimistic view of the threat. … They cease to examine the facts, and concentrate on organizing them to prove something."[75]

Another feature of realism *á la* strategic studies has been its technological imperative. This was facilitated by the development of atomic weapons during the Second World War, which then became the symbols of technological progress. According to Judith Reppy strategists "have followed suit, enthusiastically incorporating new technological capabilities into their analysis, sometimes to the exclusion of other factors affecting military outcomes."[76] In a critical review of Barry Buzan's book *An Introduction to Strategic Studies* (1987), Reppy noted that it was written according to a common realist worldview in which military technology was elevated to the category of an independent variable. This point of view neglects some important aspects of the Cold War research – e.g. peace research – and policy – the peace movement. It is noteworthy, however, that the mainstream research and policy debates concerning the military were conducted almost entirely from a realist perspective. As a result, while certain important aspects were left out in the depiction of the minimalists vs. maximalists debate, it was at the same time a depiction of the terms of the debate. Looking at the premises of the realist deterrence discourse from today's perspective, one can see the extent of the uncritical theorising within strategic studies, just as Reppy described it.[77]

2.3. Contemporary Realist Discourse – Neorealism and Beyond

One can quite convincingly argue that while Morgenthau's work did much to establish the realist paradigm, Kenneth Waltz oriented the direction of the realist research during the 1980s and 1990s.[78] This was done primarily in his *Theory of International Politics* (1979) and subsequent articles, where he articulated and later defended his theory. Waltz's influence was not only confined to those disciplinary engagements where realists debated the tenets of classical realism and neorealism, but practically all IR theorists felt the obligation to either criticise or agree with Waltz's theoretical stance. For more than a decade, it became a disciplinary reference point or a red flag that other theoretical contenders felt compelled to charge.

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[75] Booth (1998), p. 32; Cordesman (1978), p. xxviii (quotes).
[76] Reppy (1990), p. 101.
[77] See Buzan (1987a), pp. 143-223; Reppy (1990), p. 101-103. See also Howard (1979).
[78] Guzzini has noted that Waltz's book served to defend the independence of IR at a time when it suffered from an "identity crisis". Guzzini (1998), p. 125.

In developing his theory Waltz pointed out the factor that distinguishes his theory from classical realist thought: international politics is a system with defined structure. In addition to its systemic view of international politics, neorealism differs in three other ways from classical realism. The first of these is the addition of structural causation to the unit-level causes: "[s]tructure becomes a new object of inquiry". Where classical realism was primarily inductive in its methods, neorealism, according to Waltz, "is more heavily deductive." The second distinctive feature of neorealism is its treatment of power. Contrary to the first image view of classical realism, neorealism sees *power as a means* to security and additionally defines the structure of the international system primarily by the distribution of power. The third distinction separating neorealism from its predecessor comes in the form of differing unit level treatment. Neorealism holds that states are functionally similar because of the anarchic structure and the differences between states can be studied looking at their capabilities.[79]

For Waltz, the existence of *anarchy* means that the international political system is a *self-help* system. In this kind of system, states have to be vary all the time for their *survival*, since in international politics, anything goes. Survival is given by assumption to the neorealist IR-theory, beyond which many different motives can exist. The anarchic system is characterised by the constant possibility of war breaking out. Since physical violence is an ever-lasting possibility, one must be prepared to counter it with means of violence. Due to continuous anarchy and states' wish for survival, balances of power occur. The *balance of power* theory, so important in neorealism, explains the result of the system's structural constraints, not intentions of the states, as was the case for Morgenthau. For neorealists power is a means to security and other ends, not an end itself.[80]

Waltz's analysis concentrated on those states that are significant. Waltz suggested that one should explore the distribution of capabilities – the third tier of Waltz's structure – and focus on those states that can be called major states or great powers. He acknowledged that the assessment of differing combinations of capabilities in several fields – population, territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence – is problematic, but he pointed out that these assessments should be made roughly and that usually there is no serious disagreement about the great powers of the epoch.[81]

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[79] Waltz (1979), pp. 99, 107-111, 130-131, 191-192; Waltz (1990), pp. 29-37, quotes on p. 33. For the difference between classical realism and structural realism in practice, see Wohlforth (1994/5), especially pp. 126-129.

[80] Waltz (1979), pp. 1-17, 88-93, 105, 116-128; Waltz (1990), p. 26; Morgenthau (1967), p. 161.

[81] Waltz (1979), p. 131.

Based on his interest in studying great powers, Waltz distinguished between bipolar and multipolar anarchic structures of international politics when it comes to those structures that have existed throughout time. After 1945 the international political system's structure became bipolar. For Waltz, the bipolar world was the most peaceful, but not the most stable one. From a structural perspective, it was bipolarity that diminished interdependence and uncertainty between states.[82] The two great powers were able to rely on internal rather than external balancing, thus the end result of balancing was more reliable and precise. In a multipolar world one must highlight those dangers caused by miscalculation, whereas in a bipolar world overreaction by either power endangers the system.[83]

In defining the post-Cold War system, Waltz noted the difficulties commonly encountered in assessing a system undergoing change. In Waltzian terms, this change means a change in the power structure or in the distribution of capabilities. As had been argued in 1979 in the *Theory of International Politics*, a state has to excel in all six of its capability categories in order to acquire great power status. But the development of nuclear weapons has weakened the link between these capabilities, especially that between military capability on the one hand and economic and technological capability on the other. Thus, Waltz argued, as long as a county "can retaliate after being struck, or appears to be able to do so, its nuclear forces cannot be made obsolete by an adversary's technological advances. ... Nuclear weaponry widens the range within which national economic capabilities may vary before the boundary between the great and the major power is reached."[84]

The answer Waltz gave to the conditions of the post-Cold War structure of the international system is of bipolarity, "but in an altered state." This means that the basic logic of bipolarity applies, but with certain qualifications. These qualifications include the fact that the one pole, The United States, is not being held in check by anyone. It is unmatched in its economic and military power. This would lead us to anticipate that other states would try to balance the American power. This balancing, or catching up, by other would-be great powers could be achieved mainly non-militarily. Due to the availability of nuclear technology, the possession of large-scale conventional forces is no longer necessary. Thus, bipolarity with 'American preponderance', bluntly formulated as American unipolarity[85], is disappearing and leads to balance, but the less peaceful conditions of multipolarity are mediated by the existence of nuclear weapons. The

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[82] Ibid., p. 171.

[83] Ibid., pp. 160-173; Waltz (1993a), pp. 44-45.

[84] Waltz (1993a), pp. 50-52.

[85] Waltz accepts Charles Kegley's (1993) description of unipolarity. Waltz also notes that "unipolarity appears the least stable of international configurations." See Waltz (1997), p. 915.

effects of increasing multipolarity are located more in the technological and economic sectors than in the military one.[86]

Waltz defined power as "the combined capability of a state".[87] His third-image theory of international politics did not bring any new elements to the theorising concerning power as Waltz was mostly interested in the concept of power as an instrument of discerning the number of great powers in a system. Therefore, Waltz circumvented the empiricist problem of measuring power, stating simply that "one finds general agreement about who the great powers of a period are".[88] The rough ranking of states into great powers and other less significant states is based on the economic model of explanation and the possibility of studying international politics "in terms of the logic of small-number systems."[89]

At the same time that Waltz's influential book was published and debated, Robert Gilpin challenged the rigorous and narrow Waltzian form of neorealism by advancing the realism-based idea of hegemonic war. The basic idea was that in modern world, power alone was not sufficient for explanations of international politics (or the international political economy, IPE, as he called it). With the rise of the capitalist mode of production and economy as well as the consolidation of the nation-state, power and wealth were presented as the goals that states pursue. While being somewhat unclear about the formation of state motives, Gilpin was close to idea, presented earlier by Morgenthau, of the permanence of human nature and its influence on world affairs. Being temporally synchronised with the interdependence theorising concerning the impossibility of an all-encompassing general international power structure based on fungible (military) material resources, Gilpin was in fact trying to reduce the military emphasis within IR (IPE). This does not mean, however, that Gilpin could be described as an interdependence theorist. This he rejects explicitly.[90] Instead, political and military strength as well as economic efficiency were to determine the hegemon's power. The idea behind this more broadly-based framework began to develop momentum during the 1970s, since the effect of nuclear weapons had demonstrated the ambiguous connection between 'usable' military

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[86] Waltz (1993a), pp. 50-77, quote p. 52; Waltz (1993b), p. 194. See also Sorensen (1998), p. 98.

[87] Waltz (1990), p. 36. Waltz wrote in his definition of power "that an agent is powerful to the extent that he affects others more than they affect him" and pointed out that a 'common' relational understanding of power omits how "acts and relations are affected by the structure of action." Waltz (1979), quotes on p. 131, 192.

[88] Waltz (1979), p. 131. It is noteworthy that Waltz acknowledged the problem of measuring power. He bypassed it, as he only needed to identify the great powers of the day in order to make his parsimonious theory work. See ibid., pp. 129-131.

[89] Ibid., p. 131.

[90] Gilpin (1986), p. 312.

power and military material during the 1960s. Gilpin's work challenged the Waltzian neorealists' exclusive reliance on the tenets of anarchy and balance of power and suggested a more historically sensitive realist explanatory framework of international politics.[91] This meant that the domestic quality of the hegemonic power of the day (the US at the time) affected the nature of the international system and that it was not to be explained as parsimoniously as Waltz had proposed. In Gilpin's words, realists had "sought to add the missing political dimension to other analyses of the interdependent world economy."[92]

Gilpin defined power as the combined "military, economic and technological capabilities of states." He differentiated power from prestige, which refers to the reputation of an actor concerning its power. The fact that Gilpin defined power as capabilities and distinguishes between power and prestige means that agent's actual power may not correspond to the influence it can exert, due to perceptual difficulties in realising the 'right' level of prestige vis-à-vis the actual capabilities of the agent.[93]

Building upon the foundations of neorealism, Stephen Walt modified the Waltzian position. Instead of concentrating on balances of power, Walt noted that states balance against threats. Taking part in the discussion of whether states either balance or bandwagon, Walt clearly stated that balancing against threat is more common than bandwagoning. Walt's aim was is to develop the balance of power theory by maintaining its parsimony, while expanding its explanatory content. Instead of focusing on the distribution of aggregated capabilities, Walt aimed at explaining more cases of international balancing and thus his balance of threat theory subsumes Waltz's balance of power theory. Power is a significant factor in assessing threat, especially in the form of offensive power, but according to Walt, power alone is not sufficient because "the level of threat is determined by several factors."[94]

IR scholars are divided on whether Walt's balance of threat theory should be seen as a 'development' of the realist paradigm or as an improvement over the Waltzian balance of power theory. Applying the balance of threat theory to the

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[91] An example of this historical sensitivity in Gilpin (1986), p. 314. Just as the modern nation-state "is a product of particular historical forces, changes in those forces could bring about the demise of the nation-state."

[92] Gilpin (1981); Gilpin (1986), quote on p. 313; Gilpin (1987); Guzzini (2002b); Stein (1984), p. 357; Strange (1987), p. 556.

[93] Gilpin (1981), quote on p. 13. For similarities with Morgenthau's concept of prestige, see Morgenthau (1967), ch. 7. Note also the similarities between Gilpin's formulation of prestige and Ray Cline's perceived power model. See Cline (1980).

[94] Walt (1987), 1-16, 262-285, quote on p. 276. In addition to referring to aggregate power, Walt mentions proximity, offensive power and perceived intentions behind the assessment of threat.

post-Cold War US grand strategy, Michael Mastanduno came to the conclusion that the inclusion of the classical realist view of the importance of statecraft in explaining international outcomes (i.e. the addition of intentions to the distribution of capabilities) is currently better equipped to explain the international context at the Unipolar moment of the US. John Vasquez disagreed, arguing that the existence of two differing balancing theories – balance of power and balance of threat – is a convenient way for the realist paradigm to get it right when it comes to explaining the international realm. One can thus choose the theory that is better to explain a given phenomenon.[95]

A related discussion was carried out in *International Security* in 1999 and 2000 when Jeffrey Legro and Andrew Moravcsik provocatively posed the question "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" The central argument in the article was that realism has become such an all-encompassing paradigm that it has lost its coherence and distinctiveness. According to the authors, this 'minimal realism' holds only one core assumption: international politics is characterised by anarchy and rationality. Instead of understanding realism in a very broad sense or making some ad hoc extensions to it, Legro and Moravcsik suggested that the realist paradigm should be characterised by three core assumptions concerning *unitary and rational states* in anarchy, *fixed and conflictual state interests* and the *primacy of material capabilities* in the international structure. Several scholars have attacked this 'narrow' view of paradigms and the attempt to characterise realism, or its 'competitors', with a few rigid assumptions. While critics of Legro and Moravcsik acknowledge states in anarchy, accentuation of power, and material capabilities to be important characteristics of realism, they state that these should not be formulated into strict assumptions that would allow preferences, perceptions or beliefs to be the essence of other paradigms.[96]

2.4. The Challenge of the End of the Cold War

The peaceful and almost bloodless end of the Cold War was a shock to many IR scholars. It can also be understood as a test case for realism, as becomes apparent when surveying the criticism against realism and the defence organised on its behalf after the end of the Cold War. However, not all scholars share this test case thinking or the possibility of judging scientific theories based on

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[95] Mastanduno (1997); Vasquez (1998), p. 260. See also Wohlforth (1994/5) and Guzzini (2001b), pp. 114-116.

[96] Legro and Moravcsik (1999); Feaver (2000); Hellman (2000); Scweller (2000); Taliaferro (2000); Wohlforth (2000); Legro and Moravcsik (2000); Guzzini (2001c), p. 2 has commented similarly that these "strictly realist assumptions [materialism, pessimistic vision about anarchy] produce causally indeterminate theories". He continues by saying that "realism always needed to be supplemented by elements alien to realism."

only one case – however important it might be.[97] In addition, it is noteworthy that the scholarly criticism related to the end of the Cold War – and the short-comings of the various explanations of it – has not been aimed at the realist paradigm only, but at Cold War era IR research more generally. Simon Dalby has pointed out that "the dilemma of academic security discourse after the Cold War is precisely that its conceptual infrastructure has long outlived any useful-ness it might have once had".[98]

The dominant position of realism within the discipline of IR practically throughout the entire Cold War meant that the challenge related to the end of the Cold War touched upon realism the most. Its central disciplinary place was at stake:

> During the Cold War, efforts to displace realism from its dominant position were repeatedly thwarted by the continued salience of the U.S.-Soviet an-tagonism: although indirect, the connection between events and theory was undeniable. … A central question faces students and practitioners of interna-tional politics. Do the rapid decline and comparatively peaceful collapse of the Soviet state, and with it the entire postwar international order, discredit the realist approach?[99]

The attack against realism was facilitated by the empirical anomaly of the end of the Cold War. First, it was posited that realism could not explain – let alone predict – the abrupt end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union. Both of these 'failures' of realism were inferred from the explicitly embraced realist goals of scientifically explain and predict outcomes. As e.g. Kenneth Waltz had noted in his landmark book, "usefulness is judged by the explanatory and predictive powers of the theory".[100] It was not only that realism – particu-larly neorealism, which dominated the field when the endgame of the Cold War was played – had problems in explaining change within the international power structure in general, but also that the fall of the communist bloc in the late 1980s took place rapidly and almost totally unexpectedly.[101] One criticism that went even further argued that realism was not even capable of understanding the end of the Cold War, as the concepts and theoretical constructs it used did not touch upon those processes and actors that were relevant in understanding the ending of the Cold War. The domestic processes related to the eastern

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[97]See e.g. Wohlforth (1994/5), especially pp. 125-126. Wohlforth's thesis is that realism does not equal structural realism and that many critics have, wrongly so, taken Waltz's for-mulations as being representative of all realists. Wohlforth suggests instead a synthesis of classical realism, hegemonic neorealism and decision-makers' capabilities assessments. See also Gaddis (1992); Oye (1995), pp. 77-78.

[98] Dalby (1997), p. 4.

[99] Wohlforth (1994/5), p. 91.

[100] Waltz (1979), p. 8. See also similar statement in Mearsheimer (1990), p. 9.

[101] Gaddis (1992), pp. 5, 29-38.

European 'velvet revolutions' of the late 1980s were factors that the state-as-a-black-box version of IR theory had difficulties dealing with.

The realists countered this criticism by pointing out that the end of the Cold War reflected changes in the distribution of power within the international system. According to this power-political account, external power-related pressures forced the Soviet Union to seek a new response to the challenge posed by its declining overall power. The economic decline of the Soviet Union – relative to the US/the west – has been used to highlight the external pressures that forced the Soviet leadership towards 'new thinking' in the late 1980s.[102] With a stagnating and declining national economy, the Soviet Union was not able to keep up with the highly burdensome arms race against the US or to maintain its empire. And when the realists are pressed about the timing of the Soviet reforms in response to its declining power position – there was no compelling reason for the Soviet leadership to act when they did[103] – agents' perceptions about power relationships were presented as a 'corrective' to the general realist predictive or explanatory problem related to the Cold War.[104]

When the explanatory power of balance of power theory came under attack and supposedly stable bipolarity came to an end, realism was left in an awkward position – without any viable explanation for the dramatic changes taking place.[105] The expected multipolar post-Cold War system has not yet emerged, nor have the Cold War US allies in Europe or Asia turned away from close cooperation with the United States. The "unipolar moment" following the end of the Cold War has thus persisted longer than the taken-for-granted Cold War era 'flagship theory' of realism had expected: the absence of balancing in the post-Cold War international system has been one of the central puzzles faced by realism.[106]

The way that the Cold War ended – without large-scale violence in a Soviet effort to cling to imperial power through the use of military force – apparently contradicts the realist view on polarity-change within the international system.[107]

> Peaceful accommodation is the greatest enigma associated with the Cold War.[108]

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[102] E.g. Forsberg (1999), pp. 608-612; Lebow (1999), p. 22; Brooks and Wohlforth (2000/01).

[103] E.g. Lebow and Mueller (1995), p. 185.

[104] E.g. Wohlforth (1994/95), pp. 107-108, 126-129; Wohlforth (1995), pp. 185-186.

[105] E.g. Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995), p. 129.

[106] E.g. Mastanduno (1997) (also quote).

[107] E.g. Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995), p. 129.

[108] Lebow (1999), p. 31.

In general, realists of all types tend to associate large-scale international change with war.[109]

The general tendency in the post-Cold War era defence of realism has been to articulate further modifications of the neorealist tenets presented originally by Kenneth Waltz or to merge parts of two of more realisms in order to arrive at a post-Cold War realism – one capable of explaining the rise and fall of the Cold War as well as the nature of the post-Cold War international system. Perhaps closest to the *rigorous* Waltzian research programme are the offensive realists[110], for whom the pessimistic situation in the international arena is reason enough for states to maximise their relative power and use war as one mean of statecraft when it serves their interests: states expand rather than balance. John Mearsheimer, an offensive realist, has stated that realism "paints a rather grim picture of world politics. The international system is portrayed as a brutal arena". Daily life is essentially "a struggle for power, where each state strives not only to be the most powerful actor in the system, but also to ensure that no other state achieves that lofty position." In 1990 he argued that it was the distribution of power, i.e. bipolarity, equality of military power between the US and the SU, and the development and distribution of nuclear weapons that were behind the peaceful era in Europe – the Cold War. Even if one were to agree with this part of his logic, one would not necessarily have to agree with his fundamental theoretical stance of pessimist realism, which Stanley Hoffmann has called "a caricature of neo-realism".[111] This reading of the nature of the international system might be right in some conditions, but it is questionable to assume that it will be correct in all circumstances.

Whether the challenge posed by the empirical anomaly of the end of the Cold War rejects or refutes realism – or some other IR-theoretical construct – is not at issue here. Rather, the demise of the Cold War is evoked here as a *challenge to all Cold War era IR theories*. In addition, it is also conceptualised as *a possibility to reformulate existing IR theories and an opportunity to engage in the fruitful process of theory generation and development within the discipline of IR.* The empirical problem related to the end of the Cold War may thus be conceptualised as invitation to disciplinary reflection and renewal.

2.5. Conclusion: Realism, Power, and the Cold War

Realism is a broad topic in IR theorising. Some aspects have been touched upon so far in an attempt to formulate a standard of comparison for further

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[109] Wohlforth (1994/95), pp. 102-103.

[110] This should not be read as a statement that Waltz is an offensive realist.

[111] Mearsheimer (1990); Mearsheimer (1994/5), quote on p. 9; Hoffmann (1990), quote on p. 192; Rynning and Guzzini (2001), introduction.

power theorising in Chapter 4. This standard is not to be understood as something that will be criticised from an alternative perspective, but rather as a general picture of mainstream IR theorising on power during the Cold War era. The classical realist power analysts have been more cited than thoroughly read, and I have shown here that these scholars do not have to be read as mainstream realist discourse has tended to read them. The accepted or taken-for-granted readings of Carr and Morgenthau for example are not simply inaccurate, but they are closely tied to the disciplinary struggles of the day, as well as to the international political atmosphere that moulded the conventional wisdom of IR during the Cold War.[112] Similarly the scientification of realism, a process that has catalysed the urge to accentuate quantifiable and thus material variables, is but one way to approach the field of study. This chapter has also showed that not all realists belong to the generalised hardcore of realism and that there is evidence, especially in Europe, of theoretical polyphony and responsiveness in interpreting international power dynamics.

Classifying power analysis according to theories or paradigms is bound to simplify and even distort the view one has of rich variety of IR theorising during the past 50 years. This is evident, since it would be impossible to deal with everything that has been written about power in general and its application to specific situations: categorisation, and thus simplification, becomes inevitable.

Perhaps the most self-evident realist characteristic in IR analysis is the *central position given to power*. It is either the immediate or ultimate objective of states in their interaction within the international system just as it is the means of achieving one's goals. Realists have presented the rationale for this emphasis on power from the days of Carr (and according to realist discourse throughout the centuries, at least since Thucydides) in the form of the constant threat of war in the international system. Whether it is the nature of the system (anarchy) or the human condition (human nature) that is the driving force for the realist, politics in general and international politics specifically are a struggle for power. Related to the centrality of power one can locate *national interest* as a defining characteristic of realist theorising. This should not be taken as saying that the national interest is important only within realism – because it is important for many theories/paradigms – but that national interests are formed mainly by assumption. Whether it is in the interest of a state to maximise power or to gain power for other unspecified purposes, power and interest are – by definition – the hallmarks of realism.

Secondly, much of the realist theorising about power was conducted from a *resource-based view*. Morgenthau's elements of national power are no doubt

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[112] See e.g. Guzzini (1994), pp. 64-65, where he notes that Morgenthau's concepts became "canonised" and "mummified" during the Cold War.

the best-known indicators of power within IR. In the neorealist tradition Waltz also advanced the resource-based view, although he noted that exact measurement is not possible or indeed needed, since it is always fairly simple to identify the great powers of the day. It should be noted that realism does not automatically lead one to see power as resources, although it has been very common to do so within the realist paradigm. If one looks at the way Aron and the early Waltz (1959) conceptualised power, they both defined it in a dispositional way as a capacity either to impose one's will upon others or to produce intended effects. However, applying these power conceptions in research within the mainstream realist paradigm has not proven successful, mainly because of the epistemology underlying the realist paradigm.

The logic behind resource-based conceptualisation of power lies in the *empiricist epistemology* that has dominated the discipline and the practitioners of realism throughout the decades. Empiricism calls for observables that can be located in the international arena and used as explanations for significant events. Empiricism can also be located behind the outcome-oriented view of power as behavior, which focuses attention on manifest actions within the international system: instead of focusing on the resources of actors, one deduces which actor is the more powerful on the basis of how states actually behave. And as Tuomas Forsberg has maintained, it has not been totally uncommon for realists to use both conceptualisations of power, that of resources and that of outcomes.[113]

The realist balancing theories – whether relating to power or threat – face the problem of how to transform capabilities into action, and thus outcomes. The connection between capability and power is not straightforward. The ability to form this link would be of importance, since power (or the balance of power) has come to play a central explanatory role in realist theories. The sudden demise of the Soviet Union and its empire in Eastern Europe and Central Asia have highlighted the problem of equating power with capabilities within an empiricist metatheory. While material circumstances underwent only relatively little change during the latter part of the 1980s and the first years of the 1990s, the power of the Soviet Union declined considerably – or at least one has to assume so if one is to maintain the realist premises of power. This will lead one to note that the indicators of power of the late Cold War period were erroneous (i.e. they had changed during the Cold War) or that statesmen's assessments of power[114] changed at a time when the material conditions remained almost unaltered. Either way, the problems of empiricist epistemology become clear.

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[113] On empiricism in power analysis and in IR, and the adaptive use of both perspectives concerning power, see Forsberg (1997), pp. 142-143. See also Waltz (1979), p. 183, 192.

[114] In addition to the changes in the decision-makers' assessments of power, other possible realist explanations of the end of the Cold War, see Wohlforth (1994/5), especially pp. 97-100.

The epistemological empiricism underlying realist theorising during and after the Cold War has reduced the interest in engaging in military power analysis apart from the materialistic perspective. Although material resources have been emphasised in military power analyses, military power has remained under-theorised mainly due to its obvious or self-evident characteristics. By conceptualising (military) power as resources or via outcomes in the international arena, the empirical stance of realism has been locked by its metatheoretical assumptions into a conceptualisation of military power that has attracted interest in cataloguing or quantifying military capability. In addition to the net assessment approach to military power, the Clausewitzian problem of friction has been introduced into the military power analysis in the form of the resource-mobilisation effectiveness or quality of command in the armed forces.[115] In the latter case, the human dimension of military power serves an explanatory function when materially based calculable factors yield inaccurate or inconclusive answers.

A third feature of the realist conception of power comes in the form of the *supremacy of the military* sphere. This is due to the already mentioned pervasive possibility of war that compels states to strengthen their military power. This emphasis on the military frequently comes with the (often implicit) view of the *near-perfect fungibility of power* from one issue area to another, i.e. with the high degree of usefulness of military resources in all fields of state activity. Another a remarkable feature is the tendency to see military power in the form of *military material*. Related to the strong military dimension of power in realism, one can connect the view of power used negatively in the form of *coercion*.[116] Once again, NSC-68 can serve as an example of Cold War era policy connected to the realist lenses of the world. In its assessment of US intentions and capabilities, NSC-68 stated that military strength is one of the most important ingredients of power. "Without superior aggregate military strength, in being readily mobilizable, a policy of 'containment' – which is in effect a policy of calculated and gradual coercion – is no more than a policy of bluff."[117]

One should note that in addition to the materially weighed military dimension of power, almost all realists have introduced other material and even non-material elements or factors that should be taken into consideration when en-

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[115] See Newsome (2003), pp. 131-134.

[116] See for example Baldwin (1989), pp. 151-155; Ferris (1973), pp. 7-8; Forsberg (1997), ch. 4; Towle (1982), pp. 20-21.

[117] NSC-68 (1950), ch. VI; Fakiolas (1998). See also Jukes (1982), p. 107: "The past history of Western assessments of the Soviets' military strengths therefore exhibits tendencies to overestimate their capacity but underestimate their readiness to use it, to attribute Western functions to their Soviet analogues, to interpret the data within preconceived frameworks, use only comparisons in which the Soviets appear strongest and to depart from the spirit judicial enquiry by a reluctance to give the 'accused' the benefit of the doubt."

gaging in power analysis. Carr thought that one should consider economic strength and power over opinion in addition to military considerations. In his nine elements of national power Morgenthau stressed for example the national morale and character as well as the quality of diplomacy and government. In Waltz's list of capabilities, one can find political stability and competence. But when it comes to applying these realist theories in practice, it has been the case that the immaterial aspects of power have remained in the background, mainly due to the difficulties or impossibilities related to the measuring or weighing them. An example of this tendency to concentrate on material military power can be found in a 1995 study of military power, *Power Rules*, which discounts the problem of evaluating immaterial determinants of capability because "qualitative factors are much more difficult to measure than is force structure, and their contribution to capability is commensurately harder to assess in the absence of actual combat experience."[118]

The bias toward the military sphere in international politics from a 'materialist' perspective has contributed to a wide spectrum of variables or indicators of military power, often equated with overall power, in the realist power literature. The basic division of military indicators is between manpower, military hardware and military expenditure[119], all of which are part of the overall military power conceptualised in the final analysis as "the elements which contribute directly or indirectly to the capacity to coerce, kill and destroy."[120] The supposedly self-evident characteristics related to military power from a realist perspective are connected to an understanding of capability in numerical terms. This became manifest during the Cold War in estimations expressed as offence-defence ratios, where a 3 to 1 preponderance was assumed to be enough for a successful attack. Similarly the model of attrition warfare relied on the assumption that material superiority in the military sphere was enough, when military power had to be used in warfare.[121] In the nuclear realm, the so-called 'bomber gap' and the 'missile gap' reflect similar quantitative readings of military power, even when the utility of nuclear weapons was highly questionable. The quantification model of military power that relies on assumed variables of military power in order to make objective assessments is vulnerable to the possible biases that are built into the assumptions of research design: "simple alterations

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[118] Duffield (1995), p. 13.

[119] See for example Betts (1995), ch. 4-6; Cline (1980); Collins (1978); Jukes (1982); Huisken (1982).

[120] Eccles (1979), p. 53.

[121] Newsome (2003), pp. 134-135. Jablonsky has noted that in addition to the observable increasing quantity and quality of massive armed forces of the Cold War superpower protagonists, the developing analytical techniques and game theorising emphasised those elements of combat power that were quantifiable. See Jablonsky (1994b).

in assumptions can create radically different conclusions, even if the input is constant."[122]

Deterrence theorising and its technologically oriented stance have succeeded in providing academically meaningful and policy-relevant information about the activities of states in the international system for half a century now. The hostile and threat-penetrated atmosphere of most of the Cold War era left its mark in strategic studies, as well as in the reality of the Cold War. This historically significant and unique epoch was in a way disposed to support materially and militarily oriented theorising.[123] Whatever the supposedly real or underlying causes of the evolution of the post-WW II international system towards a hostile bipolar system characterised by nuclear confrontation were, deterrence theory did provide – at least for the mainstream western audience – an explanation for and a prediction of how the international system works and how statesmen should act in order to further the interests of their states. It did this, however, with a bias favouring state-centric, materially based explanations and policy prescriptions that highlighted the anarchical nature of the international system and the relevance of nuclear weapons as the core of power in general, and military power specifically.[124] It was only with the demise of the Cold War, I suggest, that the socially constructed nature of the 'natural' view of power was acknowledged and then became a possible target of more systematic criticism.

The sudden, unexpected, and peaceful end of the Cold War thus represented an empirical anomaly particularly for the realist paradigm. Critics of realism used this anomaly to advance their own positions, while adherents of realism defended themselves either by claiming that one anomalous case does not refute an entire paradigm or by appealing to the equivalent inability of other para-

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[122] Collins (1978), p. 5 (quote). Note also Senator Jesse Helms' comment presented in the introduction to Collins' study *Imbalance of Power – Shifting U.S.-Soviet Military Strengths:* "Thus for the first time public debate can take place on an unclassified basis with the assurance of reliable and uniform statistics." See also Betts (1995), p. 101. On the end of the Cold War and the changes in deterrence related assumptions, see Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1993), p. vi. See also Owens (1998), p. 67.

[123] See for example Buzan and Waever and de Wilde (1998), p. 64 "The Cold War facilitated the process of military securitization all around." See also Chipman (1992), p. 110: "The profession of strategic studies was dominated by a perversion for decades. … The perversion of this entirely necessary work lay in the impression that nuclear accountancy, conventional armaments ratios, arms procurement issues and targeting calculations were synonymous with 'strategic studies'".

[124] See Trachtenberg's comment (1991, p. vii) that "all the diplomatic historians I knew and respected shared a common conceptual framework, a common sense for what makes the history of international politics run. But the strategists clearly started from an entirely different set of assumptions. Perhaps the most striking feature of strategic literature was the great emphasis it placed on purely military factors in explaining why wars break out".

digms or theories to predict the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union. It is noteworthy that theoretical and metatheoretical challenges to realism were voiced before the end of the Cold War. Realism was surely not the only theory being discussed in the western IR community. Alternative theoretical constructs engaged realism and each other within and outside of the inter-paradigm debate. Similarly the question of the relationship of these theories to reality had been raised earlier, with other metatheoretical questions concerning the nature of the basic building blocs of IR (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology).

In sum, the speed of the events in the late 1980s and early 1990s helped to show many scholars that considerations of material conditions cannot account for the end of the Cold War, since the material conditions did not change considerably during the time in question.[125] Nevertheless, political realism, in its multiple and even contradictory forms, has been a hegemonic discourse within IR. This was the case during the Cold War, and although realism has attracted more criticism recently than perhaps ever before, it still forms the core of mainstream IR-theory. In line with the aim of this research, I will next present a postmodern challenge to realism. Instead of trying to refute realism, I wish to engage it. My aim is to build a theoretical framework concerning military power that will allow me to address some questions that have been 'silenced' or overlooked by the mainstream power analysis in IR.

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[125] Kegley (1993). See also Wohlforth (1994/5), p. 127 "Critics of realism are right that capabilities, as they are usually measured by political scientists, have little to do with what happened in world politics after 1987." On the debate concerning the explanatory role played by material and ideational 'causes' in Soviet New Thinking, see Brooks and Wohlforth (2000/01), English (2002), and Brooks and Wohlforth (2002).

3. ANTITHESIS – THE POWER OF DISCOURSE

Chapter 2 provided an account of three major debates concerning realism and the study of the international system in the academic discipline of international relations. This disciplinary historical overview focused on the main lines of the discussion, to a certain extent privileging some approaches and methodologies while perhaps slighting others. The intervals between these debates highlights the dominance of a certain paradigm and the debates themselves a consequential problematisation of the paradigm in question. Debate implies transition. As summarised in Chapter 2, the First Debate took place in the late 1930s and 1940s between realist and idealist understandings of how the world works. With the emergence of the Cold War scenario after the Second World War the triumph of realism was evident. The Second Debate concerned methodology, where traditionalism was challenged by a more 'scientific' view of international relations, namely behavioralism.[1]

The Third Debate was conducted between positivists and post-positivists. Concerned above all with metatheory and especially epistemology, it dealt "with the question of science and its applicability to the study of world politics."[2] According to Steve Smith, for "the last forty years the academic discipline of International Relations has been dominated by positivism."[3] At the core of the positivist study of international politics has been the combination of epistemological empiricism and behavioralist/quantitative methodology. Often this positivist stance has been connected to an unreflective way to approach social sciences – what Smith calls "unthinking positivism"[4]. This means that positivist scholars have been engaged in their profession with little or no concern for the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of their research. Before the emergence of the third debate, the ontological and epistemological considerations of the realism-dominated discipline of IR were mostly overridden by a discussion of theoretical 'substance' within the confines of positivism (e.g. the inter-paradigm debate), or with methodological considerations.[5]

Lapid characterises the post-positivist move with three main features. *Paradigmatism* asserts that metascientific constructs with their thematic

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[1] See e.g. Lapid (1989), pp. 235-239; Smith (1995), pp. 13-17; Vasquez (1995), p. 217-218; Wæver (1997), pp. 7-25. It is noteworthy that in presenting the 'three debates-story' of IR one is highlighting or 'favouring' realism (1st debate), behavioralism or scientism (2nd debate) and critical theories (3rd debate).

[2] Vasquez (1995), p. 218.

[3] Smith (1999), p. 11.

[4] Ibid., p. 32.

[5] Ibid., pp. 11-32.

components should be understood as a precondition for scientific intelligibility. This entails the proposal of a new unit of scientific achievement. Observation should no longer be able to refute the thematic axis of such a metascientific construct. *Perspectivism* calls for the explicit statement of the second order premises and assumptions. A flaw in these thematic assumptions can inhibit the growth of knowledge. Second order *relativism* does not question the theory's content based on evidence, but the standards that make judgement possible and privileges some in favour of others.[6]

Related to the positivist – post-positivist debate is the distinction that Robert Cox makes between problem-solving theory and critical theory: "theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose."[7] Problem-solving theory does not reflect upon its own perspective, but concentrates on answering questions and solving problems that are identified by the theory's perspective. Critical theory does not see the existing social order as unproblematic and in fact questions the inevitability of existing institutions and power relations. It is in a way less conservative in its goals and contains problem-solving theories within itself.[8] The concept of problem-solving theory makes it possible to acknowledge the shortcomings of a theory, as well as its merits. Although it is biased according to its premises, its merits can be understood from a particular point of view.[9]

It is difficult to categorise post-positivist or critical theories and the scholars who have engaged and criticised positivism. As in the case of positivism, there are no clear boundaries between different theories or approaches on the post-positivist side of the third debate. As such, post-positivism is a much more diverse and multifaceted collection of theoretical constructs than one might expect to be the case from the general designation of 'post-positivism'. Nevertheless, such a categorisation is needed for the purposes of understanding the general lines of argumentation within the discipline of IR and in order to promulgate the antithesis of post-positivism vis-à-vis political realism. Richard Price and Christian Reus-Smit differentiate between *modern and postmodern critical theories*. Postmodern critical theorists do not accept foundationalism, they deny the idea of progress, and see reality as a social construction. They also direct us to study how language, paradigms, and conceptual frameworks affect the world and the way we think. Modern critical theorists do not hold such a view of "radical interpretivism of postmodernism", but acknowledge minimal foundationalism and the point that we do have some criteria for separating plausible from implausible interpretations.[10]

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[6] Lapid (1989), pp. 239-244.
[7] Cox (1986), p. 207.
[8] Ibid., pp. 207-217.
[9] Sorensen (1998), pp. 87-88.
[10] Price and Reus-Smit (1998), pp. 261-263. Also in Sorensen (1998); Smith (1995).

This chapter presents a post-positivist antithesis to the positivist stance of political realism – in accordance to the third debate. This antithesis is conceptualised in the form of what Price and Reus-Smit call postmodern critical theories. The post-positivist antithesis to political realism rejects the positivist epistemology and ontology of realism. Particularly, this means the rejection of epistemological empiricism and ontological materialism – the core features of realism. The challenge of the third debate to realism was already presented implicitly in Chapter 2, and the antithesis presented in this chapter complements it by focusing on second-order theorising – i.e. metatheory – concerning ontology and particularly epistemology. The antithesis presented in this chapter is postmodern international theory, although such a classification can be criticised on account of its ambiguity or the coherence that this one label supposedly brings to the multitude of attacks against positivism.[11] I use it for the purpose of presenting the general themes of the post-positivist antithesis. The approaches labelled here as postmodern include at least post-structuralism, radical constructivism, critical theory, and feminist theory.

3.1. From Empiricism to Relativism

The epistemological stance of political realism is based on empiricism, understood as the idea of accessing the truth through observation. Empiricism calls for the IR researcher to focus on observables in order to explain significant events within the international system. Within the positivist power analysis these observables can be located either in material resources or in the manifest actions of agents. Because of its empirical focus, realism-based IR research has neglected or bypassed the social element of international reality – social structures and social facts – and has relied on the notion of an observable empirical foundation to knowledge. Building upon this empirical foundation, objective knowledge about the world is possible – mostly via behavioralist or quantitative methods. Positivist epistemology is, then, characterised by faith in empiricism, objectivism, and quantitative-behavioralist methods. In addition, positivism accepts naturalism, i.e. the possibility to analyse natural and social worlds with the same scientific methods.[12]

The anti-foundationalist epistemology of postmodernism denies the possibility of pure observation and thus the possibility of making knowledge claims based on observations of reality. For the postmodernist, there is no single truth that can be approached and eventually reached. Rather, there

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[11] See e.g. Smith (2001), p. 228, where he categorises post-modernism, feminist theory, normative theory, critical theory and historical sociology under the title 'reflectivism'.
[12] See e.g. Smith (1999), pp. 18-21, 31-35.

are many truths – none of which are universal.[13] Thus, the notions of progress and that knowledge is cumulative are rejected.[14] Modernity does not equal progress. It is not optimal or superior. Rather, it is arbitrary in nature. Postmodernism accentuates the specific historical conditions where knowledge is generated. Objectivity in science is thus dismissed in favor of a chosen perspective for seeing and knowing. "There are no truths to discover…only different perspectives to take."[15]

As knowledge is not objective – based on what has been called the scientific method – and as there is no objective way to approach the truth, power is implicated in the process of generating knowledge. The prevailing academic discourses have emerged as a consequence of existing power relations. The close connection between knowledge and power means that nothing in the world is necessary. Rather, "what exists in the world is choice posing as truth."[16] Michael Foucault used the term 'power/knowledge' to highlight the interdependence of power and knowledge. "A site where power is enforced is also a site where knowledge is produced; and conversely, a site from which knowledge is derived is a place where power is exercised."[17]

As we have no objective access to the world, it is those with power that are able to choose or define the perspective through which world is interpreted. These privileging perspectives silence alternative ways to see and conceptualise the world. Thus, what on the surface seem to be natural and normal are indeed the effects of power. In this manner the academic discourses do not emerge as 'products' of objective scientific enquiry, but as a consequence of power relations. The same goes with common sense: it is not based on the objective aspects of the world around us, but is rather 'defined' by the powerful. "Defining common sense is therefore the ultimate act of political power."[18]

Theories, paradigms, and language are not value-free or neutral. Neither do scientific theories 'produce' objective knowledge. The postmodernist 'project' thus encourages research focusing on the effects of theories, paradigms, and language upon the construction of reality. Similarly, theories are not representatives or embodiments of truth, but rather particular con-

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[13] According to Shapiro (1981), p. 53 "the truth or falsity of the statement 'France is hexagonal' depends not on the accuracy of measurement but on the context within which the statement is made, for example, on such factors as the purpose for which such a statement is made."
[14] E.g. Foucault (1974), p. 8.
[15] Vasquez (1995), p. 219-220; Windschuttle (1997), p. 130 (quote).
[16] Vasquez (1995), p. 219-220, quote on p. 220.
[17] Windschuttle (1997), p. 128.
[18] Smith (1999), p. 13 (quote), 30.

structions of reality, imposed by acts of power. The dominant role of realism within IR – and within international political practice – during the Cold War era was not due to its superior truth-value, but due to power relations within the international system and within the Anglo-Saxon scientific community of IR. Similarly, the prominent standing of rational choice during the heydays of positivism was from a postmodern perspective a "modernist conceit that makes choice pose as truth."[19]

The problematic feature of postmodernism – from a positivist perspective – is its rejection of the correspondence theory of truth. Without foundations to judge the truth of different knowledge claims, the positivist epistemology – and indeed positivism as such – is shattered. The postmodernist denial of universal truths touches upon different knowledge claims not only within a theoretical framework, but also between theories. According to the postmodernist 'programme', each theory provides grounds for arriving at the truth, and these foundations are not universal. Theory evaluation and comparison – in the positivist sense of judging the merits between different theories – becomes futile. The positivist aim of seeking cumulative knowledge by following the "standard canons of scientific research"[20] is rejected and considered as a creation of "an explicit epistemic hierarchy."[21]

The postmodernist research programme thus moves the research focus away from the positivist project of arriving closer and closer to the truth. Since universal truth cannot be arrived at and all truths are relative to the theoretical framework in question, it would be practically impossible and meaningless to strive to uncover the truth on absolute terms. What the postmodernists strive to do, then, is to destabilise, deconstruct, and denaturalise the prevailing discourses, as well as to discover and highlight the effects that these discourses produce and how they produce them.[22]

> A genealogical history loosens the hold of *present arrangements* by finding *their points of emergence as practices* and thus by opposing the forces tending to naturalize them.[23]

> Derrida's deconstructive criticism can be shown to disclose how every social order rests on the forgetting of the exclusion practices through which one set of meaning has been institutionalised and various other possibilities – other possible forms of meaning – have been marginalized.[24]

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[19] Vasquez (1995), pp. 222-224, quote on p. 222.
[20] Krause and Williams (1997), p. 37 [originally in Walt, Stephen (1991) "The Renaissance of Security Studies", International Studies Quarterly vol 35, pp. 211-39].
[21] Ibid., pp. 37, 42-43, quote on p. 37.
[22] E.g. Smith (1999).
[23] Ibid., p. 11 (my italics).
[24] Shapiro (1989), p. 15.

The acceptance of the postmodernist epistemology, then, requires doing away with the positivist notions of empiricism, objectivism, naturalism, and behavioralism. In their place the scholar should embrace epistemological relativism, focus on language and discourses, and reveal the hidden and implicit uses and effects of power upon knowledge, truth, and common sense. In addition, for the postmodernist, language is not a neutral medium to communicate. 'Using' language means acquiring systems of meaning that predate their 'user': "To speak…is to enter the flow of activity that is already constituted in the language."[25]

3.2. Denaturalising and Destabilising the Positivist-Rationalist Paradigm

Chapter 2 highlighted the powerful *realist narrative* in IR, according to which research on power in the international sphere *must* be based on the tenets of political realism. The realist claim of objectivity – and the effects of power that derive from it – has been explicitly attacked by the postmodern approach to IR. Particularly the writing of Kenneth Waltz – the 1979 published *Theory of International Politics* – has sparked metatheoretical debates within the discipline of IR and has brought criticism of system-level realism to the fore. However, the metatheoretical attacks within IR have not been directed at realism or neorealism only, but more generally at the *positivist-rationalist paradigm*. The neorealism-neoliberalism debate has been at the core of this paradigm. The close proximity of neorealist and neoliberal lines of though has led some to believe that they are "part of the same specific view of international politics rather than two alternatives".[26] The 'neo-neo' debate has focused most clearly on the nature of anarchy and on the possibilities that institutions can mitigate the negative impact of anarchy on the cooperative behaviour of states. In this light, neoliberalism[27] has been conceptualised to explain international cooperation from realist premises and assumptions.[28] In the words of Robert Keohane, realist theories should not be replaced, but ought to be supplemented in a way that makes IR-theory acknowledge the importance of international institutions as the institutional context of action, in addition to power and interests.[29]

Neorealism and neoliberalism are not exact theories of international politics. Nor are they separable from the intellectual roots of their predecessors. But when we look at these theories' common assumptions and similar re-

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[25] Shapiro (1981), pp. 55-62, quote on p. 129.
[26] Smith (1995), p. 24.
[27] Also called 'neoliberal institutionalism' and 'institutionalism'.
[28] Hurrell (1995), p. 139; see also Keohane (1984), p. 14; Keohane (1989), pp. 35-36; John Mearsheimer argues that "the most recent variant of liberal institutionalism is realism by another name." Mearsheimer (1995), p. 85.
[29] Keohane (1984), p. 14, 245.

search interests – questions they seek answers to – we see that they have contributed to the intellectual debate of the discipline both in their own terms and also as a pair of contestants in a dialectical way, each criticising some aspect of the other while proposing an alternative way of seeing it. At the same time, however, they have contributed to the incremental and silent strengthening of the positivist-rationalist paradigm within social sciences and IR – through the process of "a slow accumulation of the past, a silent sedimentation of things said".[30]

The crisis of the positivist-rationalist paradigm's evolutionary and accumu-lating vision of knowledge has thus highlighted the particular conception of science and knowledge that lies behind neorealism and neoliberalism. The previously secure epistemological foundation of the traditional paradigm has been linked to particular foundational claims that have now become problematic and contested. One of these formerly unproblematic founda-tional claims has been the primacy of states in the study of international politics and the "conception of state action as the instrumentally rational pursuit of self-interest".[31]

The postmodern attack on the positivist-rationalist paradigm has not mani-fested itself in a total denial of the 'high-concepts' within the neo-neo de-bate – such as anarchy[32], sovereignty[33], power[34], security[35], or even the sub-ject of strategic studies[36]. Rather, the dominating position of these concepts and the way that these concepts have been understood within the neo-neo debate has been attacked. Accordingly, *anarchy* is not – and has not been throughout the millennia – the objective condition within the international system that the positivist-rationalist paradigm assumes and describes it to be. Neither does the compelling self-help logic of anarchy exist objectively. Rather, the mainstream conceptualisation of anarchy is just one – the dominant – possible way to conceptualise and describe relations between agents.[37]

The anarchy of the positivist-rationalist paradigm is thus not the objective fact of international politics – ultimate and uncontested truth – that neoreal-

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[30] Foucault (1974), p. 141.

[31] Krause and Williams (1997), pp. 36-43, quote on p. 40. See also Ashley (1986), pp. 268-270: "Neorealism is bound to the state. … the state-as-actor assumption is a meta-physical commitment prior to science and exempted from scientific criticism."

[32] E.g. Ashley (1986); Ashley (1988).

[33] E.g. Ashley (1988); Weber (1995); Bartelson (1995).

[34] E.g. Ashley (1986).

[35] E.g. Campbell (1998) [1992].

[36] E.g. Klein (1994); Krause and Williams (1997).

[37] For criticism of the positivist-rationalist conceptions of anarchy, see e.g. Krause and Williams (1997), pp. 41-42.

ism and neoliberalism purport it to be. Rather, the 'accepted' or mainstream notion of anarchy is an arbitrary representation, a product of historically situated practices in academia and everyday modern culture. According to Ashley, the establishment of the sovereignty/anarchy-dichotomy through "heroic practice" is not based on observing some unique autonomous source. Rather, the 'production' of anarchy can be conceptualised and grasped through the process of deconstructing the discourse on what Richard Ashley has called "the anarchy problematique".[38] This process of deconstruction highlights how hierarchical oppositions are created within a discourse. In the case of anarchy, it is the notion of *sovereignty* that captures the higher level of hierarchy – a privileged position and an ideal. Within this hierarchical opposition anarchy is the negative and problematic domain, yet to be disciplined by the sovereign state. Deconstruction thus 'opens' a discourse and reveals its shaky foundations. It does not provide, however, new standards for evaluating or comparing the failure or success of theories.[39] This task would not be compatible with the postmodernist project.

Similarly, the tradition of projecting the contemporary concept of anarchy into history – to the days of Thucydides, Hobbes, or Machiavelli – has been criticised. What Waltz characterised as a long tradition of continuity within international politics represents the target of postmodern attack:

> One who reads the apocryphal book of First Maccabees with events in and after World War I in mind will gain a sense of *the continuity that characterizes international politics*. Whether in the second century before the Christ or in the twentieth century after, Arabs and Jews fought among themselves and over the residues of northern empire … To illustrate the point more generally, one may cite the famous case of *Hobbes experiencing the contemporaneity of Thucydides*. Less famous, but equally striking, is the realization by Louis J. Halle of *the relevance of Thucydides in the era of nuclear weapons and superpowers* … The *enduring anarchic character of international politics accounts for the striking sameness in the quality of international life through the millennia*, a statement that will meet with wide assent.[40]

What for Waltz was a proof of the soundness of realism for explaining international outcomes throughout the centuries has been for the postmodern-

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[38] What Ashley in the 1980s described as the 'discourse on the anarchy problematique' can be conceptualised to be the equivalent of the 1990s term the 'neo-neo debate'. The discourse on the anarchy problematique was concerned with the questions of "How can there be governance in the absence of a government? How can order be constructed in the absence of an orderer? How can co-operation be facilitated under a condition of anarchy?" See Ashley (1988), p. 227.

[39] Ibid., pp. 227-243, 251-252.

[40] Waltz (1979), pp. 65-66 (my italics).

ists one particular representation of history, a representation that favours the present-day positivist utilitarian and state-centric approaches to international politics. With this particular present-day bias, the positivist-rationalist interpretation of international politics needs to be revealed for what it is: a particular interpretation of history and present conditions – not a universally accepted and true description of objective conditions throughout history. Despite the elaborate use of historical examples to illustrate the accuracy of realism in explaining international outcomes, the mode of realist thought – and more widely the positivist-rationalist thought – is ahistorical in nature. As Cox has argued, the post-World War Two American realists turned realism into a problem-solving theory – "serving particular national, sectional, or class interests, which are comfortable within the given order." Coinciding with the tensions of the Cold War, this American realism – or neorealism – "is the ideological form abstracted from the real historical framework imposed by the Cold War".[41]

In a similar fashion, as the embodiment of goal-oriented human behavior, the positivist-rationalist adoption of game theory in general and instrumental rationality particularly has been attacked. A single universal logic guiding peoples' and states' behavior throughout the centuries became challenged with the problematisation of the state, the condition of anarchy, and the methodological underpinnings of the positivist-rationalist paradigm. Fitting well into the ahistorical mode of though of the neo-neo debate, the narrow scope of game theory and the assumption of instrumental rationality became attacked as the destabilisation and deconstruction of the positivist-rationalist paradigm in general and neorealism particularly started to gain momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, what for the neorealists and neo-liberals has been a natural starting point describing the nature of the international system, has been conceptualised as a social and political construction by the postmodern thinkers.[42]

The realist conceptualisation of *power* – as material capability possessed by instrumentally rational states – has been challenged in a similar fashion. With the focus on material capabilities, the possession and designation of power within the positivist-rationalist (mostly realist) power analysis is able to bypass agents' knowledge of power resources and their will to possess and/or use power. "For the neorealist…power must ultimately be reducible to a matter of capabilities, or means, under the control of the unre-

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[41] Cox (1986), pp. 209-212, quotes on p. 209, 211. On the Cold War – not as a value-free description of international system, but rather as a political discourse – Dalby has written (1997, p. 19) that "the Cold War was only partly about superpower confrontation. It was also a mode of hegemony whereby the United States dominated the planet's political life and constructed a geopolitical order in terms of 'us' and 'them', friend and foe."

[42] E.g. Cox (1986); Klein (1994); Dalby (1997), p. 9.

flective actor whose status as an actor is given from the start." According to postmodernism, the realist conceptualisation of power is overtly material and essentialist, devoid of social content, and thus neglects the intangible aspects of power – in favour of what e.g. Carr and Morgenthau argued.[43]

Within the postmodern project, which focuses upon discourses and language, power does not equal material capability. Rather, power means the ability to frame issues and discourses according to which agents conceptualise the world and upon which their actions are based. For the postmodernist, "the power of an actor, and even its status as an agent competent to act, is not in any sense attributable to the inherent qualities or possessions of a given entity." The power of an actor depends on others' recognition of that power within a community. Actors are thus empowered by performing in reference to shared social structures, within which "the community confers meaning and organizes collective expectations."[44]

The 'traditional' positivist-rationalistic conceptualisation of *security* has also been challenged and undermined by the postmodern project. The demise or 'weakening' of the focus upon the security of rational territorial states against armed aggression by other states or a military alliance has been facilitated by the end of the Cold War and the widening of the concept of security in academic discourse. This widening has touched upon the economic, social, environmental, and political aspects of security in addition to military security.[45] In addition, bringing other referent objects of security – e.g the individual – to the fore has challenged the taken-for-granted nature of militarised state security of the realism-dominated Cold War era. Postmodernism has facilitated the process of reconceptualising security by denaturalising the conceptualisations of security that prevailed during the Cold War and by revealing how the academic discipline of IR and political practice during the Cold War produced a particular conceptualisation of security. Accordingly, dangers are not objective, but are constructed by presenting things as alien, sick, and subversive. Questioning subjectivity, postmodernism acknowledges that in addition to describing threats to a particular agent, any representation of danger also constitutes the agent.[46]

According to postmodernism, Cold War era *strategic studies* was not 'just' an objective part of the scientific establishment, dedicated to the task of

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[43] Ashley (1986), pp. 276, 290-292, quote on p. 291.

[44] Ibid., pp. 291-292, quote on p. 292. In a similar fashion, concerning the positivist-rationalist conceptualisation of war – as a mean of rational policy – the postmodern approach criticises [deconstructs] the legitimacy that this concept brings to the use of physical violence.

[45] E.g. Buzan and Wæver and de Wilde (1998).

[46] E.g. Campbell (1998); Walker (1997).

describing and explaining international reality related to the use or planned use of military force as objectively as possible. Rather, strategic studies constituted – in addition to other Cold War era practices – the Cold War era legitimacy of the western-focused, materially oriented, and state-centric framework for analysing military power and war. Based on foundational epistemology, Cold War era strategic studies purported to be in the position to set the agenda of security studies – focusing upon western states from a material-realist perspective.[47] The security focus of strategic studies was narrow in nature and was accompanied by a claim to possess authoritative knowledge – what *is*, not what ought to be – about the relatively unsocial international realm.[48] As Klein argues:

> [S]trategy, in the form of strategic discourse, manifests itself as a set of power relations governing both domestic and international politics. … The grand master narrative of contemporary strategic discourse is derived from the realist tradition … Within this realist framework, the state is constituted as a fully articulated construct that contains within it no open terrain for legitimate political disputation. … the realist state is complete.[49]

Particularly the deterrence theorising in the Cold War era strategic studies has been attacked from the postmodern perspective. As was briefly noted in Chapter 2, the realism-inspired deterrence theorising of the Cold War era was based on an idealised and ahistorical story of actions taken by assumedly rational decisionmakers. This particular representation was, once 'created', at the disposal of political decisionmakers.[50]

According to the postmodern reading, then, the strategic discourse *à la* Cold War represented structures of control and authority, revealing themselves as neutral communication between researchers and policymakers (subjects) about existing things (objective facts). The value of the statements within this kind of discourse can be assessed – according to the positivist 'participants' of this discourse – by analysing the statements' truth-value. For the postmodern discourse analyst this notion of language and discourse as simple communication is unacceptable, as it totally neglects the political content of discourse and bypasses the disciplining and constitutive effects of the Cold War er a strategic discourse.[51]

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[47] See Krause and Williams (1997), p. 37. The "particular reading of the meaning and evolution of the history of strategic studies yields a clear contemporary claim to disciplinary authority."

[48] Ibid., pp. 39-43; Klein (1994).

[49] Klein (1989), pp. 99-101.

[50] See e.g. Hurwitz (1989).

[51] See Shapiro (1989), pp. 16-17; Krause and William (1997), pp. 42-43.

3.3. Implications for the Study of War and Military Power

The postmodern critique of positivist-rationalism in general and political realism in particular has focused on epistemology. The questioning and denial of secure foundations of knowledge have been at the center of gravity of the postmodern attack. A shift from objective knowledge to a perspectivist conceptualisation of knowledge and truth, and an emphasis on the need to deconstruct prevailing theories, 'regimes of truth', or 'metanarratives' have characterised the rise of postmodernism. The epistemological relativism – i.e. anti-foundational epistemology – that postmodernism espouses means a reduction of the significance of material factors in ontology. As we cannot access the material world directly by observation, and as knowledge is a derivative of power, "there is nothing outside of discourse."[52] Since all knowledge is dependent on the prevailing perspective, one cannot accumulate knowledge about material 'reality'. Postmodernism, thus, does not necessarily entail rejecting the material aspects of 'reality', but at the same time highlights that knowledge of this material reality is always mediated by the perspective used to interpret this 'reality'.

> The world exists independently of language, but we can never know that (beyond the fact of its assertion), because the existence of the world is literally inconceivable outside of language and our traditions of interpretation.[53]

The objects that exist externally to our thought cannot constitute themselves as objects outside discourses. The structures of language and the prevailing ways to conceptualise objects thus define the possible limits of knowledge and truth. Thus, from the perspective of postmodernism, the positivist reliance on materialist ontology – accentuating the observable and the material in international reality – and the embracing of epistemological foundationalism, form a dual move on the level of second-order theorising. Together these positivist metatheoretical premises have dominated the social sciences and the discipline of IR until recently.[54]

Within IR, the dominant position of Cold War era realism was connected to its positivist-rationalist premises and the interplay of the scientific research of the international system and the practice or policymaking of the bipolar international system. The pessimistic outlook of realism fitted nicely into the reality of the confrontational Cold War. In addition, it delivered what policymakers expected of science: formulated theories and related suggestions for good policy on nuclear deterrence, great power behavior, the militarisation of the third world and the like. The policy-relevant realist theo-

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[52] Campbell (1998), p. 4.
[53] Ibid., p. 6.
[54] E.g. Foucault (1974), pp. 21-30, 40-49, 144-148, 157-165; Ashley (1988), p. 228.

ries claimed to observe the world as it is (was), and based on that made recommendations, which only irrational policymakers could dismiss. The claimed objectivity of realism facilitated its dominating role within the historical context of the Cold War – until its philosophical premises were questioned beginning in the 1970s. During the 1990s postmodernism has consolidated within the discipline of IR as one of several theories or paradigms – although the postmodern project has not acknowledged the substance-related questions of the neo-neo debate.

Concerning this study of war and military power, the 'merits' of postmodernism rise from the shift of almost pure material agenda of realism into a view of war and military power as socially constructed 'phenomena'. Postmodernism thus guides the formulation of the synthesis of this study – in the following chapter – by having deconstructed many of the taken-for-granted concepts of the positivist-rationalist paradigm and by highlighting the importance of prevailing discourses in contemporary interpretations of war and military power. According to the postmodern logic, the meaning of war and military power are defined within discourses. However, the radical anti-foundationalism of postmodernism will be rejected – together with the positivist-rationalist belief in secure epistemological foundations – when the framework for the rest of this study is formulated in Chapter 4. Similarly, both the overtly material view of realism, as well as the blatantly discursive emphasis of postmodern conceptualisations of reality, are synthesised in chapter four.

PART II

Synthesis

4. SYNTHESIS – CONSTRUCTIVISM, POWER, AND THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Formulating a synthesis between the realist thesis and the postmodern antithesis could seem to be an insurmountable task, as it involves synthesising an intellectually coherent, justified, and useful theoretical framework from such contradictory elements of materialistic and empiricist realism on the one hand, and highly ideational and relativist postmodernism on the other hand. This chapter will provide one solution to this task, taking into consideration the objective of this study – the analysis of war and military power in the post-Cold War era. My synthesis will rely on constructivist IR theorising of the third debate as one of the 'contending' approaches in the mostly metatheoretical discourse in the discipline of international relations. In all, the synthesis will be drawn at the borders of positivism and post-positivism, realism and postmodernism, as well as problem-solving theory and critical theory.

Constructivism is not an IR theory as such, but a social theory with IR applications[1]. Drawing on the argument presented in Chapter 2, one can say that like realism, constructivism is an approach that gives rise to many theories. Some scholars depict constructivism as a bridge between rational theories, such as neorealism and neoliberalism on the one hand and 'non-rational' theories, such as postmodernism and poststructuralism on the other hand. Others believe that constructivism has the task of bridging the gap between these theories, while others emphasise that constructivism is "seizing the middle ground", for the purpose of giving good explanations of international politics. The theoretical synthesis of this study builds upon these notions of constructivism and conceptualises it as standing "at two intersections – that between materialism and idealism, and that between individual agency and social structure."[2] The constructivist framework of this study thus engages positivist-rationalist theorising as part of the post-positivist attack, but also acknowledges some of its merits.

Neorealism and neoliberalism, the representatives of the rationalist approach, can be broadly labelled as positivist IR theories. For some time, these theories have found it difficult to explain the functioning of the international system, as they have been overwhelmed by the rapid changes that took place with the end of the Cold War. Constructivists criticise both of the above-mentioned approaches particularly in respect to what they both ignore: "the content and sources of state interests and the social fabric of world politics."[3] Constructivism thus emphasises – in the 'spirit' of critical theory – that *theories do more than solve some pre-existing problems. They highlight questions worth pursu-*

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[1] Adler (1997), p. 323; Ruggie (1998a), p. 34; Wendt (1999), p. 7.
[2] Adler (1997), pp. 325-6. See also Wendt (1992); Smith (2001), pp. 228, 242-246.
[3] Checkel (1998), p. 324.

ing and problems worth solving.[4] Two distinct features of constructivism in IR are obviously important and emphasised by all constructivists: the rejection of purely material explanations of international politics and the understanding that identities and interests of agents are in process, not to be taken by assumption in a theory. In other words, *constructivism challenges the brute materialism and methodological individualism that underpins contemporary mainstream IR theory*.

The constructivist synthesis of this chapter builds upon the political realist notion of the primacy of material reality. In many cases material things can cause effects, whether people acknowledge the existence of these material artefacts or not, or despite what one thinks of them. On exploding, a bomb causes physical destruction. There are thus intrinsic qualities in material artefacts that cannot be ignored. On the other hand, how these material factors are conceptualised affects their usefulness and use. Whether or not a bomb is recognised as a valuable resource depends upon shared understandings of its usability and/or effectiveness. The constructivist synthesis thus acknowledges the importance of material factors, but emphasises the social process of giving meaning to them. The meaning attached to material objects within social processes is conceptualised from the perspective of collectivities. The study of intersubjective meanings – rather than the meaning attached by certain individual actors – is at the heart of the constructivist research agenda.

The constructivist synthesis of this chapter also builds upon the postmodern thesis that some privileged perspectives and discourses silence other – alternative – ways to conceptualise reality. According to this idea, which is related to the theme of materiality, research focuses on the dominant discourses through which the meanings of material artefacts and deeds are 'negotiated' among actors. I believe that it is important to acknowledge the postmodern position vis-à-vis positivism-rationalism that discourses wield great power in guiding or shaping the properties (identities and interests) and behaviour of actors. Contrary to the postmodern programme, constructivism holds that the pre-existing social *and* material 'reality' sets limits to the possibilities of discourses to frame objects and actions.

Concerning epistemology, the constructivist synthesis rejects the positivist-rationalist conceptualisation of secure foundations for knowledge – epistemo-

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[4] One perspective asserts that constructivist theorising attempts to *displace* other theories in showing that it provides a better explanation of an event. Another approach to the relationship between constructivism and other IR theories identifies the role of constructivism as *subsuming* or *complementing* existing explanations of the events of international politics. Constructivism also *poses different questions* than its rivals and it is due to this fact that the 'constructivist enterprise' is bringing added value to the study of IR. See Price and Reus-Smit (1998), pp. 259-294, especially pp. 275-281; Risse-Kappen (1994), p. 188; Kowert and Legro (1996), p. 454; Desch (1998); Duffield (1999); Farrell (1999); Price (1999); Desch (1999).

logical foundationalism. For a constructivist, then, all knowledge is theory-dependent and fallible. In a similar fashion, the postmodernist anti-foundational epistemology is rejected. What is proposed instead is a view of accumulating knowledge with minimal foundationalism. This means that although there are no secure foundations for acquiring knowledge, there are possibilities – by means of communication and reflective scholarly work – to evaluate the merits of different theory-laden knowledge claims. This notion must be accompanied with the qualification that scholars should be constantly on the alert and ready to redefine or reject what is commonly believed to be true. This epistemological position is best described as minimal foundationalism or epistemological relativism combined with judgmental rationalism. These questions will be addressed in greater detail later in this chapter.

4.1. Against Brute Materialism – Ideas Do Matter

> Realists believe that state behavior is largely shaped by the material structure of the international system. ... For realists, some level of security competition among great powers is inevitable because of the material structure of the international system.[5]

> [W]hat makes a theory materialist is that it accounts for the effects of power, interests, or institutions by reference to 'brute' material forces – things which exist and have certain causal powers independent of ideas, like human nature, the physical environment, and, perhaps, technological artefacts.[6]

> [I]t is the underlying social relations that give material disparities causal significance.[7]

A common criticism presented by constructivists is Kenneth Waltz's definition of structure of the international system. His formulation conceptualises international structure through three factors: 1) the organising principle, 2) the character of the units, and 3) the distribution of capabilities in the system. The third factor is the only relevant one when trying to identify sources of dynamics in the system's structure.[8] Waltz's position thus relies on actors' material capabilities. This is because two of the three structural tiers presented by Waltz 'drop out', namely the anarchy of the system and the functionally undifferentiated units (states). Consequently the material capabilities define the structure of the international system.[9]

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[5] Mearsheimer (1995), p. 91.
[6] Wendt (1999), p. 94.
[7] Wendt and Friedheim (1995), p. 691.
[8] Waltz (1979), pp. 79-101, especially pp. 88-99.
[9] See ibid., pp. 79-101. Actually anarchy does not 'drop out' but it can be seen as incapable of change. Consequently material capabilities must serve to explain the transformation of structure. See Wendt (1999), pp. 98-109.

Alexander Wendt shows that Waltz's logic relies on an implicit assumption that different distributions of interests will generate different logics of anarchy. Constructivists also argue that while Waltz and other neorealists emphasise the importance of [material] military power, they pay almost no attention to the process of 'producing' of military power.[10] Neoliberal institutionalists also place emphasis on the material structure but note that states are occasionally subject to the influence of norms when they create institutions. Thus it seems that material forces do not explain everything in the neoliberals' analyses, and ideas gain some explanatory power. But the constructivist criticism of neoliberal and rationalist approaches with respect to ideas in general directs its attention to the fact that ideas are still treated as objects. When ideas and actors' interests are separated from each other as rival variables, the focus is on ideas' causal effects and the individualistic treatment of ideas. It is also argued that it is only when material facts are incapable of explaining some outcome or event that these ideas – norms for example – are allowed to figure in the explanation. Norms are then only a superstructure that rests on material facts and power. Ideas matter to agents only when they serve their interests.[11]

For Wendt, who strongly criticises Waltz's 'materialistic' definition of structure, the social structures are defined by three factors that differ sharply from those used by Waltz. For Wendt, the social structures consist of "shared knowledge, material resources and practices."[12] Shared knowledge is social and intersubjective in character, and should therefore not be understood as individual knowledge. What Wendt calls "social kinds" are not mind-independent of the collectivities that constitute them. They are, however, independent of the individuals that deal with them: "*[i]ndividuals do not constitute social kinds, collectives do.*"[13] In human interaction, the collectively constituted products of human endeavour are reified, which means that the origins of human authorship are forgotten or neglected and a distinction between subject and object is made, even when no such distinction exists.[14]

The importance of different material capabilities can only be understood through the prism of shared knowledge among agents and the practices that reproduce or transform the system's structure: social constructivism "concerns itself with the nature, origins, and functioning of social facts".[15] These social facts have their foundations in material brute facts[16], without which we could never have any social facts. But this ontological prioritising of material facts does not imply that they are more important or more objective in nature, either

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[10] See Farrell (1998).
[11] See Laffey and Weldes (1997), p. 194.
[12] Wendt (1995), p. 73.
[13] Wendt (1999), p. 75.
[14] See Dessler (1989), pp. 441-473, quotes on p.450, 453. On social kinds and scientific realism, see Wendt (1999), ch. 2; Bennett (1999).
[15] Ruggie (1998a), p. 13.
[16] See e.g. Searle (1995), p. 2.

from an ontological or epistemological point of view. In addition, the social ontology of constructivism emphasises that behavioural modification is not the only implication of interaction. This constructivist reading of structure does not deny the importance of material capabilities, but sets the agenda for a broader understanding of the significance of different capabilities in a social setting. Social structures are both the medium and an outcome in the constructivist way of conceptualising them.[17]

The existence of social facts is dependent on human action, and institutions that are created by these actions are not worn out by continued use, but instead strengthened or modified by it.[18] In order to study relations between states in the international system, one should – according to constructivist reading – keep in mind that these relations also reflect the way that "material is given meaning by the social process through which nations interact."[19] In this light, the individualistic approach to ideas is replaced with a social one. The acceptance or denial of social facts is connected to one's view of reality. Ignoring social facts may lead an IR analyst to proceed as an outside observer, revealing the 'true' order of things. States, according to this view, confront the international reality and operate within its strictures. The Opposite view – that of accepting the existence and significance of social facts – leads analysts to see that states and other agents make reality, not just confront it.

It is not only the simple existence of agents and structures as separate ontological components that are of interest to this study. One also needs a way to tie these main components (agents/states and structure of the international system) together: "… *an ontology is a structured set of entities*; it consists not only of certain designated kinds of things, but also of connections or relations between them."[20] Those who are interested in this structured set of entities are confronted by the agent-structure problem. This problem arises from the understanding that human beings – whether as individuals or as a part of a society – are the driving force that accounts for events or outcomes in the world. At the same time we have come to realise that human actions do not take place in a vacuum or in a neutral environment, but instead in a setting that *constrains and enables* certain actions: "people make history, but not in conditions of their own choosing" as Karl Marx noted.[21]

One can connect the emergence of the agent-structure problem in IR with the 'birth' of constructivism. Alexander Wendt launched the public debate in an article published 1987 in which he criticised Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and

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[17] Wendt (1995), pp. 73-74; Dessler (1989), p. 452.
[18] See Searle (1995), p. 57.
[19] Schoppa (1999), pp. 307-342, quote on p. 311.
[20] Dessler (1989), p. 445 (quote); See also Hollis and Smith (1991a), p. 394.
[21] Wendt (1987); Dessler (1989), p. 443 (quote); also Carlsnaes (1992), p. 245-6; Marx (1936) [1852], p. 19.

Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory. Wendt's conclusion was that both neorealism and the world-system theory shared a common "approach to agent-structure problem: they both attempt to make either agents or structures into primitive units, which leaves each equally unable to explain the properties of those units."[22] According to Wendt, the answer to the agent-structure problem is to grant to both, agents and structures, the same ontological status. This line of thinking is reflected in Giddens' observation that "the basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time."[23]

For Wendt, agents and structures are "'co-determined' or 'mutually constituted' entities."[24] According to this logic, the agents, mostly states in Wendt's understanding, are not conceivable as such without referring to the (social) structure in which they are embedded. As noted by Roy Bhaskar, "people do not create society ... [r]ather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity ... but it is not the product of it."[25] One concept that is closely involved with mutual constitution is 'duality of structure', which stipulates that one cannot look for agents and structures as two separate phenomena (a dualism), but as a duality: "the structural properties of social systems are both the *medium* and *outcome* of the practices they recursively organize."[26]

The constructivist emphasis on ideas does not denigrate the role of materiality in providing explanations. Constructivism does challenge, however, the treatment of material possessions or artefacts as purely instrumental devices for achieving goals by their intrinsic characteristics. This has been a common way to conceptualise the nature of material 'things', such as weapons systems, in present-day IR studies. Another possible way of conceptualising the role of material possessions in social relationships is to pay attention to their symbolic-communicative role. This means focusing on the way that these artefacts and their use constitute the states as actors in the international system.[27]

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[22] Wendt (1987), p. 349.

[23] Giddens (1984), p. 2 (quote); cf. the similar comment in Bhaskar (1979), p. 43.

[24] Wendt (1987), p. 339.

[25] Bhaskar (1979), p. 45.

[26] Giddens (1984), p. 25 (quote, my italics). For a criticism of Wendt's reliance on structuration theory, se e.g. Gould (1998), p. 86. For a criticism of structuration theory, see also Carlsnaes (1992), p. 258; Archer (1998a), pp. 353-381.

[27] See Klein (1994), p. 37-38. See also Luckham (1984).

4.1.1. Symbols

The purely instrumentalist version of material factors highlights the functional uses that these artefacts can be put to, thereby making it possible for an actor to control the environment (and other actors). But if one looks more deeply, into the utility of these material possessions, one notes that one can find both functional and symbolic aspects: functional as described above and symbolic as *making these functional elements possible* or by providing the actor the *freedom to engage* in those functional activities. The *symbolic-communicative approach* to material artefacts connects these possessions to the identity of their holder: they express who their owner is.[28]

Symbols are a special case of social objects. They are "social objects used by the actor for representation and communication."[29] The meaning of a symbol is not based solely on its intrinsic properties, but is social in character. Symbols "join interacting people in a shared understanding of meanings".[30] They also "integrate the internal with the external, subjective consciousness with material objects. And they join physical signs with references or meanings."[31] One feature of symbols is that they represent something not inherent in themselves. Symbols evoke attitudes and sets of impressions and can be understood as 'carriers' of meaning and emotion.[32] Different meanings and emotions are not in the symbol itself. They are socially constructed, i.e. they are intersubjective in nature, but at a certain point of time a particular set of social meaning and emotion is tied to a symbol. There is no reason to expect that meanings and emotions connected to a symbol should be fixed. Symbols can be seen as vessels of meaning and emotion, which are constantly in the process of being reproduced or changed.[33]

The expressive functions of material possessions are not based on the meanings that the individual gives to them, but are socially constituted and socially shared. In other words, it is the intersubjective agreement about these meanings and about agents' shared role definitions and expectations that is of interest to those who engage in research from a constructivist perspective. The individual actor internalises these meanings in social interaction while reproducing or transforming those meanings by its own contribution to that interaction. In this way, "[m]aterial symbols play a significant role in a variety of arenas of self-definition and other-perception".[34]

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[28] Dittmar (1992), pp. 9-11, 88-89. Also in Edelman (1964), p. 12.
[29] Charon (1985), pp. 35-40, quote on p. 40.
[30] Fornäs (1995), p. 146.
[31] Ibid., p. 146.
[32] See Edelman (1964), p. 6. See also Lasswell, Lerner and de Sola Pool (1952), p. 29, where they connect attitudes to symbols.
[33] See Edelman (1964), pp. 11-12.
[34] Dittmar (1992), pp. 90-93, quote on p. 93. Also in Dobbin (1994), p. 124.

In a similar vein, actions are interpreted within intersubjective meaning structures, and actions (practices) can thus be understood from instrumental and symbolic perspectives. Sending military advisors to a foreign country may be one way to serve the sending state's interests directly (by for example providing know-how concerning how to defeat the enemy), but may also signal friendship to the recipient country or indicate resolve in an unfolding crisis, etc. The US engagement in Vietnam was a failure on instrumental standards (or at least it was framed as a failure), but it still provided some 'symbolic utility' by showing to the SU the resolve of the United States to combat the advance of communism even at the expense of heavy casualties. This latter symbolic reading of the Vietnam war is dependent on the definitions of the national identities and interests of the United States and the Soviet Union. For it to make sense, one must see that *the Cold War era, socially constructed superpower status of both parties led to definitions of interests that accentuated resolve and credibility*. Measured on these socially emergent standards the symbolic utility of losses of human lives makes some sense, although it does not make those losses very acceptable.[35]

4.1.2. Speech acts, Rules, and Norms

While Wendtian constructivism relies on scientific realism and agents' practices, Onufian constructivism relies on speech act theory, according to which, "saying is doing". This means that language has a performative function in addition to its representative function. Onuf's approach has similarities to Wendt's in that he stresses the relationship between agents and structure. As a 'third component' between states and structure, Onuf mentions rules or statements of what agents should do. Patterns of rules, and the practices related to them, create institutions. The difference between structure and institutions is that the former is something that the agents can see (observe/acknowledge by some means) while the latter are the locus within which agents act.[36]

Deeds, either in the form of speech acts or physical actions, are important since they are carriers of meaning and thus establish (reproduce or transform) social reality. This is where rules come in, since *meaning is dependent on the exis-*

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[35] Concerning the Vietnam case, see Jervis (1987), pp. 24-25; Jervis (1989a), p. 226. See also Roselle (2004). Laura Roselle makes the claim that the US defeat in Vietnam and the SU defeat in Afghanistan were explained to the public in similar terms and that the 'content' of these explanations is connected to the preservation of superpower identity. A military defeat "challenges superpower identity…Soviet and American leaders alike believed they had particular responsibilities related to interests and power. … Their explanations of war were meant to protect superpower identity and what they described as their 'rightful' place in the international system." (p. 2)

[36] Onuf (1998), pp. 58-63, quotes on p. 59 and 62. Onuf's reference to rules also appears to include concepts like norms, conventions, procedures and principles. See Onuf (1998), p. 70.

tence of rules. Rules also turn material objects into resources that can be used in trying to achieve the agent's interests. *Rules empower* certain agents, i.e. "they yield rule" for someone at the expense of someone else. Onuf classifies rules according to speech act theory into instruction-rules, directive-rules and commitment-rules and notes that the distinction between regulative and constitutive rules is somewhat artificial, since all rules have regulative and constitutive effects, i.e. they are regulative and constitutive simultaneously.[37]

According to Onuf, then, agents confront – and constitute – the social world and act upon it on the basis of material 'limits' and meanings that are conveyed by rules. An agent is not making choices whether or not to comply with a single rule, but with a set of rules. Compliance or refusal to comply with rules is more or less a matter of degree. Rules not only tell the agent how to act, but also they construct the situation the agent faces, i.e. they facilitate the definition of the situation for that particular agent. Rules are not alone in influencing the possibilities of agents to construct social reality with different meanings. Material aspects also set limits to what can be constructed by agents. In addition one must note that deeds do lead to outcomes that are envisioned by the doer, but unintended outcomes also emerge. Taking all this into consideration, Onuf's point is quite similar to Wendt's constructivism.[38]

Friedrich Kratochwil also draws on speech act theory and the performative aspects of language in his formulations of IR theory. As does Onuf, Kratochwil accentuates the *intersubjective normative content of structure that gives meaning to actions*. Instead of conceptualising norms and rules in the traditional regulative way of whether or not an agent is abiding by them, one is interested in how norms shape decisions and action, how norms and rules give meaning to action and provide a medium for communication. In analyses of human behaviour, norms and rules are important, but not in the sense of determining outcomes. Research should proceed by finding the 'used' relevant premises (defi-

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[37] Ibid., pp. 64-77, quote on p. 63. Agents operating within the international system are in fact working in a social environment that consists of mainly instruction-rules, a lesser number of commitment-rules and a still more limited number of directive-rules. Balance of power is an instruction-rules-based institution that assigns status to agents operating within its bounds. Similarly commitment-rules assign offices (for example international law as an institution) and directive-rules allot roles (sphere of influence). Due to the current nature of the international system, where instruction-rules are essential, status is the factor that mainly defines society, and ruling is done by getting other agents to accept some ideas and beliefs of the ruler. This is not to say that the international society is all about status and that its rules function in a hegemonic fashion. The extent to which status, office, and roles play a role in a certain situation is an empirical question to be tackled by analysis. Concerning the institution of balance of power, Onuf states that "its rules assign an elevated *status* to a few great powers (ideally five states) that *must act as if they are roughly equal* in the resources available to them." See Onuf (1998), p. 71 (italics partly mine).

[38] Onuf (1998), pp. 59-60, 64; Onuf (1989), pp. 29-30, 261; Wendt (1999), pp. 67-77; Zehfuss (2002), p. 171.

nitions of the situation) and analysing the processes of interpretation and deliberation.[39]

Much of the constructivist theorising within the field of IR has been connected to norms. "Norms are collective expectations about proper behavior for a given identity."[40] Instead of being a superstructure on top of power and interests, the normative structure of the international system precedes the interests of agents. Norms have regulative and constitutive effects (or aspects) where the former assign proper behaviour to held identities and the latter define those identities in the first place. The constitutive effects of norms also legitimise goals for agents and define their interests.[41] In addition to having regulative and constitutive effects, it is argued that norms have evaluative or prescriptive aspects as well. It is this "quality of 'oughtness'", which defines the standards of proper behaviour for a given identity and differentiates norms from rules.[42]

Not all norms operate in the same way or are equally powerful. They form hierarchical sets of norms, normative structures, and some are taken for granted while others remain, at least partially, debated and contested.[43] *The hierarchy of norms* implies that some norms are more important than others and that the lower-level norms are embedded in higher-level norms.[44] In addition, norms are not invalidated as soon as deviant behaviour occurs. This is due to their *deontic character*, which makes it possible to see norms more as dynamic processes than as passive dictums for behaviour. Accepting a deontic definition of norms and proceeding with the analysis from a constructivist point of view, it is more reasonable to assess behavioural compliance with norms in terms of a continuum than in dichotomous terms.[45]

The way norms are created, maintained and altered is not a predetermined process. Since international norms are "intersubjectively shared, value based expectations of appropriate behavior which are shared within international society or within a particular subsystem of international society by states"[46], their very existence depends on the practices of states – and other agents – but their contents are not necessarily a result of any intentional norm-building move. From the perspective of states and other international agents, norms are objec-

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[39] Kratochwil (1995), pp. 10-12, 21-39.

[40] Jepperson and Wendt and Katzenstein (1996), p. 54. Also in Kratochwil (1991), p. 70.

[41] Boekle and Rittberger and Wagner (1999), p. 9; Wendt (1992), pp. 396-399; Wendt (1999), pp. 165-166.

[42] Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), p. 891.

[43] Differing criticisms of the hierarchical pattern of norms are presented for example in Raymond (1997), pp. 224-225. On norms at different levels, see Kowert and Legro (1996), pp. 467-468. On the ambiguous and contradictory nature of social contexts, see Patomäki (2002), p. 119-120.

[44] Price and Tannenwald (1996), pp. 114-152, especially pp. 143-152.

[45] Legro (1997), p. 33; Raymond (1997), pp. 217-218.

[46] Boelke and Rittberger and Wagner (1999), p. 4, 19.

tive social facts. Looking at the normative structure or normative discourses in the international system does not mean looking for an all-encompassing answer that can be provided by looking at norms only. *"Norms structure realms of possibilities; they do not determine outcomes."*[47] But bearing the constitutive effects of norms in mind, one should understand that *many of the accepted and legitimate options that agents have in a certain situation arise from norms as 'rules of the game'*. Changes in norms may have wide implications.[48] Looking at norms in this way acknowledges that "a norm or rule is much more penetrating in constructivism than is usually the case in regime analysis."[49] *Even wars and international anarchy imply a normative structure or norms.*[50]

Some norms may become important *by conscious design*, like the widely accepted interdiction of the use of chemical weapons, but others may gain in importance in the *contingent process of the interaction of agents*. Thus, while some realist and liberal approaches propose that a preponderant power (a hegemon) is needed for the establishment of norms, or that in order to understand the growing number of norms, one should look at the interest-mediation functions that the norms provide. From a constructivist point of view the rationalist conception of norms and regimes, which understands them primarily as the result of a negotiated settlement (often in the form of an institution), is too narrow. However, the rationalist view that the effects of norms apply directly to behaviour only is also criticised. *Constructivism conceptualises norms more in the way of having "context effects"* than being merely an alternative to interests of an agent in explanations of international politics.[51] These context effects are not confined to the international arena, but can be located also in the domestic politics of states. One is thus dealing with *international* and *societal* norms when one is interested in the effects that norms have on international politics.[52] These two sets of norms, the domestic and the international normative structures, are not separate phenomena, but are deeply intertwined in their functioning and effects.[53]

In the process of norm consolidation, a *threshold of institutionalisation,* where the emerging norm has been adopted by a sufficient number of agents in the system, marks a *'tipping point'*. Also the nature of the agents adopting the emerging norm may play a role in its institutionalisation. The arrival of a tipping point means that a new logic in the spreading of the norm may become salient. Socialisation is the primary mechanism of what Finnemore and Sikkink call a norm cascade, and belonging to a society of agents (states for example)

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[47] Price and Tannenwald (1996), p. 148 (original italics).
[48] Raymond (1997), p. 227; also in Kowert and Legro (1996), pp. 463-465; Kratochwil (1995), pp. 82-83.
[49] Pursiainen (1999), p. 130.
[50] On war as a social and institutional fact, see Searle (1995), pp. 89-90.
[51] Price and Tannenwald (1996), p. 150.
[52] Boekle and Rittberger and Wagner (1999), pp. 29-43.
[53] Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), p. 893.

by abiding by the norm may become more important than other (for example domestic) factors: *agent's identities become the issue*. Agents start following a certain norm because doing so is part of their identity, and that way they can join the reference group that is so important for the reproduction of their own identity. Internalisation implies that it is possible for a norm to become so powerful that its essence is taken for granted in the system and violating it may be considered practically impossible. *Internalised norms are not debated or even criticised*, since it is the very nature of these internalised norms that they are the 'normal context' of practices and are almost invisible to the agents. The similarity of agents and their behaviour is based on ideational causation by norms.[54] The process by which norms are consolidated is in no way deterministic, and at any time a reversal may occur. This means that the forces described above as mechanisms of norm creation may bring forth new, much stronger norms that undermine previously generated norms or that the forces promoting a certain norm may weaken and the contents of the norm may be modified along the way.

The notion of rules has already been introduced in reference to the writings of Onuf and Kratochwil. Having dealt with norms explicitly, I wish to state the relationship between norms and rules for this study. Norms are defined here as collective expectations about proper behaviour for a given identity. Rules are here understood as 'carriers' of meaning and as media for communication in the international system. This distinction between norms and rules is not of essence in this research. If not explicitly otherwise stated, I will treat *'norms' and 'rules'* as synonyms that refer to the social structure of the international system in providing possibilities for agents to understand and communicate intelligibly with each other. They *provide possibilities for intersubjective meanings and – thus – operate as a social context in which agents make decisions and act upon the world*. These acts cause outcomes that have subsequent effects on the composition of norms and rules, in either a reproductive or a transformative fashion.[55]

4.1.3. Shared Knowledge and Culture

So far, the concepts of shared knowledge, intersubjective understandings, normative structure, social structure, norms, and rules have been introduced in an attempt to describe the constructivist view of the international structure. These concepts are approximate synonyms, although several scholars use them in

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[54] Ibid., pp. 901-905. Also in Wendt (1999), p. 242 "The vast majority of states today see themselves as part of a 'society of states' whose norms they adhere to not because of ongoing self-interested calculations that it is good for them as individual states, but because they have internalised and identify with them."

[55] More about rules in IR, see Kratochwil (1995) and Onuf (1998).

slightly different ways, as has been suggested. 'Culture'[56] is still one more concept that is used almost interchangeably with those listed above. It denotes a shared meaning structure that affects how agents (states) view their environment and themselves and thus directs their possibilities for action. *Culture is a type of toolbox of symbols, 'operating procedures', and world-views that states mobilise together with their material resources for social action. A Culture is not a uniform or unified system, but rather a repertoire of shared ideas that can be mobilised in several ways.* It is noteworthy that a culture does have a causal role, since actions taken by agents are chosen within a prevailing culture that limits the way that the situation facing the agent is read and what means are available to reach culture-affected goals.[57]

Iver Neumann argues that the understanding of culture "as mutually conditioned play between discourse and practices" would be useful for international relations after the linguistic turn and the needed re-emphasis on practice within the international system. This framing of culture emphasises the *interplay between discourses* (or shared meanings, intersubjective knowledge, etc.) *as preconditions for action and practices as "socialised patterns of action."*[58] In his case study of the changes in the Norwegian diplomacy related to the end of the Cold War, Neumann concludes that:

> … *changes in global political discourse in which diplomatic discourse is nested opened up the possibility for initiating new practices.*[59]

The functioning of culture in IR, strategic studies, or security studies has not yet formed a distinct centre of gravity. Culture has been theorised on several levels however. On the international (global) level, cultural theorising focuses on the effects of international norms on agents (mostly states) and their practices. On a regional or transsocietal level research on culture concerns itself with the workings of shared world-views and norms in a geographically or ideationally defined part of the world. On the state level, cultural studies have highlighted how norms affect national decision-making and action from a domestic point of view. Finally, the effects of organisational culture are studied at the organisational level. What combines research on all these levels – whether one is concerned with the effects of international norms, the alliance dynamics of a region or a collection of states, the strategic culture of particular state, or

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[56] In an article that deals with the theme of this research, Robin Luckham defines culture as "a more or less coherent and self-sufficient set of symbols, meanings and practices." Luckham (1984), p. 2. Wendt defines a cultural structure of the international system as consisting "of the stock of interlocking beliefs, ideas, understandings, perceptions, identities, or what I would simply call 'knowledge' held by members of the system." Wendt (1997), p. 49.
[57] See for example Swidler (1986), pp. 273-278; Wendt (1999), p. 134.
[58] Neumann (2002), pp. 627-638, quotes on p. 627 and 631.
[59] Ibid., p. 648.

how organisational culture affects decision making – is reliance on the power of shared ideas in causing effects at the chosen level of analysis.[60]

The different ideational labels of shared knowledge, intersubjective understanding, normative structure, social structure, and culture – referred to above – may cause confusion due to their different usage in research. So far the presentation of all of these concepts has called attention to the polyphony of constructivist theorising. An attempt will be made in Chapter 4.4 to construct an analytical and a coherent apparatus that is based on existing constructivist theorising. One additional remark is necessary, however. When referring to the concepts of shared knowledge, intersubjective understanding, normative structure, social structure, or culture, one is not saying that the ideational element of the international system is completely shared or that it would forms a straightforward and fully coherent totality. On the contrary private knowledge or contradictory collective images also exist.[61] Similarly, the collection of a wide array of more or less shared ideational elements forms a totality that is somewhat ambiguous and contested. It is thus possible to have different readings of this social structure – based on private knowledge or collective images.

4.1.4. Epistemological Convergence

All of the most frequently cited constructivist authors so far – Wendt, Onuf and Kratochwil – write to promote a social ontology for international relations. They do not share ontological claims. Wendt, for example, supports scientific realism and is mainly focused on practices understood as physical actions, whereas Onuf and Kratochwil accentuate language. They all emphasise the meaning that actions and physical objects have at a certain point in time. Similarly they all see the agents operating not only *within* the social structure, but also *on* that structure, either reproducing or transforming it. The intersubjective structure is thus an outcome of the actions of agents, but this requires collectivity: structure, with its social and material components, is objective for any one agent at any one point in time.

Of the three approaches, Wendt's position is probably closest to that of the mainstream IR or positivist social sciences. His argument frequently confronts and challenges the mainstream in terms that are understandable and even acceptable to positivist scholars. This becomes even clearer when one is dealing with epistemology. On ontological grounds Wends is certainly not alone in

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[60] See for example Farrell (1999), pp. 163-164; Johnston (1995); Wendt (1992); Finnemore (1996b); Powell and DiMaggio (1991); Luckham (1984).
[61] See Wendt (1999), pp. 140-142, 158; Cox (1986), pp. 218-219. Cox understands intersubjective meanings as constituting a "common ground of social discourse (including conflict)", while he describes collective images as differing views of the social order, which "may be several and opposed."

making reference to material factors, in acknowledging the existence of reality apart from the beliefs or insights of humans, or in prioritising ontology instead of epistemology.[62] Categorising scholars is always problematic and simplifying. Taking into account the tradition of mainstream IR theorising and the developments within the constructivist camp during the one and half decades of its existence there is reason to believe that Wendt, Onuf, and Kratochwil share a social ontology for the study of the international relations.[63] And it is precisely this social quality of their ontological commitments that I wish to accentuate. In addition to drawing mainly on Wendt's scientific realist ontology, I would state that Onuf and Kratochwil are right in calling attention to the importance of language. A careful and thorough reading of Wendt does not support the view that he rejects the importance of language. Rather, language has been undertheorised in his social theory for IR and this omission is something that should be taken into consideration when applying his theoretical framework in research.[64]

It is apparent that ontological claims made by a theory causes consequences for its epistemology. The social ontology of constructivism indicates the importance of the (social) meaning of an act. The scientific realist understanding of the distinction between real objects and knowledge of them is equivalent to the difference between intransitive and transitive worlds (or facts). In "a transitive dimension the object (of knowledge) is the material cause or antecedently established knowledge which is used to generate new knowledge". Correspondingly, in "an intransitive dimension, the object is real structure or mechanism that exists and acts quite independently of men and the conditions which allow men access to it."[65] When discussing epistemology, it is the *transitive dimension* that needs to be analysed. A scientific realist would insist that knowledge of intransitive (real) objects is fallible and subject to change. This possible change does not imply a change in the intransitive facts, but rather in the social

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[62] Concerning ontological realism and prioritising ontology instead of epistemology, see Patomäki (2002), pp.8-10. Note also Suganami's argument that Wendt's explicit ontological stance of scientific realism is not needed for the argument Wendt is making. Suganami (2002), pp. 27-30.

[63] To put it more precisely, I would state that the ontological differences between Wendt, Onuf and Kratochwil do not necessarily have consequences for my research topic. For a critical discussion of the above-mentioned categorisation of ontology, see for example Zehfuss (2002), pp. 22-23. See also Kratochwil's criticism of Wendt in Kratochwil (2000), pp. 73-101.

[64] See for example Alker (2000), p. 143, 145. Wendt does not reject language, as is apparent in his categorisation of rhetorical practice as one form of strategic practice. Rhetorical practice may have similar effects as behavioural practice has, but via a different mode of communication. According to Wendt, the "social world is constituted by shared meanings and significations, which are manipulable by rhetorical practices. … A good part of the 'action' in real world collective action lies in such symbolic work." See Wendt (1997), quote on pp. 57-58.

[65] Bhaskar (1978), p. 17. Note, that in his R*ealist Theory of Science*, Bhaskar's focus is on the natural sciences, but is not limited to them.

processes of knowledge production. The knowledge one seeks is of the generative mechanisms or mechanisms of production of phenomena in the intransitive world.[66] But knowledge sought in a social setting is different from knowledge produced by the natural sciences. Bhaskar has also pointed out the ontological differences between social and natural structures.[67]

The 'problem' social scientists face is the one of open systems. This has direct implications for the capacity of social sciences to produce knowledge. Based on this feature (there are no closed social systems available), the function of social science becomes *"explanatory and non-predictive"*[68], and especially the *explanation of possibilities*[69] becomes important. The non-Humean view of the causality of scientific realism has implications for the means by which knowledge is generated. The deductive-nomological model for giving causal explanations is rejected, or at least its position as the sole means of obtaining scientific knowledge is questioned by scientific realists.

The shift in causality, from empirical invariances to "the idea that real causal mechanisms and complexes produce effects in open system", derives from the social ontology of constructivism and on the epistemological argument that focusing on universal regularities in human sciences is mandated by the positivist need for theoretical rigour and parsimony. The existence of causal mechanisms points to a combination of 'causes', or a causal complex, that produces an outcome. It should be noted that *there is always the possibility that many different sufficient causal complexes can produce the same outcome*. Patomäki notes that there are five elements of causal complexes, namely socially constructed actors, meaningful action, rules, resources, and practices. Relying on causal mechanisms – instead on Humean causality – means that reasons for actions must be included in the analysis.[70]

The reference to causal mechanisms above relates to scientific realism's understanding of the intransitive world as well as its unobservable mechanisms, which produce outcomes without exact knowledge of these causal mechanisms. Even without having recourse to scientific realism, but still applying constructivism to understand events, outcomes, and processes in the international realm,

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[66] Bhaskar (1979), pp. 14-17.

[67] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[68] Bhaskar (1979), p. 58 (original italics). This view can be contrasted with the empiricist view of science: social scientific research "is a method of testing theories and hypotheses by applying certain rules of analysis to the observation and interpretation of reality under strictly delineated circumstances." See Manheim and Rich (1995), p. 6.

[69] Bhaskar (1979), p. 58. See also Forsberg (1997), p. 175. Forsberg notes in his constructivist power analysis that "when we are interested in power, we are interested in explaining possibilities, not actual events." See also Wendt (1987), p. 362.

[70] Patomäki (2002), pp. 75-81, quote on p. 76. According to this view of causal mechanisms, a "cause is an Insufficient but Non-redundant element of a complex that is itself Unnecessary but Sufficient for the *production* of a result." See p. 76. Original italics.

one is interested in the often non-observable social facts that are bestowed with meaning within the normative structure of the international system. Producing knowledge – explaining – entails gaining an understanding of the social structure (and material structure) of the international system and the agent's relation to it and other agents.[71] Whether or not constructivist scholars accept the idea of the world being real and existing independent of the scholars' knowledge of it, their understanding of social ontology points to a conceptualisation of science and knowledge in which *knowledge claims are socially constructed, fallible and contextual.*[72]

The controversy surrounding the statement that all knowledge is based on some explicit or implicit 'theory' has subsided recently. All but the most robust empiricists share some form of shared understanding that theoretical views guide the way research is done. This consensus in favour of theory-based knowledge does not mean that epistemological debates have become extinct. The epistemological position promoted in this study – that of epistemological relativism – is connected to what is called judgemental rationalism: the idea that one continuously needs to be "on the alert for – indeed, to seek out – challenges to the prevailing construction [knowledge], and to stand ready to refine, or even reject that which is currently believed in favor of something else that, on examination, seems more reasonable and appropriate to those in the best position to make the judgment."[73]

One can argue that the epistemology discussed here so far is in contradiction to Wendt's 'approval' of positivist epistemology. As Wendt explains his position, the task of scholars in natural and social sciences is to explain why something happens and to understand "how things are put together to have the causal powers that they do." According to Wendt, the difference in material and ideational (social) objects concerns differences of methodology, not epistemology. For him, it is possible, and indeed necessary, that the task of social science is to explain in causal and constitutive fashions. He states that even if one is interested in explaining only in the causal fashion, one necessarily has to engage in constitutive explaining: in order to answer 'why' questions, one has to answer 'what' and ' how-possible' questions, at least implicitly.[74] Wendt's point is that

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[71] See for example Kratochwil (1995), pp. 25-28. Suganami sees causal mechanisms as generative potentialities "which it would seem reasonable to suppose are embedded in the world in order for us to make sense of what happens in it." Suganami (2002), pp. 27-29, quote on p. 29.

[72] This kind of epistemology is called epistemological relativism. In my constructivist framework it is associated with judgemental rationalism. Patomäki describes critical realism's philosophical characteristics as ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgemental rationalism. See Patomäki (2002), pp. 8-9.

[73] Guba and Lincoln (1989), p. 47 (quote). For more on epistemological relativism and judgemental rationalism, see for example Patomäki (2002).

[74] See Wendt (1999), pp. 83-88. On interpretation and how-questions, see Denzin (1989), pp. 24, 49-51, 126. I wish to make the general statement that scientific realists do research

the function of science in general is to explain and to understand and that this 'basic' function is similar to both natural and social sciences. In the latter, one is dealing with constitutive and causal questions (problems) that both are worthy of study. Therefore, the nature of the questions should determine the appropriate methodology. For constitutive questions one needs interpretive methods and discourse analysis.[75]

It is noteworthy that the majority of theorising and problem solving from the constructivist perspective is done in the constitutive fashion.[76] This is not to deny the importance of causal explanations, but to acknowledge that social (or cultural) structures can have effects on agents' behaviour as well as on their identities and interests (i.e. properties). One should not, however, exaggerate the differences between causal and constitutive explanations. Adler notes that "constructivism subscribes to a notion of social causality that takes *reasons as causes*... norms and rules structure and therefore *socially constitute* – 'cause' – the things people do".[77]

4.2. Against Utilitarian Rationalism – Identities and Interests Are in Process

> Neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism have been able to converge to the extent that they have because they now share very similar analytical foundations. … both assume that states are rational actors maximizing their own expected utilities, defined in such material terms as power, security, and welfare.[78]

> [C]ore of neorealist theory has extended itself onto such areas as game theory … This idea of a common rationality reinforces the nonhistorical mode of thinking.[79]

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on the basis of *questions* they seek to answer. Thus, research does not begin from methods, but from questions in the form of 'how – possible' and 'what' instead of the positivist way of asking 'why'-questions. In a sense, "'how-questions' are concerned with the domain of the possible, where as 'why-questions' are concerned with the domain of the actual." See Wendt (1987), p. 362. Patomäki differentiates between several how-questions that are related to a general format of 'how is action X possible': some are concerned with the identity of X, others focus on the components that make action X possible, and a third set of questions concentrates on what made X actual instead of Y. Finally there are genealogical questions that ask "How was X's identity and the relevant constitutive rules produced in the course of historical interaction?" See Patomäki (2002), p. 91.

[75] Wendt (1999), pp. 49-50, 58-60, 81-88, 372-375. See also Zehfuss (2002), pp. 91-93;

[76] Constitutive theories try to reveal "the properties of things" and "what it is that instantiates some phenomena". See Wendt (1998), p. 105.

[77] Adler (1997), p. 329.

[78] Ruggie (1998a), p. 9.

[79] Cox (1986), p. 212.

> Constructivists are interested in the construction of identities and interests and, as such, take more sociological than economic approach to systemic theory. ... states are not structurally or exogenously given but constructed by historically contingent interactions.[80]

There is, of course, a difference between saying that actors are self-interested utility-maximisers and saying that in order to study them, such an assumption is useful. Based on a cultural theory of human action, it is assumed in this study that rationalised human practices are mainly a cultural construct and that social practices generate universal laws and not vice versa.[81] Before dealing with rationalistic IR theories below, I acknowledge that these theories do not assume that the model of agency they hold corresponds to actual actors in reality. Instead, they see that holding these rationalistic assumptions makes good sense in explaining international events.

Neorealism and neoliberalism are rationalistic theories of IR. Descriptive of this standpoint is the notion that "the principle of substantive rationality generates hypotheses about actual human behaviour only when it is combined with auxiliary assumptions about the structure of utility functions and the formation of expectations."[82] Neorealism's focus is on security in a self-help system, where "units worry about their survival, and the worry conditions their behavior."[83] It also focuses on states' relative gains whereas neoliberalism looks at institutions and absolute gains. According to neoliberalism, states create institutions for several purposes, viz. to reduce uncertainty, alter transaction costs, provide information, stabilise expectations and make decentralized enforcement possible.[84] Institutions are created in order to serve the interests of rational state agents. These interests are given in the theory by assumption.

Constructivism is based on the strong foundation of rationalism developed extensively during the last decades. Some of its views, especially regarding *assumptions* behind the traditional rational IR models[85] and the logic of interaction have been moderated. Constructivism does not challenge rationalism in general[86], but certain of its applications. The focus of academic interest on rationalism in the discipline of IR has been cast in utilitarian terms. This means

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[80] Wendt (1994), pp. 384-385.

[81] See Dobbin (1994), pp. 117-224.

[82] Keohane (1988), p. 381.

[83] Waltz (1979), p. 105.

[84] Keohane (1984), p. 13, 57-61; Keohane (1988), p. 386; Waltz (1979), p. 106.

[85] Especially those that rely on instrumental rationalism.

[86] To suggest that constructivism is irrational would be beside the point. Constructivists maintain that the understanding of rationality has been mostly too confined, and putting it on the agenda, still under the guise of 'rational' research, is one of the features of the constructivist turn in IR.

that the main thing left for the analyst has been to infer expected behavioural outcomes from known, pregiven preferences[87].

The constructivist position on rationality is somewhere between rational choice theory[88] and postmodernism[89]. This means that rationality is not rejected, but when applied to the study of international relations, it is expanded from its utilitarian variants, expressed by instrumental rationalism. Constructivism challenges the 'identity and interests by assumption' formula of rationalistic neorealism and neoliberalism and adds dynamism to IR theory. Agents are seen to retain identities which are not given, but reproduced and transformed within the social structure through the actions of the agents. Interaction among agents causes their identities to be continuously (re)evaluated.

To have an identity is, according to Wendt, "simply to have certain ideas about who one is in a given situation.[90]" The identity of an agent is rarely – or never – totally unproblematic or coherent. Rather, it is to a certain extent always "a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action."[91] In addition, there is more than one identity for (m)any agent(s). It is the plurality of these overlapping and somewhat contradictory identities in different circumstances that results in the above-mentioned articulations of stress and contradiction. Which identities are adopted from among the several possible and accepted ones depends on the definition of the situation at hand: "the social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships".[92]

In addition to having an identity, each state also possesses interests, which are also under continuous reassessment and possible transformation through social structures. A typical way of conceptualising these interests is via the concept of 'national interest', which is often given by assumption in IR theory. Constructivism, on the other hand, allows interests to change (or to stay unchanged) and does not take them as something to be given by assumption.[93] But this does not

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[87] This is the so-called rationalist 'two-step'. See Wendt (1994), p. 384. First "interests are formed outside the interaction context, and then the latter is treated as though it only affected behavior." The phrase was first used by Legro in a presentation made in 1993 at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington.

[88] On the individualist-objectivist qualities of rational choice theory, see Dunne (1995), pp. 368-372.

[89] Checkel (1998), p. 327.

[90] Wendt (1999), p. 170.

[91] Castells (1999), p. 6

[92] Ibid., p. 7.

[93] Wendt (1999), p. 231-242. Wendt distinguishes between objective and subjective interests. The former "must be fulfilled if any identity is to be reproduced." Subjective interests refer "to those beliefs that actors actually have about how to meet their identity needs." For Wendt, "'national interest' refers to objective interests. They are intrinsic to states and are not social constructions" (quote p. 233-234). Dobbin notes that even objective interests are social constructions, Dobbin (1994), p. 133.

imply that interests change easily: "States are homeostatic structures that are relatively enduring over time. Like other cultural forms, states are self-fulfilling prophecies; once up and running they acquire interests in reproducing themselves that create resistance to disappearing of their own accord."[94]

Since rationalistic neorealism and neoliberalism do not consider the identities and interests of agents to be at stake in the interaction of those agents, they end up with a behavioural conception of international politics. They are interested in explaining behaviour either by bracketing the formation of identities and interests, thereby treating them as if they were exogenous to the process of interaction, or they emphasise domestic politics in the formation of identities and interests and leave these untouched in their IR analysis.[95] In addition to focusing on behaviour, constructivism is concerned with the effects that interaction has on the properties (identities and interests) of agents, without confining its analysis to the manifest behaviour.[96] Thus, in Wendt's words, "we should not let our admiration for rationalist methodology dictate the substantive scope of systemic international relations theory."[97]

Instrumental rationality is not the only way to characterise rationally operating agents. Normative rationality and communicative rationality have been introduced as alternative and complementary way of looking at rationality. They both fit into the category of expressive rationality, because the means or choices an agent has in a certain situation can themselves represent the end. Thus, the seemingly most effective means by instrumental standards might not be chosen on rational grounds. Behind the notion of normative rationality lies the conception that normative factors can join outcome-maximising calculations in affecting the selection of means in a situation of choice. Communicative rationality implies the intersubjective coordination of action. According to this view, action should be seen not only as a way to reach a certain objective, but also as a signal to the others about an actors intentions (and perhaps resolve).[98]

Normative rationality assumes that the goals actors wish to achieve do not only reflect the pleasure they bring, when attained, for self-interested purposes, but also their moral standing. Any situation that an actor faces brings with it the possibility of a conflict between self-interest and moral considerations. But the effects of moral or normative-affective factors are not limited to the behaviours they cause. They also provide the context in which goals are pondered, i.e. they

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[94] Wendt (1999), p. 238. On "durable, but not permanent" character of what is socially constituted, see Buzan and Waever and de Wilde (1998), pp. 34-35. See also Bronstone (2001), p. 27.
[95] Wendt (1994), p. 384.
[96] Wendt (1992), p. 380.
[97] Wendt (1994), p. 394.
[98] Forsberg (1997), pp. 203-259. Note that the challenge to individualism and instrumental perspective is not confined to IR in social sciences. Similar arguments are raised for example in social psychology. See Dittmar (1992), p. 93, 119.

constitute the goals that are regarded by the actors to be legitimate and appropriate. Normative-affective factors thus influence the goals actors pursue, but they are especially important when actors decide about applicable or appropriate means to achieve the goal(s) in question. "[*N]ormative-affective factors shape to a significant extent the information that is gathered, the ways that it is processed, the inferences that are drawn, the options that are being considered, and the options that are finally chosen.*" This means that in pursuing its goals and deciding on the means to achieve them, an actor's instrumental rationality is not only bounded by computational and cognitive limitations, but also by normative-affective concerns about the legitimacy or acceptability of the course of action to be pursued.[99]

Communicative rationality, with its focus on a contextual understanding of an agent's situation, does not imply substantive cooperation between states and other agents, although communicative cooperation exists. Communicative cooperation between agents means that they can interpret, evaluate, and even challenge the validity claims of others. These validity claims touch upon cultural knowledge (truth), identities (sincerity), and norms (normative rightness) – all of which are aspects of the social structure of the international system. Being able to communicate and interpret each other's speech acts, agents may or may not end up with a common definition of the situation and correspondingly may or may not adopt common or similar policies. From the point of view of communicative rationality, politics in the international sphere does not correspond to a game (as in instrumental rationality). Rather, the appropriate metaphor for politics is conversation.[100] From the communicative perspective, rational action can be understood as *presenting validity claims in interaction for reaching an understanding*, recognising a "culturally ingrained preunderstanding".[101]

In dealing with instrumental, normative, and communicative rationality, one should keep in mind that all of these conceptions of rationality provide an account in which an actor takes purposeful action. In a way, instrumental rationality is a part of normative and communicative rationalities, as suggested by Habermas. The differences between these conceptions lie in their different reading of the coordination of goal-directed actions. The instrumental version highlights expected utilities (and in a strategic action version the responses of other actors), normative rationality places the emphasis on socially agreed methods in pursuing legitimate goals and in the communicative rationality scenario a common definition of the situation by intersubjective understanding is the key factor.[102] It is noteworthy that *communicative action, in the form of ar-*

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[99] Etzioni (1988), pp. 74-76, 93-108, 254, quote on p. 94 (original italics). See also Risse (2000), p. 4 "Normative rationality implies constitutive effects of social norms and institutions".

[100] Frederking (1998), pp. 212-216; Habermas (1984), p. 99. Also in Risse (2000), pp. 9-10.

[101] Habermas (1984), p. 100.

[102] Ibid., pp. 101-106.

guments concerning the definition of the situation, does have ('cause') constitutive effects in many cases, even though agents operate under instrumental or normative rationality.[103]

To proceed with empirical research on the basis of rationality as I have explicated, one needs to pay attention on three important factors of rationality. First, *rationality is closely related to agents' interests, but those interests are not static and are subject to transformation in social interaction.* Second, the *interests of agents should not be linked to valued outcomes only.* An agent might also be interested in the means to arrive at certain collective outcome. The third factor derives from the previous two. *In certain cases it may be enough to assume that states follow instrumental rationality, but making this assumption in all cases of international politics is not justified,* at least not in order to satisfy the research objective of this study to provide analytical histories of emergence concerning military power after the Cold War. I am therefore making no other *a priori* assumptions concerning rationality other than what follows from the three factors named above, namely that rational agents pursue goals that they value using means that they consider appropriate. Ideas about these goals and means are subject to change (i.e. goals and appropriate means themselves are subject to change) as agents interact within the international system. What the agents' goals are and which means are deemed legitimate at any point of time is subject to research, not to be taken on assumption. Instrumental rationality does not have analytical priority over expressive rationality in this study.[104]

4.3. Constructivist Power Analysis

The two main theses concerning materialism and rationalism presented so far leave considerable freedom of choice for constructivists. This becomes clear from the following argument, presented by Wendt as an answer to John Mearsheimer's criticism of "the false promise of international institutions" published in International Security in winter 1994/95: "I share all five of Mearsheimer's 'realist' assumptions: that international politics is anarchic, and that states have offensive capabilities, cannot be 100 percent certain about others' intentions, wish to survive, and are rational. We even share two more: a commitment to states as units of analysis, and to the importance of systemic or 'third image' theorizing."[105] What this answer in fact shows is that, first, constructivism does not reject (political) realism or many of its basic assump-

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[103] See Risse (2000), p. 6, 11-14.

[104] According to Risse (ibid., p. 18) "the empirical question to be asked is not whether actors behave strategically or in an argumentative mode, but which mode captures more of the action in a given situation."

[105] Wendt (1995), p. 72.

tions[106] per se, and, second, that even among constructivists, there is room for different kinds of IR theorising.

Power-related research was not been located at the core of constructivist theorising during the some two decades of explicit theoretical articulation of constructivism in IR. But to leave power to the realists, who most often have been associated with questions of power in international relations, would narrow down our view of the international reality.[107] This being the case, it should be noted that realism in different forms is surely not the only IR approach that deals with power. All approaches or theories have something to say – and most of them a lot – about power in international politics. It is one thing to say that power matters, but another to say that power is all that matters. Since confining the subject matter and leaving an integral part of it to certain theories is not preferable, some other way has to be found to distinguish analytically between theories in general and the concept of power in particular. Alexander Wendt has suggested that when dealing with power, one should "differentiate theories according *how power is constituted.*" In this light the realist conception of power focuses on the brute material forces that constitute the effects of power.[108] This framing proceeds in differentiating theories on the basis of the extent to which power is seen to be constituted by brute material or ideational forces.

A related discussion of various conceptualisations of power was presented in Chapter 2. There I claimed that realists view power either from a resource-based perspective, or from an outcome-oriented standpoint seeing power as behaviour. The combining of both above-mentioned perspectives has also been, at least implicitly, carried out in realist power analysis. Here I conceptualise power in a dispositional fashion. This will be elaborated below.

The already presented constructivist tenet concerning social ontology in IR directs analyses of power to focus on agents as well as on structure. An agent-level power analysis relies on the dispositional conceptualisation of power – i.e. power as a transformative capacity or a capacity to effect. On the level of structure, the concepts of intersubjective knowledge, shared understandings, and others presented so far in this chapter frame the constructivist perspective. In other words, *the meanings of power in general and military power in particular are socially constructed through the processes of reproduction and transformation in the interaction of agents that takes place in pre-existing structural conditions*. Analysing power from a constructivist perspective thus leads one to study the shared conceptualisations of power – the structural element –

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[106] See also Forsberg (1997), p. 39, 42.

[107] Barnett and Duvall call this "theoretical tunnel vision". See Barnett and Duvall (2005), p. 40.

[108] Wendt (1999), pp. 95-97, quote on p. 97 (original italics).

and the resources and possibilities of actions that agents face in a specific context – the agent-level element.

In his analysis of power, Alexander Wendt also points out the *importance of ideas and their constitutive effects on material power resources*. Ideas do not diminish the objective quality of power when seen from the agent's perspective, since *the intersubjective meaning* given to a power resource is real to the agent[109], i.e. it is a social fact. Ideational factors are not the only ones to consider when trying to focus on power. There are other factors that favour a material understanding of power or in which material forces cause independent effects: the distribution of actors' material capabilities, the composition of material capabilities and geography and natural resources[110]. According to Wendt, the distribution of material capabilities, an element familiar from Waltz's formulation of international structure, influences the outcomes. When activated or mobilised for human purposes, the distribution of material capabilities among actors matters and it cannot be argued that a particular outcome is a function of ideational factors only. The composition of these material capabilities also matters, nowadays mainly in the form of technology. The presence of a certain level of technology brings certain intrinsic factors into play that have consequences beyond those mediated by ideational factors.

The third element in the causal understanding of material capabilities deals with geography and natural resources. Physical distances, certain aspects of the climate and its effects on the conditions for living, and the presence of materials for technological development have independent effects. Material capabilities, according to Wendt, "help define the possibilities for our action."[111]

According to Emanuel Adler power is "not only the resources required to impose one's view on others, but also the authority to determine the shared meanings that constitute the identities, interests and practices of states, as well as the conditions that confer, defer or deny access to 'goods' and benefits." Based on

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[109] See also Searle (1995), pp. 7-9. See also Ashley's formulation of power according to a competence model of social action. The "power of an actor, and even its status as an agent competent to act, is not in any sense attributable to the inherent qualities or possessions of a given entity. Rather, the power and status of an actor depend on and is limited by the conditions of its *recognition* within a community as a whole. … It is always by way of performance in reference to such collective 'known' (but not necessarily intellectually accessible) generative schemes that actors gain recognition and are *empowered*." Ashley (1986), pp. 291-292 (original italics). I share Ashley's emphasis on the importance of a general recognition of an agent and its power. However, I do not share the view that the inherent qualities of material resources have *nothing* to do with the agent's power is questioned. According to the scientific/critical realist ontology of this study, certain material facts become more easily understood as power resources than others – thus implicitly taking the effect of certain inherent qualities of the material into account.

[110] For more on these, see Wendt (1999), pp. 110-111. For a similar statement concerning the material limits of action, see Onuf (1998), pp. 64-65.

[111] Wendt (1999), pp. 110-113, quote on p. 113.

this definition, it is those agents who can set or alter the rules of the game that use effective power. This conceptualisation links power with knowledge and both of them to the interests of agents, described in the international arena as national interests.[112]

In a similar constructivist fashion, Stefano Guzzini focuses on the *meaning given to power in international politics* by diplomats. Where Guzzini writes that "before diplomats can count, they must decide what counts" he means that power [or balance of power, which is what Guzzini was writing about] is based on social construction and that this construction takes place in the diplomatic community. Diplomats more or less "share a common measure of power although they would be hard-pressed to define it exactly." In constructing power, diplomats try to advance the importance of those resources that they 'master'. Guzzini believes that "measurement of power is a political act. The diplomats who represent states endowed with one particular power resource will do their best to enhance the latter's value. The Soviet government's stress on military factors, and not economic factors, was a case in point."[113]

Resources are not automatically transformed into power, but according to the shared interpretations concerning those resources (material and ideational) that yield power. In this context Guzzini emphasises the role of diplomats. Guzzini's power analysis proceeds by devising a dyad of concepts – power and governance. The former is assigned at the agent level – as transformative capacity, or as Guzzini puts it "the capacity to transform resources that affect social interaction". The latter refers to the structural level, or to the "capacity of intersubjective practices to create and mobilise dispositions." Structural power – or Guzzini's governance – is the 'product' that agents' practices give rise to, intentionally or through unintended consequences, and which either empowers or disempowers agents in their interactions.[114]

Tuomas Forsberg has developed a constructivist power analysis that focuses on the positive economic sanctions. He finds that "there are at least four important elements of socially constructed structural power: interpretive rules, behavioural norms, relational identities, and definitions of the situation." The first of these elements, the *rules of interpretation*, refers to the recognition of power: "the way different objects and past instances of power are interpreted and presented become important aspects of power." This means that certain material resources do not generate power without the recognition of the actors that these

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[112] Adler (1997), p. 336. On the connection between power and knowledge, see also Denzin (1989), p. 30. According to Denzin, those who have power are able to define the situation and what actually accounts as knowledge.

[113] Guzzini (1998), pp. 230-232, quotes on p. 231. Similarly, concerning balance of power, Onuf writes that "Its [balance of power] rules assign an elevated status to a few great powers that must act as if they are roughly equal in the resources available to them." Onuf (1998), p. 71.

[114] Guzzini (1994), pp. 240-247, quotes on p. 240.

resources in question are conceptualised as power. Realists and constructivists do not understand power resources in the same way. For constructivists *power resources that yield power do so, because they symbolise power.*[115]

Acknowledging the symbolic dimension connected to power resources, an identity as a certain kind of state can be acquired or objectified by the possession of material artefacts. In the field of military power, material possessions related to armed forces may be seen as the primary constitutive factors.[116] When this view is compared to the individual-centred approaches to IR, one would emphasise the symbolic, socially shared meanings of material possessions and the way that these possessions operate as material symbols for identity[117], without neglecting the instrumental possibilities of material factors to have an impact with their intrinsic properties. Thus, one should pay attention to social interaction in its direct and symbolic variants.

Conceptualising military power from the perspective of symbols, the emergence, framing, reproduction, and manipulation of symbols become central issues in research: "power resources are not so important because of their inherent powers, but because they symbolise power."[118] In day-to-day relations between states symbols serve as taken-for-granted media of politics because shared indicators of power, resolve, or hostility (to mention just a few) are treated as objective features of agents and/or structure. The social intersubjective character of these symbols is easily forgotten or not recognised at all due to their quality of representing the 'natural' order of things. This reified version of symbols as naturalised media of politics is opened up in this study and the *emergent quality of symbols as path-dependent and context-bound* is highlighted.[119] Symbols are not only the means of politics however. They constitute also the end of politics, since manipulating them may be one way of influencing others.

During the Cold War nuclear weapons were important means of gaining and maintaining status as a super-power[120]. The unimaginable destructive capacity

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[115] Forsberg (1997), p. 185 (incl. quotes). See also Morriss (1987), pp. 14-22, 138-44; Guzzini (1994).

[116] See Garnett (1987), p. 72, "As W. Gutteridge has pointed out, *military power is a symbol* of national prestige that no self-respecting state can do without." My italics.

[117] Dittmar (1992), p. 16; about the symbolic dimensions of strategy, see e.g. Klein (1994), p. 13.

[118] Forsberg (1997), p. 186.

[119] There is a difference between stating that the day-to-day politics often ignores the social emergent quality of symbols and stating that social scientific research should ignore it. *While it is normal for political agents to operate in a situation based on the meanings different things have for them, one task of social scientific research is to find out what these meanings are, how they have been formed and under what circumstances.*

[120] See e.g. van Creveld (1991), p. 4: "The superpowers undoubtedly have derived a large part of their status from their uniquely powerful nuclear arsenals. Still, even in their case, translating this status into tangible political benefits has proved problematic."

of the nuclear arsenals in the two blocs made little sense from a perspective that focuses solely on rational actors pursuing their security interests. The development, acquisition, and ability to deliver those nuclear devices, doubtless provided the two protagonists with formal status (identity) as a superpower. The Cold War era hostilities between the superpower-centred military-ideological blocs took place on the symbolical level in addition to the physical level that has been emphasised so much in research. Similarly one can see the Cold War era détente and dialogue between superpowers as a symbolic move to acknowledge the mutually recognised legitimacy of the 'other' as an opponent.[121]

The fact that some third-world countries place tremendous financial burdens on their economies by buying modern weapon systems beyond their 'effective' means of using them shows symbolic politics at play. Of course it is sometimes difficult to show that certain military hardware is not the best used money in instrumental terms, but one can with reasonable accuracy show that some modern systems are purchased because they symbolise sovereignty and modernity of the state. Wendt and Barnett maintain that in the global military culture, sophisticated military technologies in the form of advanced weapon systems have become appreciated more (in terms of modernity and status) than would be expected solely on their instrumental value. Elites in the third world "have been conditioned by this [global military] culture to attach symbolic value to such technologies, to see them as a preferred means for addressing security problems."[122]

The *behavioural norms*, the second of Forsberg's structural elements of power, refer to norms on how to use power and how to confront the actions of the powerful (and also how to deal with the actions of the less powerful). The behavioural norms are the 'rules of the game' that tell the actors how they might deal with different situations.[123]

The *identities* of the actors give them an understanding of their position in a social relationship (in international politics). What Forsberg calls relational identities, one of the elements of socially constructed structural power, is also accentuated by Wendt: To analyse "the social construction of international politics is to analyse how processes of interaction produce and reproduce the social structures ... that shape actors' identities and interests and the significance of their material contexts."[124] A good example of the understanding of actors' identities is the (mutual) distinction between great and small powers. it is noteworthy that an actor can take on several identities, depending on the situation at hand. Al-

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[121] See Buzan and Herring (1998), pp. 179-180. See also Risse (2000), p. 13.

[122] Wendt and Barnett (1993), quote on p. 340; Jervis also notes that states can seek to obtain "unnecessary capability" as an indicator of resolve or to impress other states. Jervis (1987), pp. 15-18; Also in Luckham (1984).

[123] Forsberg (1997), p. 187.

[124] Wendt (1995), p. 81.

though identities may and do change over time, they are based on social and material interaction. The *interests* of actors are formed on the basis of identities. They are defined in the process of defining situations.[125]

Morgenthau defined interests as power, while for Waltz the distribution of capabilities (power) determined outcomes within the international system while holding state interests constant. Wendt criticises these formulations by noting that interests should not be taken as given by definition, as Morgenthau and Waltz did. Wendt's remarks on power do not deny the importance of the distribution of capabilities that are so important to Waltzian neorealism. What they do deny is the treatment of states' interests as given and permanent. Although during the Cold War the situation might have been best described by realism (whether by classical realism or by neorealism), this was only a historically contingent situation with a unique distribution of interests within the international system. For Wendt "power only explains what it explains insofar as it is given meaning by interest."[126]

The last element of socially constructed structural power presented by Forsberg relates to *definitions of the situation*[127], which "have effects of power. They tell what sort of power is significant, what identities to adopt, and what norms are relevant."[128] The shared definition of the situation is often based on a routine interpretation of events – the Cold War being an example of a rather stable and routine way to conceptualise the international situation in general – at least until recently. The Cold War was a cultural construct, in which the enmity between the two ideological poles constituted the identities and interests of agents in any particular policy-relevant situation. The US and the SU acted according to their socially constructed Cold War era identities and interests, helping thus to sustain the notion of the Cold War.[129] But this routine quality of many shared definitions of situations does not cover all aspects of the way international agents come to terms with the prevailing 'reality' of the international system. As Wendt has noted, sometimes "situations are unprecedented in our experience, and in these cases we have to construct their meaning, and thus our interests, by analogy or invent them de novo."[130]

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[125] See Forsberg (1997), pp. 189-189 and Wendt (1992), p. 397-411. Concerning identities, Wendt notes (1992, p. 397 and p. 411) that collective meanings "constitute the structures which organize our actions" and "actors acquire identities by participating is such collective meanings." Identities cannot be seen as something given or exogenous, but indeed endogenous to interaction. It is "through practice that agents are continuously producing and reproducing identities and interests, continuously 'choosing' now the preferences they will have later.". See also Wendt (1999), pp. 92-138.

[126] Wendt (1999), pp. 109-113, quote on p. 109. See also Donnelly (2000), p. 120: "For most international orders, the elegant simplicity of Waltzian structuralism is barren."

[127] See also Wendt (1992), p. 396; Wendt (1999), p. 331.

[128] Forsberg (1997), p. 189 (quote). Also in Wendt (1999), p. 230.

[129] Wendt (1999), pp. 92-138, 187 quotes on p. 104, 125 (original italics).

[130] Wendt (1992), p. 398.

Thus, a shared definition of the situation does not emerge automatically – upon the command of the powerful. Rather, a particular interpretation of the situation may become dominant due to the efforts of one or several agents, but this prevailing interpretation of the situation emerges out of interaction, and in the process of defining the situation, the social structure of the international system – the shadow of history – plays on important role. Historical examples and lessons facilitate certain framings of the situation – a process that Guzzini describes as "governance through collective memory".[131] In addition, *power relations within the international system may change with the changing shared definition of the situation.*[132] An internationally shared definition of a 'New World Order' empowers norms, rules for recognising power, and identities that differ from those of 'the Cold War'[133] or 'the Global War on Terror'. Similarly the shared understanding that 'a genocide' was underway in Sudan in 2004, rather than it being 'an internal matter of a sovereign state' had direct policy implications for the international society. It is important to note that all of the four elements of constructivist power analysis listed above – rules of interpretation, behavioural norms, relational identities, and definitions of the situation – are based on shared understandings, not just one actor's self-image or its image of the others. These *shared understandings are not necessarily or even most of the time co-operative and they can emerge through confrontation as well as through cooperation.*

Agents define a particular policy-relevant situation in interaction, and may eventually arrive at a shared definition or at a more or less contested one. One assumption guiding this research is that the notion of 'the Cold War era' was widely accepted.[134] It is also assumed that *during the Cold War era, the process of reproducing – rather than transforming – the social structure* of the international system (the logic of a hostile and threat-penetrated superpower

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[131] Guzzini (1994), p. 282

[132] Forsberg (1997), p. 190. Developing his constructivist power analysis, Forsberg notes that "constructivist power analysis enables us to view power as a capacity to effect and to distinguish it from actual uses and effects. For this reason, it is also able to locate power at the level of structures and to pay more attention to the variety of mechanisms through which power works." What is noteworthy in this definition of power is that it would not make much sense to use it in research based on empiricist meta-theory, since the capacity cannot be observed nor can it be "conceived in terms of regularities." We, then, move away from explaining particular events and go in the direction of "explaining possibilities." See ibid., pp. 140-175, quotes on p. 140, 147, 175. Behind this 'explaining possibilities' scheme is the conception of causality not as constant conjunctions "but with structured *powers* capable of *producing* particular, characteristic *effects* if triggered." See Patomäki (2002), p. 8 (original italics). Also on p. 76.

[133] See Wendt (1994), p. 389 "The Cold War was fundamentally a discursive, not a material, structure."

[134] This does not preclude different interpretations of 'right' or 'correct' policies within states or between them, or different interpretations of a *particular* situation among agents. In Kuhnian language, the Cold War was a paradigm – a set of shared assumptions - that guided agents perceptions and thinking about the international system.

confrontation) was the rule rather than the exception.[135] From this perspective, *the widely acknowledged end of the Cold War was a "reproduction crisis*, where the context is perceived as contradicting the originating conditions of a practice".[136] This reproduction crisis *questioned the matured Cold War era identities, the shared rules and norms, as well as the shared understandings of war and military power.*

4.3.1. Power and Military Power Defined

Power is a widely and wildly used concept in IR. The variety of meanings given to it in IR research is impressive. Usually, it is equated with control, causing intentional effects on others, and the possibility to prevail in a conflict. Understanding it as a *capacity to cause effects* makes it possible to study international politics in a broad way.[137] Power does not have to be exercised in order to become an object of research. The anticipated reactions of others are also included in this definition, thus allowing the view that power is based on resources, both material and nonmaterial. In constructivist analysis, power is not something externally measurable or simply the sum of subjective evaluations of different agent; instead power is socially constructed by practices.[138] Whether some agent is seen to be powerful depends on material capabilities and shared understandings in the international system. Power is seen to be acquired by the possession of those resources of power that symbolise power. The rules that define what counts as power or which resources come to symbolise power emerge and become meaningful in the interaction of agents and by virtue of their intersubjective understanding that some resources yield power more that others.

The constructivist framing of power makes it possible to understand power not only in a zero-sum way as negative power, where the power holder gets someone to do something he would not have otherwise done, but also in a positive fashion, where the end result might be mutually beneficial. To make the link be-

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[135] See e.g. Wendt (1999), p. 187, where Wendt describes the Cold War as a cultural formation that 'led' to the reproduction of the Cold War era identities, interests, and thus culture. "Culture, in short, tends to reproduce itself".

[136] See Guzzini (1994), p. 294. Guzzini argues that the Second Gulf War (1991) "eventually guided both politicians and observers back into known territories" [of thinking that animated the Cold War, and which had been 'opened up' with the fall of the Berlin wall].

[137] See Forsberg (1997), ch. 4.

[138] Guzzini (1998), p. 231: The "measurement of power is a political act." Guzzini (2001c), p. 11: Diplomats "might agree on some approximations for their dealings, this is not because they have an objectivised measure [of power], but because they have come to agree on certain norms to assess each other. … measures of wealth and measures of power are similar, since they are institutional facts which only exist because people believe in them." Wendt (1999), p. 325: Standards of measurement "are in fact always constituted by shared understandings that vary by cultural context."

tween systemic and domestic levels, strategic resources can be conceptualised as those resources that are understood as important to the advancement of the actor's interests *and* the possession of which an actor is trying to increase and/or the significance of which the actor is trying to advance in the shared understandings in the international system. If the importance of these strategic resources is intersubjectively shared among agents, they may be labelled power resources.

Moving on to military power, the traditional (realist) perspective emphasises armaments, personnel, money spent on defence, and level of military technology[139]. One could also add a more ambiguous (non-material or not easily operationalisable) category of status or prestige into the equation of military power, although more in a sense of portraying military power in the first place than as factors constituting it. The way that realism arrives at these indicators of military power comes from history and common sense: states have learned that in a conflict-prone world they cannot trust each other and that the way to bolster one's own power is to rely on increasing one's military capabilities. The way that this (simple) learning takes place is assured by the rationality of the states in question.

From a constructivist perspective, military power depends on the existence of military force, but does not equal it. Military power stresses the political relationship between actors where military force accentuates military capabilities. The notion that "the use of military force represents the breakdown of military power"[140] offers a starting point for the constructivist argument concerning the nature of power in general and military power specifically. Constructivism would add to this notion that *future conceptions of military power are affected by current social and material structural conditions and subsequent actions, including the use of force.*

Military power, as a sub-category of power, is understood here as being constituted in and given meaning by, the continuous interaction of states related to the organising, maintenance, or use of armed forces in the international arena. Using a constructivist perspective and defining *military power as a capacity to cause effects by means of organising, maintaining, or using armed forces* will avoid the main problem with the mainstream power analysis[141] concerning the reduction of military power to material military capabilities. This would make it possible to arrive at an understanding of military power that is related to the evolving process of reproducing or transforming agents' identities, interests, and the collective symbolic meanings by means of interaction between agents. The U.S.-led war against Iraq in 1991 under a U.N. mandate may

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[139] See for example Morgenthau (1967), pp. 114-118.

[140] Garnett (1987), pp. 83-84, quote on p. 84.

[141] For an argument against materialistic and rationalistic power analysis, see Risse-Kappen (1994), p. 214.

have changed the symbolic value attached to different capabilities (weapon systems, personnel, etc.) in generating power, but it may also have changed the way states see the possibilities of intervening into the affairs of others militarily or the way that they identify themselves with others, which in turn has consequences for the way they see their interests within the international system.

While the international arena is the venue where agents 'define' (i.e. reproduce or transform) the resources that symbolise power (power resources), it is at the domestic level that an agent (a state) defines those power resources that it tries to acquire and accumulate and whose importance it tries to advance in the international arena (i.e. the strategic resources). In other words, *the standards of power are set by the intersubjective understandings of states in the international arena* and those understandings form the basis for developing the resources necessary for the advancement of the state's interests.

4.4. Stating the Constructivist Argument

Much of the difference that constructivist theory provides is based on ontology. Ontological conceptions direct researchers' explanatory interests, and the constructivist challenge to materialism and utilitarian rationalism in general and neorealism or neoliberalism in particular is largely based on the ontological difference and its consequences for the substance of theoretical explanatory work. From this, a picture of international politics emerges in which "rational actors maximizing a utility function rooted in material interests cannot adequately account for observed behaviors by state actors."[142]

4.4.1. General Framework

> [T]he task of power analysis is not to measure but to reveal the structures of meaning.[143]

The constructivist ontology of mutual constitution between agents and structure provides the basis for this theoretical research. Neither ontological component is reduced to the other. In this study, the structure of the international system is composed of three elements that Alexander Wendt calls shared knowledge, material capabilities, and practices[144]. In a way, the era after the Cold War has re-opened shared knowledge as an object of study when defining power in the international system[145]. Based on this, the distribution of material capabilities has effects because of the meanings generated by the social structure (shared

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[142] Laffey and Weldes (1997), p. 193.
[143] Forsberg (1997), p. 185.
[144] Wendt (1995).
[145] See e.g. Katzenstein (1996a), p. 22.

knowledge or culture) of the system, reproduced or transformed by practices. The main features of this shared knowledge in the international arena are norms, rules for recognising power, and a shared set of identities and subsequent interests. The position and relationship of the last two in the list of shared knowledge is more complex than the statement above gives credit for. Agents' identities operate at the agent level, influencing agents' interests, but a set of identities, an identity matrix, which is more or less shared among the agents within the system is also part of the shared knowledge described previously. Similarly, a shared set of acceptable interests is a structural property that is subject to reproduction or transformation. The interests of an individual agent are for analytical purposes agent-level properties as well. This distinction becomes necessary in undertaking empirical research, since procedures that affect the policies (practices) chosen by an agent are dependent on system-level structural causes as well as on domestic political causes. Both need to be addressed when providing analytical histories of emergence – historically sensitive explanations of international events.[146]

Actions of states and other agents are socially constituted and made meaningful by the structure of the international system. As rational agents pursue goals that they value using means that they consider appropriate, the socially constituted goals and means for achieving them are defined in interaction with other agents. When an agent commits an act, there may be conscious and unconscious reasons for that particular action, although rationalistions of the 'chosen' act may differ from these reasons. Once committed, the act will have consequences for future structural conditions of actions – through the dialectical mechanisms of reproduction or transformation described earlier in this chapter. The consequences of an action may be intended, but it can also have unintended consequences. It is therefore the case that conscious and/or unconscious reasons for action may lead to intended as well as unintended consequences. These consequences will influence future possibilities of action. As has been explained, the extent to which definitions of the situation are shared may vary from actor to actor and thus may lead to different interpretations of possibilities for action. Similarly, norms and rules do not form a totally conformable social structure that can be interpreted unambiguously. Rather, norms and rules are at least partially contradictory, and thus meaningful action by an agent is bound to be inconsistent with some elements of the social structure.

The outlined relationship between agents and structure has at least two consequences for empirical research. First, the structural conditions of action need to be understood as material causes of outcomes, which means that structure – in its social and material qualities – makes many actions possible and at the same time *structure makes some actions more preferable or expected than others*. Second, the *structural implications get their salience in the meaningful action*

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[146] See e.g. Patomäki (2002), p. 91 on the "alternative idea that the richness and depth of an explanation is of higher value than its parsimonious nature."

of agents: the reasons that agents have for committing certain actions are the efficient causes of outcomes. Explanation thus entails knowledge about the meanings that agents assign to their actions in a social setting. Since this research is interested in the redefinitions of military power in a timeframe of a more than a decade, the focus is on the transformation of structural constitutive rules of military power. To be able to provide an explanation of the changes in these constitutive rules after the Cold War, empirical research needs to address the causally efficient reasons of agents in different instances that relate to the use or publicly criticised non-use of military means to cause effects in addition to the structural 'causes' or components that made the action possible. These causally efficient reasons are presented as interests in Figure 4.1.

So far, some terminological tensions have arisen in the conceptualisation of the structure of the international system. Such concepts as social structure, ideational structure, normative structure, culture of the international system, and shared knowledge have been used synonymously throughout this text – as articulated by several constructivist scholars. Referring to Figure 4.1, which presents the agent-structure framework of this research, the core concepts will need to be redefined next in order to avoid further difficulties and to facilitate empirical research based on the framework that has been developed in this chapter. Now the concept of *international structure* will be used here to refer to the whole structural component of the international system. It is constituted by two components: social structure and material structure of the international system. The material structure is embedded in the social structure. The constitutive elements of the *social structure* are the 'ideational' components of norms, rules for recognising power, an intersubjective set of identities and an intersubjective set of interests. These ideational components are dependent on the prevailing definition of the situation, which is intersubjective in nature. If the situation is not perceived similarly by all agents (i.e. the definition of the situation is not shared)[147], then several 'semi-intersubjective' definitions may prevail. The least shared definition of the situation is one where every agent has its own definition of the situation, and none is shared by any other agent. If this is the case, then definition of the situation is not a matter of social structure, but rather an individual agent-level phenomenon. In such a case the effects of the social structure become less important and more explanatory power is transferred to the domestic, i.e. agent, level.[148]

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[147] That some ideational aspect of the international system is shared means that there exists an intersubjective understanding concerning that particular factor. The degree of intersubjectivity presented in this paragraph is to be understood as a continuum ranging from totally intersubjective understandings to totally non-intersubjective understandings. Somewhere in the middle is a point of 'semi-intersubjectivity'. This presentation serves only analytical purposes.

[148] See Williams (1996) p. 228: "As Tuck has argued, if there is no epistemic agreement concerning the facts of the situation, 'then there will be no agreement about what should be done, and everyone will act on the basis of their own different assessments of the situation.'" [Originally in Tuck (1989), p. 64.]

The *material structure* of the international system is given meaning by the social structure. It consists of the material resources (capabilities) that are distributed within the system. The components of material structure have intrinsic powers of their own, which means that material resources constituting the material structure may have causal effects. Their effects are not, however, only causal in nature. Instead, because they are embedded in the emergent social structure of the system, material resources also have constitutive effects.
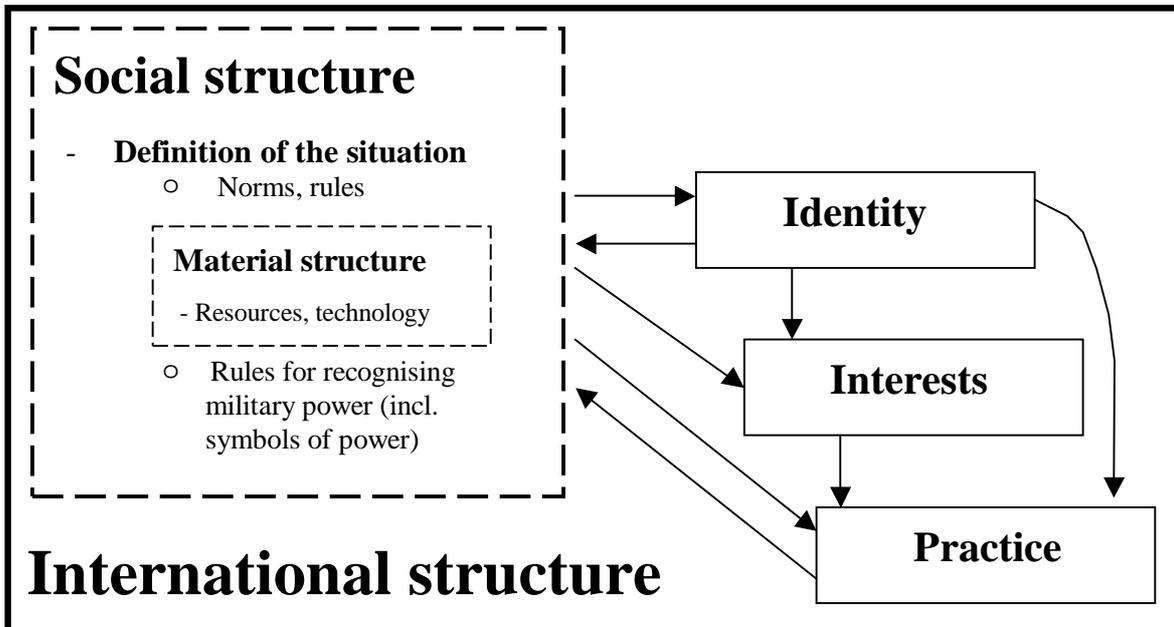
Figure 4.1. The Constructivist framework of this research[149]

In terms of Figure 4.1 above, the international structure is a framework for action. It consists of a "particular combination of thought patterns, material conditions and human institutions" and "has a certain coherence among its elements."[150]

4.4.2. Methodology and Methods

The methods that should be used by constructivists in social scientific research are not largely agreed upon[151]. Nevertheless, many scholars admit that one should not make fixed rules in advance that result in the rejection of certain methods just because they are not suitable. Instead, one should be question-driven and acknowledge the usefulness of both causal and constitutive theories (or methodologies), with their different research questions. In the case of causal explanation, *why*-questions may be answered, but in order to answer them we should get to know the reasons that made the *why* possible. For this, one can

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[149] Modified from Jeppersen and Wendt and Katzenstein (1996), p. 53.
[150] See Cox (1986), p. 217 (quotes).
[151] See for example Adler (1997), p. 335. Also in Ruggie (1998a), pp. 35-36.

search for generative mechanisms (causal complexes). This sort of argumentation, proposed by Wendt, does not deny the possibility of using 'positivist methods', but encourages doing so only when the research problem requires that.[152]

Concerning military power, constitutive and causal explanations have significant differences that will influence formulation of the research questions. The difference between constitutive and causal explanations is in fact one of the features that have animated the research agenda of this study. Positivist causal explanations of military power lead to equating or converging military power with military force. Causal explanations provide interesting insights and knowledge that are conducive to a problem-solving perspective. From this causal perspective, what constitutes military power, is a matter of definition, and then the task of researcher is to explain outcomes based on this premise. An 'exact' or 'correct' definition of military power is significant since research results are highly dependent upon it.

Constitutive explanations of military power do not begin with a definition. They rather end with one. The way that intersubjective conceptualisations of military power are formed or emerge is the goal of research. Similarly *how certain 'key' resources and past actions are bestowed with significance and importance in constituting military power* is part of the research object, instead of one of the research premises. Constitutive explanations of military power, I argue, bring politics back into the strategic analysis.

Furthermore, I find distinction made by Guba and Lincoln between *methodology* and *methods* quite credible. The former is understood as an "overall strategy for resolving the complete set of choices or options available to the inquirer", where as the latter are "tools and techniques". The point Guba and Lincoln make is that while research from positivist and constructivist paradigms can rely on similar tools (methods), the way that these tools are used, and the way information provided by these tools is used, varies depending on the paradigm: Although "it may be not possible to label an individual a positivist simply because he or she is using survey instrument, or a constructivist simply because he or she is conducting an interview, those persons know (or should know) from which paradigm they operate, and that knowledge has significant consequences for the ways in which those tools are used." From this perspective, one could read Wendtian constructivism in such a way that one is free to use all possible methods in order to gain knowledge, but one should also acknowledge that the paradigm one is operating within guides the use of these methods and how acquired information is dealt with.[153]

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[152] Wendt (1999), pp. 40, 77-82; Wendt (1998), p. 102.

[153] Guba and Lincoln (1989), p. 156-8, 173-83, quotes on p. 158, 183. Note that the statement in the text does not suggest that Wendt agrees with this distinction between methodology and methods. It rather shows that constructivism can use the same methods as positiv-

To study power in general and military power in particular from a constructivist perspective is to challenge the dominant, realist-based understanding of power. This move includes a new framework for power and a differing understanding of the international system and its structure. The systemic aspect of my study has been presented in Figure 4.1. In order to address the criticism that the structuration theory is not capable of dealing with agents and structures in empirical research, I shall use a model of morphogenetic cycles. This will facilitate a study of agents and structures consecutively on a temporal axis, without losing the mutually constitutive logic[154] of agents and structures. This methodology simplifies the reality of continuous reproduction or transformation of structure and its recursive effects on agents on the one hand, but it enables one to proceed with the logic of mutual constitution on the other.
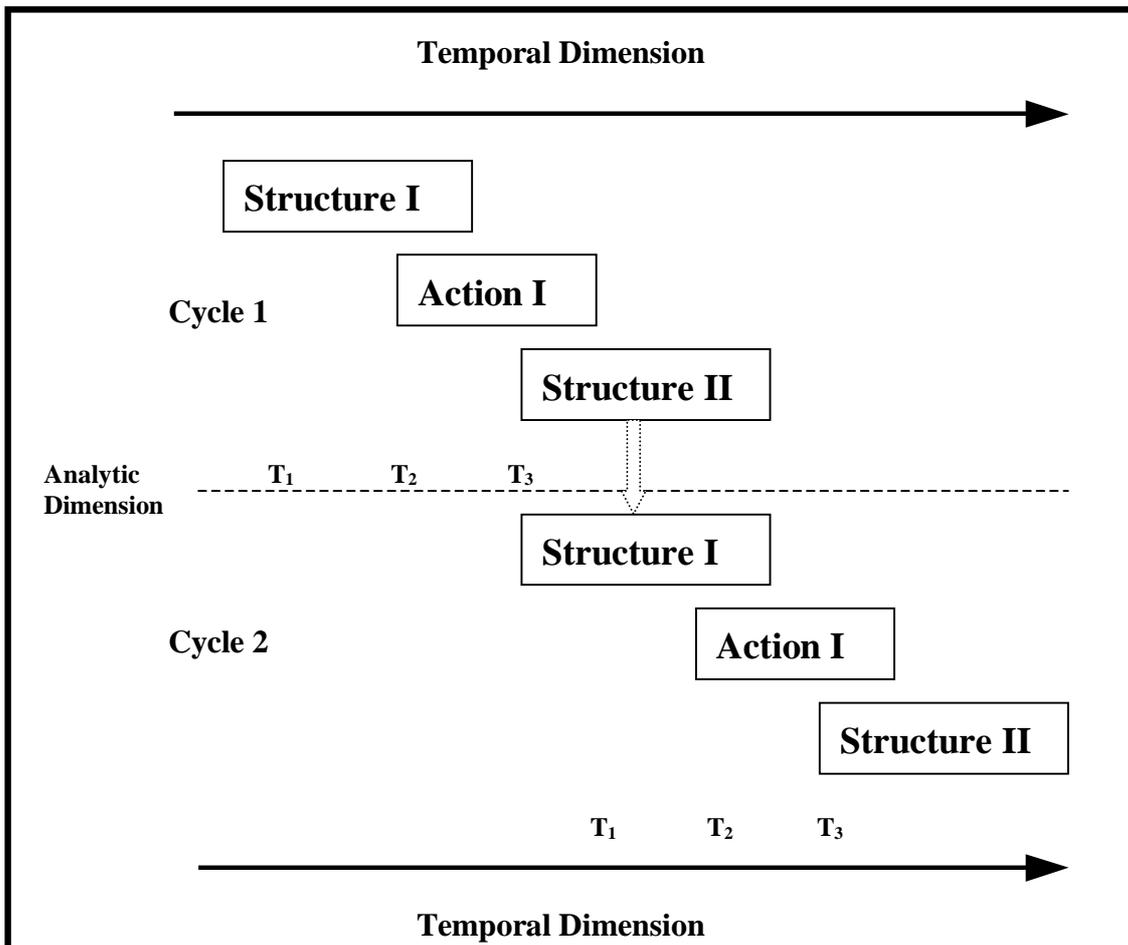
Figure 4.2. The methodology of morphogenetic cycles[155]

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ism, but that these methods are applied differently (= different methodology) due to the different guiding principles of their paradigm. It is noteworthy that differentiating between methods and methodology can cause confusion due to the general habit of using them as synonyms.

[154] Note that when Margaret Archer criticises Giddens' structuration theory of central conflation, she observes that "the general principle of mutual constitution is entirely unobjectionable." See Archer (1995), p. 87. I subscribe to the general principle of mutual constitution, relying on morphogenetic cycles as a methodology for research.

[155] Modified from Carlsnaes (1992), p. 260. See also Archer (1995), p. 76 and 82.

The morphogenetic methodology chosen for this study of military power points to the importance of international structure and agents operating within the international system. Focusing first on the former and then on the latter is an analytical choice that makes empirical research possible. It enables us to see the evolution of the international system, and military power in it, as a process. This dynamic process is evolving without a predetermined direction and realising this makes one understand that the task of empirical constructivist research is to give an explanation not only of the things that have happened, but also of the possibilities that are open in certain periods of interest during this process. Explanations provided by constructivist accounts of IR do acknowledge the historical path of events and their effects on the present conditions of the international system[156], but they also note that actions taken by agents are continuously directing that historical path into the future, although in many (or most) cases without any conscious 'grand design'. The morphogenetic methodology thus acknowledges the importance of agents and practices, but does not advance an explanatory format that conceptualises outcomes as resulting solely from individual decisions and actions. Rather, the way that the order of events affects outcomes at a particular time is introduced into the explanation.[157]

The constitutive research questions of this study point to the importance of interpretation and thus understanding[158]. Relying on morphogenetic methodology, I will emphasise the interpretive, qualitative methods that aim at understanding the causal mechanisms that underlie the changing meanings of military power.[159]

This approach resonates with what Margaret Archer calls an "explanatory format [that] consists in providing analytical histories of emergence." This means that in order to explain certain outcomes, one makes reference to generative mechanisms and "concrete contingencies which intervened to produce particular outcomes." From the perspective of morphogenetic cycles, analytical histories are narratives that consist of three phases. The first phase, structural conditioning, brings forth the circumstances (material and ideational) that agents con-

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[156] March and Olsen (1998), p. 959; Archer (1998b), p. 375. Also in Archer (1995), p. 165. The term explanation as it is used here shares a similarity with what King, Keohane, and Verba call "to provide an insightful description of complex events". See King and Keohane and Verba (1994), p. 44.

[157] See Aminzade (1992).

[158] On understanding, see for example Hollis and Smith (1991b), pp. 1-15, 68-91, 198-216. Concerning the distinction between explaining and understanding in social sciences and IR, I would categorise my research as an effort to understand. Drawing on Martin Hollis' views, I stress the importance of social structures (rules) and the practices (decisions) of actors. See Hollis and Smith (1991b), p. 203.

[159] On interpretation, understanding and thick description, see for example Denzin (1989), pp. 48-124. On p. 72: Interpretation "sets forth the meaning of the event, statement or process. In understanding, a person grasps the meaning of what has been interpreted." The italics are mine. Note that morphogenetic cycles do not necessitate interpretive understanding. See Archer (1995), p. 327.

front in their interactions. The second phase, social interaction, is conditioned by the first one, but not determined by it. In this phase of the narrative, agents interact and their powers concretely come to play. The last phase, structural elaboration, refers to that part of the narrative where structural conditions are either reproduced or transformed via agents' interactions (in phase two). This type of analytical history of emergence is not predictive. Rather, it is explanatory in a retrodictive form. It is in contrast to historical narration due to a (critical / scientific) realist insistence on unobservable generative mechanisms. Similarly it is in contrast to 'positivist grand narratives' since analytical histories are sceptical of regularities in social sciences and endorse "intervention of contingencies" as well as the corrigible nature of these histories.[160]

From a broader perspective than morphogenetic cycles, *analytic narratives are sensitive to the sequence of events and assign causal power to temporal connections among actions*. Practices of states or other agents in the international arena are not viewed as independent cases of value/interest maximisation or optimisation that should be analysed to discover correlations. The notion of *path-dependence implies the importance of previous actions, and therefore of previous structural conditions, in understanding the meaning of a particular action.* Historical, non-linear evolution cannot thus be overlooked when explaining social action, since social action takes place within a temporal dimension. A search for *meaning, sequence, and contingency* replaces the search for universality and predictive laws in explaining social action. The inclusion of historical trajectories into the explanatory framework does not mean that in order to construct a scientific explanation one should rely on a single developmental path that is contextualised based on present conditions. Instead, *historically situated actions should be conceptualised within reversible (and multiple) trajectories*, where the emergence, development, and disappearance of these trajectories inform the process of international politics: present conditions were achieved due to the temporal process of structural conditioning and agents' practices. At any point in time the path might have been different[161] due to agents' actions and subsequent structural transformations.[162]

The research strategy outlined above resonates with what David Dessler calls a positivist particularising research strategy or a reconstructive explanatory account, where "the researcher explains an event by detailing the sequence of happenings leading up to it. … The event is explained as the end-point of a concrete historical sequence." The point of demarcation between this research and Dessler's reconstructive account of explanation is found in the latter's treatment of component laws. According to Dessler, "reconstructive accounts explain by showing that the event in question was to be expected in the circum-

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[160] Archer (1995), pp. 326-7, 343-344, quotes on p. 327, 343. See also Tilly (1981), p. 62.
[161] In other words, there are suppressed historical alternatives. See Tilly (1981), p. 212-213.
[162] Aminzade (1992), especially pp. 456-458, 462-467; See also Trachtenberg (1991), pp. 261-262.

stances in which it occurred."[163] From my perspective, this statement is plausible only if the event in question was *one of several possible events* to be expected in the circumstances in which it occurred. In other words, meaningful action by an agent, leading to an outcome, may have conscious and unconscious motives and may have intended as well as unintended consequences. Instead of focusing on causal conjunctions (in addition to the reconstruction of the historical pathway), the chosen research strategy accentuates sufficient but unnecessary causal complexes that produce outcomes.[164]

In order to provide explanations in the form of causal complexes and relying on morphogenetic methodology, I will pay attention to the following explanatory elements and their relationship: socially positioned actors, norms and rules of the international system, resources (social and material), and historically structured meaningful action (practice).

The research methods of this study are qualitative. The empirical part of this research will be devoted to a case study of the process of continuous reproduction or transformation of definitions of military power after the Cold War. The methodological choice outlined above points to the importance of a deep historical understanding of the events to be explained. In order to explain social action one has to take into account the meanings that actors attach to their social reality, being themselves a part of that social reality. A deep and penetrating analysis of actors' actions and meanings can justify the use of case study methods and in some cases – depending on the research questions – even make one prefer them.[165]

Good social scientific theories "outline a process that tells a story".[166] Qualitative case study methods enable one to concentrate on social action in a more flexible and deeper way than quantitative analysis and thus – from the perspective of this research – make it possible to trace the 'development' of political definitions of military power in the post Cold War era.[167] *The case study* in Part III *of this study draws upon process tracing*, which is a "method for identifying and testing causal mechanisms." It is applicable especially in case studies since it can shed light on the process through which causal mechanisms operate by mapping out causal paths that correspond with the outcome of the case study. Instead of trying to aggregate variables into single indices, case studies that use process tracing highlight the qualitative treatment of variables. Process tracing analyses "data on the causal mechanisms, or processes, events, actions, expectations, and other intervening variables, that link putative causes to observed

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[163] Dessler (1999), pp. 128-130, quotes on p. 129.
[164] Concerning motivation, unintended consequences and causal complexes, see Patomäki (2002), p. 78-79, 119-120, 151-152.
[165] Hamel and Dufour and Fortin (1993), p. 31; Maoz (2002), p. 162; Ragin (1994), pp. 39-41.
[166] Maoz (2002), p. 163.
[167] See ibid.

effects." It is intellectually linked to historical explanation, but is distinguished from it by its analytical theoretical focus. Relying on theoretically directed individual case studies that provide explanations of the social world, *process tracing enables one to make causal inferences within the chosen case as it identifies the causal chain that instantiated the phenomenon in question.*[168]

Using process tracing to explain outcomes entails shedding light on the *process* or *sequence of events* that instantiated the outcomes in question. It does not reject the idea of equifinality – the idea that several causal paths may lead to the same outcome – and in combination with cross-case comparisons, it can uncover different causal paths that lead to same outcome. Including causal mechanisms into causal inferences and combining process tracing methods with case studies is one way to lessen the dependence of research on assumed states of affairs (but not to eliminate these assumptions). The rational choice theory's formula of 'black boxing' actors and understanding causality by causal effects only provides explanations that are scientific and in many respects valuable. The decision to apply qualitative research methods – case study, process tracing – and open the black box[169] of actor's identity and motivation arises from a different conceptualisation of the relationship between theory an practice and from different research interests that animate the research.

Analysing social structure, which gives meaning to the material structure, process tracing forms the base of locating existing norms, rules of power, sets of shared identities and interests, as well as intersubjective definitions of the situation. International military discourse (military treaties, declarations, doctrines and speeches of main security political actors) is interpreted and conceptualised according to speech-act theory, where stating something is not only meant to communicate some fact or policy to the 'audience' but also to affect the way that the situation is conceptualised by the receiver. This means that speech acts are indeed equivalents of deeds (actions) in the international arena. There are thus two 'sets of meanings' that are of interest in this study: one at the level of the international system (the intersubjective, social structure), the other at the level of the agents (how the situation is conceptualised and what is intended by the action).

On the level of social structures, I am interested in more or less shared norms, rules of power, as well as in the identities and interests of agents. To make interpretations of these aspects of social structure at some point of time, I will analyse the possibly shared definition of the situation and subsequently the accepted conduct within the international system. One way to analyse this social structure, is to see how agents publicly define the situation and to what degree

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[168] Bennett and George (1997a) (quote); Bennett and George (1997b).

[169] The 'black box model' focuses primarily on the relationship between input and output, leaving the transformation processes that operate between them untouched. Thus it fails to identify the underlying causal mechanisms. Cf. Chen (1990), p. 18.

this situation is perceived similarly by the agents. The nature of the military discourse within the system (e.g. whether there is an intersubjective idea of who is militarily powerful, what the role of military material and armed forces for agents is, or how/under what conditions it is legitimate to use force), can be analysed in the same terms. The key question is to what extent these aspects of the social structure are shared, i.e. to what extent is there intersubjective agreement on these matters.

The next move is to connect practice to these aspects of the social structure by morphogenetic methodology.[170] *This means that actions are contextualised and given meaning.* One then continues this interpretation of the social structure and subsequent interpretation of the actions embedded in it thus making a 'feedback-loop' from the action to the structure. In this process it is the task of the researcher to establish the action points, i.e. those actions or sets of actions that are deemed important for the research and which make the morphogenetic cycles methodology useful.[171] To facilitate my empirical research, I will focus on those instances of international practices (or publicly voiced lack of them) that, from the perspective of my theoretical framework, have bearing on the way that military power is given meaning. This means that the continuous process of the mutual constitution of structure and agents – where practices are the link from the latter to the former – will be examined from the perspective of the use or the debated non-use of military force by the west. This 'limited' vision of the world is necessary for practical reasons and is based on methodological choice.[172]

In making interpretations of the 'content' of the social structure, agents' expressed shared views of acceptable or 'right' behaviour and/or expressed shared reading of the situation reveal some norms which are shared. Similarly, justifications of disputed actions can be seen to represent the legitimate norms of the social structure. The rhetoric of international politics that is intended to legitimate action that is considered to be 'wrong', controversial or doubted,

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[170] In addition to Carlsnaes' model of morphogenetic cycles, see Hollis and Smith (1991b), p. 205, where Hollis claims that here, understanding "requires reconstructing the rules on the one hand and seeking the actors' intentions, legitimating reasons, and underlying motives on the other."

[171] These action-points are also called 'forks in the road', 'bifurcation points' and 'choice points'. See for example Aminzade (1992), p. 463; Tilly (1981), p. 213.

[172] On the merits of this kind of analytical decision, see for example Gray (2002), p. 4. The case selection for this research (case in part III of this research report) reflects what Lijphart calls interpretive case studies in which "interpretation is explicitly structured by a theory or well-developed theoretical framework that focuses attention on some theoretically specified aspects of reality and neglects others. This is analytic history". Levy (2002), pp. 134-135, quote on p. 135. Originally this typology of case studies was presented in Lijphart (1971), pp. 682-693.

points to those intersubjective understandings that the international society shares.[173]

In addition to the shared definitions of the situation and norms within the social structure, the rules for recognising power and their subsequent change are also analysed. This brings power resources and power outcomes into focus from a symbolic perspective. These power rules are in many instances more invisible than definitions of the situation and norms, which become apparent in public discourse and dialogue between agents. The existence and effects of these rules for recognising power are inferred from past occasions of the exercise of power within the international system. These occasions show how some agent has been able to utilise or develop some resources or has accomplished some desired outcomes such that these exercises of power symbolise the power of that agent. It is also possible that some resources (material or immaterial) become widely understood as military power resources (and thus symbolise military power) due to the way that they have been framed in the international context even without them having been 'actually' used. Similarly to the language of securitization and its conceptualisation of existential threats, a resource or some resources may symbolise power and thus have effects if it is widely shared that the resource in question yields power even if there is no equivalent 'intrinsic' quality in the resource itself: certain resources may be 'militarised' in speech acts.

As certain resources and outcomes become intersubjectively viewed as being more and more central to the definition of power, certain resources and outcomes symbolise power more than others. Any agent holding those valued resources is seen to possess power. *It is the intersubjective understanding concerning these resources and outcomes that creates power. In other words, they symbolise power.*

Regarding the material structure, nothing compels one to choose qualitative or quantitative methods *a priori*. The analysis can proceed once the rules of power (part of the social structure) have been identified. Resource analysis is based on the existing catalogues of military material, manpower, and spending, as well as on declarations and speeches concerning the modernisation of existing force structure and the development and fielding of new capabilities. This means that *one has to state the preceding instances of power that effect the way that military power is conceived of currently: one thus contextualises military power up to a certain point in time and grants the historical path of events some explanatory status.* Analysing the material structure that has bearing on the intersubjective definition of military power within the international system includes statistical data. The formula for making these mathematical operations has to be understood as a social construct that is continuously repro-

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[173] Finnemore (1996c), pp. 139-143; Spiro (1999), p. 20; Brown (2001), p. 101.

duced or transformed by emergent consequences (mostly unintended) of agents' collective actions.

4.5. Research Questions – First Formulation

The constructivist framework presented so far directs the focus of this study through the following tenets:

1. The international realm has two dimensions: one material and the other social. The social domain gives meaning to the material domain. This relationship was neglected in the mainstream realism-dominated IR studies throughout the Cold War. The end of the Cold War has provided access to the social character of international politics – the very 'essence' of politics.

2. States do not possess predetermined and static identities. Their identities are social constructions that are reproduced or transformed in interaction. Identities are thus in flux.

3. States do not possess predetermined and static interests. Their interests are also social constructs that are tied to the identities of actors and so the social structure. To claim that states always maximise power or security is to reify some state's interest at a particular time – the Cold War era for example.

4. States and other agents are disposed to certain expressions of identities and interests that are viewed as possible under the prevailing structural conditions. In addition to the material inhibitions and constraints of the international structure, socially shared norms and rules empower agents and make certain expressions of identities and interests more likely than others. The international structure thus constrains, but also enables, actions that reproduce or transform this structure.

Based on these general constructivist assumptions, I can make three constructivist assumptions concerning military power in the international system:

5. As norms, identities, and interests change, international actors (states) reformulate the meaning of military power within the community that they are operating in. Shared understandings concerning military power are thus not (re)defined in a vacuum, but within a 'wider' set of norms and shared understandings that emerge in interaction.

6. Military power is a historical construct and has no universal or eternal qualities. Shared conceptualisations of military power are affected not only by the development of new technologies and changes in the distribution of material resources, but also by the changes in the shared understandings concerning military threats, military objectives (interests), and means. Actors redefine military power over and over again through actions and practices that are overtly or implicitly military.

7. With regard to military capabilities, one should not only focus on the functional aspects of these capabilities (i.e. how they can be used directly to cause effects), but also on their symbolic aspects, i.e. how possessing/developing certain capabilities moulds the identity of their owner and the entire social structure of the international system.

Based on these constructivist premises, I put forward the following research questions:

1. How have shared western conceptualisations of war changed after the end of the Cold War?

2. What are the constituent elements of military power in the contemporary international system, especially from a western perspective?

3. How did these military (research question 2) capabilities become representative of military power? In other words, through which processes have Cold War era conceptualisations of military power been transformed in the post-Cold War era?

In order to answer the above-mentioned research questions, the following hypotheses are examined:

1. *In the wake of the Cold War the shared western conceptualisations of war have undergone a change.* This change has been expressed in a shift from territorial defence to new mission of war. This hypothesis will be elaborated in Chapter 5.

2. *Changes in shared conceptualisations of war imply also a change – or 'pressure' for a change – in shared conceptualisations of military power.*

3. *In the post-Cold War redefinitions of military power, the role of the United States has been the most significant*, although it has not been in the position to dictate the post-Cold War era rules of the international system or shared definitions of military power.[174]

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[174] The difficulties related to the redefinition of military power or the accepted scenarios for

Combined with a morphogenetic methodology, the constructivist theoretical framework of this study points to a qualitative case study approach for the empirical discussion of military power in Chapters 6-8. This means that the theoretical framework defines the analytical aspects of a case that will provide answers to the three research questions stated above. In doing so, the theory-laden quality of observation is acknowledged, as is also the need to explicitly state the effects of theoretical preconceptions that guide case selection and research design.[175] Cases in this research are understood as "analytical constructions. They are made, not found; invented, not discovered."[176]

With the 'end of the Cold War' – it is argued here – one can question whether the rules of the international system that evolved from the latter parts of the 1940s until the beginning of the 1990s are still be relevant in the day-to-day politics of states in the 1990s and in the beginning of the new millennium.[177] Without assuming that entire Cold War era can be comprehended on the base of some fixed and uniform rules that lasted unchanged for some forty-five years, the path-dependent methodology chosen for this study – morphogenetic cycles – facilitates an analytically feasible way to conceptualise the 'birth' and 'maturation' of the *relatively* stable Cold War era rules of the international system – especially from the perspective of the superpowers:

> *[T]he Cold War could be said to have been path dependent*. American efforts to deter the Soviet Union through alliances, military buildups, forward deployments and threatening rhetoric, represented the 'lesson of Munich' and were implemented by leaders who had witnessed the failure of appeasement in the 1930s. Appeasement was a reaction to the horrors of World War I and the revisionist belief, that gained wide credence in the 1930s, that Wilhelminian Germany might have been restrained more effectively by a policy of reassurance. From Moscow's perspective, attempts to extend Soviet control as far as possible were motivated in part by the expectation that World War III would have the same cause as World War II: a crisis if capitalism that

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using military force *within a state* were expressed by US Secretary of Defence Les Aspin in 1994: "A new consensus among Americans on using force in the post-Cold War era will not emerge overnight." Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1994), p. 9. Moving 'up' from the stale level to that of the international system, it is argued here that a shared redefinition of military power within the international system will not 'emerge' easily or suddenly. It is also argued that eventually, via processes of reproduction and transformation by practices, such a shared redefinition is possible, and even likely. It will not be determined by any single agent, although one or some will be 'better' positioned than others in this process of redefinition.

[175] See for example Bennett and George (1997b).

[176] Levy (2002), p. 134.

[177] For an argument concerning the end of the Cold War (or the 1989 revolutions) and the changing rules of superpower conflict, see Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995). A similar argument can be found in Keohane and Nye (1977), p. 43.

would prompt a restored Germany, backed by the Anglo-Americans, to attack the Soviet Union.[178]

From the military perspective of this study, the notions of military power – whether centring on deterrent nuclear forces or on mechanised conventional forces – were challenged by the evolution of the 'new' international social structure of the 1990s. This became manifest in the early 1990s, when academics and national policymakers started debating the meaning of the end of the Cold War for nations, alliances and the discipline of IR and strategic studies. Such phrases as "The End of History"[179], "The New World Order"[180], "The Clash of Civilizations"[181] and "The New Strategic Environment"[182] all reflect the challenging of the rather widely shared rules of the Cold War in the first part of the 1990s.

> The sudden end of the cold war overturned the political truths of the postwar world – truths by which experts had interpreted and understood this world. It raised the issue that there might be still deeper forces at work in the relations of nations, forces that might invalidate the political truths believed to govern the postwar world. At the very least, the events of 1989 pointed to the need for looking anew at the world, a task for which the expert, even if willing to do so, might not be the best party.[183]

Chapter 5 expresses explicitly the linkages between the end of the Cold War, the shared and transformed conceptualisations of war in the post-Cold War era, as well as the shared understandings of military power through the lenses of the changing nature of war. The research questions will then be refined and 'tested' against a case study on military power.

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[178] Lebow (1999), p. 29.
[179] Fukuyama (1992).
[180] Bush (1990).
[181] Huntington (1996).
[182] Nato's Strategic Concept (1991). In the Strategic Concept, the first chapter (the Strategic Context) begins with a subchapter named "the new strategic environment".
[183] Tucker and Hendrickson (1992), pp. 21-22.

5. ELABORATING THE FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING WAR AND MILITARY POWER IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Chapter 4 spelled out the general constructivist perspective on international politics. The essence of this perspective is that in order to understand international politics, one needs to focus on agents' practices within the structural framework that influences their activity. Contrary to some other mainstream approaches, constructivism centres its attention on the social structure of the international system in addition to the material structure. Chapter 4 also postulated – in the form of a research hypothesis – that in order to approach shared understandings of military power in the international system, one can conceptualise shared understandings concerning war – or the institution of war – as an instrument when making the analytical move from the general social structure towards military power. In other words, particular historically sensitive determinants of military power are bestowed with meaning in a wider conceptual set of shared ideas – shared understandings concerning the nature and essence of war. According to the theoretical apparatus developed in this chapter, *discourses of war and related elements of the material structure define possibilities for discourses of military power*. An attempt is made here to move down from the level of international structure (social and material) towards a more analytically relevant structure of meaning concerning war and military power. In doing so, this chapter draws on the constructivist conceptualisation of war as an institution of the international system. It also draws on Thomas Kuhn's concept of 'paradigm'.

The realist thesis that the more or less evident threat of war within the anarchical international system characterises the universal 'environment' of states' actions is parsimonious, and as a *problem-solving premise* it offers possibilities for a multitude of research questions and answers. However, the advantages of assuming an universalistic logic of the international system – and the role of war within it – are somewhat compromised when evaluating the effects of assumptions on research results: when assumptions are correct, then scientific research provides valuable knowledge – even for policy-making purposes. But when the assumptions guiding research are flawed or wrong, the scientific guise of the research may legitimate dubious research results that offer flawed pieces of knowledge and poor advice for policymaking. The epistemological problem concerning the non-existence of universal foundations for evaluating knowledge and truth complicates this even further. It is therefore the guiding principle of this study that the problem-solving premises of realism concerning war and military power are questioned. This does not mean, however, that war or

military power has a less important role in the constructivist synthesis provided in this chapter.

According to the constructivist understanding, *war as social activity is an institution of the international system*. The possibility of distinguishing war from general violence, murder, or genocide implicitly acknowledges that there are certain constitutive rules that define war vis-à-vis other forms of physical violence.[1] And according to the constructivist reading of international politics, these *constitutive – and regulative – rules of war are negotiated within the international system through agents' interaction in the presence of pre-existing rules of war*.

The institution of war is a human product, but one which is not controllable by individual agents and which escapes these agents by acting back on them.[2] Some agents – often conceptualised as great powers – are better positioned than others in a "historical system of rules"[3] to achieve their interests and indeed to effect a redefinition of the rules.

> *States change the rules* by demonstrating, *through their words or their actions,* that they are withdrawing their consent from old rules and bestowing it upon new ones, and thus altering the content of custom or established practice. The operational rules observed by *great powers …* are rescinded or changed when these powers *show by what they do or say that they no longer accept them, or regard their boundaries or limiting conditions as having changed.*[4]

5.1. From Institution to the Kuhnian Notion of Paradigm

The juxtaposition of the constructivist understanding that war is a changing institution of the international system and the abrupt end of the Cold War suggests that a quick and fundamental redefinition of war is possible if actors agree that their external strategic environment is undergoing rapid and far-reaching transformation. This line of thinking is similar to the Kuhnian idea of paradigms and scientific revolutions that was introduced in philosophy of science in the 1960s.

Thomas Kuhn coined the concept of 'paradigm' in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). The main point of the book was to advance an un-

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[1] In the words of John Searle, "War … is a war only if people think it is a war." Searle (1995), p. 89.
[2] See Archer (1995), pp. 174-175. Concerning institutions, see Berger and Luckmann (1984), pp. 70-85.
[3] Bull (1985), p. 55. On great powers, see pp. 200-229.
[4] Ibid., p. 73.

derstanding of the development of science that parted from the traditional cumulative understanding of knowledge production. Kuhn's thesis was that instead of accumulating knowledge little by little, scientific revolutions change the whole worldview of scientists and that after the revolution – or more correctly in conjunction with it – a new basis for science is formed by the scientific community. This worldview – a paradigm – serves to define the shared core of the discipline's researchers. Eventually, a paradigm will become unstable as anomalies accumulate, and they cannot be neither explained by it nor can they be assimilated into it. Thus the seeds for a new revolution are planted by the paradigm itself. The comfortable time of normal science[5] then turns into a revolution[6] and extraordinary science[7], and the formation of a new paradigm. "Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places. Even more important, during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before."[8]

Kuhn emphasised the importance of the research community in creating a paradigm. In this respect, assumptions and the worldview inherent in any paradigm should not be understood as the acceptance of certain kind of final truth, but as recognition of the issues worth investigating, acceptable methods for the study of those issues, and possible results of an inquiry agreed by the research community. In a way, a community of researchers and their competence are implied by a paradigm.[9]

While Kuhn's paradigm formulation addressed philosophy of science questions concerning natural sciences for the most part, he also mentioned the possibility of 'transferring' his paradigm conceptualisation to other fields of social enquiry.[10] War can be seen as conceptualised by the shared consensus of actors within the international system – above all its most important actors, the states.[11] A 'paradigm of war'[12] would consist of shared un-

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[5] "Normal science … is predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like." Kuhn (1975), p. 5.

[6] "Scientific revolutions … are the tradition-shattering complements to the tradition-bound activity of normal science." Ibid., p. 6.

[7] "[N]ormal science repeatedly goes astray. And when it does – when, that is, the profession can no longer evade anomalies that subvert the existing tradition of scientific practice – then begin the extraordinary investigations…" Ibid., p. 6.

[8] Ibid., quote on p. 111. For a criticism of Kuhn's paradigm conceptualisation see for example Masterman (1970), pp. 61-65. Masterman argues (p. 61) that Kuhn uses the word paradigm in "not less than twenty-one different senses".

[9] Guzzini (1998), p. 12; Kuhn (1975), pp. 10-22, 176-181.

[10] Kuhn (1975), pp. 208-210.

[11] A paradigm of war is not without 'direct' link to the practice of war. Owens has noted that the part of "preparing for war is to understand it. What is the nature of war? What is the character of war? Will war in the future be like war in the past?" Owens (1998), p. 63.

derstandings concerning those threats that may/should be countered with war; the 'nature' of war; and the way to organise armed force in order to wage war. A paradigm of war would mean a shared outlook in relation to the nature and use of physical violence in the international system. Actors adherent to a different paradigm of war would conceptualise war in different ways. Different paradigms would lead to different rationales of waging war and different modes of operation in warfare.

When transferring the paradigm framework for the conceptualisation of war, the role and 'nature' of anomalies – the Kuhnian seeds of scientific revolution – is also worth considering. As Kuhn pointed out, the gradual emergence of anomalies starts to blur the boundaries of the paradigm. When 'enough' recognised anomalies emerge that cannot be assimilated within the existing scientific paradigm, and when an alternative candidate for a new paradigm is promulgated, then a paradigm shift occurs.[13] Applying Kuhn's logic to the subject of war, when prevailing conceptions of war are challenged in so many ways that the existing paradigm of war founders, and when an alternative conception of war is promulgated, a change in the paradigm of war becomes possible. The promulgation of a new paradigm of war is not expected to occur via a formal process during which agents consciously and intentionally redefine war. Rather, a paradigm shift occurs when enough agents – in many cases unintentionally – 'accept' new rules of war that emerge in an implicit process of more or less incremental change of the pre-existing rules of war. This process of incremental change may, however, accelerate or slow, or it may even erupt, resulting in a sudden and explicit formulation of a new paradigm of war. The latter comes about when the recognised anomalies and the resulting tensions between them and the (pre-)existing paradigm of war facilitate agents' explicit acknowledgment that an essential transformation of the rules of war has actually taken place. Thus, the process of formulating a new paradigm of war is at best only partially controllable by intentional efforts of particular agents. Similarly, in the process of paradigm development by anomaly assimilation, and the subsequent revolution that leads to a paradigm shift, acknowledged 'needs' and ensuing attempts to steer the emergence of a new paradigm are made possible by the accretion of anomalies. The process of paradigm shift is thus hardly ever the result of an explicit conscious effort.

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[12] It could also be called the 'military paradigm' or the 'paradigm of warfare'. Paul Herman speaks for example of a "paradigm in military affairs". See Paul Herman (1996), p. 27. For an explicit 'paradigm of war' articulation, see Raitasalo and Sipilä (2004). For similar constructs of war – without referring to a paradigm – see e.g. van Creveld (1991), Warden (1995), Schneider (1995), Lind (2004), Toffler and Toffler (1993), Lynn (2003).

[13] Kuhn (1975), pp. 77-106.

The anomalies referred to above can be understood as conceptualisations of threats, understandings of the nature of war, and conceptions of military power that challenge the existing paradigm. These challenges are manifested in practical situations during wars and related discourses. Anomalies will become identifiable, when discourses related to war and concrete events in war do not conform to expectations. As an example from the Cold War era, the discourse on asymmetric war – and its tangible manifestations in Algeria, Vietnam, and Afghanistan to name few – was anomalous vis-à-vis the Cold War era paradigm of war, but was assimilated into and partially neglected by it due to the highly centred focus on possible nuclear war and mechanised conventional war by large armed forces. Since the major agents of the Cold War (particularly the superpowers, but also the military alliances they led) conceptualised asymmetric war as sporadic, less threatening, and not suitable for their own purposes, it remained at the margins of the Cold War era paradigm of war.

When transferring the Kuhnian understanding of the growth of knowledge from philosophy of science to the more tangible domain of international politics and war, one should be aware of what Kuhn says about the nature of paradigms: "though quantum mechanics (or Newtonian dynamics, or electromagnetic theory) is a paradigm for many scientific groups, it is not the same paradigm for them all."[14] Similarly, in a conceptualisation of war within the framework of paradigms, a shared paradigm of war does not imply a total agreement among adherents of the paradigm with respect to all aspects of war defined by the paradigm. It does imply, however, a 'general' shared conceptualisation of war. The following Kuhnian understanding of the institution of war through the concept of a paradigm of war is based on three conceptual and two material factors. According to the constructivist logic presented so far, the main – although not exclusive – emphasis will be on the conceptual factors that assign bestow elements with meaning.

The first element of a paradigm of war – the *shared conceptualisations of threats and risks 'necessitating' the preparation for war* – does not refer to any particular threat or risk faced by an individual actor. Rather, it refers to the 'nature' of threats or projected risks[15] that agents (states) conceptualise demanding the organising, equipping, training, and even using armed force

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[14] Ibid., p. 43.

[15] See Adam and van Loon (2000), pp. 2-3 "The essence of risk is not that it *is* happening, but that it *might* be happening. … One cannot, therefore, observe a risk as a think-out-there – risks are necessarily constructed. However, they are not constructed on the basis of voluntary imagination … For social scientists, perceptions of risk are intimately tied to understandings of what constitutes dangers, threats and hazards and for whom." (Original italics). See also Levitas (2002), p. 201 "the common discourse of risk brings the future into a calculative relation to the present." In other words, a risk denotes a dangerous future scenario.

against. The shared conceptualisations of threats and risks are thus a more general type of threat and risk classification than the rather specific threat perceptions of an individual state or an alliance.

PARADIGM OF WAR

Conceptual factors

- **Shared conceptualisations of threats and risks**

- **Shared conceptualisations of the nature of war**
    - Legitimate / possible objectives
    - Legitimate / possible means

- **Shared conceptualisations of military power**
    - Armed forces: missions, organisation, and operational concepts
    - Procurement: weapon systems etc.

TECHNOLOGY **RESOURCES**

Material factors

Figure 5.1. Elements of a paradigm of war[16]

During the Cold War, the shared conceptualisations of threats were characterised by large mechanised armed forces of a state or a military alliance attacking under the auspices of an ideological confrontation that coloured the practical conduct of international politics regardless of the issue in question. *The Cold War era was – it is assumed in this study – a threat-based social context* for agents as the 'other' represented a clear and present danger on the existence of the 'self'. A Threat was clear, concrete, and monolithic – despite the rather abstract ideological level of threat 'above' the more concrete threat posed by the hostile policies and the existence of massive armed forces of the opposing coalition. With the end of the Cold War *there is the possibility that the threat-based social context has evolved into risk-based one – an international system with less pressing and mono-*

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[16] Modified from Raitasalo and Sipilä (2004). I first probed the idea of a paradigm-framework for understanding war in Raitasalo (2002).

lithic existing threats that gives rise to more dangerous and numerous risks. In this study these risks are understood as socially constructed dangerous future scenarios.[17]

The analytical difference between *threats and risks* is based mostly on their temporal divergence. Threats are something facing agents now, while risks are some possibilistic future scenarios that may – if realised – affect agents in the future.[18] This temporal difference[19], however, does not mean that one is more 'important' than the other in designating possible policy recommendations: *both have their place and need to be taken into consideration when analysing a paradigm of war*. After all, threats and risks are both social constructions – although the possibilities for the construction of risks are mostly based on existing threats. It would simply be 'difficult' to construct a risk that had no link to existing threats whatsoever. In addition to the temporal difference between threats and risks, it has been suggested that because of globalisation, the risks faced today "cannot be calculated with any degree of certainty".[20] This holds particularly if contrasted with the Cold War era 'stable' threats.

The second element of a paradigm of war – the shared *conceptualisations of the nature of war* – relate to the questions of under what circumstances war is a legitimate – and thus a 'possible' – option for an actor and when waging war, which means are legitimate. Conceptualisations of the nature of war thus answer the questions of *when (in which circumstances) to wage war and how*. It has already been noted that threats and risks are social constructions. So are the 'rules' of war, described above as shared conceptualisations of war. In this context, rules refer to the taken-for-granted nature of contemporary warfare and the natural, effective, and legitimate means that should serve the purposes of war. During the Cold War, war was conceptualised as an instrument that would be directed against other states and their armed forces. War was the means for deterring and stopping the spread of the opposing ideology. The use of weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons) was contemplated and even threatened in

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[17] Note that this study does *not* posit that the future has become 'objectively' more dangerous than was the case during the Cold War. Rather, it is argued, as the end of the Cold War 'removed' many of the old and consolidated threats, future risks have become more central in the agents' assessments of their environment than was the case during the Cold War.

[18] Beck (2000), p. 214: "The concept of risk reverses the relationship of the past, present and future. …We are discussing and arguing about something which is not the case, but could happen if we were not to change course."

[19] See van Loon (2000), p. 166 "risks imply a certain uncertainty, a contingency of conditions, actions and effects that are therefore spatially and temporally fragmented."

[20] Coker (2002), p. 60, also on p. 59: "It is a commonplace belief of our times that we think we are subject to risks that are potentially more catastrophic because they are global."

the published declarations of the superpowers, but remained outside the practical conduct of war and shared understanding of legitimate warfare.

The third element of a paradigm of war is related to the *shared conceptualisations of military power*, i.e. rules of recognising military power that assign military power to agents. It is based on shared conceptualisations of what makes states and other agents militarily powerful – based on past actions (warfare, military operations), demonstrated capabilities (demonstration of harnessing and procuring 'developed' systems), and declared performance of armed forces – responding to the prevailing shared conceptualisations of threats and risks, as well as shared conceptualisations about the nature of war. This element of military power within the paradigmatic understanding of war is the main focus of this study. As constructivist 'logic' related to the shared conceptualisations of military power has already been expressed in depth in the previous chapter, further analysis of this aspect of the paradigm of war is not necessary here.

The remaining two elements of a paradigm of war – the prevailing *level of technology* and the *distribution of material resources* – concern for the most part material aspects of waging war. Technology and resources – and their distribution in the international system – set limits for possible actions taken in the international system.[21] The intrinsic qualities of material aspects within a paradigm of war are not denied, but their dependence upon the meaning bestowed to these material aspects is at the heart of my analysis. The difference between war and random violence can be located within the complex of implicit and explicit rules related to war (including international humanitarian law) that define war at any particular point of time. Similarly, the link between asocial intrinsic qualities of technological artefacts and resources as well as socially meaningful resources of war (weapons, information systems etc.) is generated when these material elements of war are bestowed with meaning in the interactions of actors. The process of assigning meaning to material objects is not, however, a unidirectional process: Weapons "do not grow in a vacuum. Even as they help shape ideas concerning the nature of war and the ways in which it ought to be fought, they themselves are the product of those ideas."[22] In the paradigmatic formulation of war, *it is the three conceptual elements – shared conceptualisations of threats and risks, shared conceptualisations about the nature of war, as well as shared understandings about military power – that bestow these 'material' elements of war – technology and resources – with meaning.*

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[21] See Wendt (1999), pp. 109-113.
[22] van Creveld (1991), p. 32.

The paradigm of war formulation, with its focus on the different conceptual factors, implies a layered view of the reality of war. This means that the effects of the three conceptual elements are not similar in every respect. There is a difference of 'depth' between them, in the sense that some shared understandings form a foundation for the other – more superficial or less-deep – understandings. According to the framework of this study, the shared conceptualisations of threats and risks operate at the 'deepest' level. The socially constructed threats and future-related risks assign 'demands' for the agents' preparations and execution of war. What kinds of objectives are sought in waging war and which means are used in combat, depend on the threats and risks facing agents. Similarly, the constitutive elements of military power are dependent on the views of contemporary and future warfare, which in turn are derived from the threats and risks agents see themselves confronted with.

This view of a *paradigm of war as a layered set of shared understandings* does not imply that some of the elements of a paradigm of war are more important than others in analysing historically specific understandings of war. The hierarchical relationships between different conceptual factors of a paradigm of war are based on analytical categories. Similarly, the relationships between different conceptual factors operate both ways – not just from the deeper (e.g. threats and risks) level upwards (e.g. shared conceptualisations of the nature of war). Thus, in order to analyse a paradigm of war, all three conceptual factors – and the two material factors – need to be included in the analysis.

The analytical choice of accentuating ideational elements within a paradigmatic understanding of war does not imply that ideas related to war change with ease. As Alexander Wendt notes, "cultures tend to reproduce themselves once created."[23] Whether shared conceptualisations of war during the Cold War era among the western states has changed after the end of the Cold War cannot be answered by merely pointing to the demise of the Cold War. Rather, whether a change in the paradigm of war has occurred – a revolution in the conceptualisation of war – is an empirical question, necessitating theoretically informed research. The partial answer provided in Chapters 5.3 through 5.5 is only preliminary and to some extent inconclusive. It is presented only to illustrate the possibilities for analysis using a constructivist framework of a paradigm of war. The main emphasis of this research is the process of (re)constructing military power in the post-Cold War era – analysed from a constructivist perspective and relying upon the framework of the paradigm of war. As Figure 5.1 shows, understandings of military power are conceptualised here as one ideational category within a larger conceptual framework – the paradigm of war. In the language of

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[23] Wendt (1999), p. 134.

those who wish to refrain from using a 'Kuhnian description of war', *the meaning of military power is defined within the international system in the presence of pre-existing shared understandings of military power which are either reproduced or transformed by agents' practices. The prevailing shared definition of military power can be conceptualised to be part of a larger set of shared understandings concerning war.*

It is noteworthy that according to the 'paradigm of war' perspective, *each agent makes practical policy decisions, taking into consideration questions of geography, material resources, level of technological development, nature of domestic politics, etc.* As a result, certain states prepare for expeditionary warfare by large mechanised formations, while others develop territorial defences against such an attack, or they engage in guerrilla warfare as a way to blunt the advantages in numbers and technology that massed armed forces have vis-à-vis adversaries with less resources and lower level of technological development. The mere existence of divergent conceptualisations of national defence and the subsequent practical defence policy doctrines does not, however, mean that a generally shared conceptualisation of war does not exist, particularly in a culturally definable community like the west. Rather, *many of these seemingly divergent (national) conceptualisations have their genesis in these shared understandings concerning war – as national responses to threats and risks identified by the shared paradigm.*

5.2. Paradigm and Discourse

The above-mentioned Kuhnian understanding of a paradigm of war acknowledges differences between paradigms within the sphere of science and the exercise of physical violence. The most visible difference concerns communication between paradigms. While Kuhn maintained that communication between scientific paradigms is possible, there is no guarantee that attempts to communicate between incommensurable paradigms will succeed. In the case of war it is possible to assume that the ability of one paradigm to show its excellence vis-à-vis another could at least partially be found in the practical outcome of a war. But it is noteworthy that even a total defeat of an actor would not lead one to conclude automatically that the winning side's paradigm of war was superior: since paradigms are at least partially incommensurable[24], the aims of warfare might be such that

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[24] "Like the choice between competing political institutions, that between competing paradigms proves to be a choice between incompatible modes of community life. … Each group uses its own paradigm to argue in that paradigm's defense. …The normal-scientific tradition that emerges from a scientific revolution is not only incompatible but often actually incommensurable with that which has gone before." Kuhn (1975), p. 94, 193.

the losing side does not consider even a total defeat as a sign of an inferior paradigm.

Relying on a constructivist theory of IR and analysing war and military power from a Kuhnian perspective of paradigms, the end of the Cold War can be conceptualised as a *possible* paradigm-changing event – a change in a leading paradigm of war in the international system or as the emergence of recognised anomalies and the subsequent onset of extraordinary warfare. This is because the shared Cold War era rules of ideological spheres of influence, hostility between the two alliances, constant preparations for large-scale military confrontations, and even possibly a nuclear war, seemed to come to an end with the demise of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union.[25] The problem that states faced with the dissolution of Cold War era rules of the international system and its accompanying paradigm of war was that they had to come to terms with new rules in the absence of any clear guiding principles.[26] The 1990s and the following first years of the 21st century can be conceptualised as a competition between various new candidates for the new definitions of the international system, its operating logic and the paradigm of war within its sphere. Competition (or lack of consensus) in this context means the coexistence of several views – many of which have been contradictory – concerning the nature of the new international system and its rules of war. The emphasis on this lack of consensus during the post-Cold War era does *not* mean, however, that the starting point of subsequent brief analysis of the western conception of war is an actual paradigm shift or the inception of one. Rather, emphasising the emergence of divergent and conflicting conceptualisations of the character of the international system, the institution of war, and military power with the demise of the suppressive elements of the Cold War era means arguing for the *possibility* of fundamental change in the social structure of the international system. The extent to which this fundamental change has taken place – if at all – is a matter of empirical scientific enquiry.

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[25] On the Cold War era conceptualisations of war and military power see van Creveld (1991), p.1: "The armed forces of these states [a handful of industrialized states: the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies in NATO and the Warsaw Pact], particularly those of the two superpowers, have long served the rest as models and, indeed, as standards by which they evaluate themselves." See also ibid., pp. 2-18.

[26] The notion of 'the beginning of the post-Cold War era' is as indeterminate as the notion of 'the end of the Cold War'. Different analysts or statesmen will define it differently. For the purpose of this research, it is obvious that a date or an exact year is not very relevant. Rather, the *shared idea* that spread around the globe with the turn of the decade of 1980s/1990s that the Cold War is over was the starting point for assessing the possible paradigm shift concerning war in the post-Cold War era; Adelman (2002, p. 11) for example, has described the end of the Cold War as "one of these recurring illusionary turning points within theories of progress".

Looking at the situation during the 15 years after the Cold War – the 1990s and the first years of the new millennium – one can locate several themes or discourses that have redefined international system and specifically what some conceptualise the paradigm of war. These themes have sprung up from two major sources: the political practices within the international system and academic discussion about the character of the post-Cold War era. Concentrating on the possible articulation of a new paradigm of war, the actual use or debated non-use of military force is a possible way to identify the characteristics of the post-Cold War era paradigm of war and thus make it possible to compare it with the Cold War era conceptualisations of war to detect a possible paradigm shift.

The above-mentioned reference to discourses is influenced by what Iver Neumann calls "a simple model of culture as a mutually conditioned play between discourse and practice"[27] in his 2002 *Millennium* –article. Neumann argues that after the linguistic turn, the discipline of IR needs a practice turn. Neumann proposes a model of social action in which narrative discourse and discursive practices are integrated through their dynamic interplay. According to Neumann, Discourse analysts "have consistently grappled with the dilemma of how to reconcile meaning and materiality, discourse and practice. … discourse refers to preconditions of action and practice to socialised patterns of action."[28]

Parallel to the redefinition of war and military power in the post-Cold War era, the term discourse is conceptualised in this study as a social practice that constitutes reality. In analysing shared conceptualisations of war and military power in the post-Cold War era, both the material (or practice-related) and linguistic aspects of discourses are highlighted in this study. This means that the term discourse applies not only to 'linguistic' factors, such as speech acts and texts (and on the level of social structure the 'ideational' factors, such as shared meanings or collective understandings), but also on those practices and/or material conditions that are interpreted through these ideational filters or lenses and which also shape the nature of these shared meanings and understandings. Political practices (diplomatic initiatives, military operations or the application of military pressure as examples) do not only causally cause observable outcomes, but also operate as communication and influence the prevailing discourses through reproduction or transformation.

> As long as people act in accordance with established practices, they confirm a given discourse … The possibility exists that people will not act in

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[27] Neumann (2002), p. 627.
[28] Ibid., p. 629, 631.

accordance with a given practice, in which case established discourse will come under strain.[29]

Practices are thus intelligible and possible due to the existence of discourses, but they are not determined by them. It is possible to transform the order-constituting and subject positions-creating aspects of discourses by practices, although the habit of doing things, the facilitative aspects of common structures, and the intentional resistance to discourse change by some agents – 'discourse policing' – may provide significant opposition to transformation.[30] The ability to control discourses – either by transforming or maintaining the existing discourses – implies the power to frame the situation for other agents and the appropriate, natural, courses of action.

Similarly, the linguistic – or discursive – elements of a discourse do more than only communicate. They constitute social reality and thus give meaning to material factors. Discourses do not, however, operate on a purely linguistic level. They are affected by practices, agents by their actions redirect – or reproduce – the future path of the discourse. Discourses cannot thus be detached from their historical (discursive-practical) contexts or from their origins. Citing the current 'War on Terror' as an example of the intertwined relationship between discourse and practice, Richard Jackson has noted that:

> The practice of 'war on terrorism' in its military and political dimensions would not be possible without the accompanying language or discourse of counter terrorism: discourse and practice, in other words, are interdependent or co-constitutive.[31]

When focusing on the idea of transforming discourses by practices – either by physical actions or speech acts – the debate over the 'content' of the discourse on the War on Terror is highlighted along with the outcomes of agents' activities against terrorists. Regarding power, the discourse-based focus includes not only the question of who has the most power in the struggle against terrorists, but also the question of who is (are) in the position to define the meaning of terrorism, the War On Terror, and thus the determinants of military power in the 'new' war.

According to political realism, the context-effect of the universal logic of anarchy causes system-level outcomes or directs the possibilities of individual states to act. From the constructivist perspective of this study, the context of international system needs to be studied in order to make individual agent's choices intelligible. The notion of international anarchy –

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[29] Ibid., p. 637.
[30] Ibid., pp. 636-648.
[31] See Jackson (2004), p. 2.

combined with some other assumptions – is not sufficient to explain international outcomes. Using the language of the general constructivist framework presented in Chapter 4 and the Kuhnian paradigm framework for understanding war, *shared understandings concerning war in general and military power particularly are negotiated within various war-related discourses*. These discourses thus limit the possibilities that states and other agents have for understanding war within the international system – and thus these discourses constitute the actual manifestation of war in international politics.

5.3. Emerging Anomalies – The Post-Cold War Era Challenges to the Sedimented Cold War Paradigm of War

The baseline for the analysis of the shared western understandings of war during the post-Cold War era can be located in the *Cold War paradigm of war*. This ideational totality is related to Clausewitzian thinking, although in many instances there is a difference between what Clausewitz actually said and how what he said has been interpreted.[32] Nevertheless, *the 'Clausewitzian' view of war* has attracted a lot of attention from scholars and practitioners alike.[33] Carl von Clausewitz wrote about the Napoleonic wars in the beginning of the 19th century and his posthumously 1832 published book *Vom Kriege* is still today the point of reference in estimations of western definitions and understandings of war. Its influence is not limited to the western audience only. Today's familiar definitions of war as "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will", and "continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means" were promulgated by Clausewitz.[34] The 'traditional' view of war that represented the Cold War era conceptualisations of war – drawing heavily upon Clausewitz – sees war as an instrument of the state in the pursuit of its interests. In other words, war is an instrument of states' rational policies, among other means, although the nature of war has not been characterised on rationalistic terms: 'friction' and the 'fog of war' describe the unforeseeable character and the element of surprise inherent in waging war. In addition to its instrumental nature, war has been conceptualised as a universal phenomenon, explainable by a universally 'true' theory of war.[35]

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[32] E.g. Lynn (2003), p. 215; Keegan (1993), pp. 3, 46-49.

[33] Concerning the link between Cold War era conceptualisations of war and Clausewitzian thinking, see e.g. Holsti (1996), pp. 5-6. See also p. 14: "This [the Clausewitzian conception of war as organized combat between the military forces of two or more states] is the model of war enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in collective defense organizations like NATO, and in the definitions of war and aggression in international law."

[34] Clausewitz (1989), p. 75, 87 (quotes).

[35] On the Clausewitzian philosophy of war, see Rapoport (1968), pp. 13-15. On p. 60:

During the Cold War, the ideological rivalry between the two superpower blocs armed with nuclear weapons led to a two-fold shared conceptualisation of war. On the one hand, the existence of nuclear weapons and the development of nuclear deterrence theorising meant that a nuclear war remained possible. Its consequences would have been unimaginable and literally incalculable. On the other hand, the view of conventional war – more tangible and imaginable than a nuclear war – was based on large-scale clashes of mechanised armed forces on the battlefield. This view was force-oriented, accentuating mass (quantity) and terrain, and was based on the hypothetical possibility to separate the battlefield from the civil society. The shared Cold War era conceptualisations of war had their genesis in Clausewitz, focusing on war via armed forces trying to win decisive battles on a demarcated battlefield.[36] The nuclear threat environment, superpower rivalry, and the intra-alliance dynamics overshadowed the significance of smaller scale, 'peripheral', and unconventional combat scenarios.[37]

> When thinking about war, we usually conjure up the image of two countries arraying their military forces against each other, followed by combat between distinctively designated, organized, and marked armed forces.

"In details the Neo-Clausewitzian view differs from the classical Clausewitzian doctrine but agrees with it in essentials. … The essential similarity between the modern and the classical forms of Clausewitzian philosophy of war is rooted in the basic conception of war as a political instrument and in the tacit assumption that the national interests of a state are clearly discernible and, in very large measure, identified with the power of a state vis-à-vis other states." See also Keegan (1993), p. 48.

[36] Franzen (2002), pp. 5-9; Ralston (2002). See also Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to the President and Congress (1991), p. v, which contains a post facto US conceptualisation of Cold War era war and threats involving s: "a massive invasion into Western Europe by Warsaw Pact that could easily escalate into global war." See also Cassidy (2003), pp. 135-136, where he makes the point that "during the first half of the 20th century the [US] Army exhibited a long-term trend toward the emergence of the 'massive armed force'". Cassidy maintains that the 'lessons' of WW II further validated this view of war, as "victory had been achieved by harnessing and unleashing massive amounts of materiel."

[37] Owens (1998), p. 64: "Vietnam was fought in accordance with an economic and quantitative paradigm of conflict arising from nuclear deterrence theory. … Central to McNamara strategy for Vietnam was the application of technological solutions to military problems and the employment of quantitative methods to measure progress." See also Lock-Pullan (2003), p. 135; Jablonsky's conceptualisation of the Cold War as "the long twilight conflict that kept attention on the core relationship between the superpowers and only occasionally on the periphery in the so-called Third World" implies the minor effects that Low Intensity Conflicts and other 'non-western' wars had on shared superpower dominated conceptualisations of war in the two main blocs of the Cold War. Jablonsky (1994b). See also Kaldor (2001). On various conceptualisations of war in the US, see Holsti (1991), pp. 286-295 and Cassidy (2003). On Cold War era myopia and ethnocentricity related to the analysis of war, see Holsti (1996), p. 13. On the mismatch between eastern and western conceptualisations of war and the reality of war, see van Creveld (1991), pp. ix-x, 25-32.

> The purpose of fighting is to destroy the adversary's capacity to resist and then to impose both military and political terms on the defeated party. … War defined as a contest of arms between sovereign states derives from the post-1648 European experience, as well as from the Cold War.[38]

In 1987 the Western European Union (WEU) continued to describe the security situation in Europe and the threats facing Western Europe in a similar fashion:

> We have not yet witnessed any lessening of the military build-up which the Soviet Union has sustained over so many years. The geostrategic situation of Western Europe makes it particularly vulnerable to the superior conventional, chemical and nuclear forces of the Warsaw Pact. This is the fundamental problem for European security. The Warsaw Pact's superior conventional forces and its capability for surprise attack and large-scale offensive action are of special concern in this context.[39]

Similarly – after the end of the Cold War – the 1994 (US) *Annual Report to the President and the Congress* by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin explained:

> During the Cold War, American military planning was dominated by the need to confront numerically superior Soviet forces in Europe, the Far East, and Southwest Asia.[40]

At the national European level it has been argued in a similar fashion – in retrospect – that the planning and operations of the Cold War era British Armed Forces were determined by the Cold War era rules of the international system:

> The *circumstances of the Cold War*, including the capabilities of the Warsaw Pact forces, *determined* that UK Armed Forces had to be structured –

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[38] Holsti (1996), p. 1.

[39] Platform on European Security Interests (1987).

[40] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1994), p. 5 (quote). Concerning the shared Cold War era understandings of the international system and war related to the nuclear realm, see ibid., pp. 7-8: "Nuclear Posture Review [started in October 1993] will form the foundation that shapes America's nuclear posture in the post-Cold War world. … Does the Unites States still need triad? How many weapons systems will remain on permanent alert? *The Cold War provided one set of answers to these questions, but the new strategic environment requires its own carefully considered approach.*" (my italics). See also Report on the Bottom-Up review (1993), p. 1: "The Cold War is behind us. … The threat that drove our defense decisionmaking for four and a half decades – that determined our strategy and tactics, our doctrine, the size and shape of our forces, the design of our weapons, and the size of our defense budgets – is gone. … How do we structure the armed forces of the United States for the future?"

and equipped – to conduct high intensity conflict. They had to pose a credible nuclear threat if need be, as well as being prepared to resist an assault in overwhelming numbers, by an opponent who was equally, if not better equipped. *Confronting a superpower required superpower weaponry* of ever increasing sophistication.[41]

5.3.1. The End of the Cold War

The path for the rewriting of western Cold War era paradigm of war was first cleared by the general agreement concerning the end of the Cold War.[42] In the late 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s the discourse concerning the end of the Cold War started to become widely accepted.[43] With the demise of the superpower confrontation and the quick erosion of the bipolar international system – features that were characterising the Cold War era rules of the international system – states and other international agents found themselves in a situation where the old rules of the international system were being questioned and new or altered rules had to be figured out.[44] However, this rule-setting process has not been a formal one. Rather, it has been a conjoint process of agent-level and system-level discussion concerning the ending of the Cold War era, the 'nature' of the new international system, and the adjoining policies 'needed' to promote agents' interests in this 'new' – still vaguely defined – international system. Similarly, agents gauged future policy prospects and formulated related visionary statements and policies in order to mould the evolving system into one that would be beneficial for them. *The immediate post-Cold War era was a generally acknowledged time of transition, while the end point of*

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[41] Garden and Ramsbotham (2004), p. 10 (my italics).

[42] On the end of the Cold War as a discourse, see e.g. Walker (1997), p. 64: "The reigning Cold War orthodoxies had become widely offensive long before 1989, but the possibility of capturing complex historical and structural transformations in a single year of exhilaration also offered a glorious chance to rehabilitate the longing for a tabula rasa, the blank slate of the 'new world order'." Campbell (1998), p. 15 has remarked that "the very act of proclaiming the end of the cold war serves to write history in such a way that the cold war becomes an era the understanding of which is not problematic."

[43] Among the signals that the end of the Cold War had occurred were, among other things, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the unification of Germany and its membership in NATO, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, and eventually the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

[44] Rules of the system refer here to constitutive norms of the system. With the transformation of these rules, the nature of the system changes. See e.g. Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995), pp. 127, 134-139, 144-159. See also Nye and Owens (1996), p. 26: "The set of fuzzy guidelines and meaning the Cold War once provided has been replaced by a deeper ambiguity regarding international events. … With the organising framework of the Cold War gone, the implications are harder to recognize, and all nations want to know more about what is happening and why to help them decide how much it matters and what they should do about it."; See also Shalikashvili (1995).

this process of transition was not in sight. The process of revising the Cold War era rules of the international system in general, and war and military power in particular, was troubling as states had become accustomed to be able to apply the rather formal and sedimented Cold War era rules of war and the recognition of military power.

The end of the Cold War was thus also the beginning of the process – both implicit and explicit in nature – of reconceptualising the 'logic' of the international system, the nature of war in it, and the determinants of military power. Concerning the latter, the simultaneously occurring 1991 Gulf War also challenged the Cold War era understandings of military power – at least in part. Especially the increasing role of advanced information technology became the focal point in estimations of future determinants of military power, although the war in the Gulf was conceptualised and waged in a rather familiar Cold War era way: large-scale mechanised armed forces fighting decisive battles.

By the early 1990s, the end of the Cold War was a reality, but the post-Cold War era was characterised by uncertainty, ambiguity, and questions concerning the nature of the 'new' system. As the *Charter of Paris for a New Europe* (1990) declared:

> The era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended. We declare that henceforth our relations will be founded on respect and co-operation. Europe is liberating itself from the legacy of the past.[45]

Similarly, the 1991 *National Security Strategy of the United States* explained:

> [T]he Cold War is over … We have entered a new era … This new era offers great hope, but this hope must be tempered by the *even grater uncertainty we face.* … We need to consider how the United States and its allies can best respond to a new agenda of political challenges.[46]

5.3.2. The Revolution in Military Affairs

In addition to the discourse concerning the end of the Cold War, another apparent discourse concerning war and particularly military power after the Cold War has been the post-Gulf War (1991) debate about the Revolution

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[45] Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990).

[46] National Security Strategy of the United States (1991), p. 1 (my italics). Note that even as recently as 1995, the National Security Strategy of the United States opened with following words: "A new era us upon us. The Cold War is over." See A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (1995), p. 1.

in Military Affairs (RMA). It has been mostly an American debate, but it has also had an effect on Europe and other developed states that wish to operate in tandem with the United States in the military field. The underlying assumption beneath the RMA thesis ever since the 1991 war has been that rapid technological change is revolutionising the way that states wage war: Better sensors and increased possibilities to analyse information, as well as enhanced communications systems, enable armed forces to see the battlefield to an unprecedented degree. When combined with high-tech precision weaponry, a revolutionary military force can decisively defeat any adversary while protecting itself with a sophisticated mix of technical and operational features. The possibility to limit collateral damage and casualties is one feature of RMA that has been influencing decisions to use military force in the post-Cold War world.[47]

The idea beneath the Revolution in Military Affairs parallels Kuhn's notion of scientific revolutions. First, there is a time of more or less stable conceptualisation of war and following technologies, doctrines, organisations and training systems. Then – as a consequence of the lessons learned from previous wars or from intellectual innovation – this 'old' way of conceptualising war is questioned. This questioning may lead to an alternative perception of war and the role of the military. What war is and how it should be waged come to be understood in a different manner. Similarly, new ideas of how to prepare for war against new potential belligerents emerge. The revolution means a period of transition from the confines of an old paradigm to the fuzzy outlines of a new one. The overlap between the old and the new paradigms – the latter of which begin to emerge out of the problems that actor(s) face(s) due to the framing of war of the old paradigm – is a period of extraordinary warfare, where the objectives and methods of waging war are mixed and do not conform to either of the paradigms completely. Heidi and Alvin Toffler have proposed that the 1991 Gulf War was an example of extraordinary warfare where the attacking coalition (mostly the US) waged war by the dictates of two different paradigms – the second and the third waves of war. The newest mode of wealth production and accumulation – information – is producing the third time revolutionary change in warfare. Or at least so the Tofflers claim.[48]

In addition to the effects of information technology on military power, the increasing influence of high technology upon increased public awareness of

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[47] See e.g. Krepinevich (1994a), pp. 40-41; Sloan (2002), pp. 3-17.

[48] See Kuhn (1975), p. 6; Toffler and Toffler (1993). " What is not clearly understood even now is that the United States and its allies simultaneously fought two very different wars against Iraq's Saddam Hussein. … One war in Iraq was fought with Second Wave weapons designed to create mass destruction. … the other war was fought with Third Wave weapons designed for pinpoint accuracy, customized destruction, and minimal 'collateral damage'". See p. 64, 67.

global events became manifest during the 1991 Gulf War – the first war seen live on television. The trend in the 1990s was towards more and more real-time media coverage of military conflicts. As General Wesley Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during NATO's war in Kosovo, noted:

> In Vietnam the battlefield was isolated in space and time from the policy-makers at home…. It took years for the media to build the reporting networks … In the 1990s, all of the information age technologies were available – satellite transmission of TV imagery, fax, the internet, a plethora of long-distance phone lines, and cellular telephones. … The new technologies impacted powerfully at the political levels. … New technologies also changed warfare for the military. … *the world would certainly be present on every battlefield where western forces were engaged.*[49]

Similarly, the British *Statement on the Defence Estimates* (1994) noted that:

> In a world made smaller by technological progress and instant media coverage, conflicts, as well as humanitarian disasters, are no longer remote but are brought to us each day.[50]

Public knowledge of the situation on the ground in the military conflicts of the post-Cold War era has increased with the development of communications technologies and the active role played by the mass media – particularly the western news networks. The 'CNN effect' or 'CNN factor' represents the post-Cold war reality that citizens are increasingly aware of ongoing military conflicts, although the information given to them is controlled – or even distorted – by the adversaries. In addition, the willingness of western governments and militaries to justify military intervention via mass communications media has increased. The legitimacy of humanitarian missions and interventions has been enhanced by revelations of human suffering. The mass media have also emphasised the 'effective' use of military firepower in such a way as to avoid casualties and damage during operations.

5.3.3. Asymmetric Warfare

The discourse of asymmetric warfare has challenged the suggestion that advanced information technology and related changes in doctrines, organi-

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[49] Clark (2001), pp. 8-9. Clark notes that already during the US Operation against Manuel Noriega in Panama in 1989, the presence of the media was indicative of its future effects. This was exacerbated during the 1991 Gulf War and in Somalia in 1992.
[50] Statement on the Defence Estimates (1994), p. 7.

sations, and training of the armed forces will lead to a new mode of warfare. Accordingly, the asymmetric response to the RMA thesis has been presented as the 'counterrevolution in military affairs' by asymmetric means. According to the discourse of asymmetric warfare, the Revolution in Military Affairs does not provide universal unambiguous advantages in warfare, in cases when the adversary does not conceptualise war in terms of the RMA thesis.[51] An asymmetric response to RMA means that an actor uses unconventional methods of warfare from the actor's own perspective and thus refuses to accept the rules of war that have been set by those actors that engage according to the RMA.[52] Examples of asymmetric responses to RMA are exemplified by terrorist attacks on the home turf of an RMA adversary, the use of weapons of mass destruction, and non-compliance with international humanitarian law.[53] In addition 'traditional' guerrilla tactics over a long period of time are thought to blunt strategies to exploit RMA. The operations in Haiti and Somalia have been mentioned as examples of asymmetric conflicts in which the western reliance on the RMA has not produced the envisioned outcomes of the RMA thesis. In addition, the technology gap between the belligerents in the wars in Chechnya has been used to criticise the technologically biased RMA thesis.[54] Similarly, the recent problems that western states have faced during the stabilisation and reconstruction phases in Afghanistan and Iraq have proved less than flattering for those who have hailed the potential advantages of advanced military technologies.

This notion of *asymmetric warfare* could be understood as one manifestation of differences in paradigms of war. The 'traditional' Cold War era form of asymmetric conflict emerged in the form of guerrilla warfare against large mechanised armed forces that relied on up-to-date technology.

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[51] Peters argues: "No matter how hard we try to take our world with us, we will find *we sometimes must fight the enemy on his ground, by his rules.*" Peters (1995-6) (my italics).

[52] See e.g. Krepinevich (1994b), p. 20: Given "the likely overwhelming U.S. superiority in the traditional, or conventional, measures of military power, America's adversaries will have great incentives to adopt a very unconventional approach."

[53] See e.g. Chandler (1998), 225-227. On asymmetric responses in general, see Schoomaker (2004).

[54] On the 'Counterrevolution in Military Affairs' and the examples of Somalia, Haiti, and Chechnya, see McCabe (1999). In addition to the already mentioned examples of Vietnam and Afghanistan, IR research has also concluded that in asymmetric conflicts the 'powerless' have a good chance of succeeding. Ivan Arreguín-Toft (2001) has shown in a statistical study that during the period 1950-1998, only 45% of asymmetric conflicts were won by the powerful. This represents a reduction compared to 1800-1998, when some 71% of similar conflicts were won by the powerful. On defining asymmetric conflicts, see for example Paul (1994), p. 20, where he stresses the "unequal overall military and economic power resources." He says that the "discrepancy ratio between the initiator and the defender in power terms is generally 1:2 or more."

The discrepancy between the overwhelming military power of the United States and its lack of success in Vietnam is a telling example: unable to wage war on US terms[55], the North Vietnamese relied on an indirect strategy of prolonging the conflict and asymmetric tactics to disrupt the US forces in circumstances that made small guerrilla forces very effective against the well-armed, large, and modern armed forces of the US.[56] Despite the Cold War era superpower humiliations in Vietnam and Afghanistan, the lessons drawn from those wars – especially Vietnam – were articulated in terms of the then ongoing east-west confrontation: The US "Army's intellectual rebirth after Vietnam focused almost exclusively on a big conventional war in Europe – the scenario preferred by the US military culture."[57]

Related to the increasing importance of asymmetric warfare in the western understandings of contemporary war has been the post-Cold War era fear concerning the *proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery systems*. In the first half of the 1990s, it was mostly within the emerging regional perspective – 'irresponsible' states that might seek to counter US military preponderance through the easiest and only way possible: WMDs – that non-proliferation and counterproliferation were conceptualised. *Terrorism* was also part of the equation, but in practical terms it received less attention than e.g. Iraq and North Korea – the rogue states of the day.[58] At the heart of the US Defense Counterproliferation Initiative (Presidential Decision Directive PDD/NSC 18, 1993), was the "drive to develop new military capabilities to deal with this new threat" [of WMD proliferation].[59] By the time the 1990s were coming to a close, the threat of

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[55] Or rather on terms that were defined by developed 'western' states. For an example of a non-conventional response to conventional warfare, see e.g. Cassidy (2004), p. 82.

[56] On "How the Weak Win Wars", see Arreguín-Toft (2001).

[57] Cassidy (2004), p. 74. Cassidy relies on the concept of (national) military culture, which he conceptualises as a set of institutional beliefs concerning warfare. Accordingly, for "most of the 20th century, the US military culture generally embraced the big conventional war paradigm and fundamentally eschewed small wars and insurgencies." Ibid., p. 75. See also Cassidy (2003).

[58] See e.g. Aspin (1993) "During the Cold War, our principal adversary had conventional forces in Europe that were numerically superior. … But today it is the United States that has unmatched conventional military power, and it is our potential adversaries who may attain nuclear weapons. … And it is not just nuclear weapons. *All the potential threat nations* are at least capable of producing biological and chemical agents." (My italics).

[59] Ibid.; On the danger presented by the proliferation of WMD proliferation, see e.g. Report on the Bottom-Up Review (1993), p. 2. This danger was referred to by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin as the "number one threat" identified in the Bottom Up Review. See Aspin (1993).

terrorism in general and in connection to WMDs particularly had evolved into a more serious and urgent matter.[60]

5.3.4. New Wars

The manifestation of wars as new wars during the 1990s – and already in the 1980s – has been highly problematic for many developed states in their attempts to comprehend and mould the post-Cold War international order.[61] New wars – mainly ethnic-religious conflicts – do not fit the Cold War era conceptualisations of wars particularly well. With the *below-the-state-agent emphasis* explicitly posited in the discourse on new wars, the content of that discourse has not been new. During the Cold War, the concept of 'Low Intensity Conflict' (LIC) was used to describe this 'new' feature of warfare. Symptomatic of these LICs were their location in the non-developed world, irregular fighters (terrorists, guerrillas, civilians), and non-reliance on high-technology weapons.[62] Similarly, civil wars and guerrilla warfare have been in the international vocabulary for decades. As Kalevi J. Holsti has noted:

> In the second half of the twentieth century, the forms of armed combat have diversified to the point where we can no longer speak of war as a single institution of the states system. … The uses of force for political purposes range from intifadas, terrorism, and guerrilla wars, through peacekeeping interventions, to conventional set warfare between organized armies.[63]

Conceptualising the emergence of *new wars* as a challenge to the Cold War era paradigm of war during the 1990s and in the beginning of the 21st century does not mean denying the existence of non-state actors in Cold War

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[60] See e.g. Fact Sheet: Combating Terrorism – Presidential Decision Directive 62 (1998); A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1998), pp. 6-7,11-12; A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), pp. 2-3, 22-25.

[61] Kaldor (1999). See e.g. pp. 1-2: "[D]uring the 1980s and 1990s, a new type of organized violence has developed, especially in Africa and Eastern Europe, which is one aspect of the current globalized era. I describe this type of violence as 'new war'." New wars "involve a blurring of the distinction between *war* (usually defined as violence between states or organized political groups for political motives), *organized crime* (violence undertaken by privately organized groups for private purposes, usually financial gain) and *large-scale violations of human rights* (violence undertaken by states or politically organized groups against individuals)." (My italics)

[62] See van Creveld (1991), pp. 18-32, 57-62; Olson (1989), p. 75: "The United States faces an era of great uncertainty in dealing with the challenges of low-intensity conflict." Cohen (1986); Also the concepts of 'privatised wars', 'informal wars', 'post-modern wars', and 'degenerate warfare' have been used to describe 'new wars'. See Kaldor (1999), pp. 2-3.

[63] Holsti (1991), pp. 272-273.

era conceptualisations of war. Rather, it means that the 'content' of the discourse on new or non-traditional wars did not have a significant role in the leading western paradigm of war during the Cold War. The developed states in the west – and the somewhat less developed states in the east – did not have LICs at the centre of their combat scenarios in general, although they might have done so on several particular occasions – in the aftermath of Vietnam for example. In addition, global interconnectedness has intensified during the last couple of decades, providing a medium for the contestation of the states' monopoly of legitimate organised violence.[64]

> We are entering an era, not of peaceful economic competition between trading blocs, but of warfare between ethnic and religious groups. Even as familiar forms of armed conflict are sinking into the dustbin of the past, radically new ones are raising their heads ready to take their place. Already today the military power fielded by the principal developed societies in both 'West' and 'East' is hardly relevant to the task at hand; in other words, it is more illusion than substance. …the plain fact is that conventional military organizations of the principal powers are hardly even relevant to the predominant form of contemporary war.[65]

Looking at the RMA debate from the perspective of new wars, its technological and state-centric focuses seem to emanate from Cold War era conceptualisations of war, which emphasised national and alliance-based armed forces as well as harnessing the linearly developing technology for added military effectiveness and lower own casualties. Kaldor shares the view "that there has been a revolution in military affairs, but it is a revolution in the social relations of warfare, not in technology, even though the changes in social relations are influenced by and make use of new technology."[66]

5.3.5. Humanitarian Interventions

The 'emergence' of new wars in the 1980s and 1990s is related to the emphasis on humanitarian justifications for intervening militarily in affairs of other states under the auspices of ad hoc reinterpreted rules of the international system – mainly related to sovereignty and norms concerning universal human rights. These operations have mostly been multinational in character. Simplifying somewhat the complex issue of defining and categoris-

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[64] Kaldor (1999), pp. 4-5.

[65] Van Creveld (1991), p. ix, 20. On the changing nature of wars in the post-Cold War era, see also Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations (1995), paragraphs 10-22.

[66] Kaldor (1999), p. 3. Kaldor contrasts new wars with the old ones by focusing on the goals of war, modes of warfare and related financing. See pp. 6-9.

ing different manifestations of war, and the reasons that different agents have given for using physical violence, it can be argued that as the frequency of 'new' large-scale violence increased or stayed on a high level after the Cold War, conventional threats faced by developed states dissolved and the effects of modern communications technology brought global affairs into the living rooms of average people, the humanitarian use of military force became a real possibility – or even a necessity. As the 1994 (US) Annual Report to the President and Congress by the Secretary of Defense Les Aspin explained:

> The current debate over whether, when, or how the United States should use force in the post-Cold War era has taken place largely in the context of ongoing crises in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti.[67]

After the 1991 Gulf War, an optimistic vision emerged concerning the possibilities of legitimate coalition warfare to quell the potentially emerging conflicts that had been suppressed by the Cold War for several decades. The operations mandated by the UN Security Council (Resolution 688/1991) in the northern and later southern parts of Iraq were the first post-Cold War examples of the humanitarian use of military force with a UN mandate.[68] Despite the fact that Saddam Hussein's brutal regime was not prevented from repressing domestic opposition violently in the immediate aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, these first post-Cold War era humanitarian operations were able to sanction state behaviour through the legitimate use of force.[69] The optimistic visions of a New World Order and hopes of a peaceful post-Cold War era were soon shattered after the 1991 Gulf War. US-led high-technology coalition warfare proved not to be the answer to all humanitarian crises in the world. The cases of Somalia[70] and the bloody disintegration of most of Yugoslavia[71] – and particularly the problems that the west had in resolving these conflicts – showcased the

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[67] Annual Report to the President and Congress by the Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1994), p. 8.

[68] On August 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-fire Monitoring Group was established in Liberia, where civil war had erupted in 1989. This first post-Cold War humanitarian intervention was legitimated retroactively by UN Security Council resolutions 788 (Nov 1992) and 866 (Sept 1993) by describing the disorderly situation in Liberia as "a threat to international peace and security". See The Responsibility to Protect (2001), pp. 81-84; United Nations Security Council Resolution 778 (1992) (quote).

[69] It is noteworthy that the UN Security Council did not mandate the no-fly zones over Iraq.

[70] About Somalia, see e.g. DiPrizio (2002), p. 71, 75; Weiss and Collins (2000), pp. 81-85.

[71] On the breaking up of Yugoslavia, see e.g. DiPrizio (2002), pp. 103-145.

multitude of problems related to military interventions in the post-Cold War era.[72]

The prevention of genocide[73] in central Africa, first in Rwanda and later in Burundi, proved to be a military task that the well-equipped and well-trained western armed forces seemed to be unable to handle, at least with the minimum level of casualties that ordinarily would have been a prerequisite for such operations. Having been motivated by manipulated ethnic differences, tensions, and a rift, the atrocities in Rwanda and Burundi were something that the western policymakers and western armed forces were not prepared for. Without frontlines and identifiable combatants, 'ordinary people' with clubs, knives, and small arms were responsible for the atrocities. As representatives of new wars in the aftermath of the US 'Somalia experience', the conditions of genocides in Rwanda and Burundi were such that western states were not prepared to effectively engage in them until the bloodshed had already died down.[74]

Although the end of the 1990s witnessed few successfully conducted humanitarian interventions – most notably in Kosovo[75] and East-Timor[76] – the *western lessons learned from the 1990s were mixed and confusing at best*. There was certainly an increasing degree of public pressure and even willingness to intervene, at least when the conditions for low-casualty operations were there. Similarly, the flow of information concerning large-scale human rights violations around the world surged during the first post-Cold War decade.

Taking a quick look at the above-mentioned cases of widely accepted or purported humanitarian uses of armed force, and the timeframe of their manifestation, might lead some to describe the 1990s as the decade of humanitarian interventions – although the list of 'cases' chosen above did not include all cases of multilateral intervention in the post-Cold War era.[77] Whether or not the description of the 1990s as the decade of interventions is appropriate, it can be argued that a lively discussion ensued during the

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[72] The Responsibility to Protect (2001), pp. 84-97, 117.

[73] With the deteriorating situation in Rwanda in 1994, many states hesitated to use the term 'genocide', as their inactivity would then have been intolerable under the auspices of the 1948 Genocide Convention. The Responsibility to Protect (2001), p. 100.

[74] It is noteworthy that in 1994 the conditions for intervention in Haiti were favourable and the Clinton administration did intervene there in the late summer 1994 as a leading power of a multinational force under UN Security Council resolution. See UN Security Council Resolution 940 (1994).

[75] On Kosovo, see e.g. Allin (2002), pp. 47-67; DiPrizio (2002), pp. 130-145.

[76] See e.g. The Responsibility to Protect (2001), pp. 114-117; UN Security Council Resolution 1264 (1999).

[77] For a more thorough list of interventions after the Cold War, see Appendix 1.

first decade of the post-Cold War era on the humanitarian use of armed force.

5.3.6. The War on Terror

Although the implementation of humanitarian interventions has not been confined to the 1990s, the parameters of the new millennium's discourse on humanitarian interventions underwent a transformation, after the terrorist attacks on the eastern coast of the United States on 11 September 2001. In the US, the conduct of the terrorist attacks and the ensuing response to them – *the War on Terror* – has been described in terms similar to those used to describe the tectonic shift from the Cold War era to the post-Cold War era. As the 9/11 Commission Report stated:

> In the post-9/11 world, threats are defined more by the fault lines within societies than by territorial boundaries between them. … National security *used to be* considered by studying foreign frontiers, weighing opposing groups of states, and measuring industrial might. To be dangerous, an enemy had to muster large armies. Threats emerged slowly, often visibly, as weapons were forged, armies conscripted, and units trained and moved into place.[78]

On September 20 2001 President George W. Bush declared a War on Terror in his address before a joint session of the Congress.[79] He later elaborated on the meaning of this new war:

> While the threats to America have changed, the need for victory has not. We are fighting shadowy, entrenched enemies, enemies using the tools of terror and guerrilla war.[80]

> We are a nation at war. America must understand we're at war. … This generation of Armed Forces has been given two difficult tasks, fighting and winning a war and, at the same time, *transforming our military to win the new kind of war. … Defeating this enemy [terrorism] requires fighting a different kind of war*, what we call the first war of the 21st century. … a war we are going to win.[81]

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[78] The 9/11 Commission Report – Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (2004), pp. 361-362. Note also that still in June 2001 US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld asserted that in the post-Cold War era "the new and different threats of the 21st century have not yet fully emerged, but they are there." After three months the threats of the 21st century emerged. See Rumsfeld (2001).
[79] Bush (2001b).
[80] Bush (2001c), p. 1777 (my italics).
[81] Bush (2002c) (my italics).

The implicit definition of war within the discourse on War on Terror departs radically from the Cold War era conceptualisations. Terrorist organisations and even individual terrorists have been added to the list of threats and even 'warring parties' in addition to states – nowadays mainly under the labels of failed (failing) states and rogue states. Subsequently, the very nature of war is claimed to have changed. The traditional distinction between war and peace – never completely clear – has become even more confused and a grey area of no-war and no-peace has emerged between the conventional boundaries of war and peace. Simultaneously, war and crime appear to be converging on the boundary between domestic and foreign security domains.[82] In addition, the War on Terror is global in nature. As President Bush has explained: "No nation can be neutral in this conflict".[83]

The promulgation of the War on Terror as a new kind of war has relied on the 'lessons of Vietnam' – the lessons that were not drawn – or if they were drawn, they were not espoused 'properly' in the aftermath of the Vietnam War.[84] Now, thirty years later, the lessons of Vietnam are a stark reminder of how old-fashioned conceptualisations of war may lead to defeat – even when a superpower is confronted with a third-world opponent. As President Bush explained:

> We learned some very important *lessons in Vietnam*. Perhaps the most important lesson that I learned is that *you cannot fight guerrilla war with conventional weapons*. That's why I've explained to the American people that *we're engaged in a different type of war*.[85]

The changing nature of war within the discourse of War on Terror has also been implicitly expressed in a shift from a threat-based conceptualisation of international system towards a risk-based set of possible future scenarios. In order for the threat not to materialise, pre-emptive wars against 'observed' risks need to be waged within the general framework of the War on Terror: "[W]e must adapt the concept of imminent threat to the capabilities and objectives of today's adversaries.[86]

In addition, the American discourse on War on Terror is being explicitly linked to the leading military power discourse of the 1990s – the Revolu-

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[82] Lutterbeck (2004), p. 63.

[83] Bush (2001h), p. 1605.

[84] See Cassidy (2003), p. 131.

[85] Bush (2001g), p. 1456 (my italics).

[86] National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), p. 15 (quote). See also p. 6: We "will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists". On President's preface: "America will act against such emerging threats [radicals seeking to get weapons of mass destruction] before they are fully formed."

tion in Military Affairs. *The new kind of war – the first war of the 21st century – calls for a revolution in the military* as war becomes protracted, conducted within the territory of many states, and directed against targets that need to be engaged rapidly, precisely, and effectively by means of new weapons and innovative means of using them. According to President Bush, the need to transform the US Armed Forces was obvious before 11 September 2001. However, to succeed in the new kind of war – the War on Terror – new thinking and new modes of warfare are needed. And according to the President, this can be delivered by the Revolution in Military Affairs:

> America is required once again to change the way our military thinks and fights. … Yet we are finding new tactics and new weapons to attack and defeat them. This *revolution in our military is only beginning, and it promises to change the face of battle*. … [A]n innovative doctrine and high-tech weaponry can shape and then dominate an unconventional conflict.[87]

5.3.7. The Privatisation of War

The process of the *privatisation of war* has also reinforced the blurring of the traditional boundary between war and peace. While the discourses of new wars and asymmetric wars have mostly been focusing on the 'other' side of war – i.e. the involvement of non-state actors as belligerents and the non-traditional means of war – the growth of the privatised military industry in the wake of the Cold War has been mostly a western phenomenon.[88] This growth has occurred despite the fact that a large percentage of the services of private military firms related to providing security and even waging war have been provided in the third world.

> The global confrontation of the Cold War and its massive military establishments have been winding down; instead we find ourselves in a world of small wars and weak states. … At the same time, *in developed countries, the private sector is becoming increasingly involved in military and security activity*. States and international organisations are turning to the private sector as a cost effective way of procuring services which would once have been the exclusive preserve of the military.[89]

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[87] Bush (2001c), pp. 1776-1777.

[88] This does not mean that the services of private military firms (PMFs) have been used in the west, but rather that they have been mostly used *by* the west or by western companies, or that these PMFs are in fact western companies. Their use has not been restricted to the advanced developed states however. See e.g. Singer (2004).

[89] Private Military Companies: Options for Regulation (2002), p. 4 (my italics).

The post-Cold War outsourcing of traditional military missions for improved effectiveness and lower costs is linked to declining defence budgets and an increased need to harness high technology systems. Thus the processes of privatisation, outsourcing, and competition – labelled here as the privatisation of war – have been very much linked to other proposals concerning modernisation, transformation, and financial savings by eliminating redundant military capabilities, streamlining bureaucratic processes, and rewriting the post-Cold War era western definitions of war.

> *[N]ew technologies are now emerging that will dramatically increase the capabilities of our forces.* In the coming years, therefore, the Department [of Defense] must increase funding for procurement to ensure our continued technological superiority in the future. … *Outsourcing, privatisation and business re-engineering offer significant opportunities to generate much of the savings necessary for modernization and readiness.*[90]

The process of privatising war – or the traditional military tasks of the armed forces – has been explicitly connected to the development of advanced military systems. Savings have been called for, as these new systems have proved to be highly expensive. The end of the Cold War and the simultaneously increasing importance of high technology systems made the privatisation of war possible. In addition, related to the end of the Cold War, the rising frequency and destruction caused by new wars, and the equivalent change in the nature of civil wars have increased the business possibilities of privately operated military companies. This development has been connected to the publicly expressed need for humanitarian interventions in 'difficult' locations and situations that have been only vaguely – if at all – connected to the direct security interests of the intervening parties. Together these developments have caused a shift – albeit partial – in the focus of war from the traditional referent object of state-operated military establishment toward the private sector.

While the trend of shifting supporting military missions to the private sector – military 'outsourcing' – has been under way for at least a decade, the increased scope of the privatisation of war did not surface publicly until the recent US-led campaigns in Afghanistan (2001-) and Iraq (2003-). This means that new military activities have been 'transferred' to the private sector, including military training, logistical support, protection duties, and

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[90] Improving the Combat Edge Through Outsourcing (1996) (my italics). See also Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense William Perry (1996), Message of the Secretary of Defense. Perry makes the claim that in order to start a "modernization ramp-up" – to elevate procurement funding for modernisation by 40% in four years – the DoD assumes that "the Department will achieve *significant savings by outsourcing many support activities* and overhauling the defense acquisition system." (My italics).

ultimately actual fighting – while at the same time increasing the share of privately executed missions vis-à-vis the missions carried out by the 'actual' militaries. As *The Guardian* reported in December 2003, "Private corporations have penetrated western warfare so deeply that they are now the second biggest contributor to coalition forces in Iraq after the Pentagon … the proportion of contracted security personnel in the firing line is 10 times greater than during the first Gulf War" in 1991.[91] Similarly, a study published in 2002 revealed "the existence of at least 90 private military companies that have operated in 110 countries worldwide."[92]

5.4. Defining War in the Post-Cold War Era: Reproduction and Transformation

For the purpose of analysing shared understandings concerning war within the international system in the post-Cold War era, the previous subchapter has identified seven discourses that are conceptualised here as defining the western paradigm of war in addition to the Cold War era paradigm of war.

1) Discourse concerning the *end of the Cold War*, which challenged the remnants of the rule structures and shared conceptualisations of war as well as of military power left after the Cold War, but did not offer a direct alternative to them.

2) Discourse of *new wars*, which are mainly intrastate rather than interstate in nature. Ethnic, religious, and nationalistic wars all fall within this categorization of post-Cold War new wars.

3) Discourse related to *humanitarian interventions*, which has been animated by the emergence of new wars and the possibilities of the developed world to intervene in these wars using modern technology and causing minimal 'collateral damage'. In addition, the unprecedented volume of real-time media coverage of large-scale humanitarian catastrophes has raised public awareness and thus the pressure for intervening militarily in the ongoing new wars.

4) The *Revolution in Military Affairs*, the leading American discourse concerning war and military power in the 1990s. It is understood to be premised on the development of information technology and subsequent innovative doctrines and organisations of armed forces.

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[91] Traynor (2003).
[92] Making a Killing: The Business of War (2002).

5) Discourse of *asymmetric war*, which has been animated by the American RMA discourse. Asymmetric war has been described as a counterrevolution in military affairs or a response to RMA by innovating at the paradigmatic level. The discourse of asymmetric war has also decried the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to 'rogue states' and terrorist organisations, as well as their illegal trade by international organised crime.

6) Discourse concerning the *privatisation of war* – a western-centric discourse describing the eroding of the traditional state-agents' monopoly on the means of violence via outsourcing functions that facilitate warfighting and in some instances the waging of war itself.

7) *War on Terror*, which was launched in the aftermath of the 2001 terrorist attacks on US soil. It can be understood as the most recent purposeful attempt by the US Bush administration to define the international system in a new way and to promote a conceptualisation of war in which the opposing party may be something else than a state.

Taken together, this study assumes that the foundation of the Cold War era paradigm of war and the seven above-mentioned discourses represent the main tenets regarding the intersubjectively shared knowledge concerning war in the post-Cold War era international system – particularly from the western perspective. My task now is to gain access to the way in which war has been conceptualised at a particular time by a specified group of actors – the developed western states – by empirical study of international politics through the prism of these discourses. Analysis of the influence of these discourses on the conceptualisations of war should take note of the fact that the 'influence' of individual discourses has varied over time. For example, at the time of the Gulf War, the discourse of the end of the Cold War was having a major influence upon the shared understandings of the international system's rule structure and the discourse of RMA was just beginning to gain momentum. The discourse of the War on Terror did not have any influence at that time; although terrorism had been conceptualised as a possible future risk, it was not yet a threat. The temporal overlap of the post-Cold War discourses of war is presented in Figure 5.2. The chronological very crude overview is offered only to facilitate the presentation of an analytical framework for understanding war in the post-Cold War era.
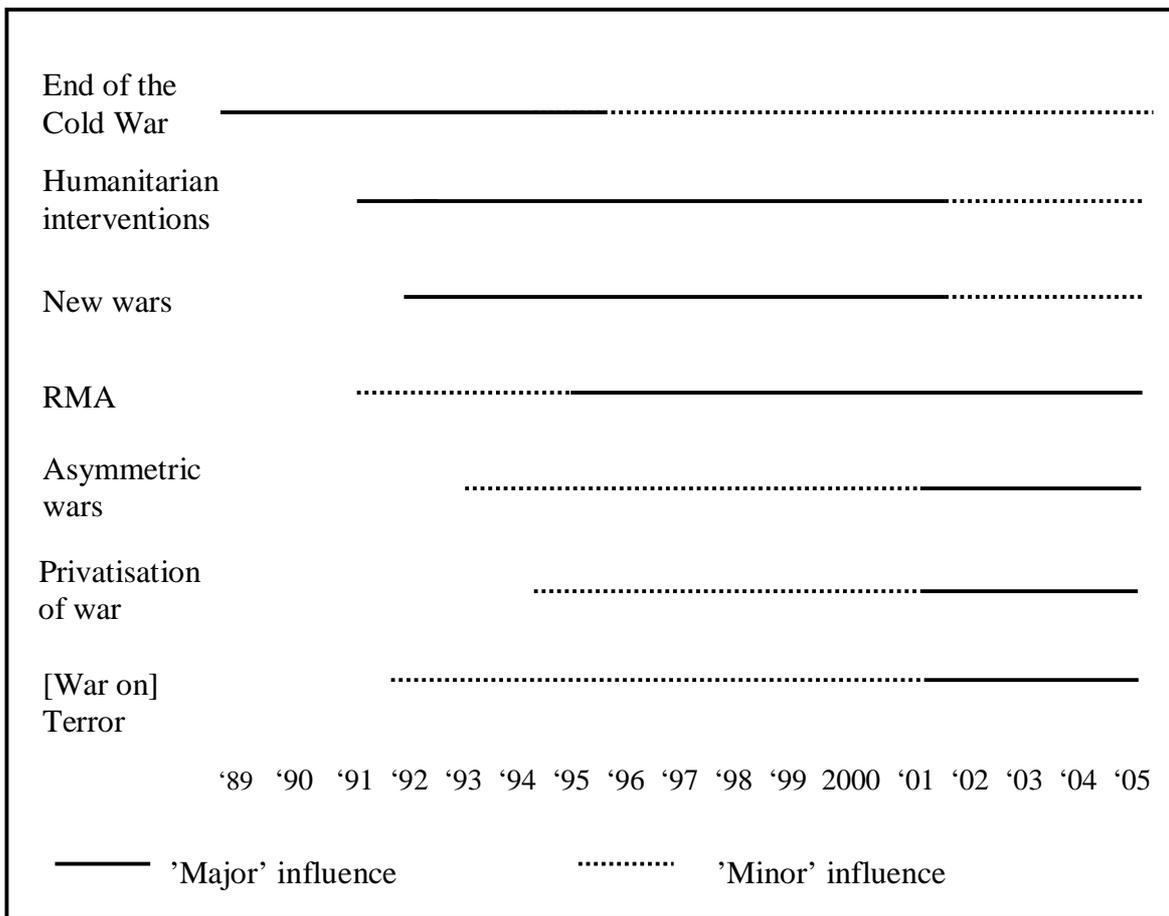
Figure 5.2. Temporal overlap of post-Cold War era discourses of war

It is obvious that these discourses have a *differing degree of referential overlap*[93] *concerning different aspects of war.* Some of these discourses deal with those threats and risks that necessitate preparations for war – for example the discourses concerning War on Terror, humanitarian interventions, and asymmetric wars. In others, the main focus is on the 'nature' of war, i.e. questions of what kinds of acts constitute war and for what generally accepted purposes it is legitimate to wage war. Discourses related to the privatisation of war, new wars, humanitarian interventions, and the War on Terror are examples of these discourses. Furthermore, some discourses pay attention to the constituent elements of military power by focusing on the way armed force(s) should be organised, equipped, and trained for war – the Revolution in Military Affairs, asymmetric war, and War on Terror. Beneath all these different aspects of war are remnants of the Cold War era thinking. In the 'new era' of unpredictability and turbulence, all activity that makes a break with the past, nevertheless uses it as a yardstick or a point of reference in defining the new approach to war. In most cases this is done implicitly, but if an individual agent's perspective becomes socially shared – even in a modified form – then war is incrementally redefined by

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[93] See Bhaskar (1986), pp. 80-81. Bhaskar's notion of referential overlap is connected to theory incommensurability. Cf. Pursiainen (1998), pp. 31-32.

actions that may have had only instrumental purposes. With the passing of time the influence of the Cold War thinking will likely continue to wane, especially when the accepted shared conceptualisation of the contemporary international system makes a break with the Cold War.

Discourses related to the post-Cold War paradigm of war	The elements of a paradigm of war that the discourse influences the most from a western perspective (in order of importance)
1. Cold War era paradigm of war	'Shadow of history'; threats, nature of war, armed force
2. 'End of the Cold War'	Undermining the 'usability' of the Cold War era paradigm of war
3. 'Humanitarian interventions'	1. Nature of war
4. 'New wars'	1. Nature of war
5. 'Revolution in Military Affairs'	1. Military power 2. nature of war
6. 'Asymmetric wars'	1. Nature of war 2. threats
7. 'Privatisation of war'	1. Nature of war
8. 'War on Terror'	1. Threats 2. nature of war 3. military power

Table 5.1. Constituent elements of a post-Cold War paradigm of war[94]

Table 5.1 is presented above as an aid in grasping the possible 'effects' of the overlap of the above-mentioned Cold War era paradigm of war and the subsequent seven post-Cold War era discourses of war. The table describes the primary zones of referential overlap between different discourses by presenting the different elements of a paradigm of war that are influenced by the discourses through the processes of reproducing or transforming the Cold War paradigm of war. As Table 5.1 reveals, when more than one element of a paradigm of war is located within a particular discourse, the elements are presented on an ordinal, not a cardinal scale.

In addition to indicating the partially overlapping quality between the discourses of war, Table 5.1 also shows *the extent that they touch upon different aspects of war*. It is noteworthy that Table 5.1 says nothing about the 'strength' of the influence that the different discourses exert on the aspects of war that are listed. For example the potential effects that the discourse on War on Terror may exert on shared conceptualisations of military power are not by definition weaker than the effects of RMA. In the case of the

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[94] Modified from Raitasalo and Sipilä (2004). It is noteworthy that the discourses are not presented in order of importance. Rather, the Cold War era paradigm is the starting point from which the post-Cold War era paradigm of war emerged.

former, military power is the third element in the list of primary effects while in case of the latter it is the first. The ranking of the importance of primary effects induced by any particular discourse in Table 5.1 is not comparable to other discourses – it only shows the ranking of effects within that particular discourse. Based solely on Table 5.1, inter-discourse comparisons are thus not possible.

Although all of the above-mentioned discourses touch upon several aspects of the 'paradigm of war' framework, there is also some variation in their *perspectives*. For example the discourse on new wars conceptualises the nature of war from the perspective of physical violence between mainly non-state actors such as ethnic groups, clans, or criminal groups. The discourse on humanitarian interventions conceptualises the same topic mainly from the perspective of the intervening parties, i.e. why, when, how, and where to intervene? The realities of war are practically the same for both discourses, but they differ in their focus.

Concerning the use of armed force within the international system, the lessons and effects of the post-Cold War era have not formed a coherent pattern in progressing from the 1991 Gulf War to the 2003 war in Iraq. In retrospect, these lessons were drawn somewhat differently depending on the circumstances in each case described briefly above. Similarly, the lessons have touched upon different aspects of war. The path from the post-Cold War era conceptualisation of war and military power to the present day understandings has not been direct or natural. Rather, many contradictory forces on different levels[95] have affected this path. This means that the actual use of force or the lack of it in publicly debated circumstances hase had different effects on different aspects of war and military power. Naturally, each lesson learned influenced the succeeding definition of the situation, political decisions related to the use of armed force, and the actual use of armed force to achieve politically defined objectives. In addition, past lessons may be reinterpreted in new situations – as the example of evoking the lessons of Vietnam in the context of the War on Terror shows. *'New' emerging discourses* (War on Terror as an example) not only interpret reality as revealed in new information. *They also reinterpret old facts in a new way.* Discourses constitute reality and frame the situation for those involved.

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[95] According to the constructivist perspective on the layered set of shared conceptualisations of war, these different levels are conceptualised here as different types of questions that may be answered based on the shared understanding concerning war and military power within the international system. These questions include such as: What are the threats and/or risks that necessitate the preparations for and the execution of war? How war is manifested in the contemporary international system? How to use force effectively? Which military methods should be used and which should not be used? Which situations 'necessitate' the use of armed force? Who should intervene?

Event / war	Lessons learned / influences on shared western understandings of war and military power
The Gulf War 1991	1. Shift from global to regional conventional wars. 2. The 'birth' of RMA as a discourse of military power. 3. First post-Cold War use of military force in humanitarian missions (after war).
Somalia 1992-	1. Example of emerging new wars. 2. Asymmetric warfare between western (US) troops and local 'forces'. 3. Humanitarian military intervention. 4. Challenge to the emerging RMA-thesis.
Rwanda & Burundi 1994	1. Example of emerging new wars. 2. Challenge to the idea of humanitarian military intervention. 3. Challenge to the emerging RMA-thesis.
Haiti 1994	1. Example of emerging new wars. 2. Humanitarian military intervention.
Bosnia - 1995 **1995 -**	1. Example of new wars. 2. Humanitarian military intervention. 3. Long process of stabilisation / reconstruction. 4. presumed success of the RMA thesis after three years of indecisive action.
Afghanistan & Sudan / Infinite Reach 1998	1. New wars. 2. Military force against terrorism. 3. The use of RMA capabilities.
Iraq / Desert Fox 1998	1. The use of RMA capabilities.
Kosovo 1999	1. Example of new wars. 2. Humanitarian military intervention. 3. Long process of stabilisation / reconstruction. 4. Presumed Success of the RMA thesis.
East-Timor 1999	1. Example of new wars. 2. Humanitarian military intervention.
Afghanistan 2001-	1. War on Terror: the use of military force against terrorists and states / regimes that harbour them. 2. Initial success of the RMA thesis / quick capitulation of the Taliban regime. 3. Asymmetric war. 4. Long process of stabilisation / reconstruction. 5. The use of private contractors by the occupying forces.
Iraq 2003-	1. Initial success of the RMA-thesis/ quick capitulation of the regime. 2. Asymmetric war. 3. Long process of stabilisation / reconstruction. 4. The use of private contractors by the occupying forces. 5. Battle of the War on Terror.

Table 5.2. Some lessons and effects of the use of military force upon the shared western conceptualisations of war and military power in the post-Cold War era[96]

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[96] In the case of Rwanda, mostly the lessons of non-use or late use of military force.

The lessons learned after every war, intervention, peace support operation, military operation other than war, or crisis management operation help shape the shared view concerning the nature of war and the utility of military power in incremental ways. Although some cases have been more significant than others, all instances of the actual use of military force or the public debate concerning the absence of such use have either reproduced ('strengthened') or transformed the shared knowledge concerning war and the role of military power. Even so, the shared view concerning war and military power – part of the social structure of the international system in this study – is never fully shared. Different degrees of tensions and contradictory viewpoints existed throughout the 1990s and exist even today.[97]

5.5. Transformation vs. Revolution

In contemporary analysis of war, the paradigm framework proceeds from notions of continuity and change. As one element of the current process of defining war, the Cold War era paradigm provides the element of continuity through the process of reproduction. This means that the starting point for post-Cold War estimations of war is expressed by those conceptualisations of war that became rather stable and accepted during the Cold War era decades. Any changes in these conceptions during the some 15 years after the demise of the Cold War can be explained through rigorous empirical analysis of the identified seven discourses of war. These discourses provide possibilities for change by path-dependent transformation of the Cold War era social structure. It is also possible, however, that these discourses of war have reproduced rather than transformed the Cold War era paradigm. In that case, it can be stated that the post-Cold War era paradigm does not refer to a new paradigm of war – actualised by a revolution that changes shared understanding or war in fundamental ways – but rather to the way that war was conceptualised already during the Cold War, although in a slightly modified form and through the lenses of an analytically defined, 'new' temporal phase.

The shift from the Cold War era <u>shared understandings of the character of threats</u> as massed heavy conventional forces attacking in Europe towards post-Cold War era shared understandings of a wider spectrum of threats and risks, ranging from states to non-state actors and transnational organisations has not been unidirectional. In addition, the increasing importance of non-state threats did not occur suddenly after the end of the Cold War. Rather, the conceptualisations of threats that were shared during the Cold War, as well as international policy practices in the 1990s have influenced

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[97] Total uniformity concerning ways to conceptualise war is inconceivable. See Kuhn (1975), p. 43, 50.

the evolutionary path concerning shared conceptualisations of threats. The end of the Cold War moved the widely shared threat of large-scale conventional attack in Europe to the background. Simultaneously, already existing but previously less accentuated threats begun to loom larger. Regional conflicts with sophisticated and massed heavy armed forces begun to appear more likely and threatening than a global-scale military confrontation. The lessons learned from the 1991 Gulf War pointed towards the articulation of *regional – but still traditional – threats posed by conventional state-agents, possibly with large-scale massed armed forces*. In addition, the *proliferation of weapons of mass destruction* and their potential use in regional conflicts also moved up in the ladder of post-Cold War era threats – another lesson from the Gulf War.

Concurrently, but at the beginning with less emphasis, various forms of Low Intensity Conflicts – terrorism, subversion, insurgencies, and narcotics trafficking – were acknowledged more than was the case during the super-power focused Cold War. This all happened within a couple of years after what is generally accepted to be the demise of the Cold War – although the effects of the 'shadow of the Cold War' and the 1991 Gulf War did 'favour' state-level threat perceptions with conventional armed forces – at least in the immediate aftermath of the demise of the Cold war.[98]

Although the shadow of the Cold War conceptualisations of threats came to be expressed through the concept of regional conflicts, discourses concerning *asymmetric wars and new wars* have directed these shared Cold War era conceptualisations related to the character of threat from the supremacy of the state and military alliances towards an ever broader definition of what constitutes a threatening agent. These discourses call for a framework of war that accentuates *non-state actors as belligerents and sources of threats and risks*. As has been already emphasised, asymmetric conflicts and terrorist acts certainly occurred during the Cold War, and for centuries before that, but they did not guide the western conceptualisation of the nature of threats to a very large extent. In the wake of the Cold War, a variety of asymmetric threats emerged to fill in the perceived threat vacuum created by the sudden demise of the Soviet Union. Drug cartels, international organised crime, and terrorism expressed the asymmetric threats of the 1990s – alongside the 'traditional' and 'real' large-scale regional wars.[99]

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[98] On manifestations and the 'development' of post-Cold War conceptualisations of threats, see e.g. Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1991), pp. v, vii-viii, 1-7; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1992), pp. v-vi, viii, 1-2, 5-9, 12-14; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), pp. 1-2, 42-44; NATO's Strategic Concept (1991), part I; NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), part II.

[99] See e.g. A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (1995), pp.

Before 11 September 2001 very few terrorist attacks were deemed to require a militarised response. Throughout the 1990s, western armed forces – and in particular the US armed forces – prepared to be used – and were used – against transnational threats, but it was only after 9/11 and the subsequently declared War on Terror that terrorism became the principal enemy. Although the legitimacy of the post-9/11 US-led War on Terror has not been universally accepted, the discourse of the War on Terror has accepted that transnational non-state agents are *de facto* objects of warfare.

The logic of the discourse on the War on Terror is based on the risk of future terrorist attacks – possibly with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons. This risk must be eliminated before it can turn into an explicit threat. Because the enemies in this new war are mostly national and transnational terrorist organisations, the waging of this new war is taking place within the domestic and international systems. Although all wars have 'internal' and 'external' implications, the effects of War on Terror depart somewhat from the Cold War era conceptualisations of war, primarily because the War on Terror is open-ended to an unprecedented degree. If the aim is to stop terrorist attacks by military and non-military means, nothing could succeed unless the objectives of war are redefined. As was the case with Cold War era deterrence, it is impossible to show why something (today a terrorist attack) does not happen. And if the goal is to halt or reduce the incidence of terrorist attacks, and the accepted means to do that are military in nature, then the War on Terror will continue whether there are terrorist attacks or not. Nobody can say when the war will be over, as a future terrorist attack will always be a possibility. The War on Terror thus relies on a similar 'logic' to that employed in the Cold War era discourse on deterrence: it articulates the 'other' and the appropriate means to counter it, with no means to verify the correctness of its assumptions. The difference between these discourses is that deterrence was a means of avoiding warfare, while the War on Terror is a militarised campaign to defeat the enemy and to prevent the risk of terrorism from turning into a threat (i.e. the traditional 'clear and present danger'). In addition, while deterrence was devised for countering a clear and present threat, the American War on Terror seeks to take pre-emptive military action. The possible wider international acceptance of the War on Terror – as expressed by the US – would mean that the 'other' is defined on the basis of something that may happen in the future. This would be a shift from the Cold War era threat-based international system into a post-9/11 era, risk-based international system.[100]

How to approach terrorism after 11 September is a hotly debated issue in the west. The US has adopted policy of active and pre-emptive use of force

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[100] On risk society, see e.g. Beck (2000).

– unilaterally if necessary – around the globe to counter the threat, and especially the risk of future WMD terrorism. The European approach to the use of military force has been more conservative and cautious. While terrorism now tops the list of threats to national and EU security in Europe, the legitimacy of collective military action has been accentuated: the role of the UN and its Security Council has been pivotal in the European military responses to terrorism. Similarly, in order to have an effect on the threats and risks associated with terrorism, the European perspective has been less inclined to use military methods in tackling the underlying root causes of terrorism.

Concerning the legitimate objectives and means of war – i.e. <u>shared conceptualisations about the nature of war</u> – the Cold War paradigm has been challenged in least in two respects. First, discourses on new wars, asymmetric war, and the War on Terror have redefined the shared conceptualisations regarding the objectives of war and the means employed by 'new' belligerents. The Cold War era focus on superpower military dynamics suppressed the role of asymmetric wars in defining shared conceptualisations of war. With the demise of the Soviet Union and the deterrence regime that was institutionalised over time after the Second World War, a different set of war-defining manifestations in the international system is now possible. The primary focus of post-Cold War era conceptualisations of war is on unconventional agents using unconventional means.

In addition to the rather neglected discourse on asymmetric wars during the Cold War, the recent discourse on the War on Terror has also challenged the previous understandings about the belligerents in war today, and thus also introduced 'new' goals and means of war – provided that terrorist organisations, individual terrorists, and states that support terrorist organisations can be thought of 'legitimate' adversaries in a war. The influence of these three discourses concerning the objectives and means of war is two-faceted. On the one hand, with the emergence of new non-state agents as accepted parties to contemporary war, their goals and means have been injected into the process of defining generally shared understandings of agents' objectives and means. If terrorist organisations and other similar parties can be accepted as legitimate belligerents, the goals of such agents and the means of asymmetric attacks can be accounted for, although not necessarily rendered acceptable or legitimate. On the other hand, discourses on new wars, asymmetric war, and War on Terror exert influence upon those factors that allow these new agents to be conceptualised as enemies and the responses that the traditionally accepted belligerents – states and their armed forces – make to the new exigencies of war. Combating 'new' agents with 'old' means may not be effective or at all possible. Thus the shared acceptance of the asymmetric nature of most post-Cold War era wars (including traditional asymmetric war, new wars and terrorism) rather

than the prominent state-centric Cold War era paradigm of war, would mean that the objectives and subsequently means of war are being redefined, by no means always intentionally.

Focusing on the latest manifestation of asymmetric wars – the War on Terror – some effects outside the US are already visible. First, throughout the world – and particularly in the developed west – terrorism has been described as the most dangerous 'new' threat, or risk, that requires the use of military force under certain conditions. The UN-mandated war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (2001-) serves as an example of terrorist affiliation and support given to terrorist organisations being given as legitimate reason for waging war against a state, its regime, and some named individuals residing in the state. A second example of the influence of the War on Terror on rewriting the rules of war can be seen in the increasing international interagency co-operation between state security authorities in order to combat terrorism. The 'new' means of combat fall between the traditional boundaries of law enforcement and military engagement. In fact, one visible sign of the influence that the discourse of the War on Terror has had on the new definitions related to war is connected to the addition of 'interagency cooperation' to the notion of 'combined and joint' military operations. Jointness and the combined (multinational) nature of military operations started to gain in importance in the 1990s – as the discourse on the Revolution in Military Affairs became the most significant war-defining phenomenon in the western world – particularly in the US. The concept of the War on Terror blurs the boundaries of law enforcement and warfare.

The second set of discourses having an effect on the conceptualisations of the objectives and means of war comprises discourses on humanitarian interventions and the Revolution in Military Affairs. They have conceptualised war mainly from the western perspective. The RMA discourse has emphasised the possibilities of 'rewriting' the rules of war by exploiting new technologies and the new ideas regarding the transformation of military organisations and operational concepts. The discourse on humanitarian interventions has stressed the possibilities and the need for intervening militarily – i.e. by waging war – for the purpose of spreading human rights and democracy, although not totally without politically defined instrumental reasons. Together these two discourses have shifted the post-Cold War focus away from large-scale clashes of national armed forces on a demarcated battlefield – seen from either a national or alliance-wide perspective – and the defence of national (alliance) territory in opposition to peace enforcement, crisis management, peace support operations, etc. From the perspective of these two discourses, wars have become smaller and of shorter duration, although the post-war stabilisation and restructuring phases seem to continue indefinitely.

Finally, still concerning the shared understandings of the nature of war, the western discourse related to the privatisation of war has introduced military outsourcing from the western perspective into contemporary warfare. What started as a result of the post-Cold War era pressures to cut military expenditures and to make the militaries more cost-effective by transferring military support services to private firms has developed into a multi-billion dollar military business on a wide array of missions ranging from waging war to logistical support and military training.

The third element of a paradigm of war refers to <u>shared conceptualisations of military power.</u> Although it is the primary focus of this study in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, some preliminary suggestions can be made in this context. First, the Revolution in Military Affairs has been the most visible and discussed phenomenon related to the redefinition of military power in the post-Cold War era. The RMA debate has very strong American origins – despite the fact that its intellectual roots are in the Soviet Union of the 1970s and 1980s. Despite its main orientation toward the US, it has not remained detached from Europe,[101] where it is seen mainly through the lenses of American dominance in modern military technology and the ability of the Europeans to cooperate with the US in future military operations (interoperability). As a supplement to the British defence White Paper – *Strategic Defense Review* (1998) stated: "Leaving aside the academic debate on whether or not a revolution is underway, it is clear that exploiting these technologies will lead to significant improvements in military capability."[102] The nature and scope of wider reformulations of military power due to the American RMA initiative need further analysis.

Increasing the professionalisation of the militaries involves a tendency – at least among developed western states – towards smaller, more deployable, and more lethal expeditionary armed forces. Together with the increased emphasis on multinational (combined) and inter-service (joint) operations, this trend toward increased professionalisation of the military emphasises the capability to gather, analyse, and diffuse an increasing amount of information. It also highlights the need for interoperability with other national and foreign forces via joining in the information network. *Networks – instead of platforms – have become a 'standard' for assessing military might in the Post-Cold War era.*

Second, the changes that have taken place during the post-Cold War era in shared threat and risk perceptions have also had an influence on conceptions of military power. Terrorist attacks on the eastern coast of the US and the subsequently declared War on Terror seem to have led American au-

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[101] Sloan (2000); Sloan (2002).
[102] The Impact of Technology (1998).

thorities to reassess their priorities with respect to threats and the nature of war, as well as to military doctrine, procurement, and force structures. While this new thinking has not been embraced by Europe, the profiling of international terrorism as a threat and the declining standing of traditional military threats have challenged the Cold War era – as well as the immediate post-Cold War era – determinants of military power. *In order to be able to combat new enemies effectively, new tools and new ways to use them are necessary.*

Analyses of the two 'materially constituted' elements of a paradigm of war – technology and resources – during the post-Cold War era have to reckon with the RMA discourse. Indisputably the development and procurement of technologically sophisticated modern communications and weapons systems have facilitated new military operations after the Cold War despite the fact that some core elements of RMA were developed and even used during the Cold War era.[103] However the mere existence of new technological instruments and related operational concepts, organisations, and training systems does not mean that high-tech warfare automatically be paramount in contemporary or future shared conceptualisations of war. Many states cannot harness modern technology to such an extent, and high-tech warfare is even less probable on the part of non-state agents. Although there are some or even many incentives for less developed states and even non-state agents to develop and purchase high-tech weaponry[104], the technologically centred understandings of war (understood as military engagement) will by definition work against them. The uneven distribution of material resources amplifies this division into agents that have a good reason for defining war via technology and resources on the one hand and agents that that 'must' come up with alternative definitions of war on the other.

The preceding brief analysis of the post-Cold War era paradigm of war via Cold War era conceptualisation of war and the seven post-Cold War era discourses of war indicates that a paradigm change may be taking place, although the brevity of the analysis does not provide a clear and unambiguous answer to that question. To provide a more profound and better articulated answer to that question would demand additional research. Answering this question is not necessary, however, for an analysis of post-Cold War era (re)definition of military power. As the 'paradigm of war' model frames the analysis of military power for this study and as such operates as an intermediary tool between the general constructivist framework and a more precise analytical framework for a post-Cold War era analysis of military power, a definite answer to the question regarding possible sudden

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[103] Keany and Cohen (1995), p. 191.

[104] For example, modern weapons as symbols of development and modernity i.e. reasons of prestige or possible benefits in domestic/local armed conflicts.

post-Cold War era paradigm shift is not necessary here. Leaving this question aside, it can be stated that the post-Cold War era discourses of war can be conceptualised as anomalies of the Cold War paradigm of war – to use Kuhnian language. The emergence of anomalies does not automatically signify a paradigm shift, since, as was previously stated, social structures become sedimented over time and are more easily reproduced than transformed.[105]

It can be assumed, then, that states would be inclined to subsume the emerging anomalies within the prevailing Cold War paradigm of war rather than 'accept' the idea that a sudden change – a revolution – has taken place that would change the foundation of their conceptualisations, preparations, and policies related to war. Based on the assumption of tacit paradigm transformation – instead of revolutionary paradigm shift – the post-Cold war discourses of war have challenged the Cold War era tradition of conceptualising war, and thus the prevailing conceptions of military power within the international system. This transformed paradigm is still connected to the conceptualisations of war during the Cold War, but has opened up new military problems and related solutions, and it has changed the shared set of conceptualisations related to military power. It is noteworthy, however, that the articulation and the degree of 'sharedness' of this transformed paradigm does not form an unambiguously understandable totality. Tensions remain and the degree of sharedness varies. As has been noted in articulating the framework of this study, it is assumed that within the developed and (post)industrial west, the tensions of (re)conceptualising war and military power are less urgent than within the international system as a whole.

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[105] See e.g. Wendt (1999), p. 134.

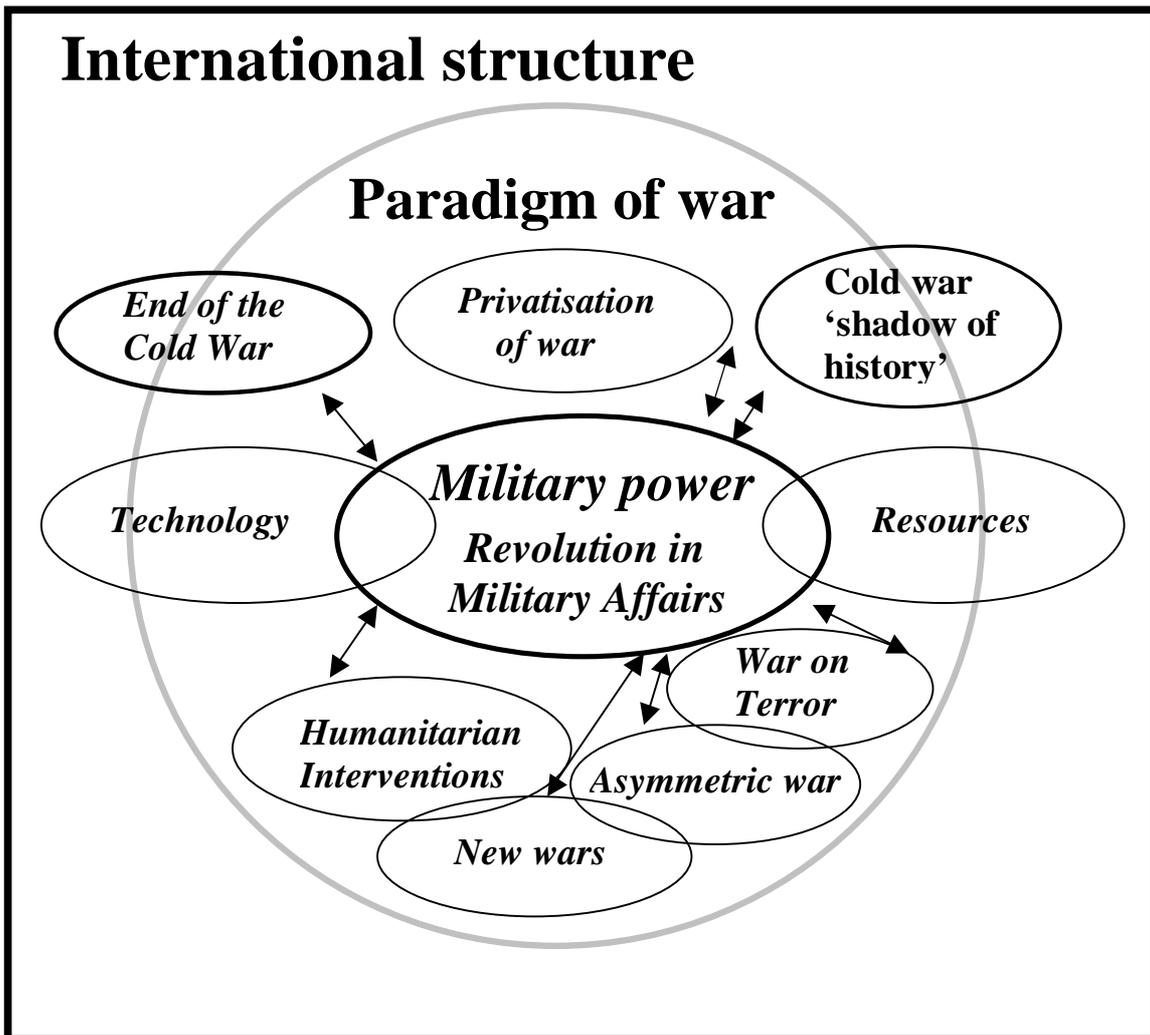| Elements of a paradigm of war	Elements of the western paradigm	Related western discourses of war
1. Threats	Regional 'rogue' states, Non-state agents: terrorists, manipulation of ethnic and religious identities, Proliferation of WMD, Failed/failing states.	End of the Cold War; New wars; Asymmetric war; War on Terror
2a. Legitimate goals of war	Self-Defence, Humanitarian purposes, Crisis management, [Counter-terrorism], [Regional stability].	End of the Cold War, Humanitarian interventions, Revolution in Military Affairs, [War on Terror].
2b. Legitimate means of war	Minimising friendly casualties, Minimising civilian casualties and collateral damage, Coalition warfare, Conventional forces.	Revolution in Military Affairs, Humanitarian interventions.
3a. Missions, organisations, and operational concepts of the armed forces	Quick initial military victory with overwhelming force, Stabilisation and reconstruction, Professional forces, Smaller, more agile forces, Interoperability.	Revolution in Military Affairs, Humanitarian interventions, Privatisation of war (military outsourcing).
3b. Procurement: weapon systems, etc.	High-technology solutions, Networked Capabilities, Interoperability, Long-range capabilities, Rapid deployability/mobility, Increased protection.	Revolution in Military Affairs.
4. Level of Technology	Rapid and far-reaching increases in the development of information technologies.	Revolution in Military Affairs.
5. Distribution of material resources within the international system	American preponderance/unipolarity.	End of the Cold War, Revolution in Military Affairs.

Table 5.3. Western post-Cold War era discourses of war and the related shared understandings concerning the elements of a western paradigm of war

5.6. Research Questions – Amendments

The assumptions, research questions, and hypotheses animating this study have been presented in Chapter 4.5. With the explicit articulation of a 'paradigm of war' framework, some additional remarks are now in order

concerning the research design. This move is necessary, as the specific framework for moving 'down' from the general notions of shared knowledge or intersubjective knowledge of the international system toward shared understandings of war and military power have been explicated in Chapter 5.

Concerning the nature of military power, this research assumes – according to the logic related to the partial overlap of different discourses of war – that some discourses of war have been more important than others in the intersubjective process of defining military power in the post-Cold War era. In other words, some discourses have focused more on those aspect of war that are related to the implicit assessments of military power that actors (mostly still states) need in their day-to-day operations or politics. In this regard, the Cold War era conceptualisations of military power are a possible starting point. They serve as a foundation for the emerging post-Cold War era conceptualisations of military power. Another possibly important defining discourse has been that associated with the Revolution in Military Affairs, which has concentrated on the rapid transformations of military means – an important aspect of military power. The other discourses that this study conceptualises as part of the process of delineating war in the post-Cold War era – those associated with the end of the Cold War era, asymmetric war, new wars, humanitarian interventions, the War on Terror, and the privatisation of war – have had their influence mostly on other aspects of today's paradigm of war than military power. Their influences have been the most important in the way that the nature of war in the post-Cold War era has been defined; in defining those circumstances in which the use of physical violence is conceptualised to be legitimate; and in delineating the parties or belligerents in a contemporary war. They are all, however, connected to the shared conceptions of military power as they frame who fights, how, and for what purposes. Figure 5.3 presents the specific framework of this study. It is a more detailed version of figure 4.1, which presents the general constructivist framework, Figure 5.1, which presents the paradigm of war model, and Table 5.1, which summarises the post-Cold War era paradigm of war elements.

International structure

Paradigm of war

End of the Cold War

Privatisation of war

Cold war 'shadow of history'

Technology

Military power
Revolution in Military Affairs

Resources

Humanitarian Interventions

War on Terror

Asymmetric war

New wars

Figure 5.3. Framework for analysing military power from a constructivist 'paradigm of war' perspective

The shared understandings of military power can be conceptualised as one integral part of a larger internationally shared outlook on war – a paradigm of war. The highly celebrated end of the Cold War and the subsequent discourses concerning the Revolution in Military Affairs, new wars, humanitarian interventions, asymmetric warfare, War on Terror, and the privatisation of war are all part of a conceptual process of defining war and military power in the post-Cold War era.

- During the Cold War a specific understanding of war centred around nuclear weapons and conventional mechanised armed forces evolved, along with a related understanding concerning military power. This understanding was widely shared throughout the international system (although not by all).

- The end of the Cold War presents a 'possibility' for reformulation of the rules constructing military power in the interna-

tional system. Although the shared views in the system may change without such a dramatic external cause, social structures are relatively enduring and become sedimented over time.

- Whether or not a 'new' definition of military power evolves is more or less a matter of international consent. If no 'new' shared view of military power evolves out of the practices and rhetoric of international agents, the 'old' view is more or less reproduced, although it may be questioned as long as no new shared view arises to make it obsolete.

It is now time to apply this theoretical framework to a case study that could be understood to challenge or modify the Cold War era definitions of military power. The chosen case can be conceptualised as a representative of the practice of post-Cold War era international politics and the academic research agenda of IR and strategic studies. It concerns the debate that has evolved around the concept of the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) mainly in the 1990s from a western perspective. The nature of the case chosen for this study is analytical, which means that the theoretical framework will guide the empirical research.

This research is based on the assumption that the United States – the indisputable sole military superpower in the current international system – has been in a dominant position in its ability to set the agenda of military power in the post-Cold War era. This assumption does *not* – however – constitute a claim that the United States has implemented an intentional project to 'control' or influence conceptualisations of military power. Rather, its influential role is due to its vast resources to develop military systems, its global interests (often advanced using military force), and the other states' recognition of its peerless superpower status. The possibility that several US administrations have been able to control military power discourses in the post-Cold War era needs empirical study.

The very brief examination in Chapter 5 of the post-Cold War era discourses related to war and military power have at least partially supported the assumption of the importance of the US in shaping shared definitions of military power. The succinct description in Chapter 5 of the post-Cold War era use of physical violence from the point of view of westerns states, and the subsequent analytical categorisation of seven different war-related post-Cold War era discourses, are of course not sufficient to assess the US role in the process of redefining military power after the end of the Cold War. That task is taken up in Part III of this study. The above-mentioned brief summary of war-related events and the subsequent analytical distinction made between different war-related discourses should be understood as a

framework that I will use to examine ways to approach the US role in the international post-Cold War era redefinition of military power.

On the basis of the above-mentioned theoretical premises of this study, one additional research question will be presented in addition to those articulated in Chapter 4.5:

> [4.] How has the American discourse concerning the Revolution in Military Affairs affected contemporary western understandings of military power?

In addition, the articulation of the 'paradigm of war' framework in Chapter 5 leads to the following additional hypothesis:

[4.] *The 'American Revolution in Military Affairs' has significantly affected the way that military power is conceptualised within the international system, and especially within the western international community.* Of the seven previously described post-Cold War discourses of war, the Revolution in Military Affairs has explicit links to the reproduction and transformation of shared understandings concerning military power.

Before undertaking the case study of RMA in Chapters 7 and 8, the following chapter will address the second research question related to identifying the constituent elements of military power in contemporary international system, especially from a western perspective. In addition, an answer will be provided to the question of what core issues/capabilities constitute militarily power. This empirical groundwork of Chapter 6 will operate as the foundation for the case study concerning RMA and will enable me to trace the processes involved in the changes that have been taking place in the post-Cold War era shared conceptualisations of military power. With this foundation, I can address research questions related to the genesis of contemporary determinants of military power (research question 2) and the role of RMA discourse in post-Cold War era western definitions of military power (research question 4). Chapter 6 will also facilitate the evaluation of the post-Cold War era restructuring of national western armed forces and the role that the RMA discourse has played in it (research question 3).

Chapter 6 identifies the contemporary – post-Cold War and post-9/11 – constitutive elements of military power in the west. This is done through an analysis of the latest official defense-related documents, speeches, and comments from the United States, NATO, and the EU. In Chapter 6 I will show how the shared western understanding concerning military power can be accessed through qualitative analysis of documents that describe the contemporary international security environment and formulate national or

alliance-wide policies regarding the current and projected future use of military forces within the international system.

Chapter 7 deals with the RMA debate as the leading military power discourse after the end of the Cold War. It examines the way that the debate started and picked up momentum as the Cold War era 'reality' was subjected to criticism in the early 1990s and the role of the military and uses of military power were reappraised. Chapter 7 takes into account the theoretical literature concerning RMA that has been produced during a decade or so as well as the actions 'major' western states[106] that have a) responded to the 'new reality' in the military and political fields, and b) thereby created (transformed and reproduced) this 'reality'.

Chapter 7 probes into the process of development of American conceptualisations of military power from the 1991 Gulf War until the end of 2004 – some three years after the attacks of 11 September and eighteen months after the American-led invasion of Iraq. Chapter 8 will trace the development of RMA thinking in the west by examining the transformation of NATO and the EU military posture. Concerning NATO, focus will be placed on the transformation of the Cold War era military alliance towards a post-Cold War era 'out-of-area' security organisations and towards counter-terrorist military operations after 11 September. In addition, the role that RMA thinking has had in the 'development' and 'maturation' of the post-Cold War alliance is explored. Concerning the EU, the development of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), as well as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) will be analysed through the prism of the American RMA and the simultaneously occurring transformation of NATO.

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[106] The perspective is state-centric due to the fact that in the 1990s and early 2000s, states have been the major developers and users of military power.

PART III

Case Study on Post-Cold War Era Western Understandings of Military Power

6. SHARED WESTERN UNDERSTANDINGS OF MILITARY POWER TODAY

> Everyone agrees that Cold War legacy forces are a waste of money
>
> - *Lord George Robertson, 2003*

The preceding chapter presented a framework for understanding shared western understandings of war and military power. The chapter also analysed the post-Cold War era shared western understandings related to war – under the heading of a paradigm of war, postponing an analysis of the post-Cold War era shared western understandings of military power until Part III. However, an additional hypothesis was made at the end of Chapter 5 that the American-led discourse on RMA has been the most influential western military power discourse assigning military power to agents. This statement should not be read deterministically to focus only upon the discourse of RMA and its constitutive effects on post-Cold War era military power. Rather, the important role of the RMA discourse for the western understanding of military power needs to be contextualised in the wider picture of the post-Cold War era shared conceptualisations of war and the other constitutive elements – discourses – of war that have defined the threats that require preparing for war, the nature of contemporary armed conflicts, and the guidelines for developing national and alliance armed forces.

In order to analyse the effects of the RMA discourse on contemporary shared western definitions of military power this chapter will explicate contemporary – post-Cold War and post-9/11 – shared western understandings of military power. The following analysis is based on the study of recently published security and defence related documents issued by the US, NATO, EU and also WEU, that reflect these agents' understandings related to war and military power. As will become apparent in the following analysis, the west does indeed have a shared understanding of threats and determinants of military power.

The sources of the following analysis – politico-strategic documents, declarations, and high-level official speeches – reflect the theoretical framework presented in Chapters 4 and 5. They are consulted here because military power is defined in a continuous political process of interaction – in the 'presence' of pre-existing definitions of military power. Shared understandings concerning military power can bee inferred from these documents as they explicitly state national and western interpretations of the international security situation, the role of armed force in the world, and

the guidelines for developing national and alliance armed forces in order to wield military power. They also present contemporary western interpretations of specific situations where armed force has been used and shed light on shared western lessons learned from these conflicts.

Spelling out this shared western view of military power at this stage will lay the foundation for the case study in Part III. Ultimately, Chapters 7 and 8 aim at explaining the processes through which the west has 'arrived' at the prevailing shared understandings of military power and how these shared understandings have affected or have been conceptualised to affect the organisation, procurement, training, and operations of western armed forces in the post-Cold War era.

6.1. Describing Constituent Elements of Contemporary Western Understanding of Military Power – General Metrics

In attempts to approach contemporary shared definitions of military power, the most apparent and accepted theme touches on the process of transforming national armed forces. This theme of *transformation* does not, however, describe contemporary understandings of military power in detail. Rather, transformation refers to a post-Cold War era process through which contemporary estimations of military power are made intelligible. In other words, those willing to preserve or increase their military power in the globalised and unpredictable international system, perceive a need to transform their Cold War era armed forces to match 'new' existing and emerging threats and risks to national interests. According to the logic of transformation, the drastically changed security landscape necessitates a profound transformation in the means of power and/or security – armed forces being one of them.

In the US, the theme of military transformation has been advocated at the highest political level. George W. Bush explicitly embraced the idea of transforming the military when campaigning for the Presidency in 1999.[1] In addition, after becoming President, he began to implement the promised transformation of the US Armed Forces by assigning the Secretary of Defence the task of creating the military of the future.[2] In line with these presidential 'instructions', the 2001 *Quadrennial Defense Review report* assigned the transformation of the armed forces and the entire Department

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[1] Bush (1999) "I intend to force new thinking and hard choices. The transformation of our military will require a new and greater emphasis on research and development. … I know that transforming our military is a massive undertaking."
[2] Bush (2001a); Bush (2001d).

of Defense a key role in protecting and bolstering US military power in the 'new era' of the 21st century:

> Today's force structure … is the baseline from which the Department will develop a transformed force for the future. … Just as U.S. forces have transformed in the past, *the process of fundamental transformation to sustain U.S. military advantages*, meet critical operational goals, and dominate future military competitions *has begun*. The Department of Defense has embarked on an ambitious transformation of U.S. military forces to meet such challenges. As this transformation effort matures – and as it produces significantly higher output of military value from each elements of the force – DoD will explore additional opportunities to restructure and reorganize the Armed Forces. *The purpose of transformation is to maintain or improve U.S. military pre-eminence* in the face of potential disproportionate discontinuous changes in the strategic environment.[3]

Or as Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld noted in 2003:

> Transformation is not an event – it is a process. There is no point at which the Defense Department will move from being 'untransformed' to 'transformed'. … Our goal is to set in motion a process of *continual transformation*, and a culture that will keep the United States several steps ahead of any potential adversaries.[4]

The United States has not been alone in this process of transforming the military. Within the context of NATO, transformation is the large framework through which several innovations related to force structures and capabilities are being implemented:

> *[W]e commit ourselves to transforming NATO* … We have therefore decided to: a. Create a NATO Response Force (NRF) … b. Streamline NATO's military command arrangements. … The strategic command for transformation, headquartered in the United States, and with a presence in Europe, will be responsible for the continuing transformation of military capabilities and for the promotion of interoperability of Alliance forces.[5]

> The Prague Summit [November 2002] approved a blueprint for the transformation of NATO capabilities based on three pillars: the NATO Response Force, new command arrangements, and the Prague Capabilities Commitment. … The NATO Response Force (NRF) is an essential element of our overall transformation.[6]

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[3] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), pp. 22-23, 30 (my italics).
[4] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 8, 68. (Originally in a speech on May 14, 2003, original italics).
[5] NATO Press Release (2002b) (my italics).
[6] NATO Press Release (2003).

The *United States military isn't the only force going through a transformation. NATO is also going through a transformation. … at the* Prague Summit … NATO nations agreed that a transformation was needed to meet the new challenges of the 21st century.[7]

With the progressive framing of the European Union's Defence dimension – a process that picked up speed in the late 1990s – the development of the Union's military capabilities also reflects this transformational thinking:

To transform our militaries into more flexible, mobile forces, and to enable them to address the new threats, more resources for defence and more effective use of resources are necessary.[8]

It is noteworthy that the military capabilities of EU and NATO are based mostly on national contributions. Regardless, the political and operational frameworks provided by the Union and NATO highlight the shared understandings within Europe and more broadly within the west concerning the important role of transformation in constituting military power. This despite the 'fact' that the both the Union and NATO have noted the difficulties in 'delivering' transformation by building those military capabilities that the post-Cold War era is understood to require.[9]

Of course the idea of transforming armed forces and other defence-related structures does not in itself tell much about the direction, breadth, or permanency of this process of transformation. It rather highlights the shared understanding that the old or existing armed forces are considered to be incapable of handling contemporary and particularly future security challenges. The accepted idea of this needed transformation also implies that the determinants of military power are changing – or have already changed: agents capable of implementing this process of transformation swiftly and comprehensively are thought to be well positioned in the military struggles of tomorrow.

A theme 'beneath' this needed transformation can be located in the changed security environment of post-Cold War era. First, the end of the Cold War allowed states and alliances to reduce their military forces and expenditures in view of the expected lower level of threats. Second, the terrorist attacks of 11 September have been conceptualised to represent a 'new' threat – at least in the west – which requires a military response – at least in part. Even before the terrorist attacks of 11 September it was

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[7] NATO – Allied Command Transformation (2004) (my italics).
[8] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 12 (my italics).
[9] See e.g. Nato Press Release (2002c), especially paragraphs 5 and 7; Nato Press Release (2003).

generally accepted that the post-Cold War era security landscape differs radically from the Cold War era one. As NATO's 1999 Strategic Concept framed it:

> The dangers of the Cold War have given way to more promising, but also challenging prospects, to new opportunities and risks. … The last ten years have also seen, however, the appearance of complex new risks to Euro-Atlantic peace and stability, including oppression, ethnic conflict, economic distress, the collapse of political order, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.[10]

Similarly, few months before 11 September, President George W. Bush stated at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council that it was necessary to

> change our thinking to meet the demands of a new age. The Cold War is over … but the world faces new kinds of threats. … nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, … technology for ballistic missiles to deliver them. … cyber terrorism. We must work together to deter and address all these unconventional threats. To do this we must reassess old assumptions.[11]

With the 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA, these 'new' security concerns became exacerbated. The attacks have had an enormous symbolic impact in addition to the large number of casualties and the large-scale destruction in New York and Washington DC. Within the shared western definitions, the symbolic aspects of these attacks were linked to the 'new' understandings of threats to national and alliance security and the subsequent actions needed to confront this threat. Within the US administration the meaning of 11 September has been characterised as the beginning of a new era – an era of increased unpredictability, the possibility of large-scale destruction on the soil of the United States, and a new emerging logic of the international system – a logic requiring an active and even assertive use of military force globally. These changes have since then been connected to the need to reconfigure the functions and the means of the armed forces:

> The nature of the Cold War threat required the United States – with out friends and allies – to emphasize deterrence of the enemy's use of force… With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, our security environment has undergone profound transformation. … *new deadly challenges have emerged from rogue states and terrorists*.[12]

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[10] NATO's Strategic Concept (1999).
[11] NATO Speeches (2001).
[12] The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), p. 13 (my italics).

The dramatic transformation of America's strategic environment demands an equally dramatic transformation of how we prepare the force.[13]

Within NATO 9/11 proved also to be transformational. The post-Cold war era with its lower level of military threats – if compared to the Cold War era – came to a close as terrorism was conceptualised to be a threat requiring military countermeasures. 9/11 also invigorated the process of creating usable military capabilities among the European allies in order to address the new and emerging security threats of the post-Cold War era.

The 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States demonstrated both the capability of a determined enemy and the vulnerability of Alliance members to large-scale terrorist attacks. … *NATO and its member nations face real threat from terrorism* and countering that threat will, in most circumstances, be time critical. … *The Alliance needs to be prepared to conduct military operations to engage terrorist groups and their capabilities*, as and where required, as decided by the North Atlantic Council.[14]

Similarly, within the context of the European Union, the post 9/11 definitions of threats and needed new military capabilities marked a shift from the general description of the international environment or of the missions of the national armed forces during the Cold War or even during the post-Cold War era.

Beyond its borders, in turn, *the European Union is confronted with a fast-changing, globalised world*. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, it looked briefly as though we would for a long while be living in a stable world order, free from conflict… The *eleventh of September has brought a rude awakening*. The opposing forces have not gone away: religious fanaticism, ethnic nationalism, racism and terrorism are on the increase.[15]

Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, *the first line of defence will often be abroad*. The new threats are dynamic. The risks of proliferation grow over time; left alone, terrorist networks will become ever more dangerous. State failure and organised crime spread if they are neglected – as we have seen in West Africa. This implies that we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs. … Active policies are needed *to counter the new dynamic threats. We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention.*[16]

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[13] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 71.

[14] NATO's Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism (2003) (my italics).

[15] Presidency Conclusions – Laeken European Council Meeting (2001).

[16] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 7, 11 (my italics).

> Under guidance of the PSC [Political and Security Committee] work continues on the necessary scenario's preliminary to the *definition of the military requirements* to fulfil the 2010 horizon, *taking into account the terrorist threat.*[17]

The emphasis on the changed security landscape and the related need to transform – or in the case of the EU to create – military capabilities according to new definitions of threats does not say much about the 'content' of shared understandings of military power. Rather, this emphasis describes the wider framework through which military power has been conceptualised. The 'existence' of post Cold War and post-9/11 era new threats and the 'need' for a process of military transformation as a response to these 'exigencies of reality' have been conceptualised through the lenses of new missions, new capabilities, and new organisations in the western discourses of war and military power. Accordingly, the western estimations of 21st century military power – mostly implicitly expressed – emphasise the changing nature of threats and the role of modern technology. Regarding the latter, particularly technology related to information gathering, processing, and delivery has been emphasised. The 'old' technology of industrialised nations is now considered ineffective and a wasteful utilisation of resources, and 'new' technologies of the post-industrial information societies are understood to enable efficient operations with minimum material and human sacrifice and economic burden.[18]

> Throughout history warfare has assumed the characteristics of its age and the technology of its age. Today we see this trend continuing as we move from industrial age warfare with its emphasis on mass to information age warfare which highlights the power of networked distributed forces and shared situational awareness. … Within this wider context of military transformation, network-centric warfare is one of the key concepts for thinking about how we will operate in the future.[19]

6.2. From General Metrics to Particular Manifestations of Military Power

Power has already been defined as a capacity to cause effects. Correspondingly, military power in this study is understood as the capacity to cause effects by means of organising, maintaining, or using armed

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[17] Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004), paragraph 7.

[18] See e.g. Robertson (2003). NATO's Secretary General noted in 2003 that "everyone agrees that Cold War legacy forces are a waste of money, and that we need forces that are far more mobile and flexible than those of the past. … The first challenge is the continuing modernisation of our military capabilities."

[19] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 82 (originally by Paul Wolfowitz, July 2001).

forces. In order to grasp today's shared definitions of military power within the international systems and particularly among the western states, four elements related to the overall conceptualisation of military power are presented. The first two elements, viz. threats and the nature of warfare, relate to the shared understanding concerning the nature of the contemporary international system where military power is 'acquired' and maintained. These elements frame the 'playing field', the reality of international system where military power is applied. They represent two of the three conceptual elements of a paradigm of war as explicated in the previous chapter. Threats already faced and the nature of contemporary military conflicts tell agents which types of military actions are likely to take place and thus the kind of military operations that must be prepared for. The other two elements concerning shared conceptualisations of military power – the organising principles and the equipping of armed forces – are 'answers' to the problems posed by the nature of contemporary and future military threats and military missions. They guide policymakers and the militaries as to how to operate under current and future international situation – how to develop the armed forces, their organisation, operational concepts, and training, as well as what kind of weapons systems[20] to procure.

In order to analyse conceptualisations of military power, all of the above-mentioned elements must be taken into consideration. Military power goes 'beyond' material possibilities – set forth by level of technology and the distribution of resources – as the purposes and the nature of military action guide the practical manifestations of organising, procuring, and training the armed forces. Military power becomes intelligible through a comprehensive analysis of 1) threats that require military preparations, 2) the nature of contemporary military conflicts, and 3) the possibilities to organise armed forces for the achievement of goals that are set in international and domestic political interaction. The interest in analysing threats and the nature of military conflicts in contemporary assessment of military power arises out of the widely shared understanding that a new, post-Cold War and post-9/11 security landscape requires prioritisation of different aspects of military activity and reconsideration of the sedimented Cold War era conceptualisations of military power.

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[20] The concept of 'weapons systems' is often used to refer to all those materially based systems that the armed forces use in their efforts to prepare for and wage war.

Elements	Cold War era	Post-Cold War era
Threats	Large-scale forces, Massed mechanised forces	Non-state belligerents, Terrorism, 'Rogue'/failing states, Regional conflicts
Military missions, Nature of warfare	Territorial defence, Large-scale high-intensity warfare	Humanitarian interventions, Crisis management, Small-scale precise strikes, Civil-military cooperation, Military operations other than war, Regional high-intensity warfare
Armed forces	Division-based, Separate services, Large forces, Hierarchical command structure, Relatively high tolerance for casualties	Flexible organisations, 'Jointery', Small forces, 'Flat' command structure, Rapid deployability, Relatively low tolerance for casualties
(Weapons) systems	Emphasis on quantity, Designed for use in mechanised battle, Mass-produced, Heavy	Technologically developed, Emphasis on quality, Information-based, Networked, 'Smart' systems, Precise effects, Mobility, Versatility, Light(er), rapid Deployability

Table 6.1. Elements of an analysis of military power

While it is essential to frame any analysis of military power with the adjoining threats and the nature of contemporary warfare, the elements of military power analysis fall in practice into the two latter categories of Table 6.1, namely the shared understandings concerning the principles according to which armed forces are organised and equipped. Analysing these two categories makes it possible to draw plausible inferences concerning those material and immaterial resources that symbolise military power.

The 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review Report outlined a broad US vision related to the basic building blocs of military power vis-à-vis the new strategic environment:

> The ongoing revolution in military affairs could change the conduct of military operations. … For the United States, *the revolution in military affairs holds the potential to confer enormous advantages and to extend the current period of U.S. military superiority. Exploiting the revolution in*

military affairs requires not only technological innovation but also development of operational concepts, undertaking organizational adaptations, and training and experimentation to transform a country's military forces. … Transformation results from the exploitation of new approaches to operational concepts and capabilities, the use of old and new technologies, and new forms of organization that more effectively anticipate new or still emerging strategic and operational challenges and opportunities and that render previous methods of conducting war obsolete or subordinate.[21]

According to US DoD estimates, the transformation of armed forces is to be achieved, then, through the exploitation of the Revolution in Military Affairs. This transformation can be carried out – according to the 2001 QDR – through innovation in technology (new, mostly information-based, systems) operational concepts (how to conceptualise war fighting), organisations (how to organise armed forces), as well as in training and experimentation (how to 'test' innovative concepts, technologies and organisations, and how to train forces according to new concepts, technologies and organisations). Regarding the 'practical' manifestations of these US-defined new constituent elements of military capability, the QDR mentions rapidly deployable forces, i.e. expeditionary capability, "globally available reconnaissance, strike, and command and control assets", capabilities for information and space operations, special operations forces, "joint C4ISR architecture", and precision strike capabilities.[22]

In the NATO framework, the 1999 Strategic Concept highlights effective engagement capability, survivability, mobility, and sustainability for the attainment of alliance-wide interoperability in multinational operations. The Strategic Concept envisions that these broad goals can be achieved through the exploitation of advanced technology and the quality of personnel.[23] Moving from these broad goals and principles of successful military operations, more 'concrete' transformational capabilities have been framed as technologically advanced and rapidly deployable expeditionary forces; smaller and more flexible organisations; command, control and communications capabilities; intelligence capabilities; strategic sealift and airlift capabilities; air-to-air refuelling capabilities; and precision weapons.[24]

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[21] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 6, 29.
[22] Ibid., pp. 25-26, 30, quotes on p. 26, 30
[23] NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), paragraph 53d. Also in Washington Summit Communiqué. See NATO Press Release (1999a).
[24] Ibid. See also NATO Press release (2002b), NATO Press release (2003), Robertson (2000), and Robertson (2004). See also remarks by General Kujat, chairman of the NATO Military Committee on 21 October 2003: "The war against global terrorism is a multi-front campaign… Such a conflict may, and will require new weapons, more and new forms of intelligence gathering and increases in special forces and covert

Within the process of developing the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the Helsinki Headline Goal (1999)[25] and the associated collective capability goals related to command and control, intelligence, and strategic transportation have been formulated in close cooperation with WEU and NATO procedures. The Petersberg crisis management tasks that formed the foundation of the development of EU's military capabilities were indicative of the importance accorded to expeditionary operations. According to the 1999 Helsinki European Council, particular attention would be devoted to "deployability, sustainability, interoperability, flexibility, mobility, survivability and command and control". The creation of the EU's military dimension – under the broad heading of the ESDP – resembles NATO's post-Cold War development and transformation processes, and the link between NATO and the EU has been explicitly expressed and emphasised in several European Council declarations and conclusions. Although the EU is directed to be capable of military action in situations where NATO is not involved, reliance on NATO capabilities, planning processes, and initiatives has guided the Union's military development.[26] Concerning operational capabilities deemed to be in need of rapid development, the EU has identified strategic air and sea transport capabilities, air-to-air refuelling capabilities, the number of deployable troops and special forces units, space based assets, strategic intelligence capabilities, precision weapons, and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).[27]

Thus, under the auspices of a general framework of force transformation as well as in response to new and emerging threats in the global international system, the *exploitation of advanced technology* – accompanied by conceptual and organisational changes – and *responding to the threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction* have formed the 'strategic axis' around which estimations of needed force structures, organisations and capabilities have evolved. In analysing post-Cold War and post-9/11 western conceptualisations of military power, it is this convergence of the possibilities of advanced technologies and the exigencies of terrorist and WMD threats that make these conceptualisations meaningful. The 'old'

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operations. Traditional allies of the United States, as well as new ones, will have to make similar changes to become more agile, more lethal and expeditionary." Kujat (2003).

[25] To have a military force of up to 50,000-60,000 persons deployable in 60 days for the period of at least 1 year capable of the Petersberg tasks, with accompanying political and military bodies, modalities for consultations and cooperation with NATO and other states, as well as non-military crisis management mechanisms. See Presidency Conclusions - Helsinki European Council Meeting (1999); Audit of Assets and Capabilities for European Crisis Management Operations (1999).

[26] See e.g. Presidency Conclusions – Helsinki European Council Meeting (1999) (also quote); Presidency Conclusions – Cologne European Council Meeting (1999).

[27] Presidency Conclusions – Nice European Council Meeting (2000); General Affairs and External Relations 2509th Council Meeting – External Relations (2003), p. 15.

technologies and threats have not ceased to exist, but they are becoming more and more irrelevant in contemporary assessments of military power. As has been stated over and over again during the last decade or so, the Cold War is over and the accompanying assumptions or conceptualisations need to be rethought.[28]

In making contemporary day-to-day estimations of military power in the western countries, the *capacity to deploy fighting forces and related equipment to faraway 'theatres' rapidly* is one of the most important elements. The 'reality' of post-Cold War and post-9/11 globalised world – with the proportional increases in new wars 'calling for' western responses through humanitarian interventions and crisis response operations as well as the emergence of the international terrorist threat 'requiring' military responses – has shown to western governments that the capability for rapid military action across the globe is necessary and indeed preferable.[29] In order to respond to the new exigencies of rapid deployability, there are several options available: forward stationing of forces and/or materiel, strategic air and sea transport capabilities, and the development of technologically sophisticated long-range military instruments that are capable of being used from thousands of kilometres away.

The second distinguishing feature in the contemporary estimations of western military power is related to the *increased technological sophistication of materiel in the use of the armed forces* combined with the diminishing need for mass by replacing the quantity of manpower with the quality of materiel. Western thinking was already moving from quantity towards quality during the Cold War, but contemporary assessments of effective and responsive armed forces are based increasingly upon *high technology*. As was noted in the preceding chapter, this trend has been strongest in the US, but is present also in Europe. The belief in the 'power' of high technology has been expressed for example in the NATO Prague Capabilities Commitment, the attempts to "exploit" and harness the Revolution in Military Affairs by the US DoD, and the progressive framing of the EU's military capability by stressing interoperability with NATO and its strongest member – the US.[30] Increases in the speed of operations,

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[28] See e.g. Robertson (2003); NATO Speeches (2001).

[29] The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), pp. 1, 5-7, 13-16; Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), pp. 4-6, 42-43. On p. 43: "The defense strategy rests on the assumption that U.S. forces have the ability to project power worldwide."; NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), paragraphs 10, 13, 20, 24, 29, 31, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 59; A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), pp. 3-5, 7, 11-14; Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004), paragraphs 3, 6-7, 9-17, 22-24.

[30] NATO Press Release (2002b); Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p.3, 6, quote on p. 6; The National Security of the United States of America (2002), p. 29-30;

growing amounts of more accurate information, connectivity of different kinds of systems into networks, increases in the precision of weapons, possibilities to deploy troops and equipment, protection provided to combatants, and new possibilities of politico-military decision-making – all these are derivatives of the general technological advances that have had an impact on domestic policy as well as on the process of globalisation. It is noteworthy that the increased perceived need for rapid global deployability of western armed forces and the swiftly advancing information technology are not independent processes, but inseparably intertwined.

The effects of technology on the western conceptualisations of military power are manifold. First, technology is to provide useable information in the form of early warning, intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance, and for the purpose of targeting. Second, technology is to provide assistance for the effective use of information available by filtering, analysing, and processing the available information. This is to ensure that efficient and 'correct' decision-making will anticipate the enemy respond. Third, technology is assumed to provide more effective means of influencing the enemy – ranging from information operations to physical destruction of targets. Precision weapons have been the most representative example of this technological aspect of warfare, although a multitude of means have been developed under the rubrics of electronic warfare and information operations – most intensively following the end of the Cold War and the simultaneously waged 1991 Gulf War. Fourth, new high technology is to provide better protection to friendly combatants by the development of protective materials, the efficient use of information, increasing numbers of unmanned systems, and the development of long-range capabilities.

The role of information technologies in contemporary determinants of military power are conceptualised through the increasing digitalisation of the battlefield. Expressed somewhat optimistically by US Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, "Our preeminent global intelligence capability is the foundation of U.S. military power."[31] Information technology provides this global intelligence capability through a multitude of space, air, sea, and land-based sensors; communications media; high-powered computer systems with highly developed software applications and adjoining operating terminals for battlefield use. The United States has the primary role in developing and building worldwide information networks for warfare, but their use is designed to be accessible to other alliance and coalition partners – depending on the situation at hand. Instead of a

Presidency Conclusions - Helsinki European Council Meeting (1999); Presidency Conclusions – Nice European Council Meeting (2000), Annex I to Annex VI; Audit of Assets and Capabilities for European Crisis Management Operations (1999).
[31] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 78.

hierarchical command structure, where information flows from top to bottom and is filtered at every step along the way, 'flatter', net-centric information architecture describes one of the post-Cold War and post-9/11 key determinants of military power.[32]

A third feature of contemporary estimations of military power, closely connected to the two previously mentioned features, is the *emphasis on flexible, rapidly operational joint military organisations that are capable of contributing to multinational (combined) operations*. The requirement of transporting combat forces far away in a brief period of time and the emphasis on technological sophistication converge in the need to be able to organise armed forces into small units with relatively light – though very lethal – equipment. The need for long-range rapid deployability and the increasingly expensive, high-technology-based procurement programmes have directed shared views away from manpower-intensive attrition warfare scenarios into technology-intensive operations. These operations are conceptualised as combined operations, in which several national forces cooperate interoperably. In addition, national *armed forces have been professionalised* owing to the 'nature' of post-Cold War era interventions, as the Cold War era conceptualisations of battles between massed mechanised forces have given way to smaller-scale contingencies. In addition, the increasing development and procurement of high technology-based systems within armed forces require better-trained soldiers. In this process of increasingly combined professionalised operations, the United States leads the way in setting common standards for interoperability, as it is furthest down the road to transforming its military capability.[33]

A fourth attribute of contemporary military power assessments is the added emphasis on long-range *logistics capabilities*. As operations are becoming more and more expeditionary in nature – being transferred further away from home or friendly territory – the capability to support fighting forces in distant locations is becoming a high-value function. In addition, the increasing complexity of high technology systems and the rising reliance

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[32] Ibid., pp. 78-80, 152; NATO Press Release (1999a): "Defence capabilities will be increased through improvements in the deployability and mobility of Alliance forces, their sustainability and logistics, their survivability and effective engagement capability, and command and control and information systems. …we endorse the [North Atlantic] Council decision to begin implementing…and to develop the C3 system architecture by 2002 to form a basis for an integrated Alliance core capability allowing interoperability with national systems".

[33] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2003), pp. 42-4; Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 33; Presidency Conclusions – Helsinki European Council Meeting (1999), Annex 1 to Annex IV; NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), paragraphs 29, 52, 53c, 53d, 53g, 54-6, 61; Audit of Assets and Capabilities for European Crisis Management Operations (1999).

on high technology platforms places mounting pressures on combat support troops and operations.[34] Operational long-range logistical capabilities also lend support to the need to be capable of *sustaining* operations indefinitely – from years to even possibly decades – as recent experiences in the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, for example suggest.

The contemporary – post-Cold War and post-9/11 era – shared western understandings of military power are presented in Table 6.2. It suggests the idea that the 'new' international security environment 'necessitates' or 'facilitates' new definitions of military power. Therefore, as so far confirmed by the brief analysis of main western documents related to military security, transformation of the armed forces is depicted as the framework for contemporary assessments of military power. Transformation is divided into four constitutive elements – expeditionary capability, the exploitation of information technology, interoperability in multinational operations, and long-range logistical capability – that capture those aspects of military affairs that endow agents with military power from a western perspective. These four constitutive elements are divided further into several indicators of military power. These indicators are suggestive in nature and are presented only for highlighting the possible avenues of contemporary, problem-solving[35] military power analysis, which begins with a definition and operationalisation of military power and then tries to deal with some related problem, e.g. the question of differences in military power between agents. This means that the research conducted here to conceptualise contemporary politically defined military power provides a basis for further, 'traditional' military power analysis by explicating the processes through which the Cold War era understandings of military power have evolved and by suggesting some indicators that may be of use in analysing military power from a problem-solving perspective.

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[34] NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), paragraphs 53d, 59; Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 30, 35, 56; Presidency Conclusions – Nice European Council Meeting (2000), Annex I to Annex VI; Audit of Assets and Capabilities for European Crisis Management Operations (1999).

[35] On problem-solving theory, see Cox (1986), p. 207-210. This research leans more toward critical theory, whose goal is to end up with a shared understanding (definition) of politically defined military power and its genealogy (historical path of 'evolution'). On p. 210 Cox notes that the "perspectives of different historical periods favor one [problem-solving theory] or the other [critical theory] kind of theory. Periods of apparent stability or fixity in power relations favor the problem-solving approach. The Cold War was one such period. In international relations, it fostered a concentration upon the problems of how to manage apparently enduring relationship between two superpowers." Accordingly, the end of the Cold War may be regarded as an opportunity to launch a political process of redefining military power. It also identifies a point in time when power relations underwent a change. From the perspective of critical theory, discovering the process by which military power was redefined in the post-Cold War era is an interesting research problem.

Applying Table 6.2 to the constructivist power framework presented in Chapter 4, transformation and its constitutive elements have consequences on at least four levels. First, concerning the *shared rules for recognising power*, transformation implies that in order to possess military power vis-à-vis others one should have armed forces that differ from those of the Cold War and immediate post-Cold War era. The four constitutive elements of transformation with the respective indicators in Table 6.2 delineate these rules for recognising power, i.e. how states and other actors identify power. In the contemporary international system strategic transport capabilities, precision weapons, computer-based sensors and weapons systems, stealth platforms, professionalised armed forces, etc. symbolise military power and thus aid statesmen and others in assessing power by rules of thumb – practically totally without codified explicit rules of recognising power. These transformation-related rules for recognising power are shared interpretations of mostly post-Cold War era uses of military force and different military capabilities in operations that have been deemed 'successful' or representative of contemporary international security environment.[36]

Second, concerning the *norms of the international system*, transformation of armed forces and especially the changing nature of the international security landscape imply the increased legitimacy of intervening militarily in the affairs of other states and acting militarily against non-state actors. Its implications for the changing normative structure of the international system during the 1990s and in the beginning of the new millennium are also manifest in operations for the restoration of stability, bringing stark human rights abuses to an end, and preventing large-scale crimes against humanity. This does not, however, imply freedom of military action with global consent in all cases, as the wars in Kosovo (1999) and Iraq (2003) have demonstrated.

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[36] It is suggested here that the events of 9/11 have for their part also had an important impact (of reproduction and transformation) on the revised rules of recognizing power that began to be rewritten after 1990.

Constitutive elements of military power	Indicators of military power
"Transformation" by exploiting RMA	
1. Expeditionary capability	Air- and sea transport capabilities, air-to-air refuelling capabilities, number and deployment time of deployable / rapidly deployable units
2. Exploitation of information technology • network centric warfare capabilities	Degree of platform integration, C4ISR capabilities, deployable HQ elements, number / ratio of unmanned platforms
• precision weapons	Ratio of precision/'dumb' weapons, available number / variety of precision weapons and delivery platforms
• space-based capabilities	Available satellite systems
• survivability	Stealth-platforms, high-technology materials
3. Interoperability for combined operations	Number/ratio of units available for combined operations, degree of professionalisation
4. Long-range logistical capability, sustainability	Air- and sea transport capabilities, combat search and rescue capabilities

Table 6.2. General indicators of contemporary military power

Third, concerning *identities* of actors, transformation is the main distinctive characteristic of a modern (or post-modern) developed state with up-to-date armed forces in assessments of military power. Massive military machinery with vast financial resources equipped, led, trained, and organised according to the Cold War threat scenarios and missions is not indicative of the ability to deal effectively with new threats in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 world. Those who are in the process of transforming their armed forces and are capable of participating in combined operations are 'leading the way' and are thus interpreted to be militarily more advanced and powerful than their untransformed counterparts. Those capable of investing extensively in transformation and the capabilities that facilitate it are hierarchically positioned on a higher level than those, who can carry out only small-scale or moderate transformation and the accompanying procurement, organisational, conceptual, and training-related modifications. Similarly, those willing to maintain or acquire a great power status are expected to be capable of far-reaching military transformation and thus able and even willing to conduct military operations in far-away locations. In other words, transformation of the Cold War era armed forces and defence establishments by joining the Revolution in Military Affairs is a prerequisite for the identity of a great power or a superpower.[37] Those actors that are not able or willing to fulfil these requirements fall to the category of lesser powers, among whom the 'ranking' of military power can be done at the general level according to the logic 'determined' by the rules for recognising power.

Fourth, concerning the *shared interpretation of the situation*, the end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks of 9/11 are the main benchmarks used by western states to evaluate the new global security situation and the related 'demands' for military preparations and investments. The depiction of a more turbulent, unstable world with multiple new smaller-scale threats accentuates different military capabilities than the Cold War era view of a high-intensity – but stable – conflict between the superpower blocs. Transformation of the defence establishments and the armed forces by accentuating modern information technology, expeditionary capabilities, multinational operations, long-range logistical capability, and sustainability is one among several possible means to respond to the prevalent shared interpretation of the situation within the international system. If the shared interpretation of the global security situation evolves in the direction of increased hostility and becomes widely viewed to be more threatening (e.g. according to the Bush administration's War on Terror rhetoric and actions after September 2001), the restrictiveness of norms against the use of military force will be relaxed, the identities of states and other agents may become more threat-based than community-based, and the 'usability' of

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[37] See Gongora and von Riekhoff (2000), p. 7, 13.

military force will increase. In such a situation the importance of military power will increase and other forms of power will be on the decline. It is noteworthy, however, that actors 'struggle' for the shared interpretation of the situation continuously in many issue areas (for example in the UN security council concerning the situation in Iraq in the latter part of 2002 and the beginning of 2003, before the US-led war against Iraq began) and that individual practice-related definitions of the situation in most cases do not have any fundamental effect on the general shared interpretation of the international security situation.[38]

6.3. Military Power Today – General Trends

The analysis of official politico-strategic documents and high-level speeches in the west during the last few years reveals that understandings of faced threats, the nature of conflicts affecting the west, and the determinants of military power have indeed changed from those of the Cold War era. Regarding the conceptualisation of military power, the vague notion of transformation describes contemporary efforts to restructure the military within states and NATO in order to be better positioned to deal effectively with contemporary and future conflicts. The notion of transformation and the related need to be better prepared to counter post-Cold War threats also marks the creation and development of EU's defence dimension. In addition to the 'historical break' caused by the end of the Cold War and the subsequent 'reopening' of the shared definition of military power, the events of 9/11 have also been widely interpreted as a fundamental redefinition of the international system. While the end of the Cold War was more ambiguous in nature – the ending of an era did not suggest the 'nature' of the era succeeding it – the post-9/11 era has been cast in rather uniform terms, especially in the developed west. This despite the fact that methods to be applied in the post-9/11 international environment have remained somewhat contested.

The two historical events – the end of the Cold War and 9/11 – can be conceptualised as two main international incidents that frame today's shared western understandings of military power through the conceptual lenses of transformation. As a move away from the 'old' and increasingly irrelevant elements of military power of the Cold War and even immediate post-Cold War era, transformation signifies the creation of 'new' and relevant capabilities that match the emerging threats and the nature of

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[38] As has been stated already, this study proposes that the end of the Cold War (as a process of several years) was one such fundamental 'event' which led to transformed interpretations of the international security situation. Here, the attacks of 11 September are conceptualised as a possibly fundamental 'event' that may have large-scale effects of western definitions of the global security situation and thus of military power.

contemporary and visioned future conflicts. In assessments of military power from a transformation perspective, it is those who have already succeeded in this process of transformation, or those who are embracing transformation rapidly – in relation to others – that are well positioned.

As transformation of the defence establishments and armed forces is increasingly accepted to be necessary, logical, and even compulsory, those agents that are in the position to call the tune are better positioned than others in applying this process in their own transformation efforts. It is noteworthy, however, that those who are in the position to set or influence the generally accepted transformation agenda are not only privileged by having the best possibilities to implement transformation. They are also privileged by having the better possibilities to frame transformation from their own perspective, emphasising those qualities that they excel at.

While the process of transformation describes the general pattern of assigning recognised military power in the west – and more generally within the international system – reliance on advanced technology can be located at the crux of the western transformation efforts and the projects to (re)create usable military capabilities in the emerging post-Cold War and post-9/11 international system. Expeditionary operations – the 'new' form of western military operations and warfare – are more possible than before due to the rapid development of high technology. Particularly the increased effectiveness of long-range military systems, the decreasing size of weapon systems, the shrinking of military units, as well as the high technology means of force protection make these military capabilities possible that favour the development of expeditionary operations. Military units are more mobile than they used to be and it is easier to transport them even to faraway locations. In addition, the systems at the disposal of armed forces can be operated day or night – with increasingly precise success on targets that can be located farther away than before.

In addition, the increasingly multinational nature of today's military operations – a trend particularly of the 1990s – has placed strong accent on interoperability. Although NATO as a military alliance has sought to standardise its forces, methods, and military systems for decades, the 1990s revealed the difficulties of conducting combined operations – even at the low end of the military spectrum. Nevertheless, being a part of a multinational military operation requires that national armed forces can interface. In addition to the effects of advanced technology – e.g. in the fields of command and control, equipment maintenance, or munitions – the accumulating effects of combined operations have been felt in tactics and operational art, organisational and command structures, logistics, and training.

7. THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS AS THE LEADING AMERICAN MILITARY POWER DISCOURSE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

> The form of any war-and it is the form which is of primary interest to men of war-depends upon the technical means of war available. … Victory smiles upon those who anticipate the changes in the character of war, not upon those who wait to adapt themselves after the changes occur. In this period of rapid transition from one from to another, those who daringly take to the new road first will enjoy the incalculable advantages of the new means of war over the old.

> *- Giulio Douhet, 1942*[1]

In the analysis of contemporary western understandings of war and military power, the debate revolving around the concept of Revolution in Military Affairs cannot be overlooked. RMA and associated concepts have been probably the most frequently used in strategic studies, as well as in theorising concerning the nature of war and military power in the 'new' globalised post-Cold War world.[2] More precisely, the emergence of the RMA discourse – or debate – can be linked to the 1991 Gulf War and the post-Cold War era search for new security architectures and arrangements throughout the international system. The RMA debate was the offspring of the possibilities of 'new' information-based warfare and changed security perspectives that necessitated new threat assessments by the main protagonists of the Cold war and other actors as well. This discussion fed on the ideas presented already in the 1970s and 1980 in the Soviet Union – under the concept of Military-Technical Revolution[3] – and drew also on the debate within historical studies concerning Military Revolutions – a debate that has been going on ever since the seminal article by Michael Roberts in 1956.[4]

While RMA attracted a lot of attention during the 1990s, the pattern of this strategic discourse has been similar to the 'founding' of strategic studies and subsequent strategic discourse of deterrence during the Cold War: it has been mostly an American enterprise, led by its comprehensive and well-established defence community, which has dominated the field ever

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[1] Douhet (1983) [1942], p. 6, 30.

[2] E.g. Gray (2002), p. xiii, 1. Gongora and von Riekhoff (2000), p. 1: "The notion that we are engaged in a revolution in military affairs (RMA) is part of common knowledge among defense and military analysts." Cf. Metz (2000), p. 1: "A 'revolution-centric' perspective on the development of war emerged among American strategic thinkers in the 1990s."

[3] E.g. FitzGerald (1991).

[4] Roberts (1995) [1956]; Rogers (1995).

since its establishment shortly after the Second World War.[5] It is noteworthy that the RMA debate has not been confined to the American academic strategic community. It has been an important element in the efforts of the US Department of Defense and Armed Forces from the Clinton administration onwards to transform the military establishment. In addition, the RMA has been debated outside the US, and its policy implications are expressed in shared western understandings of military power. This will be explicated further in this chapter and the next. At this point it is worth mentioning explicitly that this study is conducted with the assumption that *the RMA debate, which has its centre of gravity in the US defence community, has been the leading western strategic discourse concerning military power after the Cold War.* As such, it has had decisive influence on how states conceptualise military power and how they transform their armed forces accordingly.

The underlying approach in the majority of articles and monograph concerning RMA is based on the understanding that the Revolution in Military Affairs is an 'objective condition' operating in the international system and that states must adapt to it or be prepared to suffer the consequences.[6] According to an alternative – constructivist – reading of the RMA, the current level of technology faced by individual actors could be seen as an objective fact from the actor's perspective, but that reading would not make the deterministic jump from possibilities of technology to war via self-help logic of the international system. From a constructivist framework, the meaning of the Revolution in Military Affairs, and of military technology, is based on intersubjective understandings that exist within the international system. It therefore does not have an essentialist quality, a proper definition that would be applicable across history. In other words, questions related to how states collectively understand the meaning of the RMA and how this understanding affects their practices form the focus of the constructivist framework.

The Revolution in Military Affairs can, then, be understood as a process of (re)defining the role that the military is to have in the international system and how war is conceptualised. As a discourse concerning the nature and use of military force, it can be understood as a constitutive element in the meaning of military power after the Cold War. In general RMAs may have technological origins or may be affected by technology, but according to the constructivist framework of this study, Revolutions in Military Affairs

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[5] Gray makes a distinction between deterrence theorising and RMA debate due to the fact that the former was ahistorical in nature while the latter is "inescapably historical, as are its policy outcomes." Gray (2002), p. 83, footnote 2. While this statement has a lot of merit, I would accentuate the similarities between these two strands of strategic theory concerning their leading nature in strategic discourse of their times. See also Gongora and von Riekhoff (2000), p. 15.

[6] For an example, see Davis (1996), p. 51.

are first and foremost rapid and profound transformations of the social structure of the international system. This change is caused by actors' practices that are embedded in the pre-revolutionary social structure. This rapid and profound transformation may originate not only from the intentional policies of one or more actors, but also from the unintentional consequences of actors' actions. The key is that a new, transformed intersubjective understanding concerning military power and war emerges.

The academic and political discourse concerning RMA that emerged after the Gulf War can be seen as a struggle for the meaning of military power and war to the degree that differences exist concerning the meaning and implications of the RMA. This means that different (national) decision-makers formulate their views on the role that the military is to have in the current international systems. When these agents interact, a shared view may arise as an intersubjective understanding concerning the RMA and military power.

That the nature of war and military power are socially constructed means that in order to understand their meaning, they need to be contextualised and their (r)evolutionary nature needs to be understood. According to the morphogenetic methodology and the path-dependent view of contemporary political definitions and actions, certain events become important in socially shared definitions concerning international politics. The demise of the Cold War – and its shared social structure concerning the meaning of military power – and the simultaneous overlap of the Gulf War provided a basis for a transformed shared definitions of war and military power. There was not – however – anything in the 'lessons learned' from the Gulf War that should automatically have come to be understood similarly throughout the world. Different countries in different geographical situations with differing political and economic circumstances did not come to view the Gulf War as a 'new', 'revolutionary' or 'paradigm-changing' war, nor was it inevitable that the outcome of one overwhelmingly asymmetric war would be viewed as a model for transforming conceptions of the nature of war or the organisation or doctrine of armed forces. William Perry noted already in 1991 that no one "should be deluded into believing that the military capability that can easily defeat an army with 4,000 tanks in a desert is going to be decisive factor in a jungle or urban guerrilla war."[7]

7.1. Main Tenets of the RMA Theorising

One of the problems related to the RMA debate concerns the multitude of meanings and concepts that have been used in an effort to depict the chang-

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[7] Perry (1991), p. 81.

ing nature of warfare in the post-Cold War era. This proliferation of concepts and meanings is the essence of the RMA debate and as such it is a very familiar condition within the discipline of international relations. It is not – however – a very familiar condition within strategic studies. Debated have certainly taken place concerning the 'right' policies – for example the debate between American nuclear 'minimalists' and 'maximalists' – but less so concerning the 'right' meaning of a high-concept, in this case the RMA.

The three 'main' concepts that relate to the RMA debate of this study are often presented in a hierarchical form. These concepts are Military-Technical Revolution (MTR), Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), and Military Revolution (MR). Although there is no unanimous agreement on the meaning and relationship of these concepts, the general view is that the lowest level of a hierarchical intellectual construct, Military-Technical Revolution, is concerned with the impact of technological innovation on the changing nature of war. Much of the RMA debate is at this level. Of the three levels in the RMA debate, MTRs cause profound transformation in the means of waging war, mainly within the 'old' paradigm of war. The middle level, the RMA, deals with the changing nature or conduct of war. It may have technological underpinnings, but in order for an RMA to occur, doctrinal and organisational transformations are essential. The effects of RMAs are wider and more far-reaching than those of MTRs', since the framework of war changes: "the crucial element in most RMAs is conceptual in nature."[8] A paradigm shift in the way war is conceptualised characterises the RMA. The highest level of Military Revolutions refers to the changes in the political, social, and cultural domains – changes that have unpredictable and uncontrollable qualities. Military Revolutions "recast the nature of society and the state as well as of military organisations."[9]

The hierarchical model of the three RMA-related concepts does not apply precisely in analysing the historical evolution of RMA theorising. This means that although it may be useful to separate MTR, RMA, and MR from each others as described above, many analyses have been conducted from an alternative perspective. Taking part in the RMA debate with MTR

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[8] Murray (1997), p. 70. Also in Peters (1995): Machines, "no matter how magnificent, do not of themselves constitute a revolution. True revolutions happen, above all, in the minds of men."

[9] Murray (1997), p. 71. See also Toffler and Toffler (1993), p. 32 "A military revolution [occurs]… when an entire society transforms itself, forcing its armed services to change at the every level simultaneously – from technology and culture to organization, strategy, tactics, training, doctrine, and logistics. When this happens, the relationship of the military to the economy and society is transformed, and the military balance of power on earth is shattered." On the differences between MTR and RMA, see Tilford (1995), p. 6.

as an organising concept does not automatically mean an emphasis on technology alone. Conceptual oscillation and 'development' concerning MTR/RMA/MR can easily be seen in the work of one of the leading RMA theorist writing from 1992 to 2002. Andrew Krepinevich wrote an assessment for the Office of Net Assessment in 1992 concerning Military-Technical Revolutions, conceptualising them to comprise innovative technology, military systems evolution, operational innovation, and organisational adaptation. In 1993 he changed the concept from MTR to RMA, mainly in order to avoid the technological bias already inherent in the MTR conceptualisations of the day. Later Krepinevich has adopted the concept of Military Revolution to avoid the intellectual "baggage of being associated with Soviet usage of the term [RMA]."[10]

The basic idea behind all theorising concerning on RMA lies in the notion that profound changes in warfare have been brought about by one or several factors. Many analysts favour an understanding of an RMA brought about by technological development, mostly in the information technology sector. The argument behind a technologically oriented RMA is that the dawn of the Information Age – with its enhanced detection, communication, and strike capabilities – is causing profound transformations in how wars are fought and their objectives. A wider perspective on an RMA highlights that a true revolution is caused by the confluence of doctrinal, organisational, and technological innovation. Seen from this angle, technological innovation in itself is insufficient to produce a revolution if not combined with new doctrine and organisation, i.e. an innovative use of the new technology. Technology provides only means to an end, and technological breakthroughs by themselves facilitate thus only more efficient tools for traditional purposes.[11]

The dichotomy between a technology-oriented and a wider perspective on an RMA is a very simplifying conceptual basis for further analysis. Although some scholars focus almost all their attention on the technological dimensions of an RMA, almost everyone in the debate takes doctrinal and organisational factors into consideration; at least they are mentioned even though they often are subordinated to technological factors.[12]

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[10] Krepinevich (1997); Krepinevich (2002a), quote on p. ii; Krepinevich (2002b) [1992].
[11] E.g. Krepinevich (1994b); Owens (1998).
[12] Herman, Paul (1994), p. 94.

7.2. The Genesis of the Post-Cold War Era RMA Discourse

The RMA debate, which had been going on for more than a decade, did not emerge from a vacuum. Its intellectual and practical roots lie in the Cold War era international system. The concept of 'Military-Technical Revolution' is of Soviet origin. The development and use of precision-guided munitions was seen already in Vietnam in the early 1970s. The doctrine of combining air power with attacking ground forces in deep strikes was a way for the US and its allies to respond to the threat that was seen to emanate from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, the above-mentioned Cold War era 'RMA-related factors' fell under the shared rule structure of an antagonistic bipolar world order in which almost all international political events were conceptualised from the perspective of superpower rivalry. Avoiding World War III was one of the core tenets of the Cold War era rule structure.[13] Realising that even a small-scale military conflict between the superpowers might erupt into a nuclear war was conductive to agreement on commonly accepted procedures for superpower conduct in the form of crisis management (especially after the Cuban missile crisis) and deterrence. In all, the three constituent elements of international system were "agreed aims, appropriate structure, and commonly accepted procedures".[14]

Although the end of the Cold War and the subsequent events during the Gulf War facilitated the emergence of the American RMA discourse, the process leading up to the inclusion of the RMA as one of the most important factors of transforming the US military did not begin until the 1970s. On the military side, it was the frustration of 'winning the battles but losing the Vietnam war'[15] that led to the painful but obviously necessary new assessment of military doctrine. The overthrow of the Shah in Iran, the Soviet conventional military build-up in the 1970s, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the declining number of active US soldiers after Vietnam were also pushing the US to redirect its policy concerning conventional forces. The events in Iran showed the problems inherent in relying on foreign militaries to compensate for American fighting power. Combined with the strategic defeat in Vietnam and the increased amount of operational Soviet weapon platforms in Europe, military operations needed to be re-

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[13] Arms limitation and reduction treaties between the superpowers can be conceptualised as part of the process of the maturation and mutually accorded acceptance of these rules.

[14] Craig and George (1990), pp. 116-133, quote on p. 119; Odom (1997), p. 62.

[15] Tilford makes the remark that in the case of Vietnam "statistics [in the form of using the concepts of 'body count' and 'truck count'] proved to be no substitute for strategy and what the Air Force and the Army succeeded best at was fooling themselves into thinking that they were winning the war." Tilford (1995), p. 12.

thought in addition to tackling the long-range project of developing and procuring new weapon systems.[16]

The Field Manuals of the US Army from the year 1976, 1982 and 1986 reflect the reorientation that took place in the Army's orientation toward battle at a time when the RMA debate had not yet begun. The doctrine of Active Defense (1976) returned the American focus from Vietnam to Europe. This move followed the US strategy of Nixon Doctrine, which identified the Soviet threat as the main focus of US national security. Active Defense tackled the problem of Soviet superiority in Europe and devised the concept of 'first battle'. It was derived from the western inferiority in troop strength in Europe, the long time needed in order to mobilise and transport US troops from the continental US to the European theatre, as well as the increased pace and deadliness of modern warfare. The shift was from superiority of materiel and manpower in a war of attrition to a more combined arms approach to winning the decisive first battle near the frontline. Active Defense was heavily criticised for its neglect of the operational level of war, its over-emphasis on defense, its limited view of Soviet methods of attack, its over-concentration on the European theatre, and its style of prescribing a proper way to wage war instead of granting a measure of flexibility and initiative to field commanders.[17]

The US Army's doctrine of the AirLand Battle was promulgated in 1982 and 'developed' in 1986. While the 1976 doctrine of Active Defense contained a chapter on Air-Land Battle (chapter 8), the 1982 *FM 100-5 Operations* signified a significant change in the conceptualisation of the levels of war, its increased appreciation for the human dimension of warfare in addition to platforms, its balance of offence and defense in operations, and its increased demands for joint Army and the Air Force operability. The Air-Land Battle doctrine (of both 1982 and 1986) was based on the intellectual foundations of Active Defense, but responded to many of the criticisms that the previous Army doctrine had attracted. One of the important moves was to focus on the operational level rather than on the tactical (and strategic) level, as had been the case with Active Defense. The revolutionary principle of AirLand Battle was the idea of joint operations on the ground and in the air for the purpose of destroying advancing enemy forces in deep battle engaging "enemy reserves, fire support elements, command and control facilities, and other high-value targets beyond the line of contact".[18]

The post-Vietnam – and the post-Lebanon [terrorist attacks of 1984, which killed 241 US marines] – reorientation of the US military was expressed

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[16] Record (1984), pp. 36-37; Betts (1995), pp. 172-175.
[17] FM 100-5 (1976); Jablonsky (1994b).
[18] FM 100-5 (1982), quote on ch. 9, p. 10; FM 100-5 (1986); FM 100-5 (1976).

rather unambiguously under the rubric of the 'Weinberger doctrine', which stressed achievable political and military aims vis-à-vis committed forces in the pursuit of national interests in operations that had public acceptance. Although this 'doctrine' was expressed by the Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger in a 1984 speech on the conditions of US military combat operations, the 1982 Field Manual *FM 100-5 Operations* had already outlined the content of the Weinberger doctrine.[19] A few years after its inception, the Weinberger doctrine was directing the US preparations for the intervention in Panama and the 1991 Gulf War. After these successful campaigns, its conceptual grip on the US conceptualisations of the nature of war and the requirements of military power was strengthened.

The western – particularly American – RMA debate, which had its main momentum in the 1990s, was thus not without practical predecessors during the Cold War. The US Armed Forces did innovate on the doctrinal level for reasons of technological change, the lessons learned from previous wars (especially the 1973 Arab-Israeli War), political strategy, and the Vietnam experience. The 1991 Gulf War and the following air wars of the 1990s were conducted according to doctrinal, technological, and organisational 'basic infrastructure' that had been developed and built during the Cold War – and thereafter. As a result, while the RMA debate was conducted during the post-Cold War era, the shadow of the Cold War significantly influenced its conceptualisation, argumentation, and 'development'. The way that war and military power had been conceptualised within the international system for half a century (some would argue that for several centuries) did not change overnight. The intellectual devices at our disposal are part of the sedimented social structure of the international system and domestic cultures, and changes in them are not necessitated by geopolitical changes in the world system – at least not in the short run.

7.3. Towards Critical Mass – The Emergence of the RMA with the Demise of the Cold War and the Execution of Operation Desert Storm

The diminishing degree of confrontation between the superpowers and the growing budget deficit in the US during the late 1980s pointed to the possibility – or a need – to reassess future military threats and force structures in the United States. The 1990 approved Base Force concept was based on the assumption that a 25 percent cut in US military's force structure was possible while still meeting the US security and defense needs in the light of the new security realities despite the fact that the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union had not yet disintegrated. The Base Force was a move to adjust to lower force levels and new threat assessments. It was a move from concep-

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[19] See FM 100-5 (1982), appendix B; Lock-Pullan (2003), p. 135.

tualising international conflict as a global confrontation between the super-power blocs and a defense policy of global containment to threats posed by regional conflicts between large mechanised regional armed forces and a defense policy of regional forward presence and rapid power projection.[20]

The emergence, acceptance, and execution of Base Force was a process of reconfiguring the force structure, strategy, and defence planning of the US Armed Forces in the immediate post-Cold War period. It was the first phase of a military adjustment in the new international system.[21] Its aim was to get rid of the specific policies and force components that belonged to the heritage of the Cold War. Base Force was not revolutionary in the sense of making a clear break with Cold War era military strategy.[22] Rather, it resembled more a "Cold War-minus approach"[23], which promulgated US military objectives in reaction to changing international circumstances and the economic situation of the United States that the Cold War era perspective on war and military power could not be envisioned from.

The 1991 Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense (later *Annual Defense Report)* Dick Cheney was released in January, during operation Desert Storm. The report reflected the dual challenge that the US was facing at that time: the end of the Cold War and subsequent need to rethink global challenges, as well as the ongoing war against Iraq. Although the report did not present lessons learned from the ongoing war, it did reflect thinking that could be considered RMA-related: using a 'system of systems' approach to improve the Army's combat capability, highlighting the importance of deep attack as well as of command and control, stressing leap-ahead technologies and smart weapons, and accentuating the technological edge of the US.[24] The closest reference made related to a RMA in the report was formulated in the following manner:

> [I]t is apparent that in the years ahead we will need to strengthen our technological edge. … The importance of maintaining a strong research and development program in the Department cannot be overemphasized. *Technology has revolutionized the battlefield time and time again.* To match potential adversaries' strength in numbers, the U.S. has always re-

[20] On Base Force, see for example Larson and Orletsky and Leuschner (2001), pp. 5-39.

[21] Gray (1994), p. 29.

[22] This despite the fact that two out of the four acknowledged supporting capabilities were related to the mostly forthcoming RMA debate: "space-based assets" and "research and development (R&D) to ensure technological superiority". See Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to the President and Congress (1992), p. 10 (also quote).

[23] Interview of General Merrill McPeak in 1994, quoted in Larson and Orletsky and Leuschner (2001), p. 61.

[24] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1991), pp. 64-65, 92.

lied upon its technological edge and this proven concept must be continued.[25]

In the statutory report of the Secretary of the Army, modernisation of the Army was also presented using the rhetoric of the RMA framework:

> Modernization is more than *developing and fielding of advanced weapons* and equipment. It also includes developing production and sustainment bases as well as *doctrine, organizations, and training* plans to support these advanced weapons.[26]

The 1991 Gulf War had a tremendous impact on the thinking and theorising concerning warfare in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century. One of the most influential RMA proponents in the US, William Perry, pondered in the fall 1991 issue of *Foreign Affairs* the meaning of the "revolutionary advance in military capability" that the new military systems provided for the US Armed Forces. The edge that the US enjoyed in the war was provided by – according to Perry – "revolutionary new military technology". With the advent of post-Cold War era reductions in military personnel and budgets, Perry suggested – or insisted – that the US needed to continue its efforts to explore new military technology, test prototypes, and selectively modernise its armed forces.[27]

The August 1991 *National Security Strategy of the United States* also stated the importance of developing new defense technology and to support these technologies by innovating in the fields of doctrine and organisation:

> We must be able to move promising research through development to rapid fielding when changes in the international environment require. … We will have to build some systems, as the early production effort is a vital component of *technology* development. Production, even in limited numbers, will also facilitate the development of *innovative doctrine and organizational structures* to make full use of the new technologies we field.[28]

The *National Military Strategy of the United States*, released in January 1992, marked a shift from the global military confrontation to a more regional orientation, a process that had been going on and prepared from the late 1980s and which was in place in the Base Force concept. The main effort in devising a new military strategy for the post-Cold War era appears to have been preoccupied mostly with cutting force structure as a response

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[25] Ibid., p. ix, 94 (my italics).
[26] Ibid., p. 97 (my italics).
[27] Perry (1991), pp. 66-80, quotes on p. 66 and 68.
[28] National Security Strategy of the United States (1991), p. 30 (my italics).

to changes in the international security environment and to budgetary strains. The role of technology was conceptualised as offsetting quantitative advantages of potential adversaries by enhancing combat effectiveness. Technology was also a key element in avoiding conflict casualties. The Gulf War was mentioned as an example of regional conflicts that the strategy accentuated. The role of high-technology weapon systems in the Gulf War was noted[29], but with the qualification that future conflicts might not resemble Operation Desert Storm. The Military Strategy of 1992 did not explicitly espouse technical revolution as a source of fundamental change in warfare although it advocated the continued maintenance of the "qualitative edge" and the advancement of technology as a "national security obligation".[30]

The February 1992 *Annual Defense Report* by Dick Cheney – the first Annual Defense Report after the end of the Gulf War – made the link between success in the Gulf War and the military technological revolution official. In addition, the lessons of the Gulf War were seen to provide proof of the benefits of a technological edge vis-à-vis potential enemies:

> The Gulf War provided the world with a vivid demonstration of *the revolution in military technology that is shaping the nature of warfare. …* In large part this revolution has resulted from the development of new technologies, … The *exploitation of these new technologies promises to change the nature of warfare significantly.*[31]

> [T]he *United States must continue to maintain a technological edge* over potential adversaries. … as was demonstrated in Operation DESERT SHIELD/STORM, a *technological edge enables us to prevail quickly.* Maintaining this technological edge requires a continuing emphasis on technological superiority.[32]

The important role of airpower in the Gulf War was connected to the changing nature of war via technological development. In his statutory report to the 1992 *Annual Defense Report,* Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice accentuated the combination of precision weapons and stealth technology. In addition, the use of space was deemed "a watershed event" in

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[29] "The recent conflict in the Gulf followed the new directions charted by this strategy. "High-technology weapons, combined with innovative joint doctrine, gave our forces the edge". National Military Strategy of the United States (1992), p. 26.

[30] Ibid., quotes on p. 10.

[31] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1992), p. 6 (my italics).

[32] Ibid., p. 6 (my italics). See also p. 14: "The performance of our weapons and other systems during the [Gulf] war with Iraq demonstrated the decisive margin that superior technology can provide. Maintaining a technological advantage is a continuous process."

modern warfare.[33] Concerning the developments in technology and the changing nature of war, his statement was the most outspoken of the 1992 report:

> Simply put, airpower technology has finally caught up with airpower theory. *We have witnessed a revolution in warfare.*[34]

The US Department of Defense's official *Final Report to Congress – Conduct of the Persian Gulf War,* released in April 1992, also accentuated the technological lessons of the war. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney noted in his overview that:

> [H]igh-technology systems vastly increased the effectiveness of our forces. This war demonstrated dramatically *the new possibilities of what has been called 'military-technological revolution in warfare'.* … In large part this revolution tracks the development of new technologies such as the microprocessing of information that has become familiar in our daily lives.[35]

By 1992, there was an official understanding – at least within the US Department of Defense – that the Gulf War was representative of the new post-Cold War era conflicts and that the nature of warfare would be heavily affected by revolutionary technological development. This technology-centred view of war was not seen only as an *accurate description* of a general transformation in the nature of warfare – although this was the most visible and loudly voiced facet of post-Cold War era warfare. The technologically biased conceptualisation of war was also linked to the ability of the US *to shape and manage* the post-Cold War era security environment, since no state or other agent was seen to be in the position to match the technological capabilities 'needed' for (post)modern warfare.[36]

7.3.1. Technological Lessons of the Gulf War

The seemingly obvious lesson learned from the 1991 Gulf War was that armed forces relying on technologically developed modern weapon systems can defeat opposing mechanised armed forces precisely, swiftly, and with relatively low levels of collateral damage or friendly casualties. The

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[33] Ibid., pp. 124-127, quote on p. 124.

[34] Ibid., p. 124 (my italics).

[35] Conduct of the Persian Gulf War, Final Report to Congress (1992), p. xx (my italics).

[36] See e.g. Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1991), p. viii, 6; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1992), pp. v-ix; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1993), p. v, ix, 1.

Gulf War was thought to be the most visible example of the decisive impact of information technology on warfare – at least proponents of technologically based RMA have raised it to the revolutionary pedestal. This despite some cautionary remarks soon after the end of the war.[37]

William J. Perry – the later US Secretary of Defence – noted in the fall of 1991:

> In Operation Desert Storm the United States employed for the first time a new class of military systems that gave American forces a *revolutionary advance in military capability*. Key to this capability is a new generation of military support systems-intelligence sensors, defense suppression systems and precision guidance subsystems-that serve as 'force multipliers'. … A significant part of that edge [U.S.'s edge versus Iraq] can be attributed to the *revolutionary new military technology* used by U.S. forces for the first time in Gulf War.[38]

Similarly, the Interim Report of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives stated that:

> The effective use of high technology was a key reason for both the high level of performance of air and ground forces, and the minimization of allied casualties. … *High technology has not only irrevocable changed the results of warfare, it has changed the process*.[39]

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[37] For example, the Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report (1993), p. 251 "Did Desert Storm constitute a revolution in the nature or conduct of war? True revolutions in war may take decades and require not merely new technologies but new forms of organization and behavior to mature. … [S]ome of the aspects of the war that seemed most dramatic at the time appear less so than they did in the immediate afterglow of one of the most one-sided campaigns in military history. … The ingredients for a transformation of war may well have become visible in the Gulf War, but if a revolution is to occur someone will have to make it." Also on p. 238 "Technology alone does not a revolution make; how military organizations adapt and shape new technology, military systems, and operational concepts matter much more." As Dennis Drew also noted, in 1993: "War and peace, victory and defeat, are not engineering problems that can be solved with a calculator and computer. Nor can force size and structure decisions be calculated using Desert Storm, Just Cause, Provide Comfort, or any other equivalents. If one could construct such balanced equations, the task of providing for the common defense would indeed be simple." See Gray (1994), p. 32 (originally in Dennis Drew (1993) "Recasting the Flawed Downsizing Debate", Parameters, spring 1993, p. 47.). See also Wrage (2003), pp. 101-102, 106.

[38] Perry (1991), p. 66, 68 (my italics).

[39] Operation Desert Storm Examined: Conduct of the War in Southwest Asia, Interim Report of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives (1992), p. viii, 34 (my italics).

One of the most decisive 'new' military instruments in the Gulf War were *precision-guided munitions.*[40] During the war, video imagery was shown by the attacking coalition in press conferences in order to highlight the efficiency of strikes and the limited nature of unnecessary suffering inflicted on non-combatants. In addition to being part of the campaign to influence the adversary – Saddam Hussein's Iraq – these images of precise engagement served an important political function: they conveyed a message to the citizens of the attacking coalition and to an international audience that the war against Iraq was not causing any unnecessary suffering to the Iraqi civilians and that the soldiers of the attacking coalition were backed up by advanced technology in order to avoid casualties. The ability to use precision weapons by the attacking coalition was actually very limited, as was the proportion of precision weapons vis-à-vis traditional 'dumb' bombs (only some 7% of total ordnance was precision guided).[41] Nevertheless, these weapon systems (laser-guided bombs, cruise missiles, ground attack missiles) became one important symbol of modern warfare and the success of the attacking coalition.

In addition to the conventional aircraft that were able to deliver precision-guided weapons, *stealth* aircraft (F-117A) and low-observable long-range cruise missiles (TLAM, CALCM) were representatives of ultra high-tech warfare during the Gulf War. They proved to be valuable assets in attacking strategic targets, especially around Baghdad, where collateral damage had to be minimised in order to keep the world public opinion from becoming even more critical. The stealth fighter was also representative of the hi-tech solution to the problem of protecting attack aircraft that were operating in enemy airspace – *force protection* through high technology. In addition to their 'instrumental value' as efficient weapon systems, they also had high symbolic value. These weapon systems represented the sort of military power that only a superpower could develop, procure, and use. Many of the limitations of the F-117 and the long-range cruise missiles did not surface in the public discourse.[42] This can be explained in part by the need of a warring party to highlight its successes in its attempts to affect the outcome of war. In addition, stealth systems were developed secretly, relied on 'fu-

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[40] It is noteworthy that laser-guided bombs, anti-radiation missiles and air-to surface missiles had been used before the Gulf War (for example in Vietnam). See e.g. Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to the President and Congress (1992), p. 14.

[41] In the Gulf War some 210,000 unguided bombs were dropped while the number of precision-guided munitions was some 17,000 (9,342 laser-guided bombs, 5,448 air-to-surface missiles, 2,039 anti-radiation missiles and 333 cruise missiles). *Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report* (1993), p. 226. See also Cohen (1996), pp. 38-39.

[42] These limitations included less flexibility and higher costs than traditional aircraft (F-117); sensitivity to weather conditions and smoke (F-117); small payload (F-117 and cruise missiles) and a lengthy targeting process (cruise missiles). See *Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report* (1993), p. 225.

turistic' images of weapons, and supposedly had qualities that were not previously deemed possible by the general public. They were modern weapon platforms and systems that were 'easily' accepted as efficient tools of war and pointed to the future of combat. Evaluated together, the 'revolutionary' development in precision-guided munitions and stealth aircraft (air forces more generally) prior to the Gulf War led to the often taken-for-granted notion that the war against Iraqi forces in 1991 showed – finally – the 'true' capacity of airpower to achieve decisive results in war.[43]

The third theme, which was elevated above others during and after the Gulf War, was *command and control*, a term that has broadened recently to include battlespace awareness and control, represented by several acronyms including C^2, C^3, C^3I, C^4I, ISR, and C^4ISR. The possibilities of acquiring data by multiple sensors, processing information, assessing acquired information and turning it into knowledge, as well as distributing this knowledge and combat orders through out the battlefield were all part of the command and control concept.[44]

The fourth lesson of the Gulf War was the combination of results achieved by *Information Warfare* and the *military use of space*. Much of what transpired in the Gulf in the form of the 'information war' was also a part of above-mentioned improved 'Command and Control' capabilities and possibilities, i.e. the impact that the attacking coalition could achieve by 1) collecting more near real-time information about the enemy than deemed possible in earlier wars and by 2) being capable of processing and exploiting this information was deemed revolutionary. Space-based sensors, communication and GPS satellites, as well as computers, made this feature possible. In addition, in order for western forces to be effective and to avoid casualties, Iraq was to be denied its own information-gathering, processing, and exploitation efforts. Similarly the information systems of the attacking coalition were to be defended against possible Iraqi attacks. This was achieved by a mix of physical destruction and non-destructive information operations.[45]

In combination, these themes formed the core of a post-Gulf War, technologically oriented RMA perspective. The importance of combining the effects of development in these areas of warfare with the changing nature of the post-Cold War era were well stated by Admiral William Owens:

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[43] Cohen (1996), pp. 29-40.

[44] E.g. Davis (1996).

[45] E.g. National Military Strategy of the United States of America (1995), p. 15 "Win the information war … New doctrine is being developed, and training and control programs are underway, to ensure that advantages, built on the early success in Operation Desert Storm, are being exploited."; McKitrick and Blackwell and Littlepage and Kraus and Blanchfield and Hill (1995); Warden (1995).

"…building the force of the future requires harnessing the revolution in military affairs (RMA) brought about by technological leaps in surveillance, command and control, and longer range precision guided munitions."[46]

The potential advantages inherent in new technologies of war – which were hailed by many during and after the Gulf War of 1991 – did not provide the sole rationale for the emergence of the RMA within the US defence establishment. In addition, the threat of being unwilling or unable to devise such revolutionary technology was also used as an argument in the technologically biased RMA debate. The underlying logic of this proposition was that the U.S. military "must identify, develop, and integrate critical emerging technologies, or face the risk that the next military revolution will take place elsewhere – perhaps in a country hostile to America."[47] In addition, the idea that Americans have a "deep fascination with technology for its own sake"[48] has been proposed to capture the technologically oriented conceptualisation of the RMA in the US – particularly during the years following the 1991 Gulf war.

The argument that sees a potential threat in failing to engage in the development of new technologies for warfare implies a necessity to control or master Revolutions in Military Affairs. This leads to the logical conclusion that RMAs are not taking place 'out there' – in the external environment –

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[46] Owens (1994), p. 56. On the technological components of the RMA, see also Kendall (1992); Sloan (2002), pp. 4-9; Murray (1998), pp. 51-52; Owens (1998), pp. 63, 67-69; Nye and Owens (1996). On pp. 20-24 they state: "This information advantage can help deter or defeat traditional military threats at relatively low cost. … driven by the information revolution, a revolution in military affairs is at hand. … the United States is integrating the technical advances of ISR [Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance], C4I [Command, Control, Communications, Computer processing], and precision force. This emerging result is a system of systems that represents a qualitative change in U.S. military capabilities."

[47] Bartlett and Holman and Somes (1996), p. 28.

[48] Murray (1998), p. 51. Murray also connects the technologically oriented conceptualisation of the RMA with the Vietnam war era "technological (and engineering) view of the future" of Robert McNamara. See ibid., p. 52. Owens makes similar comparison between the technologically defined understanding of war by McNamara and the 'technophilian' understanding of the RMA: "Vietnam was fought in accordance with an economic and quantitative paradigm of conflict arising from nuclear deterrence theory. … Central to the McNamara strategy for Vietnam was the application of technological solutions to military problems and the employment of quantitative methods to measure progress. … In its more extreme form, the RMA is about an outcome. …'technophiles' replace the classic Clausewitzian trinity of primordial violence, chance and probability, and the subordination of war to policy by a new technological trinity: intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance technologies; advanced command, control, communications, and computer systems; and precision strike munitions. … This conception of war is linear, mechanistic, and technocentric." Owens (1998), p. 64, 67.

but are actually something that actors can have an influence upon. RMAs could thus be influenced by visions that actors (today mostly states and armed forces) have and pursue in their strategies for evading possible future threats.[49]

The technological emphasis of the "American Revolution in Military Affairs"[50] manifests itself not only in technological issues of warfare, but also in the primary explanatory status given to technology in transforming the way that the Unite States conceptualises war and the role that armed forces are to play in the international system. In other words, technology is the engine of transformation of warfare, while the questions of *when* and *how* to use armed force and in *what composition* are derivatives of the possibilities of technology. The nowadays much criticised technological approach to the RMA was expressed by Admiral William Owens in 1994: "We currently lack a firm consensus on two dimensions of this American revolution. The first is what it means, more specifically, for military organization and doctrine. The second is what it means for U.S. foreign policy and our role in the world."[51] *The danger inherent in the technological approach is that it risks turning politically formed strategy of states into a technology-driven procurement project.*[52]

7.3.2. The Post-Gulf Strengthening of the RMA Thesis

The technological emphasis of the RMA debate in the post-Gulf War years did not emanate solely from the technologically intriguing and publicly much touted, efficient weaponry that – on the surface at least – brought easy victory for the attacking coalition against the fourth largest armed force in the world that Iraq possessed before the war.[53] It had its intellectual predecessor in the military-technical writing of the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s. Combining the availability of this concept with the seemingly technical resolution of the Gulf war prompted a technologically ori-

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[49] See Blank (1996), pp. 17-18.

[50] Owens (1995-6), p. 37.

[51] Ibid., p. 38.

[52] See Metz and Kievit (1995); Murray (1998), p. 51 "U.S. defense policies are in general disarray. With no strategic or political framework to address the challenges of the next century, the services are developing weapons systems and concepts that remain disconnected from future political and strategic realities."

[53] Although most analysts have concentrated on the technological dimensions of the Gulf War, it is worth noting that also factors related to organisation and operational concepts have also been pointed out as 'lessons learned' from the war. The argument is that the technology used by the attacking coalition was already in existence a decade earlier and it was in fact due to organisational adaptation and devising new operational concepts that the Gulf War proved to be so successful for the attackers. See Blank (1996), p. 19.

ented perspective on warfare in the American defense establishment. This is not to say that technology was all that the emerging American MTR/RMA literature centred upon, but the emphasis was on technology.[54]

Within the US Department of Defense, the Office of Net Assessment (ONA) released a report by Andrew Krepinevich in July 1992 entitled *The Military-Technical Revolution – A Preliminary Assessment*. A force behind the assessment was the Director, Office of Net Assessment, Andrew Marshall, who had been following Soviet theorising on the subject since the mid-1970s. With the end of the Cold War and the 1991 Gulf War, Marshall decided to have his office evaluate whether the Soviet theorising concerning a Military-Technical Revolution (MTR) and the changing nature of future war was possible and indeed occurring.[55] The report formulated an explicit definition of a Military-Technical Revolution:

> A Military-Technical Revolution occurs when the application of new technologies into military systems combines with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptation to alter fundamentally the character and conduct of military operations.[56]

The four elements of MTRs – technology, systems, operational concepts, and organisation – are based on the realisation that technology in itself is not sufficient to bring about a true revolution. A technological edge is provided by better information gathering, processing and communication, better munitions, and new simulation techniques. To capitalise on this edge, technology should be incorporated into military systems and munitions. To realise the actual combat potential of these systems, new methods for employing them are needed. These come in the form of new operational concepts, doctrine and tactics: "In a sense, when a military-technical revolution

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[54] Cohen (1996), p. 39. The Soviet MTR concept came to the US mainly via the Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment; The concept 'Military-Technical Revolution' is of Soviet origin and holds the idea that future warfare is more characterised by quality than quantity. The Soviet concept of MTR was based on the then ongoing east-west confrontation and a potential clash of massive armed forces in central Europe. Its focus was technological in nature as it concentrated on weapon systems rather than organisational factors related to war. The MTR-related Soviet idea of reconnaissance-strike complexes, where the combination of long-range precision strikes and developed information technology-based reconnaissance and targeting systems can be incorporated into highly lethal groupings, was something that the Gulf War seemed to bring into existence. But as the Gulf War Air Power Survey stated, no such complex existed even though the physical capabilities for such a complex did exist. See Gulf War Air Power Survey – Summary Report (1993), p. 247; Keaney and Cohen (1995), p. 199. Concerning Soviet MTR theorising, see for example Krepinevich (1992); FitzGerald (1991).
[55] Marshall (2002), pp. i-ii.
[56] Krepinevich (2002b)[1992], p. 1. See also Krepinevich (1994b), pp. 30-31.

occurs, the 'rules of the game' [war] are fundamentally altered." Organisational innovation was also characterised as one key to successful MTRs, although the potential of militaries for innovation is portrayed as being somewhat limited. In addition to advocating changes in force structure, the report also suggested acquisition innovation and interservice integration.[57]

The historical data used in the report relied also on the period between the First and the Second World Wars. Andrew Marshall conceptualised this period as a time of considerable military innovation and could thus provide answers now that the protracted Cold War was over and the Defense Department was being called on to rethink its approach to threats, nature of war and structure of its armed forces. By resting its argument on the Soviet theoretical framework of MTR and historical analogy, the Office of Net Assessment released a study that became not only the best known study of the Office, but also an influential one – giving direction to the American RMA debate of the 1990s.[58]

In the 1993 *Annual Defense Report*, technological edge, "leading-edge weapon systems", and "revolutionary technologies" were noted as means for developing effective military forces to deal with existing and future warfighting scenarios as well as to shape the future international security landscape. The 1991 Gulf War was still the primary inspiration for the priority status granted to science and technology (S&T) in the report. The S&T-related lessons of the Gulf War touched upon stealth technology, information gathering and processing, as well as on precision strike capabilities. These and other possible critical battlefield technologies were to be identified and pursued vigorously.[59] Thus, by the time that the Clinton administration took office, the idea of a post-Cold War Revolution in Military Affairs – driven by advanced information technology – was being established within the Defence Department and throughout the defence establishment.

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin released the *Report on the Bottom-Up Review* (BUR) in October 1993. The Review was conducted by the Clinton administration in order to assess the post-Cold War and post-Soviet Union security environment and to provide guidelines for a new defense strategy, force structure, and the Department's modernisation programs. Although the Report has been best known for its 'Win Two Nearly Simultaneous Major Regional Conflicts' formulation, it continued the Defense Department's promulgation of technologically oriented revolution in warfare. This de-

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[57] Krepinevich (2002b)[1992], pp. 11-38; quote on p. 19.
[58] Ibid.; Blaker (1997), p. 6, 33-34.
[59] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (1993), pp. viii-ix, 2, 12-13, quotes on p. 2, 12.

spite the fact that the conflict environment at the time that the Bottom-Up Review Report was published had already departed from the traditional western conventional war scenarios.[60] This was drastically revealed by the simultaneous killing of 18 US soldiers in Somalia, which had consequences at the strategic level when US troops were withdrawn from Somalia in the following several months. Nevertheless, the *Report on the Bottom-Up Review* stated:

> The technological revolution now taking place has a number of implications… The *revolution in weapons technology suggests that we must re-examine our concepts* for employing certain weapons – tanks, aircraft, missiles, and the like – on the battlefield.[61]

The BUR conceptualisation of war could be described as 'Cold War minus', which means that the Cold War era view of formally organised massed armed forces of the superpower blocs battling each other until decisive victory had metamorphosed into a post-Cold version of formally organised technologically developed armed forces of the superpower (US) and its allies battling a regional adversary with formally organised, massed armed forces until decisive victory. This one-sided view of war turned almost a blind eye to the other, but by means no less important or less lethal, side of the 'new' or emerging 'reality' of western war – humanitarian interventions as a response to civil wars, ethnic and religious conflicts, etc. Thus by the end of 1993 the new technological aspects of warfare were generally accepted and vigorously investigated and developed in the US, while the political or strategic aspects of post-Cold War era warfare – the direct and indirect consequences of the end of the Cold War – were more or less reproduced as they were during the Cold War. The BUR's only visible modification to the strategic-political aspects of warfare in the move from the Cold War era into the post-Cold War era was the splitting of the conceptualisation of one large-scale global-level military confrontation into two large-scale regional military confrontations. In the mid 1990s, the other increasingly relevant 'forms' of warfare – new wars and Low Intensity Conflicts – were still considered less threatening – as they had been throughout the Cold War. They were thus less important in the US concep-

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[60] Krepinevich (1994b), pp. 20-21. "BUR [Bottom-Up review] authors … may still be attempting to apply technological solutions where they do not fit" (p. 21).

[61] Report on the Bottom-Up Review (1993), p. 33 (my italics). The Bottom-Up Review Report was – however – continuing along the path that was trod in the Base Force force structure and modernisation plans. This meant further cuts in military spending, manpower, modernisation efforts, and existing equipment. At the same time, participation in peace and humanitarian operations rose in standing in the new strategy. This led eventually to increased engagement especially by the US Air Forces (due to lessons learned from the Gulf War) in operations further away from the continental US for a longer time than had been the case during the Cold War. See Larson and Orletsky and Leuschner (2001), pp. 41-81.

tualisations of the types of wars that the armed forces were projected to fight, and the combat capability in these kinds of wars a derivative of the capability to prevail in Major Regional Conflicts.

The January 1994 *Annual Defense Report* by Les Aspin stated that information dominance – established by exploitation of space – was important for future operations. Lessons for this came from the Gulf War – "the first space war" fought by the US. The relationship between new technologies and a fundamental alteration of modern warfare was described in potential terms: the actual realisation of "the Revolution in Modern Warfare" was deemed conditional.[62]

> Driven primarily by improvements in information collection, processing, and transmission technology, *this revolution could have an impact* upon military operations.[63]

Looking at the above-mentioned official documents, defence-related reports, and unofficial articles written by influential members of the US defence establishment, one can conclude that the period between the 1991 Gulf War and 1994 was characterised by increasing legitimacy and acceptance of the *RMA concept as a general phenomenon* within the international system and as the *guideline* for restructuring the US Armed Forces in the coming years. The policy implications were still somewhat vague, but a consensus was beginning to form regarding the *crucial* importance of new technologies and the revolutionary changes that they were about to cause within the military sphere. This process of consensus building drew mostly on the new and emerging possibilities of warfare brought to the fore by the developments within information technologies in general and the 1991 Gulf War particularly. It was also facilitated by the changed security situation that became apparent with the dissolution of the Warsaw pact and the Soviet Union, although the large-scale political-strategic ramifications related to redefining war in the post-Cold War period did not materialise.

During the first five post-Cold War years, the Cold War era habit of 'overlooking' Low Intensity Conflicts or civil wars continued despite the increasing emergence of well-publicised new wars. Even though the United States did intervene militarily in some of those non-traditional conflicts – e.g. in Somalia and Haiti – the formerly sharp Cold War era focus on the super-power confrontation moved towards conventional regional war – as an updated post-Cold War era version of the preceding sedimented threat of a Warsaw Pact attack on the west. During the mentioned period between 1991 and 1994, the US conceptualisation of war and military power resem-

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[62] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1994), pp. 219-220 (quotes).
[63] Ibid., p. 219 (my italics)

bled that of the Cold War era very closely – with a gradually increasing emphasis on the role of military technology. This emphasis grew out of the highly publicised lessons of the first western war in the post-Cold War era – the Gulf War.

The Gulf War fitted rather easily into the American conceptualisations of war that were inherited from the Cold War era. With the inception of a post-Cold war era regional strategy, only the degree of potential adversaries' capabilities changed: they decreased dramatically. The immediate post-Cold War era threats were much the same as before – only the scale of the threat diminished. Similarly, war was conceptualised between states and their formally organised armed forces. Correspondingly, the battlefield was the scene of a struggle between opposing conventional armies. The emerging technological emphasis of the post-Cold War and post-Gulf War era was related particularly to the determinants of military power. *Confronted with traditional kind of threats and problems, as well as with the increasing calls for military action, advanced technology became the key for distinguishing post-Cold War era warfare from Cold War era warfare.*

7.4. The Tipping-point

The concept of the Revolution in Military Affairs was explicitly advanced in the February *1995 Annual Defense Report* by William Perry. In the document, it is formulated as a potential:

> The Department is examining whether recently fielded and emerging technologies, in combination with organizational and operational changes, will produce dramatic improvements in military effectiveness, the *so-called Revolution in Military Affairs* (RMA).[64]

This notion of a potentially emerging RMA was connected to the explicitly stated notion of past revolutions in military affairs that had come about through the convergence of new technologies, innovative operational concepts, and organisational adaptation – fundamentally altering the conduct and character of military operations. The key to this potential RMA was identified in information technology – gathering, processing, and disseminating information in near-real time terms. Information technologies – together with precision capabilities (which obviously have been developed due to the developments in information technology) – were seen to have consequences for the way that war is conducted. Similarly, information

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[64] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William J. Perry (1995), part IV (my italics).

technologies, in the form of advanced simulations, were conceptualised in the report to affect training, doctrine, and tactics. [65]

The potential nature of the RMA in the DoD's 1995 position is clear from several statements by William Perry, Deputy Defense Secretary John White and Undersecretary of Defense, Paul Kaminski. In March, Kaminski's prepared statement referred to the Defense Department's *studies* of a Revolution in Military Affairs. In June, William Perry pointed out in his speech the need to *harness the technological revolution* for national security purposes. In September, White discussed the US Armed Force's modernisation programme in language familiar from previous RMA propositions. For him, modernisation meant new weapons, vision, doctrine, planning, and training. His emphasis was on jointness.[66]

In October 1995 Undersecretary of Defense, Paul Kaminski stated explicitly – in his prepared remarks at the 12th National Logistics Symposium and Exhibition – a view of the RMA as a DoD vision. He said:

> Today, America has precision strike capability due to a vision some 20 years ago. *Today, we are developing a vision for other major changes in warfare – it is called the Revolution in Military Affairs*, or RMA.[67]

Thus, what begun as a series of 'objective' observations of the emerging post-Cold War era international reality in general and war particularly, was transformed in Kaminski's remarks into a goal-directed activity of changing the nature of warfare in order to favour the US. This framing of the RMA as a vision spelled out the US DoD's understanding of the nature of future warfare and the means of arriving there – although still in embryonic term. The explicit route to be followed was not presented in a concrete way. Rather, it was the acceptance of the RMA as a conceptual base that was offered at this time.

At the Presidential level, the pronouncement of the US Armed Forces' transformation through an RMA took place already in 1995, although more in passing than actively promulgated. President Clinton remarked on the important role of Admiral William Owens in the development of the American RMA as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when he nominated General Ralston as Owens' successor. President Clinton praised Owens' "crucial role in shaping our forces to fight as a joint team, and the superlative leadership he provided in harnessing the information and technological revolution to our current and future defense posture will ensure

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[65] Ibid., part IV.
[66] Kaminski (1995a); Perry (1995b); White (1995).
[67] Kaminski (1995b).

that our military will remain the best in the world as we enter the 21st century."[68]

The March *1996 Annual Defense Report* by William Perry took an approach similar to that of the previous report in 1995. At this stage, the Department of Defense was still stating that it was not sure whether an RMA was going to happen or not. It was still mentioned as a potential. What was different in the 1996 Report was its reference to the *conceptual development of an RMA*. According to the 1996 report, two ideas contributing to the possible RMA were long-range precision strike capability and the information war. The revolutionary aspect in the RMA was conceptualised by the profound nature of transformation, not by its speed.

The 1996 report went on to say that "advantages in technology are fundamentally altering the conduct of modern warfare."[69] Having previously defined RMAs according to the profundity of changes in warfare – not by their rapidity – the 1996 report implied an RMA was actually underway under way and the explicit statement that the Department of Defence must examine whether "the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs"[70] will be produced by technological, organisational, and operational changes, was at least in part compromised. These conflicting, or at least ambiguous, statements can be seen as recommendations for organisational and operational transformation, since the existence of fundamental transformation of technology and the advent of current RMA are stated as facts in the report, though in an obscure fashion.[71]

What was called a DoD vision of future warfare almost a year earlier[72], was expressed in more concrete terms in the US Armed Forces *Joint Vision*

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[68] Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (1995), p. 2192.

[69] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William J. Perry (1996), ch. 23.

[70] Ibid, ch. 11.

[71] Ibid, ch. 11, ch. 23. One more indication that the DoD believed the RMA to be reality in the 1996 report can be seen in the phrase that "Space systems will contribute greatly to the revolution because". Here the RMA is treated as something that is emerging and which will evolve due to the technological efforts of the United States. See ch. 23. See also A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargements (1996), p. 14, where without mentioning the Revolution in Military Affairs it is stated that unpredictable future and possible unexpected developments within the international system demand the "development of new systems and capabilities, incorporating state-of-the-art technology and new and more effective combat organizations." In the March/April 1996 issue of Foreign Affairs, Nye and Owens argue that "America … has already begun, systematically, to assemble the new system of systems and is well down the revolutionary path, while most nations have not yet even realized a revolution in military affairs is under way. … The revolution is driven by technologies available worldwide." Nye and Owens (1996), p. 28.

[72] See Kaminski (1995b).

2010, distributed by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in June 1996. It was formulated to be "the conceptual template for how America's Armed Forces will channel the vitality and innovation of our people and leverage technological opportunities to achieve new levels of effectiveness in joint warfighting."[73] It did not mention the Revolution in Military Affairs even once, but contained conceptual formulations concerning the transformation of US armed forces from a technological, operational, and organisational perspective. Later it became framed as the key effort for exploiting the RMA and as the guide for the DoD's future preparations. *Joint Vision 2010* was technologically centred, although it addressed questions concerning training and leadership:

> In sum, by 2010 we should be able to enhance the capabilities of our forces through technology. … To *exploit the enormous potential of technology*, we must develop in a systematic manner the full range of required enhancements. This process must begin with a *new conceptual framework for operations*.[74]

The general objective of *Joint Vision 2010* was to achieve "full-spectrum dominance" in four operational concepts – dominant manoeuvre, precision engagement, full-dimensional protection, and focused logistics. These operational concepts were – as the citation above suggests – derived from technological development, especially from the field of information technology, which makes information superiority possible. What 'linked' *Joint Vision 2010* to RMA – besides the fact that DoD proclaimed later in the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review Report that its efforts to exploit RMA have been guided mostly by *Joint Vision 2010* – were its guidelines concerning implementation. In order to achieve future capabilities and full-spectrum dominance via the four new operational concepts, the armed forces needed new doctrine, training, organisation, and technology (materiel).[75] Without referring to the RMA directly, Joint Vision did implicitly espouse it and, as would become evident later, Joint Vision was raised to be the 'exemplar' of a new emerging US paradigm of war. In November 1996 – a few months after the release of *Joint Vision 2010* – Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Shalikashvili use the term RMA and spoke of its effects on the US military:

> And our military will be influenced by what some call a 'revolution in military affairs, … The good news is that we are on the leading edge of that revolution.[76]

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[73] Joint Vision 2010 (1996), p. 1 (my italics).
[74] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[75] Ibid., p. 33.
[76] Shalikashvili (1996).

By the end of 1996 the nature and effects of a possibly emerging RMA were still somewhat ambiguous. Despite being called the DoD vision of future warfare, and despite the guidance provided by the *Joint Vision 2010*, the move from a general level notion of an RMA toward actually applying it in order to transform the Armed Forces' way to think, fight, procure, and train was still vague. As the 1996 published *Final Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force Tactics and Technology for 21st Century Military Superiority*[77] stated – reflecting the increasing acceptance of the general RMA thesis:

> Today, there is great potential for profound improvement, particularly from new operational concepts and tactics enabled by the revolution in information technology.[78]

> There is a good chance that we can achieve dramatic increases in the effectiveness of rapidly deployable forces if redesigning the ground forces around the enhanced combat cell proves to be robust in many environments. *There is some chance that this will lead to a true revolution in military affairs*".[79]

The potential nature of the RMA described in the Defense Science Board's report was also reflected in its recommendations to explore new joint concepts, develop critical systems and technologies, and establish a Joint Expeditionary Task Force to be the lead agent for further development. Making these happen – the report argued – would possibly lead to a true Revolution in Military Affairs.[80]

The newly appointed Secretary of Defense, William Cohen, stated in March 1997 that:

> [W]e want to prepare our military forces for the uncertain types of threats that they're going to face tomorrow. That means *that we're going to go forward with what we call the Revolution in Military Affairs by investing in leap-ahead technologies and developing the tactics and the doctrine to sustain them.*[81]

The *1997 Annual Defense Report* by William Cohen – released in April – *enshrined the concept of the RMA explicitly to the DoD's official policy*, although it was used in a dual sense. The first meaning of the concept RMA expressed by Cohen's report was that of RMAs as recurring historical phe-

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[77] The Defense Science Board is a Federal Advisory Committee established to provide independent advice to the US Secretary of Defense.
[78] Tactics and Technology for 21st Century Military Superiority (1996), vol. 1, p. II-9.
[79] Ibid., vol. 1, p. S-4.
[80] Ibid., vol .1, pp. VI-1 to VII-5.
[81] Cohen (1997b) (my italics).

nomena which occur due to convergence of technological development and organisational as well as operational innovation – 'independently' of actors' decisions and practices. This was the understanding of RMAs that had been the point of reference in earlier DoD documents. From this understanding, RMAs happen 'objectively' and those who do not adapt to them will pay a heavy price on the battlefield. The second meaning of RMAs made explicit in Cohen's report is that of a vision. According to this view, RMAs do occur historically and actors do have to adapt to their exigencies, but RMAs receive their content from actors, and the latter either mould way that this (r)evolutionary process proceeds or they are the first to take the lead in understanding and exploiting the RMA process.

Although the two meanings of RMA are of course interrelated, the logic behind them is different: one sees the world as it is and thus calls for adjusting one's behaviour to the demands of the situation, while the other presupposes that the future is made – or at least affected – by conscious decisions of instrumental actors. The fact that both logics were presented in the report leads to the question of whether or not the RMA was already underway, or was it going to be set in motion by conscious contemporary decisions.

The 1997 report is a further move towards a more explicit and open formulation of the RMA as a condition and a vehicle for the transformation of the US Armed Forces. The "emerging Revolution in Military Affairs" or "this ongoing revolution" is still not espoused unequivocally in a coherent way, but the move away from the "so-called Revolution of Military Affairs" language of the 1996 report is clear enough. In addition, the underlying logic of the 1997 report is that it is the US Department of Defense that should be the driving force behind the full-fledged revolution by converging technological, operational, and organisational innovation. The need for such a role for the Department – and specifically for the US Armed Forces – originated in the post-Cold War era environment. Contemporary and future military challenges, combined with budgetary constraints, accentuated the need to fundamentally improve the warfighting capacity of the US armed forces.[82]

The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) of May 1997 – mandated by the Force Structure Review Act – identified the continued exploitation of the Revolution in Military Affairs as part of the DoD's commitment to prepare for an uncertain future with a 'shape-respond-prepare' strategy. A month earlier, in the form of the 1997 Annual Defense Report, Secretary of Defense William Cohen's presentation of the RMA was more in the nature of

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[82] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1997), ch. 8.

conceptual clarification than actually harnessing the RMA for military transformational purposes.[83] According to the 1997 QDR:

> Just as earlier technological revolutions have affected the nature of conflict, so too will the technological change that is so evident today. This transformation involves much more than the acquisition of new military systems. It means harnessing new technologies to give U.S. forces greater military capabilities through advanced concepts, doctrine, and organizations so that they can dominate any future battlefield.[84]

> The information revolution is creating a *Revolution in Military Affairs that will fundamentally change the way U.S. forces fight*. <u>We must exploit</u> these and other technologies to dominate in battle. … *For several years, the U.S. military and DoD have been engaged in a variety of efforts to exploit the RMA*. … The path we have chosen strikes a balance between the present and the future … it invests in the future force with a focused modernization plan that <u>embraces</u> *the Revolution in Military Affairs*, and introduces new systems and technologies at the right pace.[85]

In the gradual process of integrating the RMA concept into official defence policy from 1995 onwards, the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Report brought it into fruition. It was in this document that the RMA was 'accepted' as one of four main cornerstones of the DoD's preparation for the future. This was a shift from the 1997 Annual Defense Report's view of the RMA. The DoD's decision "to leverage new technologies to harness the Revolution in Military Affairs through new operational concepts, new doctrine, and, ultimately, organisational changes", was deemed essential in the QDR. The uncertainty of the future was depicted as demanding a transformation of the military for which the RMA was to be the medium. The components of the RMA – technology, operational concepts, and organisation – had already been presented already in the 1995 Annual Defense Report,[86] but then they were conceptualised as part of a possible or a so-called Revolution in Military Affairs. In the 1997 QDR they were presented as components of an *ongoing revolution that needed to be exploited in order to transform the military*[87] to be better suited for future operations while also being capable of operating against contemporary threats.[88]

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[83] Quadrennial Defense Review (1997); Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1997), ch. 8.

[84] Quadrennial Defense Review (1997), section III.

[85] Ibid., The Secretary's Message, section III (my italics).

[86] The elements of the RMA – in the form of technology, doctrine and organisation – were advanced already in the 1991 National Security Strategy. At that time, however, there was no RMA framework for these elements.

[87] The role of the RMA as a tool for modernisation and transformation of the US Armed Forces was also clearly stated by Cohen in his remarks on May 1997, before the first Quadrennial Defense Review Report was presented to Congress, calling for the need to

The third document within the US defence establishment published in 1997 to state explicitly the need to modernise the Armed Forces by exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs was the 1997 *National Military Strategy.* The document made the distinction between transformation – which was to be evolutionary in essence due to the needs of addressing contemporary security challenges and of preparing for the future – and the RMA. Despite this distinction, the understanding of transformation as the process of harnessing new technology, concepts, doctrine, and organisations meant that transformation, as it was described in the document, was synonymous with commonly held RMA conceptualisations.[89]

1997 can be considered as the year in which the RMA was incorporated into the official security and defence policy of the US. In addition to the aforementioned documents, the *National Security Strategy for a New Century*, released in May 1997, also echoed the themes of the RMA – although without directly referring to it. The strategy called for new operational concepts, capabilities, technologies, and organisations. It also espoused the idea of modernising the US Armed Forces – that had come to rely on technology inherited from the 1970s and 1980s – by balancing between contemporary concerns and future threats. The goal was, as described by the National Security Strategy, "to maintain the technological superiority of U.S. forces."[90]

During the analytically chosen RMA tipping point between 1995 and 1997, the lessons Operation Deliberate Force in Bosnia were read in light of RMA. After all, it was the use of airpower and precision weapons that had made the cessation of hostilities possible. Ground troops were necessary only after the offensive phase was over and Bosnia had to be stabilised. According to US Secretary of Defence, William Perry, the Bosnian campaign was:

> [A] rare instance where by combination of exclusive use of *precision guided ammunitions* and very strict rules of engagement we conducted this

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"re-capitalize our force, to capture and exploit that revolution in military affairs … *We've got to have a revolution in military affairs*". See Cohen (1997c) (my italics).

[88] Quadrennial Defense Review (1997), section VII. The 1997 QDR was not the first place that the Secretary of Defense noted the importance of exploiting the RMA. See for example Cohen's (1997a) observation that "preparing for this uncertain future requires a robust modernization program. It includes continuing the exploitation of what we call the revolution in military affairs".

[89] National Military Strategy of the United States of America (1997), pp. 3, 17-22. The document does not 'define' the RMA. It only states that it should be exploited for effectuating transformation.

[90] National Security Strategy for a New Century (1997), p. 13 (also quote).

massive campaign with no collateral damage, no damage to civilians, no collateral damage of any kind.[91]

It was one of the most effective campaigns of the sort that has ever been launched. Every target that was specified by the NATO air commander, *every target was destroyed*, and most amazingly, there was absolutely no collateral damage.[92]

The eventual success in Bosnia, and the lessons drawn from the campaign, were linked to two distinct, but interrelated processes in the post-Cold War international system. First, the Bosnian conflict was one of an increasing number of ethnic and religious conflicts in the post-Cold War world. The need to do something in order to stop or at least reduce gross human rights violations and the killing of civilians was high – especially since the conflict took place in Europe. Even the lessons of Somalia and Rwanda – which were not flattering to the RMA argument – supported the idea of intervening militarily in some new wars.[93] Second, the lessons of the success in Bosnia were directly related to the post-Gulf War western accentuation of revolutionary military technology that facilitated the implementation of Operation Deliberate Force as an air campaign – with little risk of friendly casualties and limited collateral damage. While Operation Desert Storm was cited with hindsight as 'proof' of the RMA thesis when confronted with the 'traditional' type of conventional war, the lessons of Operation Deliberate Force provided preliminary 'proof' for the success of the RMA thesis in humanitarian operations. This was so at least when the adversary was interested in reaching a peace agreement after having been convinced of the grim prospects of continuing with the war. Thus whenever the interests of the US favoured the humanitarian use of military force, the 'RMA elements' of the Armed Forces would be called upon to deliver the expected outcome.

7.5. Cascade

The exploitation of RMA, as formulated in the QDR and earlier in 1997 by Secretary Cohen, meant that US forces were to dominate any future conflict that they might be part of. RMA was a "leap into the future", a choice of an approximated desired future and a general path to achieve it. This leap necessitated a move beyond post-Cold War era thinking and recognis-

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[91] Perry (1996c) (my italics).
[92] Perry (1996b) (my italics).
[93] In his 1996 Annual Report to the President and Congress (Message of the Secretary of Defense) Secretary of Defense William Perry noted that "military intervention in ethnic conflicts or civil wars, where we have important, but rarely vital, interests at stake, require the balancing of those interests against the risks and costs involved."

ing the uncertain nature of future.[94] In the 1997 QDR, *Joint Vision 2010* was referred to as "a plan for military operations of the future", "a conceptual umbrella for other long-range visions and plans", and a "blueprint for our future military operations". It was described to have been the key effort to exploit the ongoing RMA and also to guide "the department's preparations for the future". What was called for in 1997 was additional development of Service visions, operational concepts, organisational configurations, and training to realise the potential of the RMA.[95]

In the DoD's assessment, *Joint Vision 2010* was a mid-term force transformation template. Its four new operational concepts – dominant maneuvre, precision engagement, focused logistics, and full dimensional protection – built upon an integrated system-of-systems would provide means to "*end the battle quickly on our* [US] *terms.*" Implementing Joint Vision 2010 by conceptual development, experiments, and exercises conducted by the Services in the latter half of the 1990s was not the end of the RMA, but rather a beginning. For the revolutionary transformation to be completed, it was assessed that a long-term approach was needed – a time span from 15 to 25 years. [96]

In November 1997 Secretary of Defense William Cohen released the *Defense Reform Initiative Report*, which sought to ignite "a revolution in business affairs" within the Department of Defense in order to approach the management techniques and leadership of American corporations and marketplace. The idea behind this initiative was to free resources to achieve a Revolution in Military Affairs and to completely transform the DoD. The realisation of the RMA was represented as being conditional on the success of the "concomitant revolution in the support activities of defense".[97]

The National Defense Panel[98] (NDP) provided Secretary of Defense William Cohen with the *Transforming Defense – National Security in the 21ˢᵗ Century Report* in December 1997. It envisioned transformation of the military in its operational concepts, force structures, equipment, procurement, and support structure. Concerning the RMA the report noted:

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[94] See Cohen (1997d) (quote); Cohen (1997e). For the description of the post-Cold War era as a time when the US military was able to forgo modernisation and of the 'post-QDR era' as one demanding an RMA, see Shalikashvili (1997).

[95] Quadrennial Defense Review (1997), Secretary's Message, section III, section VII.

[96] Cohen (1997f) (my italics).

[97] Defense Reform Initiative Report (1997), quote on pp. ii-iii.

[98] The National Defense Panel was established by The Military Force Structure Review Act of 1996 as an independent body to review the findings of DoD's Quadrennial Defense Review and to provide an independent appraisal of the US force structure.

We are on the cusp of a military revolution stimulated by rapid advances in information and information-related technologies. … Those who can exploit these opportunities – and thereby dissipate the 'fog of war' – stand to gain significant advantages.[99]

[T]he emerging military revolution seems destined to present the U.S. military with challenges and opportunities that are fundamentally different from those of today.[100]

In comparison to the 1997 QDR, The National Defense Panel Report placed more stress on the need to take rapid concrete action to transform the US military. Beneath this need for transformation lay the RMA – as one of four key trends[101] that are changing the world – which posed challenges and opportunities for DoD's preparations for future conflicts. In sum, the view that the report took concerning the RMA was similar to that of the 1997 QRD. As a response to the NDP Report, Secretary Cohen expressed his interest in the panel's proposition of *accelerating military transformation by exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs more aggressively*. In order to coordinate the DoD's approach to transformation and the RMA, Cohen asked Deputy Secretary of Defense to chair an RMA oversight council, which was given the role of reviewing the Department's transformation activities and to monitor its RMA efforts.[102]

The 1998 *Annual Defense Report* by William Cohen emphasised – in conformity with 1997 QDR – the exploitation of the Revolution in Military Affairs as part of the Department's transformation strategy in the face of an uncertain future. In this context it was valued to be a "crucial" aspect of the Department's transformation strategy. The 1998 report was the first *Annual Defense Report* to devote one chapter solely to the Revolution in Military Affairs and the following two chapters to a description of the DoD's efforts to pursue an RMA. It was also the first report in which the RMA was presented in the first chapter of the report, "The Defense Strategy and the National Security Strategy".[103]

The RMA was treated in the 1998 report mostly in the form of a vision. Most of the text concerning the RMA formulated what the DoD believed to be the essence – or the "backbone" – of the current Revolution in Military

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[99] Transforming Defense – National Security in the 21st Century Report (1997), Executive summary (my italics).

[100] Ibid., Force capabilities.

[101] The other key trends are presented as geopolitical revolution, demographic and social pressures as well as the existence of a global interdependent marketplace. Ibid., The World in 2020.

[102] Cohen (1997g); United States Department of Defense (1997); Warner (1998).

[103] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1998), ch. 1, 13-15.

Affairs. It then focused on how the Department and the US Armed Forces have been and should be involved in technological, conceptual, and organisational innovation. In the report, the essence of the current RMA was located in information superiority. In addition to the possibilities of modern information processing, the importance of *Joint Vision 2010* and succeeding Service visions were highlighted as concrete guides through which the DoD was transforming the US Armed Forces. The Revolution in Military Affairs was not just something that the Department of Defence adapted to; it was something that the Department was creating or implementing.[104] The view of the RMA as a vision can be connected to the 'need' to transform the US military. This becomes evident in the way that transformation and RMA were almost synonyms in the 1998 report.

> The Department's efforts to transform U.S. military forces for the 21st century have thus far focused on establishing a process that will effectively merge quality fighting forces, leading edge technologies, and operational concepts … to promote the integrated development of new operational capabilities. A key element that distinguishes this transformation effort from a more traditional evolution of military capabilities is the concurrent development of new concepts and doctrine, as well as organizational configurations that will maximize the utility of new technologies.[105]

The above text suggests that practical *transformation efforts* can be defined by the development of technology, operational concepts – later leading to a new doctrine – and organisational configurations. This transformation is characterised as goal-directed action by the Department of Defense. Since RMA is defined in the same terms of technological, operational, and organisational transformation, it is difficult to see any difference between the US military transformation and how the Revolution in Military Affairs is conceptualised in the 1998 report.

The Revolution in Military Affairs was elevated to the 1998 *National Security Strategy for a New Century*, released in October. The strategy followed the QDR framing of the RMA and conceptualised the *exploitation of the RMA as a key to the transformation of the Armed Forces* in order to increase its warfighting effectiveness and efficiency:

> The military challenges of the 21st century, coupled with the aging of key elements of the U.S. force structure, require a fundamental transformation of our military forces. … To meet the challenges, *we must transform our forces by exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs*. … we can maintain our technological superiority and replace Cold War-era equipment with new systems capable of taking full advantage of emerging technologies.

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[104] See Ibid., ch. 13-15.
[105] Ibid., ch. 15.

With these advanced systems, the U.S. military will be able to respond rapidly to any contingency, dominate the battlespace and conduct day-to-day operations *much more efficiently and effectively.*[106]

To support this transformation of our military forces, we will work cooperatively with the Congress to enact legislation to implement the Defense Reform Initiative, which will free up resources through a revolution in business affairs. … *The Revolution in Military Affairs and the Revolution in Business Affairs are interlocking revolutions: With both, and only with both, we will ensure that U.S. forces continue to have unchallenged superiority in the 21ˢᵗ century.*[107]

If the 1997 *QDR* and the 1998 *Annual Defense Report* institutionalised the use of the RMA as a vessel for US military transformation within the Department of Defense, the 1998 *National Security Strategy* legitimated this approach with the signature of the President of the United States. The uncertain future of the post-Cold War era – less than one decade ole – was depicted to demand the transformation of the US Armed Forces. The instrument for this transformations process was located in the process of the RMA, which the military establishment thought needed to be exploited and harnessed. In addition, the *National Security Strategy* emphasised the innovative development and articulation of capabilities, technologies, and organisational structures.[108]

The process of consolidating the above-mentioned approach to the RMA within top defence authorities in the US continued in the 1999 *Annual Defense Report*. Whereas the previous report had moved the concept of the RMA into the spotlight in US defense strategy (chapter 1), the 1999 report 'elevated' it to the introductory message of the Secretary of Defense: "Our budget enhances support of the Revolution in Military Affairs that is already reorienting our tactics, concepts, doctrines, organizations, and equipment in accordance with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's *Joint Vision 2010*."[109] The report also continued the gradual conceptual development of the RMA and provided an *instrumental view* of what RMAs mean for the US DoD. It highlighted that *RMAs are made by conscious efforts* and thus accentuated achievement, realisation and exploitation of them:

> A Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) occurs when a nation's military *seizes an opportunity to transform* its strategy, military doctrine, training,

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[106] National Security Strategy for a New Century (1998), p. 23 (my italics).

[107] Ibid., (my italics).

[108] Ibid., pp. 23-27.

[109] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1999), Message of the Secretary of Defense (original italics).

education, organization, equipment, operations, and tactics to achieve decisive military results in fundamentally new ways.[110]

The same 'logic' of the current RMA was revealed by William Cohen in his June 1999 speech at the Pentagon Acquisition and Logistics Reform Week Kick-off:

> Of course, this stunning array of technology and talent, this so-called *Revolution in Military Affairs*, did not come to us by chance or luck. *It came to us by choice and by leadership.*[111]

Being incrementally more focused on the conceptual aspects of RMAs than the report a year earlier, the 1999 *Annual Defense Report* also developed its approach of implementing the current Revolution in Military Affairs via the Joint Chiefs of Staff's *Joint Vision 2010*. The realisation of the conceptual template of *Joint Vision 2010* was also 'elevated' from the earlier – 1998 report – version of "leading to a more effective joint force" to its ability to focus and channel "the entire Department's innovation, energy, and resources towards a single long-term goal. … [It] will lead to a revolutionary increase in joint force effectiveness." The report noted that the task of fulfilling *Joint Vision 2010* was given in 1998 to United States Atlantic Command (USACOM) as the executive representative for inter-Service joint concept development and experimentation.[112] This move was not made in order to bypass the Services of the US Armed Forces, since they were assigned with the task of experimentation within their core competencies. This move was portrayed as a "landmark event" in the "DoD's extensive RMA-related efforts".[113]

The 78-day war in Kosovo, from 24 March to 10 June 1999, was portrayed by the DoD as evidence of the success in changing the way that the US was conducting military operations and exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs. This success was measured in the downing of only two aircraft after some 37,000 sorties, the extensive use of precision-guided munitions to limit collateral damage and increase effectiveness, and the use of advanced

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[110] Ibid., ch. 10 (my italics).

[111] Cohen (1999b) (my italics).

[112] See also Secretary of Defense (1998). In this memorandum concerning the "Designation of USCINCACOM as Executive Agent for Joint Warfighting Experimentation", the commander in chief of USACOM was designated as "the Executive Agent for Joint Warfighting Experimentation" in order to facilitate the "development of new joint doctrine, organizations, training and education, materiel, leadership, and people vital to ensuring that US Armed Forces can meet future challenges across the full range of military operations."

[113] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1999), ch. 10, ch. 12; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (1998), ch. 13.

communications systems to transmit live footage from unmanned aerial vehicles to command posts in the theatre and even in the continental US. [114] Even during the war over Kosovo, the RMA was advocated by name:

> We have what we call a *Revolution in Military Affairs*. We are now doing more and more experimenting, integrating high technology into the way in which we conduct our military operations. *You're seeing just part of that take place over Kosovo today.*[115]

William Cohen forged an explicit link between Kosovo and RMA in 1999 when he addressed the lessons learned from operation Allied Force. Kosovo taught the US that the Revolution in Military Affairs was truly changing the face of war and that the tenets of RMA ware applicable to large-scale conventional wars, as well as to humanitarian interventions in order to restrict the effects of new wars. In his opinion,

> what we were able to achieve through *this* [Kosovo] *campaign reminds all of us that the revolution in military affairs is fundamentally changing the way in which we fight.* … In Operation Desert Storm, … , there were only a handful of sophisticated aircraft that could carry precision-guided munitions, … In Kosovo, nearly all of our fighters could deliver these devastating weapons.[116]

The 'RMA lessons' of Kosovo were thus presented as the newest manifestation of a series of developments within the military technological sphere in the post-Cold War era. The familiar place to start the history of the RMA was the 1991 Gulf War. Then, moving on to newer manifestations of the RMA in the battlefield, Bosnia, and Desert Fox (four-day air campaign in Iraq, December 1998) were mentioned. The case of Kosovo fitted this narrative of progressive manifestation of the Revolution in Military Affairs very well.[117]

In addition, the experience of Kosovo uncovered and surfaced – once again – the technology gap between the US and other NATO members. The differences in the degree of technological sophistication of Armed Forces in the US and elsewhere caused increasing worry within the US defence community. Being disappointed in the RMA-related decisions and actions by other western governments, Secretary of Defense William Cohen stated that despite the shared rhetoric concerning transforming militaries to meet

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[114] For example Cohen (1999a); Cohen (1999c).
[115] Cohen (1999a).
[116] Cohen (1999c) (my italics).
[117] See Cohen (1999c); Cohen (1999e).

the challenges of today and the future within NATO, there seemed to be no subsequent action to actually implement such changes outside the US.[118]

The effect of the war over Kosovo was thus twofold with regards to the western and particularly US definitions of military power. First, the result of the war – military victory without ground troops – strengthened the argument of those who had envisioned or accepted the RMA perspective. After all, the use of sophisticated air power by means of almost real time sensing, command and control, as well as high reliance on precision-guided munitions were all indicative of the arrival of the RMA to the battlefield of the end of the second millennium. Second, the distinctively US-dominated operation highlighted the meagre possibilities of the Europeans to exploit RMA for the purpose of fighting despite the fact that almost ten years had passed after the Gulf War – the 'paradigm-changing war' that had provided the most explicit and clearly articulated lessons for the post-Cold War era.

The 1999 *National Security Strategy for a New Century*, released in December 1999, made a similar incremental move from the previous National Security Strategy of 1998. The 1999 National Security Strategy not only stated the need to exploit the RMA, but added a conceptual characterisation of force transformation that was based on the RMA framework:

> *Transformation of our military forces is critical* to meeting the military challenges of the next century. *Exploiting the revolution in military affairs is fundamental* if U.S. forces are to retain their dominance in an uncertain world. … Transformation extends well beyond the acquisition of new military systems – we seek to leverage *technological, doctrinal, operational and organizational innovations.*[119]

Thus by the end of 1999, the full spectrum of official US national security documents had espoused the concept of the RMA and advocated its exploitation for the purpose of transforming the Armed Forces and the DoD. What had started as a study of the Soviet concept of the Military-Technical Revolution and its potential applicability to the post-Cold War world less than a decade earlier, was now being used to enable the DoD to transform its 'tools', modes of operation, and mentality to 'fit' the new post-Cold War world. In addition, the RMA was to shape the nature of the future international system in general and warfare particularly. In retrospect, the end of the 1990s was truly the apex of the explicit conceptual acceptance of RMA in the US.

In the 2000 *Annual Defense Report* by William Cohen the role of RMA is clearly visible, but its 'conceptual novelty' has clearly diminished, and no

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[118] Cohen (1999a); Cohen (1999c).
[119] National Security Strategy for a New Century (1999), p. 21 (my italics).

noteworthy effort is made to define RMA in the document – it is a taken-for-granted concept that is simply referred to. In the 2000 report, the role that the RMA has for the DoD is spelled out bluntly, without much conceptual clarification:

> *Transformed military forces* are needed because the strategic environment is changing; they *are possible because of the Revolution in Military Affairs* (RMA).[120]

The balance between conceptual development and practical implementation of the RMA in the 2000 report tips in favour of the latter. After the practical description and guidance for future operations given in earlier reports, the 2000 report shows that a clear critical mass has been reached concerning practical policy and actions taken to implement the RMA.[121] At the same time, the need to justify and develop the concept of the RMA has almost evaporated. This does not mean that the RMA had lost its crucial role in transforming the US military and conceptualising war and military power, but only that this role has become self-evident. The transformation of the armed forces by exploiting the RMA was beginning to become sedimented in the US defence circles.

In *Joint Vision 2020*, which was published in 2000 the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff set out to develop the conceptual template for the transformation of US armed forces. It relied heavily on *Joint Vision 2010*, but emphasised intellectual innovation. Material superiority alone, it declared, was not sufficient. "Of greater importance is the development of doctrine, organizations, training and education, leaders, and people that effectively take advantage of the technology."[122]

While the information revolution was described as causing profound changes for military operations in *Joint Vision 2020*, the inability to foster innovative operational concepts, organisations, and training were seen to constitute a risk of not being capable of capitalising on the qualitative and quantitative changes of the information environment. *Joint Vision 2020* shifted the focus from technology to the conceptual level of innovative ideas. Like its predecessor, it did not use the term Revolution in Military Affairs in a description of the security environment or in spelling out the

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[120] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (2000), ch. 11 (my italics).

[121] For example, the number of ACTDs (Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration) grew from 8 in 1995 to 57 (of which 39 were underway and 18 had been completed) in 2000. See Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense William Perry (1995), Part IV; Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense William Cohen (2000), ch. 11.

[122] Joint Vision 2020 (2000), p. 3.

guidelines for force transformation. It did capture the RMA logic of profound transformation of future military operations due to technological, organisational, conceptual, and training-related changes.[123]

At the end of 2000 – in October after the USS Cole incident – Secretary of Defense William Cohen stated once more the need to create, develop, and exploit the RMA in order to transform the US Armed Forces despite the fact that no other country was understood to be capable of "taking us [US] on head-to-head"[124] and that future threats would be mostly asymmetric in nature. Cohen pointed out that the US was now "in the process of revising the way in which we think about conflict" and that it had to have a revolution in military affairs.[125]

Like its predecessor, the 2000 *National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, released in December, noted the need to exploit the RMA in order to transform the Armed Forces. Although transformation did not equal technology in the document, it was stated that in order to maintain the "best-trained, best-equipped, most effective armed forces in the world", superior technology must be developed and exploited "to the fullest extent".[126] The strategy also voiced a concern for the technology gap between the US and its allies. Interoperability and a policy of assisting the "more technically advanced friends and allies" especially in command, control, and communications-related capabilities was highlighted. The May 2000 Defense Trade Security Initiative – which was aimed at improving the interoperability of allies and coalition partners – and NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative were both conceptualised in the document as programmes to bolster the warfighting capabilities of US allies and thus to catch up with the US in exploiting the RMA.[127]

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[123] The Joint Vision Implementation Master Plan, published in 2001 notes a far-term goal of revolutionary joint concept development that relates to the Revolution in Military Affairs. See Joint Vision Implementation Master Plan (2001).

[124] Cohen (2000b).

[125] Ibid.

[126] National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), pp. 19-20. On p. 30, the document defines transformation in the following manner: "Transformation extends well beyond the acquisition of new military systems – we seek to leverage advanced technological, doctrinal, operational and organizational innovations both within government and in the commercial sector to give U.S. forces greater capabilities and flexibility." This framing of transformations is the exact equivalent of the preceding RMA theorising within the US defence establishment from the early 1990s on.

[127] Ibid., pp. 29-30, 40-41, quote on p. 30. For the purpose of supporting the spread of the western (American) understanding of military capability to the eastern Europe, President Clinton launched the Warsaw Initiative in 1994 in order to support the military cooperation between the US, NATO and the Partner countries – following the NATO introduction of the Partnership for Peace (see Chapter 8.1.4). See e.g. A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (1996), p. 37.

The 2001 *Annual Defense Report* by Secretary of Defense William Cohen – the last annual report by the Clinton administration, published in January 2001 – built on the previous conceptual development of RMA and incorporated *Joint Vision 2020* as the mid-term template for conceptual and practical development for the Services and the Joint Forces Command – transformed from USACOM to USJFCOM in 1999.[128] The taken-for-granted instrumental nature of the RMA concept is obvious from the report, which refers to the "now widely accepted precepts of the RMA". [129]

> *Through the RMA the Department will harness new and emerging technologies* as quickly as possible to provide U.S. forces greater military capabilities through advanced concepts, doctrine and organization so they can dominate any future battlefield.[130]

Thus, during the 1990s a shared idea of new military means to match the new security reality developed in the US. This new era in US military history was described more by Somalia, Rwanda, and Kosovo than by Berlin or Cuba. While the Cold War view of traditional conventional war still loomed at the background – in a modified post-Gulf War form of regional large-scale conventional war – the increasing need for military operations throughout the globe facilitated a technologically centred focus on war. That would serve the traditional large-scale conventional war well – should the spectre of a great power confrontation happen to raise its head. *The Revolution in Military Affairs – as explicated in the US during the 1990s – was thus an 'easy way out' in the post-Cold War redefinition of war and military power. It provided a rationale for the radical transformers of the US Armed Forces, as well as for those who still saw the traditional threats of state-sponsored massed armed forces – whether in China, North Korea, Iraq or elsewhere – to constitute the most imminent and present threat.* As a general idea for increasing the efficiency of the military, the RMA thus seemed to provide tools for smaller scale contingencies and peace operations – the 'new' or 'emerging' forms of post-Cold War era warfare – as well as for major theater warfare.

7.6. New Momentum to Transformation in the Post-9/11 Era

RMA-related themes have been explicitly stated by President George W. Bush. Even before he was elected president, George W. Bush stated in a speech at the Citadel in September 1999:

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[128] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (2001), pp. 175-189 (ch. 11).
[129] Ibid., p. 205 (ch. 14).
[130] Ibid.

> My third goal is to take advantage of *a tremendous opportunity* – given few nations in history – to extend the current peace into the far realm of the future. *A Chance to project America's peaceful influence, not just across the world, but across the years. <u>This opportunity is created by a revolution in the technology of war</u>.* Power is increasingly defined, not by mass or size, but by mobility and swiftness. … This revolution perfectly matches the strengths of our country – the skill of our people and the superiority of our technology. *<u>The best way to keep peace is to redefine war on our terms</u>.*[131]

And he stated the same message – the project of redefining war on US terms – several times his inauguration in after January 2001.[132] President Bush also gave Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, the task of implementing a "comprehensive review of the Unites States military"[133] and to challenge the status quo in military affairs by beginning to create:

> the military of the future – one that takes full advantages of revolutionary technologies.[134]

The Bush administration's idea of keeping the peace by redefining war on US terms is explicitly connected to the revolution in military technology and the related transformation of the US Armed Forces. The statement implies that the opportunities of advanced technology will be global in nature and that by developing these new capabilities, the United States will be in the position to set the rules of future wars throughout the international system. Transformation of the US Armed Forces via the RMA not only redirects the domestic US defence efforts, but also a way to affect the nature of future wars within the international system by crafting the new rules of war and thus new determinants of military power.

The launching of the War on Terror[135] is increasingly dominating US military planning, preparations, procurement, and deployments, especially after the nominally successful autumn campaign against the Taliban regime in 2001. In addition, the War on Terror and its consequences have had a heavy impact on US domestic politics and on practically all US international engagements. The new war mentality, brought to bear by the shock-

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[131] Bush (1999) (my italics). See also the argument by Peters: "We often will have to redefine victory in an era of unwinnable wars and conflicts." Peters (1995-6).

[132] Bush (2001d), p. 283; Bush (2001e), p. 400 "These new capabilities [a vast network that connects information and weapons in new ways] are the future of our military, not just the Navy but of all services. It is a future where a *revolution in technology will change the face of war, itself*. We'll keep the peace by redefining the terms of war." (My italics); Bush (2001c), p. 1778; Bush (2004b), p. 1107.

[133] Bush (2001d), p. 283.

[134] Bush (2001a).

[135] See Bush (2001b).

ing surprise attacks of 9/11 has caused the US to toughen its stance in domestic and international affairs. It has also led the US to rewrite its National Security Strategy – particularly concerning the 'rules' of using military force.[136] As the President explained in his State of the Union Address in January 2002:

> My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades … because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high – whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay it. … America is no longer protected by vast oceans. *We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.*[137]

The *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* 2001 was published a few weeks after the attacks of 11 September. For most of the time of its preparation, however, it had been guided by the President's call to draw up a new strategy and transform the military. The time of the review's preparation and completion was described as "a crucial time of transition to a new era." In emphasising transformation, the Quadrennial Defense Review Report moved away from the 'two major theater war', threat-based strategy and took a capabilities-based approach to defense. This was a shift from identifying which actors were posing threats in the future in favour of anticipating "the capabilities that an adversary might employ to coerce its neighbours, deter the United States from acting in defense of its allies and friends, or directly attack the United States or its deployed forces."[138]

In its treatment of the RMA, the 2001 *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* recalled historical lessons learned about the effects of revolutionary technological developments and then explained the possibilities of the ongoing RMA:

> History has shown … that new military technologies can revolutionize the form of military competition and the nature of armed conflict in ways that render military forces and doctrines of great powers obsolescent. … *The ongoing revolution in military affairs could change* the conduct of military operations. … For the United States, the revolution in military affairs *holds the potential to confer enormous advantages* and to extend the current period of U.S. military superiority. *Exploiting* the revolution in military affairs requires not only *technological innovation* but also development of *operational concepts*, undertaking *organizational adaptations*, and *training and experimentation to transform* a country's military forces.[139]

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[136] See The National Security Strategy of the Unites States of America (2002).

[137] Bush (2002a) (my italics).

[138] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), pp. iii-vi, 1-16, quotes on p. iii, 14. See also Rumsfeld (2002a).

[139] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 3, 6 (my italics).

Concerning the transformation of the US armed forces, the Report stated:

> Transformation results from the exploitation of new approaches to operational concepts and capabilities, the use of old and new technologies, and new forms of organization that more effectively anticipate new or still emerging strategic and operational challenges and opportunities and that render previous methods of conducting war obsolete or subordinate. … Because transformation is highly path-dependent, choices made today may constrain or enhance opinions tomorrow.[140]

Transformation was the leading theme of QDR 2001. It was present also in many of the 1990s Annual Defense Reports and the 1997 QDR, but now – so it was stated – the transition to a new post-9/11 strategic era, the reorientation of defense strategy, and the revolutionary possibilities of technological change and of other components of the RMA, also required a transformation of the Department of Defense as well as of the US Armed Forces. In the 2001 QDR the conceptualisation of a RMA – and its role in transforming the DoD and the military – was similar to that expressed in the 2000 and 2001 Annual Defense Reports. The RMA was an accepted taken-for-granted concept that included technological, organisational, operational, and training-related components. RMA was also used as a concept in order to demonstrate the possibilities or necessities of military transformation. Exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs enabled the transformation of the armed forces and thus retained the military 'edge' or "asymmetric advantages"[141] of the United States.[142]

The QDR's shift from a threat-based model to a capabilities-based approach in defence planning suited the logic of transforming the military through a RMA. The capabilities-based model requires that the US "maintain its military advantages in key areas while it develops new areas of military advantage and denies asymmetric advantages to adversaries." This approach to defence planning suggests that the US Armed Forces should innovatively adapt existing capabilities to new circumstances, as well as develop new military capabilities.[143]

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[140] Ibid., p. 29. The momentum of transformation efforts is to be obtained by strengthening joint operations; experimenting new approaches, operational concepts and capabilities of warfare; exploiting the intelligence advantage and developing transformational capabilities. See ibid., pp. 32-48.

[141] See Ibid., p. iv.

[142] About the close connection between RMA and force transformation in the US, see statement by Kent Kresa, chairman of Northrop Grumman Corporation, in Brussels 2002: "the present administration is a strong believer in the RMA – which it calls the 'military transformation'". Kresa (2002).

[143] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. iv (also quote).

President Bush's 2002 *State of the Union Address* highlighted the new challenges of the post-9/11 security environment and the related need to harness expensive technology in the global War on Terror. The case of Afganistan – the ousting of the Taliban regime in the autumn of 2001 – was still fresh in the memory of most people, and the White House lessons learned from the first phases of the campaign in Afghanistan accentuated the use of precision weapons, sophisticated high-technology air power, and expeditionary operations:

> Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely.[144]

The cataclysmic events of 11 September 2001 were also clearly reflected in the 2002 *Annual Defense Report* by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld – the first Annual Defense Report issued by the George W. Bush administration. In the 1990s the momentum for transformation of the military was found mainly in the RMA. According to the 2002 Annual Defense Report, 21st century defence planning would have to concentrate on complexity, dangerousness, and surprise in dealing with security issues. The newly articulated security framework was visible in the table of contents of the 2002 annual report. The first three chapters were named "Reassessing the Security Environment", "Charting a New Strategic Course" and "Fighting the War on Terror". The change from "U.S. Defense Strategy", "The Military Requirements of the Defense Strategy" and "Employing U.S. Forces to Implement the Defense Strategy", or equivalent titles in the latter part of the 1990s, was heavily influenced by the events of 11 September.[145]

Although the terrorist attack on American soil gave rise to a new security environment, the role of the RMA in the DoD's transformation process was not compromised. Concerning the RMA, the attacks and the subsequently declared War on Terror only elevated the importance of previously articulated notions of asymmetric threats. In addition, they provided 'proof' of the dangers posed by failed states and non-state actors. Repeating the idea of QDR 2001, the underlying understanding of an "ongoing revolution in military affairs" was stated in the form of "changing the conduct of military operations."[146] The elements of the RMA – technology, operational concepts, organisation, and training – were not challenged by the 2002 annual

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[144] Bush (2002a).

[145] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2002), Table of Contents. See also Annual Reports to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense (1996) – (2001).

[146] Annual Report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld (2002), p. 14 (ch. 1).

report. Rather, the prospects that future enemies could frustrate the RMA appeared to have more credibility in the aftermath of 9/11:

> Although U.S. military forces enjoy advantages in many aspects of armed conflict, the U.S. will be challenged by adversaries that possess or seek capabilities and design novel concepts to overcome those advantages.[147]

According to the report, the *War on Terror required that the DoD's transformation efforts should be accelerated*. The 2002 annual report raises transformation to a higher priority than the RMA. Transformation is intentional activity on part of the DoD to counter future challenges and potential threats. It touches upon conceptual, cultural, and technological elements. RMA was conceptualised as a medium of transformation – a global process that would have effects on the nature of wars and future military operations – which, if exploited and harnessed, would have worldwide effects on warfighting and thus on military power:[148]

> *Transformation is fundamentally about redefining war on our terms by harnessing an ongoing revolution in military affairs*. As the President has said, "This revolution is only beginning, and it promises to change the face of battle." Through an iterative process of transformation and working with our friends and allies, *we will attempt to shape the changing nature of military competition and cooperation. …*
> As President Bush stated in December 2001, our approach in Afghanistan has proven "that an innovative doctrine and high-tech weaponry can shape and then dominate an unconventional conflict. The brave men and women of our military are *rewriting the rules of war* with new technologies and old values like courage and honor."[149]

Explaining his office's policy on transformation and the Revolution in Military Affairs after the 'success' in Afghanistan in the beginning of 2002, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld expressed a comprehensive framework for the transformation and the RMA. For Rumsfeld, the Revolution in Military Affairs was not only new military technology in the form of new weapon systems, but also "new ways of thinking, and new ways of fighting." He framed the battle for Mazar-e Sharif in Afghanistan in the autumn of 2001 as a "transformational battle" indicative of the innovative combination of new and old weapons, as well as new ways of using them. For Rumsfeld, this transformation could not be achieved without new capabilities delivered by the RMA and without new conceptualisations of war. And in order to make sense of the contemporary 'reality' of war, Rumsfeld sug-

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[147] Ibid., p. 11 (ch. 1). The possibility of asymmetric response had been mentioned prior to the 2002 Annual Defense Report. See e.g. A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1997), p. 12.
[148] Ibid., pp. 67-68 (ch. 6).
[149] Ibid., pp. 67-68 (ch. 6) (my italics).

gested the importance of understanding the profound meaning of 9/11: "The war on terrorism is a transformational event that cries out for us to rethink our activities".[150]

The 2003 *Annual Defense Report* drew upon the lessons of the wars in Afghanistan (2001-) and Iraq (2003-) and concluded that *speed* characterises the new, transformed mode of warfare that the US DoD was seeking to realise. In order to achieve new levels of speed in redefined warfare, *intelligence* and *precision* engagement needed to be improved. Within the larger framework of the ongoing War on Terror, transforming the Armed Forces to meet changed contemporary and future asymmetric threats was the main line of argument in the 2003 report. The main vehicle for achieving these goals was to develop *joint warfighting capabilities* by devising and testing *new operational concepts*, new ways to use and evaluate *training exercises and experiments*, and by investing in the *research, planning and development* of *new advanced military systems*. The Report accentuated a change in the culture of the US defense community – doing and thinking differently and by analysing how 'traditional' conceptualisations might be redefined. This applied also to the embracing of a joint military culture as opposed to the service-centric culture of the Cold War and the immediate post-Cold War eras.[151] In this 'cultural context', the report cited President George W. Bush's 1999 campaign speech about redefining war on US terms, i.e. through advanced technology.[152]

The 2003 *Annual Defense Report* emphasised the number and character of transformed capabilities within DoD. However, this transformation did not have a definite goal that can be reached. Rather, as seemed to be the case with War on Terror, transformation of the Defense Department in general and the armed forces particularly meant a continuous process of innovation within the sphere of defense and an ability to be in the position to (re)define the confines of warfare not just for the US armed forces, but more widely within the global international system.[153]

In August 2004 President George W. Bush announced a major US troop realignment around the world. The central theme of this realignment was the return home of some 60,000-70,000 uniformed soldiers from their over-

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[150] Rumsfeld (2002a) (also quotes). See also Rumsfeld (2002b) "Our enemies are transforming. Will we? … I intend to force new thinking and hard choices." Rumsfeld goes on to state that the US had to "give preference to capabilities such as increased accuracy, more rapid deployability and 'networked' combat."

[151] Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), pp. 8, 35, 66-70.

[152] See Bush (1999).

[153] Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), pp. 65-83.

seas bases around the world – mostly from Europe and Asia. According to Bush, the logic behind this move came from the end of the Cold War and the subsequent need to prepare the military to deal with the "new dangers associated with rogue nations, global terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction."[154] President Bush presented the transformation of the US Armed Forces, supported by the global restructuring of the force, as an adaptation to the new post-Cold War and particularly post-9/11 international security environment. Accordingly, the Cold War era strategy of relying on a large number of forward-deployed heavy forces was even more irrelevant.[155] The avenue for change – through the process of military transformation – was made possible by heavy reliance on new technologies of war:

> Over the coming decade, we will deploy a more agile and more flexible force, … *We'll take advantage of the 21st century military technologies to rapidly deploy increased combat power.* The new plan will help us fight and *win these wars of the 21st century.*[156]

The intention to combine modern technology, transformation of the armed forces, and the purposeful redefinition of war was stated explicitly by George W. Bush in his speech few month before announcing the US troop realignment process in August 2004. In developing the line of argument of redefining war on US terms through technology proposed already in 1999, Bush stated at the US Military Base of Fort Lewis in June 2004 that:

> This is a different kind of war, … as we fight the war [on terror] to protect America, *we are transforming our forces* and investing in the future. … The soldiers of Fort Lewis are serving the *frontlines of the war on terror*, and you're on the *cutting edge of military transformation*, and I thank you for that. … Fort Lewis is also home to many of our Nation's Special Operations forces, who are *redefining war on our terms.*[157]

This statement presents the George W. Bush administration's conceptualisation of 21st century warfare and the related conceptualisations of military power. This conceptualisation had been 'developing' since the administration came to power. It was first premised on the notion of post-Cold War era military transformation through the exploitation of modern technology. This was sought to retain and increase the military edge that the US Armed Forces clearly enjoyed in the aftermath of the Cold War and had been brought to the fore by the 1991 Gulf War and many subsequent conflicts of

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[154] White House fact sheet (2004).

[155] Ibid. "The Cold War strategy of placing heavy forces in specific locations to defend against a known adversary needs to be changed to more effectively deal with today's threats. It is no longer relevant to measure America's war-fighting capability by the number of troops and equipment in a particular country or region."

[156] Bush (2004c), p. 1616.

[157] Bush (2004b), p. 1107.

the 1990s. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the momentum for transforming the military emanated not only from the 'new' security situation of the post-Cold War era and the possibilities offered by the technological sophistication of military materiel. Increasingly the process of military transformation were associated with the 'dramatically altered' security landscape of the post-9/11 world, instead of with the post-Cold War era. The technological foundation of the RMA – at the heart of military transformation – was well suited to serve the post-9/11 military transformation and the new American version of the rules of war. After all, military technological sophistication as well as the culture of developing adjoining operational concepts and probing into various organisational models developed primarily within the United States and provided one possible logic to the responses in the aftermath of the 9/11.

Under the auspices of the War on Terror, the war in Afghanistan (October 2001-) seemed to confirm the 'correctness' of the DoD RMA policy. As Secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld explained in January 2002:

> [J]ust before Christmas I travelled to Afghanistan… I met with an extraordinary group of men, the Special Forces who'd been involved in the attack on Mazar-e Sharif. … From the moment they landed in Afghanistan, they began adapting to the circumstances on the ground. They sported beards and traditional scarves. They rode horses… *Here we are in the year 2002, fighting the first war of the 21st century, and the horse cavalry was back and being used, but being used in previously unimaginable ways. It showed that a revolution in military affairs is about more than building new high tech weapons, though that is certainly part of it.*[158]

The adversary in this war was unconventional in nature, as was the implementation of the war campaign. Instead of massing heavy forces to invade the country, a small number of troops with technologically developed materiel proved to be successful. The troops were not only using technically developed systems, but also innovative approaches to warfighting. In addition, the proportion of Special Forces soldiers and 'paramilitary' intelligence operatives was high. Local warlords were bribed and bought to join the US-led war effort in order to oust the Taliban-regime. Within months, the intensive and offensive war effort was over. Irregular resistance and unconventional attacks, as well as instability were still left to be dealt with.

Concerning the RMA, the above statement by Donald Rumsfeld highlights two features. First, *transformation via the RMA was still applicable in the post-9/11 world* despite the fact that non-state agents were becoming more important. Second, *while the post-Cold War and post-Gulf War American discourse on RMA can be characterised as 'resilient' or even sedimented,*

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[158] Rumsfeld (2002a).

it is not static. What began as a technologically-centred discourse of warfare between states has turned into a more comprehensive approach to warfare, involving the fundamental transformation of conceptual as well as material factors. While the role of technology has been – and is still – strong in the US conceptualisations of the RMA, the post-9/11 American discourse on the RMA has made a slight shift from technological emphasis toward conceptual innovation.

It is noteworthy that while the George W. Bush administration has been vigorously campaigning for the transformation of US Armed Forces through the exploitation of the RMA, this policy orientation is quite compatible with the general American RMA discourse that begun in the early 1990s and which gained momentum in the mid-1990s. Without the progressive framing of the RMA by the two successive Clinton administrations, the possibilities for embarking upon a 'transformation through RMA' formula' would have been more restricted, if at all possible. The argument left for the Bush administration in general – and Donald Rumsfeld particularly – was that previously the project of transforming the military had not received the attention, resources, or determination required by the realities of the post-Cold War international system.[159] This seemed particularly true after 9/11.

The launching of the overarching global War on Terror and the related practical policies of the US have reflected attempts to have other nations and international bodies embrace the American conceptualisations of contemporary international threats and the related means to counter them within the international system. The raising of terrorism to the top of the list of risks, the emphasis on the global nature of terrorism and the required cooperative international actions against it, and the categorisation of states as being either with the United States or against it in the global war on terror[160], are all expressions of the attempts by the United States to pipe the military tune in the aftermath of 9/11. *Framing the international security situation though global terrorist threats and War on Terror, the transformation of the Cold War-style armed forces and the exploitation of military technology is a 'logical' response by the US according to its conceptualisation of the international security landscape.*

At the same time that RMA thinking has become more and more 'accepted' and taken for granted in the US, the policy of exploiting the possibilities offered by RMA has now been codified under the heading of military trans-

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[159] See e.g. Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2002), ch. 6.

[160] See e.g. Bush (2001f), p. 1432. "Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground."

formation. This suggests the increasing irrelevance of the conceptual and material structures associated with the military during the Cold War. Military transformation has become the process of adjusting to the changes in the international security situation and of moulding it through a process of redefining the rules for the use of military force. With the sudden, unexpected, and dramatic redefinition of the international system after the attacks of 9/11, the five-year process of RMA-based transformation offered a logical foundation for security and defence policy reformulations. First, the already existing and potential RMA-based means for using military force within the international system proved to be in high demand wherever 'traditional' large-scale warfare was still a possibility, but 'lower level' operations in terms of scale and casualties seemed to be on the increase. Second, the stark contrast between the traditional post-Cold War era threats[161] and the post-9/11 era terrorist threats pointed to the need to radically redefine warfare and the use of armed force within the international system after the terrorist attacks. Being committed to military transformation for about half a decade before the events of 9/11, the redefinition of the international security landscape that took place in the end of 2001 and repeatedly thereafter fitted well into the existing – but still somewhat 'slow' – process of redefining the roles, missions, and operating procedures of the US Armed Forces. After all, the process of military transformation had its genesis in the post-Cold War era understandings about the need to change the rules of military activities in a new international system.

After 9/11, a new logic emerged – or was constructed – in favour of transformation and the RMA. Now that war was taking place on US soil, the urgency of correctly defining the new international security environment was highlighted. When linked to this redefinition of the situation, the process of military transformation seemed more important than ever. 9/11 delivered an unsuspected and devastating blow to the American intelligence and defence communities – as well as to the general public, and decisive measures were called for. And after the publicly promulgated War on Terror – the Bush administration's definition of the post September 2001 situation – accelerating and redirecting the already ongoing process of transformation provided a possible solution to the problem of terrorist attacks. After all, in logical terms transformation implies a move from something 'old' and outdated to something 'new' – reflecting the shift from the post-Cold War era towards post-9/11 era.

> Because we do not know who our adversaries may be either in the near
> term of the long term; or how they may choose to fight; but because we do
> know that modern technology is available to our adversaries or potential

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[161] These post-Cold War era threats were mostly the same as the Cold War era threats, with the modification that a superpower confrontation was not considered to be a threat.

adversaries, as readily as it is available to us; and because we know that as a democratic society we are vulnerable to attack: We decided to pursue our strategy for transformation in a way that would provide our combatant commanders with what we are calling a portfolio of capabilities.[162]

And the RMA has had a natural role to play in the post-9/11 military transformation. After all, the idea of transformation by exploiting the RMA was already well established. Now it simply had to be implemented effectively and quickly.

While military transformation and the Revolution in Military Affairs have been depicted to provide means to fight the ongoing War on Terror, the process of transformation also transcends it. As Deputy Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz explained:

> [E]ven as we fight this war on terror, potential adversaries scrutinize our methods. They study our capabilities. They seek our weaknesses. They plan for how they might take advantage of what they perceive as our vulnerabilities. So, as we take care of today, we must invest in tomorrow. We are emphasising multiple transformations that, combined, will fundamentally change warfare in ways that could give us important advantages.[163]

The Bush Administration defined the international security situation after 9/11 from the perspective of the global War on Terror. The global War on Terror has operated as a conceptual device through which the norms and rules of the international system, as well as the rules for recognising military power, have been reassessed and changed. The designation of the global War on Terror as the most important framework for US security and defence policy has led to assertive, vigorous, and even aggressive use of military force throughout the world in situations where terrorism is thought to be threatening the US – directly or indirectly. The 2002 National Security Strategy explicitly expresses the US view of the normative elements of the international social structure: the US is permitted and even compelled to use force against terrorists, terrorist organisations, and states that aid them. The norm of *non-intervention* – already weakened throughout the 1990s by the discourse on humanitarian interventions – is overridden whenever the threat of terrorism is viewed as undermining US national security. The rules for the *multilateral use of force* in interventions short of 'traditional' large-scale wars have also been reinterpreted. The accentuation of unilateralism[164] – the ability and willingness to use military force alone –

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[162] Cambone (2003).

[163] Wolfowitz (2002).

[164] It is noteworthy that the United States has a long tradition to be prepared to use military force alone if needed. However, the aggressive rhetoric of unilateralism and the

and the willingness to use military force in pre-emptive ways have been affected by the framework adopted for the War on Terror.

Within the framework of the War on Terror, current American understandings regarding the rules for recognising power emanate from the Cold War era and particularly from the rapid development of advanced information technologies after the Cold War and the associated 'new' ways to conceptualise warfighting through new operational concepts and novel forms of organising forces. The RMA discourse seems to be at the core of the American rules for recognising military power, it has paved the way to the development and deployment of precision weapons, almost real-time C4ISR, the exploitation of space, network-centric warfare, and the like. According to the prevailing view, especially after the accession of power by the George W. Bush administration, it is advanced military technology that offers military power. Those not capable or willing to exploit new technology and to transform their armed forces, are conceptualised as increasingly irrelevant states in the new military environment of the 21st century.

Despite the current tight coupling of the War on Terror on the one hand and the military transformation through the RMA on the other, the general definition of the situation in terms of a War on Terror *may* pose future challenges to the RMA approach, though not so much to the general notion of military transformation. The second phase of the global War on Terror, the war against Iraq (2003-), has demonstrated that the link between the traditional conceptualisations of war between states and the RMA is not yet obsolete. The initial invasion of Iraq – when the adversary was the Iraqi Armed Forces – was successful. It was completed quickly, and with minimal friendly casualties, by relying on 'traditionally' organised heavy forces that were equipped with high-tech 'RMA-materiel'. After major combat operations were declared to be over – on May 1st 2003 – the stabilisation and reconstruction phase of the war has been riddled with difficulties. The seemingly easy victory over Iraq has turned into a conflict of indefinite duration. Irregular resistance through using unconventional and illegitimate means has challenged the occupying powers, as well as the established embryonic local Iraqi security forces and political structures. Although technologically developed systems – coupled with new operational concepts and organisations – do provide possibilities for tackling the emerging irregular resistance in Iraq, the general tenets of the RMA have not been strengthened by the events in Iraq after summer 2003. Similarly, in tandem with the increasing number of security problems faced in Iraq, the continuing instability and poor security situation in Afghanistan has raised new

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actual use of military force unilaterally by the George W. Bush administration are departures from the multilateral-centric policies of the preceding US administrations.

concerns about the possibilities for success in operations where an outside power tries to bring about a regime change in the target country. This increasing concern is not particularly flattering to the general tenets of the RMA – as explicated during the 1990s.

7.7. Conclusions – The Development and Maturation of the RMA in the Official Policies of the United States

Concerning the definition of the international security situation – part of the general framework of this study presented in Figure 4.2 – three separate, but overlapping periods related to US defence policy can be discerned from the late 1980s until the end of 2004. These understandings of the international system generally and the role of armed force in the system in particular are conceptualised as *analytical categories* for the purpose of understanding and analysing US policies in the post-Cold War era. The first of these is the apparent *end of the Cold War*, which promised the prospect of a New World Order, in which multilateral military action led by the US would have a positive influence upon the security environment of the 'new' uncertain security environment. This understanding that the Cold War had come to an end acknowledged the highly uncertain nature of the future international system and accentuated the transformation of the threats facing states. It was more *a collection of ideas what the international system was not anymore than a coherent conceptualisation of existing 'new' realities.* The New World Order was one – as yet unrealised – American projected vision of the post-Cold War era.

Within several years after the demise of the Cold War the second discerned definition of the international security situation in the US started to emerge. Termed here the '*humanitarian use of force*' definition, the entire 1990s were seen as related somehow to a debate concerning the use of military force for non-traditional purposes. Although not many direct military interventions were carried out in the 1990s, military force was used several times in missions that aimed at stopping atrocities, providing relief and aid to oppressed people, and preventing human rights abuses from escalating. This development begun during the George H. Bush administration, but experienced its apex during the Clinton presidency. The most optimistic views of the multilateral use of force for humanitarian purposes did not live for long, but continued – as they still do today – to play an important part in the US decisions to use military force in the 1990s. It is noteworthy that even though the heading of 'humanitarian use of force' serves here as an analytical category, the US and other western states did not enthusiastically intervene whenever needed or possible. Rather, this heading reflects the responses of the US to the international environment during the first decade after the Cold War.

Advocacy of the humanitarian use of military force was already in decline when the George W. Bush administration came to power in 2001, for the distinction between vital and important national interests on the one hand and humanitarian interests on the other had already been made in the mid-1990s. Guided by a different outlook on the US situation in the world, and exacerbated by the 9/11 soon after the inauguration of George W. Bush, the third post-Cold War era definition of the international security situation 'emerged', characterised here as the '*global War on Terror*'. According to this view, the United States is under attack, and in order to respond to this attack, military force needs to be used decisively, aggressively, and even before any concrete threat arises. This led to the official promulgation of the unilateralist pre-emptive National Security Strategy of 2002.
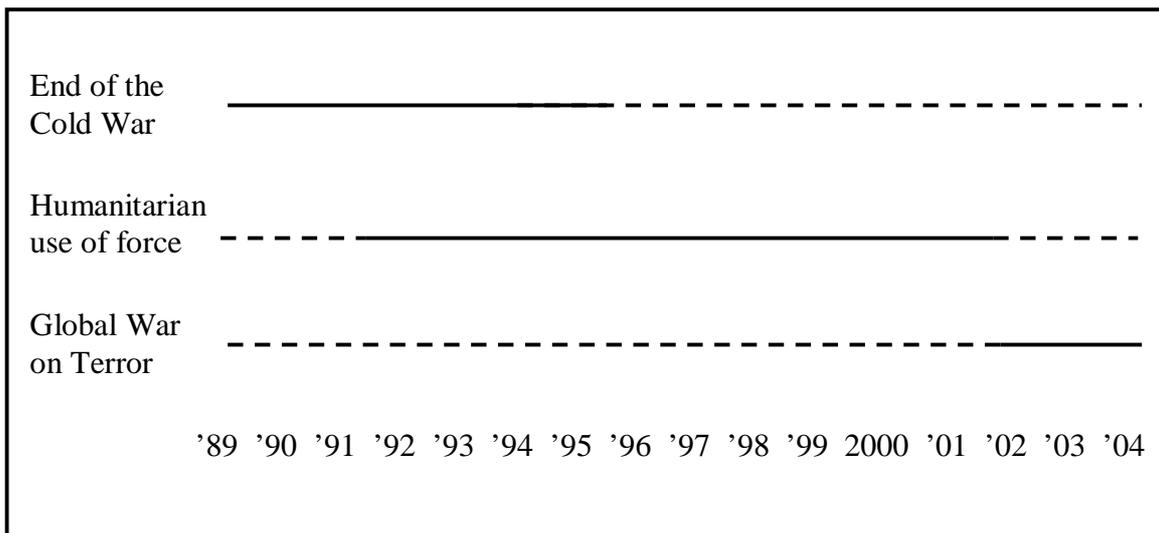
Figure 7.1. The sequential and somewhat overlapping US definitions of the international security situation related to the organising and the use of armed force after the Cold War

During the 'end of the Cold War' phase (1990~1996) the nature of the international system thus remained obscure, uncertain, and as dangerous as before. After the 1991 Gulf War, the element of *continuity in the conceptualisations of war* became manifest: the RMA would bring about advantages in the conduct of traditional conventional war between states – even if the Cold War era model of superpowers battling in Europe and Asia had been replaced by a regional conventional war focus. Contrary to the rather reproduced shared understandings of the nature of war in the regional war focus, *the implications of the RMA for military power were more transformative than reproductive*. The military signifiers of mass and terrain were challenged or modified as the information technology based RMA promised unprecedented efficiency, deadliness, and protection against the enemy. During the 'end of the Cold War' phase, the RMA-related themes emerged and developed mostly as conceptual devises and as visions of future warfare. The academic and military communities brought the concept

of the RMA to the fore and kept it there. With the maturation of the RMA discourse the top defence decision-makers adopted the scholarly RMA concept into 'quasi-official' and, finally, official defence policies. This high-level acceptance of RMA and its official promulgation took place during the implicit shift from the 'end of the Cold War' phase to the era of 'humanitarian use of military force'.

While the most optimistic ideas about humanitarian interventions had proved to be too 'idealistic' by the mid 1990s, the media-driven public awareness of new humanitarian catastrophes and the fact that some of these were taking place in Europe increased the pressure within the west in general and the US particularly to do something to stop large-scale ethnic and religion-based violence. In addition, the lessons of the 1991 Gulf War had showed to a wide audience that the 'tools' for humanitarian interventions existed and made almost 'casualty-free' fighting possible.

During the 'humanitarian use of military force' phase (1992-2001) the RMA discourse was embraced officially within the US DoD and by the President. During the overlapping period with the 'end of the Cold War phase' – from 1992 to approximately 1996 –a consensus developedwithin the defence establishment concerning the meaning of the RMA for the United States and for the future of warfare. The emerging humanitarian and other 'low-level' military challenges of the era emphasised the 'new' features of the post-Cold War era. The conceptual grip of the Cold War era mentality started to fade. The RMA provided a vision of military means to be used in instances where small-scale or humanitarian military action was deemed necessary, and possible. In addition, the RMA offered to provide effective means to deal with any emerging large-scale high-intensity conflicts so that the US could retain and increase its military edge against conventional threats.

The unsuccessful intervention in Somalia and the failure to intervene in Rwanda did not challenge the developing RMA logic of technologically defined warfare and military power. Rather, these conflicts challenged the immediate post-Cold War era vision of a New World Order and assertive use of military force for humanitarian purposes in solving ethnic and religious conflicts. Similarly, the ethnic violence connected to the breaking-up of Yugoslavia and the difficulties in resolving the related conflicts did not directly or explicitly challenge the technological RMA focus that was beginning to materialise in concrete terms. In Bosnia, Operation Deliberate Force was conducted according to the 1991 Gulf war logic of lethal and precise air power. While the emerging RMA premises were not cast in doubt by lessons from Somalia, Rwanda, or Bosnia, the 'accepted' *reasons* and *goals* of military interventions – i.e. war – did undergo a process of change due to the difficulties or failures associated with these conflicts.

The goals of humanitarian interventions were thus debated and were scaled down in the mid 1990s – at least if compared to the visions that were brought forward in the aftermath of the Gulf War and the emerging conflicts in former Yugoslavia. The proposed *methods* of intervening in possible warfighting scenarios were, however, based on the 'heritage' of the Cold War and the lessons of the 1991 Gulf War. Maintaining large mechanised conventional fighting forces and developing high technology command and control and weapon systems, as well as integrating them into a system of systems seemed to respond to the need to prevent or limit casualties to friendly forces and to local people. If interventions were necessary, the 'only' way to undertake them would be by exploiting advanced technology that facilitates discriminatory use of force while keeping most of the intervening troops out of harm's way. Particularly the lessons of Bosnia – where air war was a 'substitute' for the use of ground forces[165] – were conceptualised to support the RMA thesis originating from the Gulf War.[166] The most acknowledged symbol of RMA warfare – the use of precision weapons – climbed from some 7% of the ordnance used in the Gulf to about 70% in Bosnia.[167]

Once the US – and western – lessons of the post-Cold War era warfare were assimilated within the RMA discourse, it became possible to describe *the 'new' post-Cold War era determinants of <u>military power</u> as a 'Cold war plus'*[168] *approach*. During the first decade of the post-Cold War era, the US military capability had to be operable against traditional large-scale conventional enemies (a two major theater war capability) and it also had

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[165] As US Secretary of Defence William Perry noted, "… I do not believe that the Bosnian war poses a threat to U.S. interests grave enough to risk the lives of thousands of troops. … So we will not commit ground forces to the conflict in Bosnia." Perry (1995a).

[166] It is noteworthy that the air campaign of Operation Deliberate Force was not the only factor in the 'successful' termination of the armed conflict in Bosnia and diplomatic negotiations that culminated in the Dayton agreement. The success of the summer 1995 Croat-Bosnian ground offensive against the Bosnian Serbs and the diplomatic operations also affected the outcome. From western (NATO's) perspective, the usefulness of air warfare by politically sensitive, precision-guided munitions – in combination with diplomacy – was decisive.

[167] As the 1991 Gulf War and the 1995 Operation Deliberate Force were quite different types of wars, the relative amount of precision munitions used cannot be interpreted in a straight forward manner to mean that the operation in Bosnia was ten times 'more RMA' than the Gulf War.

[168] Note that the already proposed 'Cold War minus' approach relates to the western conceptualisations of the nature of war in the post-Cold War era. The *scope of war has diminished* (the global confrontation has changed into regional, but still large-scale, conflicts) in the post-Cold War era, while this 'Cold War plus' approach is related to the shared understandings of military power – as the *domain of military power* (the variety of military tasks assigned to the armed forces) *has been widened* in the post-Cold War era to include 'new' types of military operations.

to provide means to engage in a wide variety of smaller-scale contingency operations. It was these latter military operations – not only humanitarian interventions, but also many other smaller-scale interventions and operations – that started to emerge and call for action to an unprecedented degree. Still, with the early conclusion that post-Soviet Russia would not launch a conventional attack in Europe, the 'major theatre war' construct influenced US assessments of military power: "Fighting and winning major theater wars is the ultimate test of our Armed Forces".[169] The RMA discourse provided possibilities for the promulgation of a defence strategy that highlighted the traditional – but more and more improbable – Cold War era warfare but also acknowledged the emerging new manifestations of war – and the western responses to them. *After a critical mass of RMA discourse had emerged – by the mid-1990s – it provided ample opportunities and possibilities for the declaration and development of a defence strategy and guidelines for the development of the US Armed Forces in an era which lacked the strategic imperatives of the Cold War. In a way, the implicit shift from a threat-based approach to defence towards a capabilities-based approach took place already in the early 1990s.* Donald Rumsfeld later codified this explicitly into the defence strategy of the United States – in the aftermath of 9/11 in 2001.

The adoption of the RMA into the official defense policy of the United States in the latter part of the 1990s and subsequent attempts to export RMA into a larger international understanding concerning military power and war in the post-Cold War era were not based solely on the changing security landscape that came about in the late 1980s and 1990s. Think tanks, research centres, and the US Armed Forces started to envision future trends in warfare in the early and mid-1990s. Often relying on the Gulf War for inspiration or reference, this RMA-related literature offered a view of future military power and war, and by the late 1990s the idea of a Revolution in Military Affairs was widely accepted – at least within the US defense community. The adoption of the RMA into the vocabulary of *Annual Defense Reports* from 1995 onwards – and *National Security Strategies* from 1998 onwards – was made 'possible' by the preliminary groundwork done by the strategic community in their discussion of the RMA. After the Revolution in Military Affairs had become the 'essence' of post-Cold War era strategic discourse, incorporating it into official defense policy was a logical next step, although it was not the only possible one.

Harnessing the RMA as a tool for transforming the military in the post-Cold War era processes of redefining war, conflict, and military power also provided new possibilities for the US. Since the massive Soviet threat was gone, the role of the armed forces was changing throughout the interna-

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[169] A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), p. 27.

tional system and in the US particularly. Being increasingly confronted with 'new' conflicts and wars in the post-Cold War era, explicit calls for humanitarian uses of military force – although not unanimous, especially after some sour experiences of action in Somalia and inaction in Central Africa – were made possible by the opportunities that the RMA discourse provided. It was the promise of a fundamental increase of military effectiveness, low(er) levels of casualties, and diminished collateral damage that brought about the convergence of the post-Cold War era 'new realities' of war and the RMA discourse. Similarly, being the forerunner in the conceptual development of the RMA and the only undisputable (military) superpower with unrivalled resources, the visionary statements concerning future warfare through technologically centred RMA framework made a great deal of sense in US domestic policy circles. In addition, a more broadly accepted international conceptualisation of technologically-focused warfare would provide the US with ample opportunities to keep its position of military supremacy. The reliance on the RMA in 'defining' future wars and transforming the US Armed Forces was thus also affected by the potential that it seemed to offer to the United States. As the surveyed documents concerning US defence policy in the 1990s show, if there was one country that would benefit from the exploitation of RMA, it was the United States. As the leading edge power in technological research and development, as well as in weapon procurement, and the only state with the capability to use force anywhere in the world, the understanding of future war and the transformation of armed forces via the concept of RMA was not only a response to new challenges in the international system, but also a vision of the future that would be beneficial for the United States. As William Cohen stated in 1998 in his address in NATO, "we must all embrace the Revolution in Military Affairs".[170]

By the mid-1990s, then, the RMA discourse started to be integrated in the Defense Department's official documents. The fact that the idea of Revolution in Military Affairs was generally acknowledged did not mean that there would be no debate concerning historical evidence and occurrence of such revolutions, the nature of the current revolution, or the necessary concrete steps that should be taken in order to exploit it. During the first half of the 1990s, the RMA grew from the Soviet launched concept of a MTR into a more encompassing, though contested comprehensive approach to a fundamental transformation of war. During the time that the RMA was emerging and was later consolidated into the DoD's force transformation process, as one feature of the changing strategic environment, it carried several implications that are visible in the DoD documents:

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[170] Cohen (1998a) (quote). On the more general level US efforts to shape the international system in the post-Cold War era, see A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1997), p. iii, 1, 6; A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), p. 1.

    a. Historical evidence shows that past RMAs have occurred.

    b. Lately, information technology has advanced at a revolutionary pace, making a technologically driven RMA possible.

    c. Those who do not adapt to and exploit ongoing RMAs will jeopardize their future.

In addition to the convergence between the discourse of the end of the Cold War (characterised by the 'emergence' of uncertainty and unpredictability in the international security situation) and the RMA discourse (characterised by unprecedented capabilities and possibilities for rapid global military responses), the discourse of the privatisation of war also 'supported' the post-Cold War idea of fielding smaller military forces with better high-tech equipment. From the mid-1990s onwards, the US DoD focused on discarding the unusable military 'overweight' that had developed quickly after the Cold War had come to a halt. The changing nature of the international system was making some parts of the 'old' military infrastructure and many pieces of equipment obsolete, while some 'new' capabilities and arrangements were being prioritised. The privatisation of war has been part of the process of sustaining and increasing the US military edge. This process was promoted by accentuating its benefits in reducing expenditures making defence spending more efficient.

While the RMA discourse gained momentum and became widely accepted during the Clinton administrations, it was George W. Bush who, as a presidential candidate finally forged an explicit linkage between the RMA and the maintenance of the US military edge within the international system. After being inaugurated in 2001, he made it 'official' and has since repeatedly made the assertion that technologically redefined war benefit the US.[171] From the perspective of this intentional redefinition of war this process had been going on for almost a decade within the US Defense Department before George W. Bush made his remarks.

Finally, with the terrorist attacks in the eastern coast of the United States, a new US definition of the international security situation emerged. This happened abruptly – as had been the case with the terrorist attacks themselves – within few weeks of the attacks. The promulgation of a global War on Terror was well under way within days of the attack, and in less than a month Afghanistan was attacked. 9/11 changed the American definition of the international security situation into an aggressively securitised one: the

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[171] Bush (1999); Bush (2001c); Bush (2001d); Bush (2001e). See also Annual report to the President and the Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), particularly p. 65.

United States was facing covert attacks – war – that demanded decisive military action to prevent further attacks and to defend the homeland and its people.

The inception of the era of global War on Terror was explicit, clearly articulated, and occurred within several weeks. The 'new' risk of future terrorist attacks 'necessitated' determined military action. The conceptualisations concerning the nature of war were also changed – war became an indefinitely ongoing process of battles throughout the globe. In addition, the George W. Bush administration proposed that this new war of the 21st century would legitimate the use of force (i.e. warfare) pre-emptively in situations, where no 'smoking gun' could be produced. The mere existence of classified intelligence reports and analysis would suffice in situations where the danger seemed immanent. With the new shadowy enemy – terrorists and states that harbour them – the need to transform the still Cold War era-type of US Armed Forces that had undergone only a portion of the 'required' transformation was thought necessary. The way to transformation had already been show by the Clinton administration, but the full implications of exploiting the RMA had not materialised, according to the George W. Bush administration.[172] With the radically new threat perceptions and the concomitant conceptualisations of the nature of war as a prolonged set of military campaigns against states and non-state actors – many of which were still unidentified when the war was declared – the role, missions, and equipment of the US Armed Forces called for a radical change – transformation through the RMA.

The shift from the era of humanitarian interventions toward the global War on Terror was explicitly defined by the US administration in the expectation that it would spread all across the world. But as Chapter 5 has already demonstrated, this has happened only partially. In addition, within the framework of the international discourse concerning terrorism, the American declared War on Terror has had to change and adapt, as others have not been willing or able to make the highly militarised responses to terrorism. By the end of 2004 the conceptual struggle was continuing within the international system and in the west concerning the 'right' or 'acceptable' framework for conceptualising terrorism and 'appropriate' means to fight it.

Before the 'War on Terror' phase (2001-), the Cold War was irreversibly over and the non-traditional uses of military force – humanitarian assistance and interventions, as well as small-scale punitive and preventive precision strikes – had become part of the mainstream conceptualisations of war. In addition, the RMA had developed and matured into an accepted

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[172] See e.g. Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 47.

description of the effects of information technology upon military operations, as well as a welcome vision of the future of the US Armed Forces on their path to becoming a truly post-Cold War era military. During the 1990s, the 'forces' driving US defence strategy were based on a rather incoherent and diffused set of threats. This left plenty of room for the RMA discourse to take root. The events of 9/11 and the declaration of the War on Terror by the George W. Bush administration turned the rather loose, unfocused, and broadly painted threat scenarios very quickly into focused, clearly expressed, and even simplified determinants of post-9/11 military action. Winning the War on Terror by military and other means became the top political goal, while the transformation of the armed forces – advocated intensively already during the 1990s – through the RMA became the means of delivering 'new' capabilities that were available for use in the – apparently – open-ended first war of the 21st century. Thus, by clarifying and unifying the conceptualisation of contemporary and future threats facing the US, the Bush administration was able to define 'clear' and 'natural' means at achieving victory in the War on Terror. Since 9/11, then, the logic of advancing or exploiting RMA became not only an efficient *mean* of transforming the armed forces (as had been the case from the mid-1990s), but a *necessity* in order to prevail in a war that has been taking place in a dramatically changed security environment.

The War on Terror was therefore well suited to the framework of RMA warfare as it had developed prior to 9/11. The central idea of RMA had previously been to redefine future warfare by exploiting advanced technology at a pace that would facilitate the maintenance of a military 'edge' vis-à-vis all potential adversaries and which would give the US a leading role in this process of redefinition. The War on Terror, which has been focused on the articulation of 'new' threats and the rules of applying military force to counter these threats, did not challenge the technologically defined conceptualisation of war and military power that RMA-thinking had advocated. On the contrary, *the combination of a pre-existing vision and defence policy of transformation through the RMA and the declaration of War on Terror have supported each other in a broader rearticulation of war – a redefinition of war on US terms.* With the emergence of a 'clear and present danger' to the US homeland – terrorism, possibly involving weapons of mass-destruction – the high-technology solutions to warfare seemed at least as applicable in these 'new' wars as against regional 'conventional' adversaries. High technology military instruments as well as related doctrines and organisations came together to promise efficient use of military power in a world that was depicted as uncertain, unstable, and unpredictable. Together these *discourses of the RMA and the War on Terror form an explicit American (re)definition of war and military power in the beginning of the new millennium.*

It is noteworthy that the 'logic' of advocating RMA within the US defence establishment was not unidirectional, static, or unchanging. Rather, in response to several different international situations, the case in favour of a strategy to export the RMA has had several 'main' axes of argumentation. The American RMA discourse has also showed resiliency by being able to engage and converge with the other discerned post-Cold War era discourses of war – even those that on the surface could be expected to undermine the theses of the RMA discourse. These qualities of the RMA discourse are presented in Table 7.1.

This study has proposed a threefold characterisation of the post-Cold War era security situation from the US perspective. The analysis so far has demonstrated that *during all of these post-Cold War era phases the Revolution in Military Affairs has been located at the core of American understandings of military power*. The threefold depiction related to the post-Cold War era US definition of the international security environment does not attempt to factor in the many disagreements and debates concerning the 'right' defence policy and the 'needed' practical decisions and action within the international system. It must be emphasised that this categorisation is an analytical tool, an as such, operates through simplification in order to identify some central themes that have sprung up from the rich 'empirical' material analysed in this chapter. In addition, it is worth restating that the construct of the three overlapping phases serves only to reveal the logic of RMA emergence, consolidation, and maturation. Similarly, the labelling of these phases may be objectionable, especially the phase of 'humanitarian use of military force'. As has been already claimed, I do not claim that this period should be depicted as a time when the US and other western states were enthusiastic and optimistic about intervening wherever humanitarian disasters occurred. Rather, this phase was a time when the end of the Cold War was an accepted 'fact' and states were confronted with the 'new' and emerging problems of the post-Cold War era.

Elements of Social Structure – US Definitions			
1. Definition of the Situation	*"End of the Cold War"*	*"Humanitarian use of military force"*	*"Global War on Terror"*
2. Norms, rules	***The Cold War era 'history':*** - sovereignty - non-intervention - war between states - non-use of NBC-weapons ***The discourse on the end of the Cold War:*** - unpredictability - decreasing level of overall threat - versatility of 'new' threats ***The Discourse on new wars:*** - unstable world with mostly non-state violence, - weakening of the norm of state sovereignty	***The Cold War era 'history':*** - sovereignty - war between states ***The discourse on humanitarian interventions:*** - weakening of the norms of state sovereignty and non-intervention - non-state actors - failed states - legitimacy of intervening ***The discourse on the end of the Cold War:*** - unpredictability - versatility of 'new' threats ***The discourse on new wars:*** - unstable world with mostly non-state violence ***The discourse on the privatisation of war***	***The discourse on War on Terror:*** - high-threat environment , WMD - non-state organisations as a danger - states that aid terrorists a threat - decisive military action needed - unilateralism - pre-emption ***The discourse on humanitarian interventions:*** - weakening of the norms of state sovereignty and non-intervention - non-state actors ***The discourse on the privatisation of war***

3. Rules for recognising military power	***The Cold War era history:***
	 - nuclear weapons
	 - conventional armed forces vis-à-vis other states' armed forces
	 The RMA discourse:
	 - evolution of the MTR concept into an RMA
	 - conceptual clarification
	 - beginning of official acceptance of the RMA as a description of the post-Cold War era 'reality' in warfare
		The Cold War era history:
		 - conventional armed forces vis-à-vis other states' armed forces
		 - proliferation and rogue states
		 The RMA discourse:
		 - high-technology military
		   * precision
		   * C4ISR
		   * space
		   * information
		 - increased possibilities for interventions
		 - decreased casualties and collateral damage
		 - transformation
			The RMA discourse:
			 - high-technology military solutions to 'traditional' and 'new' threats
			   * precision
			   * C4ISR, space
			   * information
			   * organisations
			   * concepts
			 - transformation
			 The discourse on the War on Terror:
			 - intelligence, speed
			 - WMDs
			 - use of force against 'small' adversaries

Table 7.1. The Post-Cold War social structure of the international system from the US perspective

Finally, too much emphasis should not yet be placed on the ongoing War on Terror and its impacts on the long-term 'reality' of war and military power. The time for that has not yet come. However, it is noteworthy that the established and advocated strategy to export the RMA that was developed in the US during the 1990s fits the discourse of the War on Terror like a globe. It is at the intersection of these two discourses that American understandings of war and military power emerge at the beginning of the 21st century. In this respect, *from the US perspective, the discourse on the War on Terror defines the character of the threats and risks as well as the nature of legitimate war, while the discourse on the RMA defines the determinants of military power.*

8. TRANSFORMING THE EUROPEAN MILITARIES

The previous chapter came to a close with a threefold characterisation of US defence policy in the wake of the Cold War. This characterisation was presented in the form of three successive and somewhat overlapping phases. In addition, it was concluded that within each of the inferred phases of post-Cold War American defence policy, the discourse concerning the Revolution in Military Affairs has had a distinctive and varying role. How does this relate to Europe? The following chapter answers this question by analysing conceptions of military power in two transatlantic or European institutions: NATO and the European Union. The objective of this chapter is to *describe* the general development of the shared western understanding of military power in the post-Cold War era and to *explain* the changes in it by revealing the causal mechanisms that lie beneath them.

Analysing shared conceptualisations of war and military power within NATO or the European Union is a somewhat different task than investigating them in a single state. This divergence manifests itself in the nature of NATO and the EU. They are both intergovernmental organisations where national governments meet, discuss, debate, and negotiate policies. Based on their decision-making apparatuses, decisions taken within NATO or the EU already represent more or less the shared western understandings concerning the issue at hand. The decision of NATO to wage war against Serbia because of the stark human rights violations during 1998 and 1999 in Kosovo was in itself a result of an international – western intergovernmental – bargaining process. This process was aimed at reaching shared understandings about the situation in Kosovo, defining the shared interests of NATO member-states in this situation, and delineating the appropriate means to fulfil those interests. Similarly, within the context of the EU, the decision to take over the NATO-led SFOR operation in Bosnia in the end of 2004 was based on shared understandings within EU concerning the situation in Bosnia, the interests of the EU and its member states, and the suitable means of meeting the valued goals in this situation.

The analysis of the United States defence policy in Chapter 7 thus deviates somewhat from the following analysis of NATO and the EU. In the case of NATO and the EU the focus will be on the intergovernmental processes of argumentation and negotiation for reaching a shared understanding between different member-states. It is noteworthy that the United States is a member of NATO. As its 'leading' superpower member it is in a position to influence the shared understandings reached within the organisation.

This above-mentioned divergence in analysis does not, however, prevent or impede the study of war and military power from the constructivist per-

spective. Whether one is focusing on individual states or intergovernmental organisations, it is these more or less shared conceptualisations that are the foundation of policies.[1] The fact that NATO and the EU are western intergovernmental organisations that have developed and still devise common policies and actions (thus shared understanding) related to the military dimension lends support to the idea of a western security community that shares a common understanding of war and military power.

8.1. Military Power, War, and NATO

In a constructivist study of military power, the focus on a military alliance – NATO – points to the importance of shared understandings between member-states concerning faced threats, the nature of war to be prepared for, and the role assigned to the use of armed force. From this perspective, to focus on NATO's 'own' forces would be of limited utility, since NATO as an institution and as an international organisation possesses very few military troops of its own. For the most part, it relies on national governments and armed forces organised by them. NATO is thus a framework for the member-states in their day-to-day political decisions concerning military affairs. Its effects are not only felt within the sphere of national contributions to NATO force structure or by the official policies and statements promulgated in its name. Also the framing of threats, conceptualisations of the 'nature' of legitimate war, and the shared views concerning functions, doctrines, and organisations of national armed forces are all effects of cooperation within NATO. The Northern Alliance thus represents military cooperation within the western/European security community.

From the above-mentioned constructivist perspective, the following chapter on NATO conceptualises the changing intersubjective conceptualisations of war and military power within the alliance through two 'ideational' totalities: 1) the purpose of the alliance and the related understandings of war within the alliance, and 2) the shared conceptualisations of how to transform national armed forces within the framework of NATO in order to be prepared to fulfil required missions and to be prepared to wage war as agreed within the alliance. The latter factor – shared understandings concerning military power – is seen from the perspective of alliance-wide operational concepts and doctrines, procurement priorities of new technical systems directed at national governments, and proposals for standardisation made to national armed forces.

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[1] It is noteworthy that in certain cases differences over policies may be expressed and remain within a national government or an intergovernmental organisation even though a decision is reached.

8.1.1. Redefining Tasks, the Emergence of 'the Gap', and Interoperability

The debate concerning the Revolution in Military Affairs has been mostly an American enterprise. The RMA discourse has never been as heated within Europe as it has been in the United States, whether one looks at individual states, NATO or the (W)EU. This does not mean that the issue of the RMA has gone unnoticed in Europe. It could mean, rather, that the conceptual debate and 'development' has been taking place mostly in the US, where as the European members of NATO have had to react to the RMA's practical implications. As an example, the 1998 Committee Report of NATO Parliamentary Assembly shows that the Revolution in Military Affairs was something that could not go unnoticed in Europe:

> *Most military analysts now agree* that advances in military technology require a fundamental reappraisal and revision of operational concepts to ensure that full advantage is taken of them. This *combination of technological advances and revisions in operational concepts represents a revolution in military affairs.* … There is no doubt that the transatlantic defence technology gap exists and is widening. Without remedial action by the Unite States' allies, sooner or later – and probably sooner – the gap will become a rift. … the *revolution in military affairs begs important questions about how the allies can ensure that they will be able to work in concert with the United States.*[2]

The above-mentioned statement reveals the post-Cold War era dilemma of the Atlantic alliance: in an era not defined by grave existential threats, the conceptual and practical development of the RMA – the American strategic imperative of the 1990s – started to threaten the cohesion of the alliance when other member states were not able or willing to implement an RMA exploitation strategy to the extent that was the case in the US. Mentioning the Revolution in Military Affairs, the existence and the widening of a technology gap between the US and the rest, as well as being concerned about intra-alliance interoperability, the above quotation is a good reflection of the military challenges confronted by NATO during the first decade of the post-Cold War era. With the 'emergence' and 'widening' of this gap, the foundation of the shared western definitions of military power and related practical defence policy decisions – consolidated during the Cold War – were 'opened up' for reinterpretation. Whether this opening up has led to

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[2] Committee Report of Nato Parliamentary Assembly, Science and Technology Committee (1998) (my italics); See also Rogers (1998), where he makes the connection between the restructuring of US Armed Forces – calling that process "the so-called revolution in Military Affairs" – and the technology gap between the US and other NATO members, which may imply a need for the European NATO member states to acquire US military technology in order to play their primary roles within the Alliance. Also in Gompert and Kugler and Libicki (1999).

divergent European and American definitions of military power and war is the question to be addressed next.

The end of the Cold War took place in only several years. This becomes evident in the NATO framework when focusing upon the alliance's ministerial meeting documents and declarations issued by NATO heads of state and government North Atlantic Council meetings from the mid-1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Even as late as 1988, the Soviet military threat in Europe was still noticeable, perhaps even severe:

> The Soviet Union's military presence in Europe, at a far in excess of its needs for self defence, directly challenges our security as well as our hopes for change in the political situation in Europe.[3]

> [W]e have to date witnessed no relaxation of the military effort pursued for years by the Soviet Union. … This massive force … constitutes a fundamental source of tension between East and West.[4]

The Soviet threat had almost evaporated by the summer of 1990, when NATO's London declaration was published:

> Europe has entered a new, promising era. … The Soviet Union has embarked on the long journey towards free society. … The Atlantic Community must reach out to the countries of the East which were our adversaries in the Cold War, and extend to them the hand of friendship.[5]

Reflecting the changing international political environment of the late 1980s and early 1990s, NATO's first post-Cold War era Strategic Concept was finalised and accepted in 1991. For the first time, NATO strategy was a public document. The Strategic Concept marked a shift from the Cold War era focus on deterrence and forward defence towards cooperation and a broad framework of security. In addition, the 1991 Strategic Concept espoused a preliminary move away from the 'traditional' conceptualisations of threats and the nature of war. Concerning the old threat of conventional attack in Europe, the delegates of the November 1991 Rome summit declared that "we no longer face the old threat of massive attack."[6]

Concerning the character of the threats now anticipated, increased attention was paid to the "multifaceted" and "multi-directional" risks of the new strategic environment. The possibilities for proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, terrorism, sabotage, and the risk of in-

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[3] NATO (1988a).
[4] NATO (1988b).
[5] NATO – The London Declaration (1990).
[6] NATO – The Rome Declaration (1991).

creased instability within the international system were viewed with increased urgency as the conventional threat from the Soviet empire receded: "The threat of a simultaneous, full-scale attack on all of NATO's European fronts has effectively been removed." This statement was made despite the fact that the Soviet capabilities were still "to be taken into account". Regarding the conceptualisations of the nature of war, the 1991 Strategic Concept moved away from the need to counter a 'traditional' monolithic massive global military invasion with a center of gravity in Europe in the direction of crisis management, crisis response, and related missions. According to the Strategic Concept these above-mentioned changes in threats and the nature of war facilitated also the redefinition of alliance force posture, equipment levels, readiness of forces and their availability, training system and exercises, as well as force employment options. In the document this redefinition of the military, which constituted one important argument in the post-Cold War western discourse of war and military power, was seen in reduced military forces with better equipment and shorter reaction times.[7]

In the immediate aftermath of the end of the Cold War, NATO espoused 'active' and cooperative security policy within Europe and beyond. The focus on the new transatlantic security architecture and the declared strengthening of the European pillar within the alliance were manifestations of the changes taking place in the early 1990s. In 1992 NATO declared its willingness – on a case-by-case basis – to support peacekeeping missions mandated by the CSCE and the UN Security Council. It was also declared that "we will further strengthen Alliance coordination in peacekeeping, and develop practical measures to enhance the Alliance's contribution in this area."[8] In 1994 the alliance endorsed the concept of the Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) for the purpose of facilitating contingency operations, with the possibility that non-alliance members would participate in the operations. Similarly, the strengthening of the alliance's European pillar moved forward in 1994 when support was given to the emerging European Security and Defence Identity. In addition, the westernisation of militaries in the non-NATO (eastern) Europe and the former Soviet republics was promulgated under the programme of Partnership for Peace (PfP).[9]

By the mid 1990s, then, the Atlantic Alliance was well on its way to adjusting to the end of the Cold War and the 'emergence' of the post-Cold War era security situation in general political terms. The military alliance of the

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[7] NATO's Strategic Concept (1991) (also quotes).
[8] NATO (1992a); NATO (1992b) (also quote).
[9] NATO – The Brussels Summit Declaration (1994). Already in 1991 NATO invited its former adversaries to participate in consultations and cooperation within the framework of North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NACC. See NATO – The Rome Declaration (1991).

bipolar confrontational world was transforming into a versatile security actor that intended to shape the future nature of the international system by cooperative means – rather than relying solely on deterrence and defence. The military elements for deterring adversaries and defending alliance territory were left intact in the post-Cold War process of adjusting to the 'new' international security reality, but the 'new' tasks of the alliance – crisis management and the westernisation of the societies and militaries of former adversaries[10] – came markedly to the fore. As was explained in 1996:

> Today, we have taken decisions to carry further the ongoing adaptation of Alliance structures so that the Alliance can more *efficiently carry out full range of its missions. … The new NATO has become an integral part of the emerging, broadly based, cooperative European security structure….* We have… reconfigured our forces to make them better able to carry out the *new missions of crisis management*, while preserving the capability for collective defence.[11]

The cooperative approach to security policy within NATO was strengthened with the consolidation of the Mediterranean dialogue, the establishment of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and the beginning of accession talks with three new member-candidates – all taking place in 1997. The rationale for these 'new' political arrangements came from the process of adapting the Alliance to the significantly changed post-Cold War world – taking into account that the process of 'defining' the post-Cold War era was still in the making as 'new' security threats were still emerging, many of them in rather vague form. The traditional, but very unlikely, mission of territorial defence provided relatively clear goals for the maintenance and development of alliance capabilities and policies. The requirements related to the "new missions of crisis management"[12] were more indeterminate as the nature of potential missions varied considerably. In addition, as the designation of "new missions" reveal, there was hardly any organisational or decision-making routine related to the processes of deciding when and how to commit the alliance to these missions and how to prosecute the mission once the decision has been made.[13] The concept of the CJTF, which was

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[10] See e.g. NATO Press Release (1997b), paragraph 3.

[11] NATO Press Communiqué (1996) (my italics).

[12] See e.g. ibid.

[13] See e.g. NATO Press Communiqué (1996), paragraph 7. The document states that the Alliance will develop its procedures in order to "undertake new roles in changing circumstances, based on … the ability to mount non-Article 5 operations". These new operations are depicted in the document as a variety of missions that "may differ from one another in contributions by Allies". The political decision-making related to these operations is declared to be made "on a case-by-case basis".

promulgated in 1994, was one attempt to come to terms with the practical implementation of crisis management missions.[14]

Throughout the 1990s those security challenges, risks, and threats that were not directly associated with the traditional NATO mission of collective defence or the "new missions of crisis management" were the most indeterminate in nature. This was so in terms of the assessed severity of the different challenges, risks, and threats, as well as the proposed countermeasures to be taken in preparing to decrease the probability of their occurrence or to limit the damage caused by them. The 1991 Strategic Concept notion of multi-faceted and multi-directional "security risks and challenges" – the military might of the Soviet Union, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the disruption of the flow of vital resources, and actions of terrorism and sabotage – turned into "threat[s] to international security", "threat[s] to the conduct of normal international relations", or "threats of wider nature" caused by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means, international terrorism, and illegal arms trade.[15] There was thus a gradual move from challenges and risks – something that may pose future threats – toward threats – something threatening NATO members now.

Following the gradual move from challenges and risks toward threats facing NATO members – and more generally taking into account the evaluated nature of the international security situation in the late 1990s and the proposed missions and tasks of the Alliance – the Strategic Concept was rewritten again in the late 1990s and was accepted at the April 1999 Washington summit. After all, it was only some two months after the adoption of the 1991 Strategic Concept that the Soviet Union had dissolved. The 1999 Strategic Concept moved away from the 1991 framing of strategic balance with the Soviet Union and a possible – though remotely so – general war in Europe towards regional threats, terrorism, sabotage, organised crime, ethnic and religious rivalries, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Russia – a former enemy in the form of the Soviet Union – was named only in the context of "Partnership, Cooperation and Dialogue", not "Security challenges and risks" as had been the case in the early 1990s. While the defense of allied territory was mentioned as the bedrock purpose of NATO, the global context had to be – according to the 1999 strategic concept –

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[14] NATO Press Release (1997b), paragraph 17. It is noteworthy that by the late 1990s however, the concept of CJTF had not developed into a significant tool of crisis management.
[15] NATO's Strategic Concept (1991), paragraphs 7-14; NATO – The Brussels Summit Declaration (1994), paragraphs 17, 19; NATO Press Release (1997b), paragraph 25.

taken into account, for example in the form of non-article 5 crisis response operations outside the alliance territory.[16]

The shift in the rules of using military force within the framework of NATO during the eight years following the end of the Cold War – from the 1991 Strategic Concept to the 1999 Strategic Concept – is indicative of the changing post-Cold War era conceptualisations related to threats and the nature of war. According to the 1991 Strategic Concept:

> The Alliance is purely defensive in purpose: *none of its weapons will ever be used except in self-defence.*[17]

When the next Strategic Concept was embraced in April 1999, the alliance was in a middle of an ongoing war in Kosovo, a war not of self-defence, but a war related to a

> fundamental challenge to the values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, for which NATO has stood since its foundation. … NATO's military action against the FRY supports the political aims of the international community: a peaceful, multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo in which all its people can live in security and enjoy universal human rights and freedoms on an equal basis.[18]

The broadening of NATO's agenda, in geographical area and by the variety of military tasks assigned to the alliance, has not taken place in an atmosphere of pure optimism among the member states. Suggestions of a technology gap between the United States and its military allies, especially in Europe, were heard in the 1990s. According to the proponents of the gap thesis, the Gulf War was indicative of the huge differences in the possibilities to wage expeditionary war across the Atlantic. Other experiences in Europe during the 1990s – Bosnia and Kosovo – highlighted the uneven capabilities of conducting military operations within NATO. The gap thesis gained currency simultaneously with the adoption of the RMA into official US defence strategy, from 1997 onwards. Since the apparent emergence and widening of the gap coincided with the transformation of US Armed Forces by exploiting the RMA, transferring RMA-related thinking into the framework of NATO was conceptualised – in the US defense establishment – as one possibility to guarantee future military cooperation – albeit under rules imposed by the US. An example of the 'pressure' for RMA-related thinking within NATO can be located in speech Secretary of Defense William Cohen gave before the Munich Conference on Security Policy in Feb-

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[16] NATO's Strategic Concept (1999), also quotes. See also NATO's Strategic Concept (1991); NATO Handbook (2001), pp. 42-47.
[17] NATO's Strategic Concept (1991), paragraph 34 (my italics).
[18] NATO Press Release (1999c).

ruary 1998. Secretary Cohen addressed the problem related to the concept of interoperability:

> *Each Alliance member* must provide sufficient resources to sustain its own national forces, both for 'Article 5' requirements and for other more likely missions. This is especially important as we enlarge the Alliance. Allies need to be able to protect their forces against the effects from weapons of mass destruction. And *we must all embrace the Revolution in Military Affairs, which will transform the character of our forces and how they fight through the application of information technology and other advances. …* Ultimately, we risk diminishing our collective effectiveness as Allies unwilling to commit sufficient resources become less interoperable with those who make the necessary investment in modern war-fighting technologies. *It is not just a matter of incompatible equipment, but, over time, incompatible doctrine.*[19]

On general terms, this statement echoes the American Cold War era and especially post-Cold War era calls for burden sharing on the part of the European allies. In addition, the foundation of any military alliance is that military forces – including their equipment, doctrine, and training – are capable of combined action. In other words, national forces within a military alliance must be interoperable. Besides the logic related to the effective functioning of any military alliance, the above statement can be construed as one of several attempts to export the American RMA to its allied partners, especially in Europe:

> For roughly ten years, NATO has engaged in a perennial debate over burden sharing and the need for European members to acquire high tech military equipment. The new formulations affecting the most recent debate are the Revolution in Military Affairs and information warfare.[20]

The above-mentioned US strategy to export the RMA has been cast in a way that takes technologically defined conceptualisations of military power for granted. Within this strategy, the path chosen by the US is conceptualised to be both natural and logical, and those not willing to take the same path will become militarily obsolete within a short time. From this US-espoused perspective, exploiting the RMA is a universal way for states to modernise and transform their militaries in the post-Cold War era.

At the heart of the emerging technology gap between the United States and its European NATO allies – it has been argued – has been the US policy of devising new high-tech military systems. This policy began during the Cold War. This technologically centred focus picked up speed during the post-

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[19] Cohen (1998a) (my italics).
[20] British American Security Information Council (1999).

Cold War era development of new information technology and the chosen security strategy of backing US interests worldwide with military force by developing power projection capabilities. According to an American estimate, the respective European response to the new security environment has been less visionary, and according to some analysts, more driven by inertia and domestic political issues than security considerations. From the American perspective as expressed in the late 1990s, the technology gap could turn into a rift or a gulf. This would mean that the lack of concrete European action in participating or harnessing RMA within NATO would turn US interests away from Europe. It could also cause US to accelerate the unilaterally defined transformation of its armed forces and result in Revolution in Military Affairs becoming solely an American feature. Thus, the meaning and 'content' of the RMA would be completely defined in the United States. The exploitation of such an RMA could be an insurmountable task for the Europeans.[21]

In addition to the rather 'visible' symptoms of the emerging gap during the 1991 Gulf War and the air campaign over Bosnia in 1995, the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia did signal the existence of a technology gap between US Armed Forces and its European counterparts, although the nature of the operation – peacekeeping or crisis management instead of high intensity warfare – and the sectoral structuring of troops in Bosnia (into US, British and French sectors) did not bring the wideness of the gap to the fore, at least according to the American RMA proponents.[22] According to US Secretary of Defense William Cohen:

> But for Bosnia-like operations in the future, NATO, and particularly the European members of NATO, must have the ability to project their forces. …If Bosnia reveals the face of future missions, it also reveals the difficulties that can result when you have a great disparity between coalition capabilities.[23]

Concerns for the divergent developments in the military field across the Atlantic were also raised in Europe. The then UK Defence Secretary – later to become NATO Secretary General – George Robertson expressed his apprehension that the NATO might turn into a two-speed alliance as the Europeans seemed unwilling to keep up with the Revolution in Military Affairs.[24] In a similar vein, the Chairman of the Military Committee, General Klaus Naumann, expressed publicly his concern for the unbalanced

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[21] Gompert and Kugler and Libicki (1999), especially ch. 1.

[22] On RMA lessons learned from Bosnia, see Gompert and Kugler and Libicki (1999), ch. 1.

[23] Cohen (1998c).

[24] "Can Europe Keep Up with the Revolution in Military Affairs? Defence Secretary George Robertson on the Danger of a Two-speed Alliance" (1999), p. 49.

exploitation of the RMA by member states, creating interoperability problems and a capabilities gap. He thus articulated the military's vision of the need to exploit the RMA within other member states of NATO. In his opinion "the growing gap of capabilities which we see inside NATO … will lead to an *interoperability problem within NATO over time and could mean that the military will be unable to catch the train called Revolution in Military Affairs which is about to leave the station*." Naumann goes on to say that military capabilities of the European nations and Canada must be improved.[25]

Naumann later made the case for implementing the RMA within NATO:

> One key area of modernisation, which would be ripe for implementation decisions at the Prague Summit, is that of command, communications and computing, and intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISR). This is the skeleton or *grid around which all other capabilities necessary to implement the revolution in military affairs could be built.* … Decisions taken along these lines at Prague, compiled in a programme to improve European defence capabilities, would be important steps, which are feasible and affordable, towards modernising capabilities and the *implementation of the revolution in military affairs.*[26]

In addition to the understanding that a technological gap exists between the US and Europe, the 1999 war in Kosovo provided once more the familiar lesson concerning technology. Although not shared as widely as the technology gap thesis, this second lesson concerned a more general theme of the nature of modern warfare and the role that technology plays in it. It has been argued that Kosovo showed that technology would be a key to success in future war.[27] Furthermore, it was proposed – by US Deputy Under Secretary of Defence Joseph Eash – that:

> [W]e all [NATO] need to embrace the revolution in military affairs.[28]

Thus not only was technology decisive in determining outcomes in warfare for the future militaries, but the development of NATO concepts of operations, force structures, and particularly military materiel should have proceeded by following the path that US Department of Defense and US Armed Forces had taken.

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[25] Naumann (1999) (my italics).
[26] Naumann (2002) (my italics).
[27] See for example Interim Committee Report of NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Defence and Security sub-committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities (2000), where it is stated that "Operation Allied Force showed that high technology is essential to executing the missions the Alliance [NATO] believes are most likely."
[28] Eash (2000).

Although the RMA is a rarely used concept in official NATO documents, it has been referred to in connection with the efforts to increase interoperability within the alliance. As a NATO press release explained in 2002, high-technology military systems constitute the Revolution in Military Affairs. The development of these modern systems – and the promotion of RMA – demands added cooperation between member states concerning standardisation, with the goal of developing interoperable forces:

> NATO nations have commenced a formal ratification process of a major agreement in the area of UAV [Unmanned Aerial Vehicle] interoperability. In the current drive to enhance Alliance defence capabilities, *UAV technology is at the cutting edge of the Revolution in Military Affairs*, as clearly demonstrated by military operations, notable in Afganistan [beginning in 2001], and earlier in the Gulf.[29]

Furthermore, it has been argued that what on the surface seems to be a gap in military technology – the driving force of the RMA – is more importantly a gap or divergence in security strategy between the United States and Europe. While the US had already prepared during the old War to deploy large amounts of troops – especially to Europe – in a short timeframe, the Europeans prepared for a war on their own soil. The two world wars of the 20th century and the subsequent preparations for the third large-scale conventional confrontation during the Cold War pushed European thinking toward a definition of war as the defence of borders and territory rather than expeditionary operations – with the partial exception of Great Britain and France. The US exigencies of global area of operations and expeditionary warfare operated as strategic level motifs for excelling in the offensive use of military force and thus for developing the Revolution in Military Affairs. As the authors of *Mind the Gap* explain, the "RMA thus has a distinct and crucial strategic purpose for the Americans, motivated by U.S. interests and shaped by U.S. politics." It is the nature of global interests and security responsibilities that actually demand an American RMA.[30]

It is noteworthy that the American criticisms of the reluctance or inability of Europeans political structures to transform the European militaries and support the RMA have also acknowledged that their own highly visionary and optimistic conceptualisations of transforming the US Armed Forces through the RMA have not been realised to full extent due to domestic political, bureaucratic, and budgetary reasons. According to the American estimates, the slow process of transforming the European militaries is the result of the absence of a vision or a strategy to operate militarily on a global scale. Similarly, cuts in defence expenditures in the post-Cold War era

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[29] NATO Press Release (2002a) (my italics).
[30] Gompert and Kugler and Libicki (1999), ch. 2.

'new' international security environment have been cited as reasons for the slow and modest European military transformation efforts. According to one American estimate, the United States "is moving not only at a different velocity but also in a different direction, with different priorities, based on a different philosophy than its [European] allies in modernizing its forces to exploit new technology."[31]

Such statements are partly influenced by political motives in the US to direct the European strategic-military thinking towards US conceptualisations of war and military power. In addition, genuine concern has been expressed in the United States over the mismatch between European 'lip service' and concrete actions to bolster efficient warfighting and crisis management capabilities. From the US perspective, the inability or unwillingness of Europe to commit itself to harnessing the RMA will hinder possible future combined military operations, at least at the 'high end' of the conflict spectrum. While the capabilities that are needed for these multinational operations are based on new high technology, novel concepts of operations, innovative operating procedures, and new ways of organising forces (elements of RMA), the obstacles to creating a European RMA or an RMA within NATO are seen to be at the level of security policy or strategy. Only after a new vision of European military capabilities and their usage emerges – if ever – would it be possible to start focusing on the technological and industrial deficiencies of Europe vis-à-vis the United States in a way that might lead to a European RMA. Until Europe is willing to use force in a wider fashion than the Petersberg Tasks require (the European conceptualisation of war can quite convincingly be defined as crisis management), attempts to overcome the asymmetries in the level of development of information technology and the competitiveness of defence-industrial-technological markets will not succeed.[32]

Related to the RMA discussion within NATO, the question of increased interoperability beyond technological matters has surfaced on the agenda. The need for conceptual, organisational, doctrinal, and even cultural interoperability has been emphasised in view of need for confluence in practical policy outcomes – especially in Bosnia and Kosovo – and the development of the RMA thesis, particularly in the opinion of the United States defence establishment.[33] While the discussion of interoperability and the technology gap between the United States and the rest of NATO members was launched in the aftermath of the Gulf War with a technological emphasis, the realisation set in during the late 1990s that in order to fix the gap and to advance possibilities for technical interoperability, a 'new' shared frame-

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[31] Ibid., quote on ch. 1.
[32] Ibid., ch. 3, 5.
[33] Echevarria (2003), p. 10; Codner (1999).

work for military operations would be necessary. The idea of a technology gap has thus metamorphosed into that of a capabilities gap, reflecting an expansion of the focus from 'purely' technological factors to include organisations, concepts, and doctrine.[34]

The above-mentioned shift – from a *technology gap* to a *capabilities gap* – has been broadened further within NATO to include a *military transformation gap* between the United States and other member countries.[35] With the founding of NATO Concept Development and Experimentation Center in Norfolk in the year 2000 and the center's close collaboration with US Joint Forces Command – in charge of US force transformation by exploiting the RMA – the notion of a transformation gap approaches that of an RMA gap between the US and its allies.

8.1.2. The Defence Capabilities Initiative

In addition to the new Strategic Concept, the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) was one of the most significant developments within NATO at the 1999 Washington summit. The initiative had been developed since 1998, primarily as a project to narrow the gap in military technology between the US and the other NATO members. Subsequently, the framework of DCI has broadened in scope to cover doctrinal and organisational elements. From this perspective, DCI went further than the long-standing NATO Standardization Program and can be conceived of as an attempt to respond to the American RMA within NATO.[36]

During the time that DCI was officially launched, the war in Kosovo – Operation Allied Force – was underway. The Kosovo situation highlighted the limited air power capabilities of a vast majority of NATO allies in terms of precision engagement as well as intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. Although the European allies possessed formidable numbers of troops and equipment, contributions of fighting troops or other assets to Operation Allied Force were very limited.[37] In addition to highlighting the inferior capabilities of US allies in the war in Kosovo, the need to improve planning for non-article 5 operations, ameliorated command and

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[34] Echevarria (2003), pp. 10-11.

[35] NATO Update (2002).

[36] Sloan (2000); Sloan (2002), p. 77. On the gap turning into a rift, see for example the Committee Report of Nato Parliamentary Assembly, Science and Technology Committee (1998).

[37] For a view that does not accept the impression that the war in Kosovo revealed that Europe is in the "starting block with respect to RMA", see Grant (2000).

control policy and procedures, and political-military interfaces within NATO were among the lessons learned in the US Department of Defense.[38]

The launching of the DCI can be understood as an effort to commit the European allies of NATO to develop their capabilities in accordance with the lessons learned from the Gulf War and Bosnia – and actualised by the war in Kosovo.[39] DCI was an attempt to move NATO into the 21st century – although from the start it was obvious that the Initiative would not result in national or European-wide procurement and military transformation processes that would match the American RMA.[40] The genesis of DCI can be located at the June 1998 NATO Ministers of Defense meeting, where US Secretary of Defence William Cohen addressed the need to have a shared vision of the Alliance's future and only then consider force modernisation based on this accepted vision. Cohen brought forward three future challenges: new missions, technological change, as well as biological, chemical and missile threats. In response to these challenge Cohen presented several elements that he categorised under two headings: "Interoperability or Force Compatibility Initiatives" and "Conceptual Guidance Initiatives". The two sets of initiatives suggested that forces should be capable of operating efficiently together in multinational operations. The intellectual roots of Cohen's initiatives seems to lie in the US experiences of increased jointness during and after the Gulf War – and especially during the latter part of the 1990s. These roots were familiar with the RMA discourse in the US during the 1990s. As Cohen's formulation concerning one response to new challenges – adaptation of NATO doctrine and operational concepts – shows, the future of NATO he visioned was not very far from the exigencies of the RMA:

> If we are to truly take advantage of the opportunities offered by advances in *technology* for meeting future threats, we will also have to change the way we organize and operate our forces. This will require *adapting our doctrine and operational concepts*. In the U.S., each of our Services has been experimenting with new operational concepts and organizational structures. … I recently designated the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Atlantic Command as the Executive Agent for joint concept development and joint experimentation.[41]

Later, in a conference of NATO's transformation in November 1998, Cohen continued with the same line of argument in launching the Defence Capabilities Initiative:

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[38] Cohen and Shelton (1999).
[39] See e.g. NATO Press Release (1999d), paragraph 14.
[40] See for example Grant (2000).
[41] Cohen (1998b).

> But because we are modernizing and restructuring at different rates and with differing national visions, we are not as effective as we need to be as an alliance. … We must craft our common operational vision to include four core capabilities: Mobility, Effective Management, Survivability and Sustainability.[42]

The 1999 agreed upon formulation of DCI contained five issue areas for improving interoperability between the member states' armed forces: deployability and mobility, sustainability and logistics, survivability, effective engagement capability, and command, control and information systems. Technology was central in all issues touched upon by the DCI. But as the Heads of State and Government agreed in Washington, within the framework of Defence Capabilities Initiative:

> [I]ncreased attention must be paid to human factors (such as common approaches to doctrine, training and operational procedures) and standardisation, as well as to the challenges posed by the accelerating pace of technological change and different speeds a which Allies introduce advanced capabilities. … The initiative… considers issues such as training, doctrine, human factors, concept development and experimentation, and standardisation.[43]

While the 1999 Strategic Concept defined the alliance's view of the contemporary security environment and provided guidelines for the alliance and member states, the DCI operationalised these strategic level requirements into concrete issue areas so that member states – especially in Europe – could focus the modernisation and transformation processes of their armed forces on the basis of the 58 action items of the Initiative. Increasing European interoperability with US armed Forces – in the form of similar equipment, doctrine, operating procedures, and training – characterised the thinking behind the DCI.

During the launching and the beginning of the implementation phase of the DCI at least two general processes apparently supported the initiative. One of these was the American-defined Revolution in Military Affairs that was allegedly changing the nature of western war. When the DCI was accepted, the RMA thinking had been evolving in the US for a decade. It had also been accepted as a guiding principle for the transformation of the US Armed Forces. The lack of an RMA policy in Europe was the root cause of

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[42] Cohen (1998d). In the informal September 1998 NATO Defense Ministers meeting, Secretary of Defense William Cohen advocated a High Level Steering Group to serve as a mechanism for turning the new Strategic Concept's vision [which was being prepared at the time of Cohen's statement] into improved national and alliance capabilities. This was decided in Washington in April 1999.
[43] NATO Press Release (1999b).

the widening capabilities gap between the US and its NATO allies. Second, the lessons of Kosovo – drawn during the war and immediately thereafter – supported the process of developing the US allies' military capabilities through DCI. These lessons were linked to those of the preceding wars of the 1990s – especially in the Gulf (1991), over Bosnia (1995) and in Iraq (1998). The most articulate proponents of the lessons of Kosovo were the Americans, particularly Secretary of Defence William Cohen.

> We have what we call a *Revolution in Military Affairs.* … You're seeing just *a part of that take place over Kosovo today.*[44]

> I'd like to say than like *Bosnia*, before *Kosovo*, we also had a reminder that NATO's transformation from a force to repel an armor-heavy invasion to one that could mount a more flexible and mobile defense is still incomplete. … And because we were the only country with *precision-guided munitions* that can operate in all weather, heavy cloud cover in the initial stages of this campaign made it *almost an exclusively American operation.* … the *technological gap* between the United States and the other NATO Allies [--] will continue to grow. … this campaign reminds all of us that the *revolution of military affairs* is fundamentally changing the way in which we fight. In *Operation Desert Storm* … there were only a handful of sophisticated aircraft that could carry precision-guided munitions … In Kosovo, nearly all of our [US] fighters could deliver these devastating weapons.[45]

> This [Kosovo] is an incredible display of air power that we, again, should be very, very proud of. … this is not a unique capability. It has, in fact, been carried out before. We carried it out in *Desert Fox.*[46]

The DCI fitted 'easily' within the western discourse of the emerging and widening technology/capabilities gap and the American discourse of the RMA. According to the general western understanding, it was the vigorous and early American espousal of the RMA – combined with the military edge inherited from the Cold War and the global strategic focus of the US – that had caused to gap to appear and continue to widen. The DCI was thus a response to the deteriorating interoperability situation within NATO. In order to improve those military capabilities that were conceptualised to be important and necessary in the post-Cold War era wars and crisis management operations, US allies committed themselves to the Defence Capabilities Initiative. The DCI also had an additional dimension. Not only was it intended to contribute to the amelioration of European and Canadian military capabilities, but its successful implementation would also have sig-

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[44] Cohen (1999a) (my italics).
[45] Cohen (1999c) (my italics).
[46] Cohen (1999e) (original italics).

nalled the commitment of US allies to truly espouse the RMA.[47] Within a year following the signing of the DCI, the American disappointment concerning the slow process of implementing the RMA-related DCI was expressed.[48]

Since the US Department of Defense had already espoused the Revolution in Military Affairs in its operational concept development, equipment acquisition, and organisations, DCI can be seen as an 'export venture'. The US objective was that the American RMA – or at least thinking about war and military power 'beneath' the concept RMA – would be transferred to the NATO framework.[49] As the US *A National Security Strategy of a Global Age* – published in 2000 – mentioned:

> *At the same time we push technological frontiers and transform our military, we also must address future interoperability with multinational partners.* … We must encourage our more technically advanced friends and allies to build the capabilities that are particularly important for interoperability. … *A Multilateral program has also been developed. NATO's Defence Capabilities Initiative* now includes both a NATO-centered and nation-centered concept development and experimentation program, which Joint Forces Command complements with a joint experimentation program to include allies, coalition partners and friends.[50]

Whether or not DCI's action items would be realised in its implementation phase, the acceptance of a new Strategic Concept and even more so the launching of DCI within NATO affected the thinking concerning the role of military power in the new security environment at the turn of the century. *Going officially out-of-area, espousing a global perspective on peace support operations, and defining new probabilities for war within the international system, the Strategic Concept consolidated the unofficial lessons learned during the 1990s concerning humanitarian interventions and 'new wars'. Similarly, the DCI consolidated the American lead in defining the way that armed forces should wage war in the technological, but also doctrinal dimension. As the only superpower,* the United States was advancing with utmost speed in order to procure new information-based systems. It also possessed the greatest capacity to be militarily engaged in global affairs. The Armed Forces of the United States were the obvious

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[47] See e.g. Cohen (1999c) "We talked about the Defence Capabilities Initiative, … So we have had a political statement that this is what we have to do … What we now have to do is to measure up and to match the political commitment with actual deeds."

[48] See Cohen (2000a).

[49] See Sloan (2000) "Deployability, sustainability, effective engagement, survivability and command and control are therefore not only the primary areas of focus for the DCI, but also capture the key elements of the RMA. Indeed *DCI can be viewed as the blueprint for responding to the RMA*." (my italics).

[50] A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), p. 30.

yardstick against which others could compare the state of their military development.[51]

By the turn of the century, then, there seemed to be a convergence of understandings within NATO that the Cold War era 'lenses' for conceptualising war and military power were becoming more and more obsolete. New capabilities were needed to facilitate engagement in new wars. The war over Kosovo gave the final or 'decisive' impetus to the process of focusing on interoperable military capabilities through a shared framework that was leaning heavily to the American developed concept of RMA. Many of the lessons learned from the other wars and interventions of the 1990s fitted rather unproblematically into this framework: it was clear in retrospect that the Gulf War, Haiti, Bosnia, and Iraq (Desert Fox 1998) had witnessed the emergence and progressive maturation of the RMA discourse and the RMA capabilities in actual use. The experiences of Kosovo also had a decisive impact on the European Union's developing defence dimension – a theme dealt with in Chapter 8.2. The lessons Europe learned from the wars and interventions of the post-Cold War era combined with an explicit and intentional attempt to 'export' the American RMA and related thinking to Europe and even globally. As additional factor one might mention the potentially profitable 'new' opportunities for American defence contractors in Europe, should other NATO members 'accept' the RMA as a foundation upon which to build future forces and capabilities. The importance of this market potential was codified in the American Defense Trade Security Initiative, launched in 2000, which was sought to increase Alliance interoperability and to facilitate the transfer of critical American defence equipment to US allies.[52]

8.1.3. 9/11 and the Transformation of NATO

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 caused a quick NATO response: within 24 hours of the attacks, the Alliance invoked article 5 of the Washington treaty – declaring that the attacks against the United States were attacks against all the 19 member states[53]. Subsequently, terrorism and the connected threats related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the existence and emergence of failed states within the international system became the defining threats and risks in NATO assessments. With the ad-

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[51] On this 'yardstick-function' or the US Armed Forces as a role model, see e.g. A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1997), pp. 8-9; A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1998), p. 13.
[52] A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (2000), p. 30. See also The Gap in Defence Research and Technology Between Europe and the United States (2000), Explanatory Memorandum, p. 20.
[53] NATO Press Release (2001a).

vent of these new threats, which created a new post-9/11 security environment, the logic of recreating NATO became more compelling.

> Terrorism and the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery currently pose key threats and challenges to Alliance and international security.[54]

> In a strategic environment that is marked by terrorism, failed states and proliferation, projecting stability is a precondition for ensuring our security. If we do not tackle the problems where they emerge, they will end on our doorstep. … NATO is finally turning into a framework for transatlantic action wherever our security interests demand it. This is a sea change in the way we think about – and employ – this Alliance.[55]

One of the raging debates within the Alliance throughout the 1990s – the one concerning the out-of-area operations – became much calmer when the post-9/11 'reality' showed the dangerousness and the novelty of the threats of terrorism, WMDs, and failed states. While NATO had been engaged in out-of-area operations in Bosnia and Kosovo during the 1990s, engagement beyond the continent of Europe was facilitated by the strategic imperative of countering terrorism in a globalised world. As threats and risks had become global in nature, the locus of the 'logical' response shifted beyond a geographically defined regional approach to security.[56] This new perspective of international security and NATO's role in the world facilitated the reinterpretation of the military capabilities required by the alliance and of the schedule for acquiring lacking capabilities. While this reinterpretation was deemed necessary already before the attacks of 9/11, the impetus provided by them is clearly visible.[57] This momentum for change within NATO has been expressed most explicitly through the *process of transforming NATO*.

When the explicit reinterpretation of the international strategic environment and the role of NATO in it were called for in the aftermath of the 9/11, NATO was able to take two ongoing American discourses into account in moulding its own perspective upon the post-9/11 world. One was the exploitation of RMA for transforming the US military establishment. This project had been embraced for several years within the US. In addition, the US had pressed for a more intensive RMA exploitation strategy within NATO – appealing to the lessons of the Gulf War, Bosnia, and Kosovo. The second project – still in a very formative phase – was the War on Terror declared by George W. Bush. This project was maturing and advancing

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[54] NATO Press Release (2004a).
[55] de Hoop Scheffer (2004a).
[56] de Hoop Scheffer (2004b).
[57] See e.g. NATO Press Release (2001b); NATO Press Release (2001c).

rapidly, as President Bush was underlining almost daily the new nature of war in the 21st century and preparing the American public for it – first in Afghanistan and after its proclaimed successful completion in Iraq. The rapid and determined response of the George W. Bush administration in declaring the War on Terror was affected by the fact that the destructive attacks took place on US soil. This was conceptualised in the light of the Japanese attack in Pearl Harbor and the fact that the territory of the United States had become a battlefield.[58]

The combined effect of the American declaration of the War on Terror and the NATO invocation of article 5 of the Washington treaty placed some of the American allies in an awkward position. As promulgated by George W. Bush, the declared War on Terror would last indefinitely and those who were not on the American side would be against it. This meant, in political terms, that showing solidarity and support for the US administration in its efforts to undermine future terrorist capabilities, would be tantamount to a commitment to wage war against terrorists. Some of the member states of the Alliance were categorically unwilling to commit military troops to the War on Terror as defined by the US. The secondary role of NATO in the Afghanistan campaign did not totally erase the logical connection that the NATO members made between that campaign and the American-led militarised response to terrorism. At any rate, once that it had been declared, the American global War on Terror became something that all NATO members had to adapt to. While the American approach to global terrorism was couched in terms of a 'war' – despite its multidimensional character as a political, economic, military and diplomatic undertaking – Europe has characterised it more as a 'fight', 'campaign', or 'struggle'. The Secretary General of NATO was able to characterise the undertaking as a War on Terror. Speaking at the North Atlantic Council meeting at the end of 2001, the Secretary General, however, accentuated the political and economic aspect of this war:

> *NATO is one player in the war against terrorism.* It is a multi-faceted war which involves legal and political and economic aspects as well and they have achieved much less attention than the military ones in recent months.[59]

When the initial military responses to 9/11 were formulated and being implemented in the attack against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan beginning on 7 October 2001, the Bush administration had received wide-ranging political support and expressions of solidarity throughout the

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[58] E.g. Bush (2001c), p. 1776.
[59] Robertson (2001) (my italics).

world. Within and without NATO, many states[60] were willing to send military forces to the war in Afghanistan – a war of self-defence according to a UN Security Council resolution.[61] Based on the Bush administration's decision to allow for maximum freedom to maneuvre and to avoid the Kosovo-war type of 'war by committee', NATO as a transatlantic military alliance did not participate in the war against the Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, but individual NATO member-states offered to commit troops to the operations. Taking into consideration the lessons of the Kosovo war – highlighting the capability gap between the US and the rest of NATO members, and the difficulties the United States had in waging war with the associated political bargaining concerning targeting and operational matters – and the obviously limited role of NATO in Afghanistan, the possibility that NATO would be derailed as the post-9/11 western security framework was seen as a threat to the future significance of the Alliance.

The American pressure to export the RMA framework to NATO was noted above. With the 9/11 attacks, this pressure broadened to include the importance of transforming NATO. NATO in 2001 was still very much like the NATO of the Cold War. Lacking clear strategic imperatives during the 1990s, the reorientation of the alliance, on the bases of a consensus was a slow-moving process. In the US, however, the Cold War era strategic imperative of the massive Soviet threat shifted during the early 1990s into a wish to prepare militarily to meet new, much less clearly defined risks and threats. This was conceptualised to be possible first by exploiting the RMA, and later by exploiting it in order to transform the military. Thus, when the attacks of 9/11 took place, the transformation of the US Armed Forces was already a central part of defence policy. In line with the 'transformation through RMA' framework, President George W. Bush emphasised the post-9/11 need for NATO transformation and the acquisition of new capabilities to match the American military transformation. During his meetings in Europe in May 2002, he stated that:

> [W]e need to work within NATO to make sure that NATO has got the capacities to - - to better use capabilities, define capabilities and strategies … *We're transforming our* [US] *military* or trying to transform our military rapidly. … And *NATO must transform as well in order to meet the true threats*. … I'm optimistic about NATO changing.[62]

The commitment to transform NATO was officially launched during the Prague summit, 21-22 November 2002. This process was necessitated not

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[60] Namely the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain, Turkey, Canada, and Australia. See Lansford (2002), pp. 83-107.

[61] See UN Security Council resolution 1368 (2001); UN Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

[62] Bush (2002b) (my italics).

only by the surfacing and widening of the capabilities gap within members of the alliance. In addition the decision to enlarge the alliance by inviting seven new members to begin accession talks and the emergence of 'new' threats in the form of international terrorism fuelled the perceived need for transformation. Despite the confluence of political, military, and technological reasons for transforming NATO, the ability to field allied forces "quickly to wherever they are needed" has been at the core of transformation. Three 'pillars' to support the transformation of NATO were erected in Prague. First, the creation of a NATO Response Force (NRF) – introduced by US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld in September 2002 – to be the technologically superior, rapidly deployable joint force of the alliance. Second, NATO's military command structure arrangements were to be streamlined. This included the establishment of a strategic command for transformation that would be responsible for transforming military capabilities and increasing interoperability between member states. Third, the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) was approved in order to improve the alliance's military capabilities by committing individual members to develop and acquire military capabilities that corresponded to the nature of modern – post-Cold War – warfare.[63]

Even before it committed itself officially to alliance-wide transformation, NATO established a Concept Development and Experimentation (CDE) centre to operate as a "change agent" concerning futuristic concepts in the field of military materiel, doctrine, organisation, and training.[64] The CDE process is a procedure for advancing the alliance's capabilities and to promote interoperability by developing concepts and experimenting with them. Most of the projects with the CDE process focus on technological interoperability, and they reflect a lack of alliance-wide transformation strategy. As Echevarria noted, the projects developed within the CDE process are "enabling concepts" instead of "umbrella concepts" and thus "represent only individual components of an overall approach to information-age warfare that resembles NCW [Network Centric Warfare]."[65]

In June 2003, Allied Command Transformation (ACT) was established in order to oversee the transformation of NATO's military capabilities – in tandem with the US Joint Forces Command. The task of ACT was described to be one of enhancing training, developing doctrines, assessing new concepts, improving interoperability, and improving capabilities. Situated in Norfolk, Virginia, ACT is operating under a commander who is also responsible for the transformation efforts within the US Armed Forces –

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[63] NATO Press release (2002b).
[64] NATO CDE newsletter (2001), p. 2.
[65] Echevarria (2003), pp. 55-58, quotes on p. 58.

Commander of US Joint Forces Command.[66] The explicitly articulated NATO conceptualisation of transformation is identical to the corresponding US version. According to the lead agent of NATO transformation, transforming NATO means more than "just purchasing new technologies, systems and platforms. It also means changing our thinking, organisation and culture by adopting new structures, improving training methods, adapting doctrine and educating leaders."[67] In addition, the process of transformation – depicted as a move away from the force that won the Cold War into a force that is to be superior in the post Cold War era and, particularly, the post-9/11 era – is characterised as "a never-ending process".[68] The commonalities with the US DoD formulations concerning transformation are clearly visible.[69]

The 'nature' of NATO transformation was highlighted during the 2004 Istanbul summit, where it was agreed – according to the Summit Communiqué – that transformation "must continue" since "NATO must be able to field forces that can move quickly to sustain operations over distance and time."[70] Similarly, at Istanbul, it was explicitly noted that transforming NATO is a continuous process – instead of a single event – of adapting to the new strategic realities of the post-9/11 era. Transformation was thus defined in terms used by the US Department of Defense, which have highlighted the need for a long process of continual transformation for creating new advanced capabilities to match the existing and emerging new threats of the post-9/11 epoch.[71]

Thus, the above-mentioned NATO (ACT) approach to transformation is practically identical to the one espoused by the US DoD – especially during the Bush administration after 9/11. Transformation is the framework-setting process, heavily influenced by technological change, but must be accompanied by new organisational, doctrinal, and training-related innovations. This similarity is hardly surprising, for the commanding officer of the ACT is also in charge for developing and implementing transformation within the US Armed Forces. In addition, as the events of 9/11 traumatised the prevailing western definitions of the international security situation, the already existing American conceptualisation of transformation provided a

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[66] NATO Press Release (2002b); NATO Issues (2003).
[67] Gambastiani (2003) (quote). See also "Lessons learned Are Key to NATO Transformation" (2003), p. 4; The Future of the NATO Response Force (2004).
[68] The Future of the NATO Response Force (2004).
[69] Cf. Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 16; Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 68.
[70] NATO Press Release (2004a).
[71] NATO Press Release (2004b); NATO Press Release (2004a); Rumsfeld (2002); Annual Report to the President and Congress by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (2003), p. 8, 67.

well-established conceptual tool for use in Europe. Without a pre-existing conceptual tool that seemed to fit the new security definitions – one that had matured and developed for more than a decade – the Allies would have found themselves in a time-consuming process of developing the required policies from scratch.

In addition to the impulses toward NATO transformation coming from the US, the situating of ACT in the physical and cultural location within USJFC, the lead agent of US Armed Force's transformation process provides one additional piece of evidence for the accumulating western acceptance of the American RMA transformation formula for developing military power. As a Canadian NATO General from ACT observed in 2004:

> The beauty of Allied Command Transformation Headquarters is it's right here in Norfolk where the U.S. equivalent, the U.S. Transformational Headquarters is, and therefore *we can gather the best lessons from them.*[72]

In addition to committing NATO to a process of transformation and establishing an organisational structure for implementing and guiding this transformation, NATO Response Force was approved in the 2002 Prague summit after being introduced by US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld earlier in the same year. According to NATO, NRF will be a "catalyst", "engine", or "vehicle" for transforming a joint force of approximately 20,000 soldiers, focusing on those capabilities that are seen to be central in light of the new threats and new missions facing the alliance.[73] While operating under Allied Command Operations (ACO), the role of Allied Command Transformation is essential in developing future capabilities and refining the NRF concept.[74]

The creation of NRF within NATO to operate as a nucleus for larger capabilities transformation reflects the generally accepted condition that the post-Cold War era international changes have made many past military capabilities obsolete. This view was highlighted by NATO Secretary General George Robertson in his often-cited 'mantra' "Capabilities, capabilities, capabilities." Along similar lines, when advocating the transformation of NATO, getting rid of the Cold War era legacy forces, and developing NRF, George Robertson noted that:

> [T]he overwhelming part of the 1.4 million soldiers [that Europe and Canada have under arms] are useless for the kind of missions we are mounting today.[75]

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[72] The Future of the NATO Response Force (2004) (my italics).
[73] Ibid. (also quotes).
[74] NATO Press release (2003).
[75] Robertson (2003).

The concept of NRF espouses the idea of expeditionary capability – the possibilities to confront threats and challenges anywhere in the world where it is deemed necessary. NRF operationalises a shift from the Cold War era forces' organisation, training, and equipment to deter and defeat unambiguous military aggression against a NATO member to a post-Cold War era requirement of being able to apply force rapidly, decisively, and selectively across the entire spectrum of conflict. This shift is conceptualised as a piecemeal one, beginning with the development of NRF as a subset of the NATO force structure, leading ultimately to the situation where NRF encompasses the entire NATO force structure.[76]

The creation of the US-advocated NRF is thus not only intended to give NATO a capability to operate flexibly in out-of-area operations. NRF is also a tool in the efforts to transform the alliance. The goals for transformation are politically defined, and the similarities of NATO transformation with that of the US Armed Forces point to the importance of US-defined goals regarding the future nature of war and the constitutive elements of military power. It is also noteworthy that the effects of NATO transformation – implemented by Alliance Command Transformation – are not confined to the armed forces of the NATO member states. The transformation of NATO is also stimulating innovative thinking in partner countries – especially within the PfP – and spreading a vision of future warfighting across the globe.[77]

The launching of the NRF can be conceptualised as a further step in the process of exporting the American RMA capability and related ideas to NATO. The initial phases of this process were witnessed already during the late 1990s. After the 1990s' debate about the emergence and widening of the capability gap between the US and Europe, the new security environment of the post-9/11 era called for a reinvigorated process of augmenting European military capabilities. DCI had not (yet) done the trick, and in the atmosphere of the need for an urgent redefinition of the international security landscape after 9/11, the RMA-based NRF as a "technologically advanced, flexible, deployable, interoperable and sustainable force"[78] offered a pre-planned path to new security programmes. NATO's reliance on this existing (mostly) American-based view of transformation was not coincidental, as it was practically the only explicitly articulated and matured vision of future militaries. In addition this vision was backed up' with lessons learned from multiple wars and military engagements in the post-Cold War era. As was explicitly argued by US DoD, "transformation is highly path-

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[76] NATO Background Briefing on NRF from Colorado Springs Defence Ministers Meeting (2003). See also "Alliance Launches Triservice Rapid Response Force" (2003).
[77] "NATO's Transformation – Moving from 'Uselessness' to usability" (2004).
[78] The Future of the NATO Response Force (2004).

dependent"[79], and creating a 'new' NATO transformation process – a divergent one from the already ongoing process of US military transformation – would simply have had to overcome too much organisational inertia and conceptual sedimentation within the US defence establishment, not to mention the effects of sunk costs of the US RMA exploitation strategy that has been in place from the mid-1990s.

The US advocating of NRF within NATO as a specifically European project can be considered as an implicit ultimatum for the adoption of – if even on a small scale – path toward the development of a European RMA capability. From this perspective it was and is a test case, determining the possibilities and willingness of the Europeans to remain loyal, useful, and interoperable partners with the US in applying what are substantially US-defined rules of western military engagement. Conceptualising the NRF in this fashion as an implicit ultimatum takes account of the gap-debate of the 1990s, the heated post-Cold War discussion of NATO burden-sharing or "responsibility sharing"[80], the American attempts to vitalise European militaries by suggesting small-scale and multilateral RMA exploitation strategies, as well as the shared acceptance of DCI on the conceptual – but if not so clearly on the practical/budgetary level. From this perspective, the repeated attempts of the US administrations to advance RMA thinking and espousal in Europe that gained momentum in the second half of the 1990s turned into a more concrete and pragmatic programme of emphasising those capabilities that from the American RMA perspective seem necessary in today's military missions.

The replacement of the DCI with the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) in November 2002 reflected the shortcomings of the European efforts to develop the agreed military capabilities. As one of the three "key military transformation initiatives" agreed upon in Prague, the PCC framework identified eight important fields and more than 400 specific areas of capability development. The general-level fields of capability improvement 'fit' within two of the post-Cold War era American-dominated discourses of war – namely the discourses on RMA and War on Terror:[81]

- Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear defence
- Intelligence, surveillance and target acquisition
- Air-to-ground surveillance
- Command, control and communications
- Combat effectiveness, including precision-guided munitions and suppression of enemy air defences

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[79] Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2001), p. 29.
[80] See e.g. United States Security Strategy for Europe and NATO (1995), ch. 4.
[81] NATO (2004).

- Strategic airlift and sealift capability
- Air-to-air refuelling
- Deployable combat support and combat service support units.

Although the above-mentioned fields of agreed military capability improvement cannot be reduced to the discourses of RMA and War on Terror, it is particularly these two discourses that characterise such a view of war and military power that 'require' the capabilities listed in NATO fields of capability improvement. The first of the fields is related to the threat of WMD use – an asymmetric threat of the post-9/11 era that is clearly envisioned in the discourse on the War on Terror. The following four fields correspond particularly clearly to the technologically defined view of warfare and constituent elements of military power – expressed by the RMA discourse: accurate and timely information about the enemy and the purported battlespace communicated in almost real time and when necessary, connected to the use of smart weapons. The remaining three fields correspond well to the exigencies of expeditionary operations – the mainstream type of western military operations in the post-Cold War era. The discourse on RMA and the conceptualisation of military power that it advocates are directly linked to the expeditionary nature of military operations. The development of smaller and more effective forces as well as of high-tech military equipment has improved the ability to intervene rapidly in crises all around the world with fewer ships, aircraft, and other means of transport. In addition, the range of traditional weapons platforms – which in many cases deliver smart weapons – can be extended indefinitely by means of modern air-to-air refuelling technology.

The creation of the PCC was aimed at promulgating a military capability improvement project that could be implemented by the European members. PCC was thus to guide the implementation of a plan to help Europe catch up with American capabilities through national and multinational projects. The implementation of certain capability improvement projects – e.g. strategic sealift and airlift as well as air-to-air refuelling – by pooling dispersed national resources into multinational efforts acknowledged the differences of magnitude in military resources and capability between the US on the one hand and individual European NATO members on the other.

The piecemeal approach to creating rapid response European high-technology NATO forces within the framework of NRF and multinational cooperation in capability improvement within the PCC process reflects the limited resources and thus modest possibilities of creating or launching a European RMA project. In addition, the uneasy attitude of some of the European NATO members concerning global military missions *à la* US – i.e. the lack or limited quality of acknowledged global strategic interests in Europe – has stood in the way of turning the collectively embraced concep-

tualisations of war and military power into practical, urgently implemented national procurement projects and processes of restructuring the armed forces. However, after the scaling-down of the defence budgets and troop levels of the immediate post-Cold War era, the evolution of NATO in the late 1990s and early 21st century has witnessed several attempts to take concrete steps to facilitate the development of national and alliance military assets to match the assessed threats and projected missions – according to the shared understandings of war and military power. Transformation of NATO through NRF and PCC is one of the latest manifestations of this.

8.1.4. Exporting the Western Standards of Military Power – The Role of NATO

American military influence has not been restricted to other western allies or members of NATO only. Connected to NATO, the increased military cooperation between the alliance and non-members has been aimed at 'transferring' western military understandings more generally. The primary audience has been the former eastern bloc states and the newly independent former republics of the Soviet Union.[82]

Two intertwined politico-military processes have been developing since the 1990s: the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the Membership Action Plan (MAP). Both have operated as vessels for establishing and consolidating western conceptualisations of democracy, the military, and international relations within the former communist bloc members and as catalysts for increased security-military cooperation – e.g. increased interoperability – with western non-member states.

The Partnership for Peace was launched in January 1994 and enhanced in 1997 in order to widen the initiative's scope. Depicted as an attempt to enhance stability and security in Europe, it has been an initiative to tie the former adversaries and neural states into cooperation with NATO. This cooperation has bilateral and multilateral manifestations within the framework of PfP. In addition to emphasising the democratic control of the militaries and transparency in national defence projects, the PfP has sought to develop military relations between NATO and the partner countries – based on NATO-defined standards. This military cooperation touches upon military planning, training, exercises, equipment, and forces.[83]

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[82] One example of the US willingness to transfer this western view of the military is the President's Warsaw Initiative. See e.g. A National Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (1996), p. 37, which acknowledges that USD 100 million was spent in 1996 for this purpose under the initiative. See also A National Security Strategy for a New Century (1999), pp. 29-30.

[83] NATO (1994); NATO Press Release (1997a); NATO Handbook (2001), pp. 67-72.

Concerning capabilities, the Planning and Review Process (PARP) within PfP has identified and evaluated partner forces and capabilities that are available for multinational training, exercises, and operations – peacekeeping, search and rescue operations, humanitarian operations and, after 1997, peace support operations. This planning and review process relies on the idea of creating non-member interoperability with NATO by identifying those capabilities that are operational with NATO forces and by setting Partnership Goals in order to create and enhance interoperability through NATO standards. NATO thus "provides guidance on interoperability and required capabilities."[84]

The Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC) has also been developed within the partnership programme. This concept has an added focus on military capabilities needed in NATO-led operations and has thus provided the partner countries with better possibilities to prepare themselves for the operations of the Alliance.[85] According to NATO,

> it [Operational Capabilities Concept] also establishes a mechanism which will enable decisions taken in the context of the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) to be reflected in the future development of PfP.[86]

PfP has thus operated as a framework for NATO to mould its security environment through military cooperation without detailed promises of membership to all aspirant countries. However, the first PfP countries to join NATO – Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic – did so in 1999. Simultaneously with the first wave of post-Cold War NATO enlargement, the Alliance introduced the Membership Action Plan in order to express its commitment to future enlargement and to lay down its expectations for the aspirant countries. Concerning military capabilities, the MAP has required aspirants to "prepare for participation in the full range of new missions" and to "pursue standardization and/or interoperability."[87] Seven MAP partners acceded to membership in 2004, leaving three MAP partners – Albania, Croatia and Macedonia – waiting for the next round of NATO enlargement.[88]

The cooperative approach to security that NATO espoused from the early 1990s has gone through a process of evolution – during which its ambitiousness has increased. The 1991 promulgation of the Strategic Concept in this field – under the title of dialogue and cooperation – has grown into a

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[84] NATO Issues (2004b) (also quote); NATO Handbook (2001), pp. 72-74.
[85] NATO Press Release (1999f). The Operational Capabilities Concept was endorsed in 1999; Simon (2004).
[86] NATO Handbook (2001), p. 76.
[87] NATO Press release (1999e) (also quotes); Simon (2004).
[88] Simon (2004).

multifaceted and more tangible set of projects with increasing functional cooperation in many issue areas. Concerning military capabilities – and thus the shared understanding of military power – the Partnership for Peace has been the most visible and concrete project directed outside NATO. The increasing importance of peacekeeping and peace support operations, and the operational capabilities needed for such operations in the post-Cold War era have been addressed generally within the framework of the PfP and its constituent programs, described very briefly above.

Thus, the post-Cold War cooperative security framework within NATO has spread the western model into the perimeters of Europe on at least two levels. On the politico-strategic level, the 'westernising' emphasis has been on the democratic control of the armed forces and the related transparency of all defence-related functions. On the more concrete military capability level, the western model of using troops and equipment for expeditionary peace support operations and equivalents has led the way. The combined effect of these two levels of influence has not only relieved tensions within Europe and elsewhere, but has also exported and consolidated the shared western understandings of war and military power within the former eastern bloc. Cooperation on NATO's terms probably best characterises this process of engaging former adversaries and turning them into more western-style countries with 'westernised' militaries.

The increasing significance of partner contributions to NATO-led operations since the inception of the PfP supports the idea of exporting western conceptualisations of military capability in particular and the nature of post-Cold War era warfare more generally. More than ten participating partner countries have participated in the Bosnian IFOR and SFOR, and in the Kosovo Force[89] (KFOR) following the NATO bombing campaign of Serbia in the spring 1999.[90] Six partner countries in addition to several NATO allies participated in the post-9/11 US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan).[91] Nine partner countries have contributed to the succeeding International Security Assistance Force (ISAF, Afghanistan January 2002 onward).[92] Eventually, in August 2003, NATO assumed command of ISAF.

The increasing frequency of crisis management and peace support operations is naturally not 'proof' that a western-defined military power is spreading from the Euro-Atlantic axis towards the fringes of Europe. However, according to the theoretical framework of this study, the increasing

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[89] Three more partner countries joined NATO during the war in Kosovo.
[90] NATO Fact Sheet (2001); NATO – Nations Contributing to KFOR (2004).
[91] Simon (2004).
[92] NATO Fact Sheet (2004).

military cooperation via military preparations, planning, and the conduct of combined operations between the west and the former eastern bloc – particularly on western terms – is bound to root and consolidate the shared western understandings of war and military power in the post-Cold War era partners. It is not just about partners behaving according to western expectations in order to receive (material) benefits, but also about the properties – i.e. identities and interests – of the partners. In addition, this process of reconstructing the identities and interests of the former eastern bloc states as they approach the west, Europe and the west are also being reconstructed through the incremental process of 'assimilating' the former adversaries within the western security community and dealing with emerging global challenges that are seen to require a western response – e.g. terrorism after 9/11.

8.1.5. NATO – Conclusions

The abrupt end of the Cold War led to a rapid and fundamental redesigning of the European security architecture. The 1990 Paris Summit of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) promulgated the Charter of Paris for a New Europe in November 1990. It visioned "a new era of democracy, peace and unity".[93] In the United States, President George H. Bush advocated "a New World Order". Similarly, NATO rewrote its strategy and moved away from the confrontational depiction of the European security situation. NATO embraced cooperation and partnership with its former adversaries in the east.

Given the fundamental changes taking place in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, NATO was faced with the question of its utility in the emerging post-Cold War world. With the massive Soviet threat gone, 'new' threats to international stability and the security of NATO members were identified or envisioned. To counter the proliferation of WMD and weapons technologies, terrorist acts, and the spread of small arms, NATO needed a new approach to security and the defence of alliance territory. With this process of identifying and assessing the nature of security threats of the post-Cold War era and the associated decrease of the level of the faced threat – from nuclear annihilation to 'lower' level threats – NATO embarked upon an incrementally cumulative project of establishing and developing cooperative security dialogue with former adversaries.

Similarly, the devised NATO missions and organised forces underwent a process of adaptation to the new security environment. NATO started to transform in order to adapt to the new emerging security challenges and

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[93] Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990).

risks of the post-Cold War era. Fewer forces with streamlined command structure were possible and 'necessary' for the post-Cold War era NATO to take a new role in the globalising world.

By the mid-1990s at the latest it was becoming clear that the post-Cold War era security environment was distinctly different from the bipolar world that prevailed until the late 1980s. This 'new' era was riddled with 'new' crises and demanded different military capabilities than those that had characterised the Cold War world. With the demise of the threat of land invasion, and the increase in importance of peace support operations, many of the old NATO territorial defence capabilities started to look obsolete or outdated. The 'new' military capabilities of the 1990s were increasingly geared to permit military interventions outside the developed west. The only remaining superpower – the United States – was practically the only NATO member that had during the entire Cold War era prepared itself for expeditionary operations and had military capabilities that were more or less suited to the needs of peace support operations. Within Europe some modest expeditionary capabilities existed at the end of the Cold War – mostly in the UK and France – but these were qualitatively and quantitatively on a different level than the American intervention capabilities. This became evident in the Persian Gulf and during the crises of former Yugoslavia, particularly Bosnia. In the latter case three years of European management and leadership in solving the crisis did not bring an end to the violence. Only after American military involvement – after a long period of hesitation – was it possible to take credible military action in Bosnia and reach an agreement to stop the ethnically manipulated violence. European governments could and did contribute to the 1995 bombing campaign, but only as junior partners within the American established military framework.

By the late 1990s, then, a continent-wide process of reconceptualising and reorganising the military was underway. Many European governments pondered and took decisions to abolish conscription and to create professional armed forces. Troop strengths were lowered as were the readiness levels of most of forces. However, congruent with the process of winding down the Cold War era western militaries was one of creating some smaller forces capable of rapid military intervention. Humanitarian operations, rescue missions, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and peace support operations were the emerging forms of western warfare in the post-Cold War era – particularly the 1990s. NATO prepared itself for these non-article 5 missions from the beginning of the 1990s. It also decided to go out-of-area, and did so – e.g. in Bosnia.

With this shift in the focus of NATO missions and forces, the cooperative arrangements with former adversaries and other western non-members

were suited not only to increase stability and the spread of democratic control of the military, but also to spread NATO standards concerning how to organise, equip, and train the partner militaries. The progressive development of the partnership programme in tandem with the emerging humanitarian crises during the 1990s thus reflected the benefits of increasing stability within the 'widening' Euro-Atlantic area by political engagement and of creating a widening pool of military assets inside the alliance and elsewhere for various kinds of peace support operations.

Practically throughout the 1990s, the United States was pressing for a more far-reaching and ambitious European response in the process of internal military reorganisation within NATO. Although Europeans were cutting their Cold War era armed forces in order to adapt to the post-Cold War era security situation, they were not capable of providing intervention forces, except for mostly secondary roles in US-led operations. Even military action in Europe was too demanding a task for the European static territorial defence forces of the Cold War. Britain and France had some experience of expeditionary operations during the Cold War and were able to contribute somewhat to the offensive intervention capabilities in operations that were conducted under US lead. But their combined capabilities only faintly resembled those of the United States.

In addition, the disparity of military capability between the US and European NATO members seemed to increase, as the US had been explicitly embracing a policy of exploiting the technologically defined Revolution in Military Affairs since the mid-1990s. The overwhelming US superiority in contributing modern combat power was made clear during the Gulf War. Ever since, the lessons America learned during of the Gulf War and the related policy of exploiting the RMA, seemed to increase the US lead in possessing, developing, and defining military power within the framework of NATO. The NATO campaigns in Bosnia and Kosovo, and the subsequent stabilisation and reconstruction operations (IFOR, SFOR, KFOR), provided the Alliance members with first-hand empirical material for use in deliberations on the post-Cold War nature of war and related needed military capabilities.

The European inability to act in Bosnia and the subsequent American-led bombing campaign taught significant lessons during the latter part of the 1990s when NATO – and the EU – came to terms with the emerging nature of the international security situation and the role of military force in it. After the American Defense Department had become an explicit advocate of the Revolution in Military Affairs, the lessons of Bosnia were used as leverage in the campaign to spread the American-defined RMA to Europe. The lessons of Kosovo supported these theses.

By the end of the 1990s the US-articulated military transformation through an RMA had become part of the European defence and military thinking. This was evident not only in explicit statements made by officials of the American administration(s), but also in the lessons learned in Europe from the military conflicts of the 1990s. It seemed natural that humanitarian interventions and peace support operations require state-of-the-art military systems that can ensure low levels of friendly casualties and collateral damage, as well as facilitate effective and rapid reaction military capabilities. The very genesis of the post-Cold War humanitarian military missions can be found at the intersection of a political change of the international (security) situation and the technological-conceptual change within the defence establishments and militaries, particularly in the US and some of its close allies.

When NATO was confronted with the task of reconfiguring the rationale for operations and the needed capabilities for chosen operation types, the United States was already in the position to provide the other allies with a recipe of military success in the post-Cold War era military contingencies. The American RMA formula for meeting post-Cold War military challenges had been in the making for about a decade when the "New NATO" or a relevant NATO was being reconstructed. By the time that the operation in Kosovo could be evaluated, the American military vision of the early 1990s – the RMA – had turned into a widely recognised politico-military project aimed at keeping and increasing the American military edge and sharing that edge with those who were willing to pay the political and economic price. By the late 1990s, this project also included the idea of spreading the RMA thinking, systems, concepts, and organisations throughout the developed western world. In the US, a solely American RMA was evaluated to be a less favourable scenario than one with European (and other) allies sharing the burden of operations and, possibly, providing market opportunities for the well-established American military industry that had been at the crux of the technologically-defined American RMA.

Thus, the pre-Prague transformation of NATO was more in the nature of the Alliance – through its member states – adapting itself to the 'new' and emerging exigencies of the post-Cold War era. In Europe this transformation meant reductions in defence expenditures and cuts in troop strengths rather than new military investments or innovative thinking. With the increasing evidence of the effectiveness of the American RMA throughout the 1990s, and the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, NATO officially embarked upon a route of transformation – this time with the intention on increasing relevant military capabilities. The post-Prague process of transforming the Alliance has thus witnessed a more concrete military capability dimension on the side of the political dimension of reconstructing the

threats, possible Alliance missions, and mechanisms for cooperation with partners. The precursor of this rather tangible focus on capabilities was launched in Washington 1999 during the war over Kosovo.

The thinking beneath the NATO decision to embrace transformation and focus on military capabilities grew and matured during the 1990s. With the demise of the Cold War a new logic for the defensive alliance was called for. The probability of a traditional military invasion into any of the member-states grew more and more unlikely as the decade progressed. Simultaneously, under US leadership, the Alliance and some international *ad hoc* coalitions were increasingly involved in peace support operations and other military missions that relied on high-technology military systems. While 'traditional' Cold War era forces proved operational in some types of new operations – particularly in the post-attack phase of peace support operations or the peacekeeping phase of humanitarian interventions – *the western focus on military power became increasingly connected to the transformation of the Cold War era armed forces into ones better suited to handle the new warfighting missions represented by humanitarian interventions and other contingencies that may involve non-state actors*. After 9/11, the possibility of using military force against terrorist organisations, states that support these organisations, and even individual terrorists, was more accepted – although requiring case-by-case judgement.

Although the direct or observable connections between the American RMA and the post-Prague transformation process of NATO do not seem to be very strong – at least on the surface – there are several elements that can be construed as a transfer of RMA-related thinking into Europe. First is the *strong new accentuation of transformation within NATO*. This took place five years after the idea of transforming the US Armed forces via exploiting the RMA was officially integrated into the US defence strategy. In addition, as was shown in Chapter 7 dealing with US DoD's conceptualisations concerning RMA and transformation, these are terms that on many occasions are used as synonyms – or 'near synonyms' – in the process of harnessing new technologies, concepts, doctrines, and organisations within the armed forces. Also in this context the remarks of the chairman of NATO Military Committee, General Harald Kujat, in 2003 are revealing:

> Much has been said in the recent years about the *revolution in military affairs*. The Alliance [NATO] has been much proactive in this regard and *translated this trend with 'transformation'*. …Technological improvement is only one aspect of the transformation though; doctrinal, cultural and structural changes must also be introduced with new systems and, in many cases, even precede technology.[94]

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[94] Kujat (2003) (my italics).

In a similar fashion, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for External Relations Jamie Shea noted in 2003 – concerning NATO's transformation – that the United States had a head start in harnessing the RMA vis-à-vis Europe, where the efforts to begin its revolution in military affairs had just recently started – "far too long after the Cold War".[95]

In addition to the importance of transformation within NATO and *the establishment of a strategic command for implementing transformation*, the ACT's co-location with USJFC and the dual heading of ACT and USJFC by an American commander signal the process of transferring the American RMA into the NATO context. As the United States' DoD has defined transformation by exploiting RMA a key objective of its armed forces, and has harnessed USJFC to be the executive agent for transformation; the link from transforming American armed forces to NATO's transformation is strengthened.

The *official espousing of expeditionary military capabilities in NATO* within the framework of NRF also signals the transfer of American strategic thinking to other NATO allies. The expeditionary culture of the US Armed Forces has been second to none after the Second World War. Great Britain and France have had some limited resources concerning expeditionary forces for several decades. The framing of NATO transformation and its lead agent – Allied Command Transformation – according to American model of post-Cold War era military transformation, suggests that the almost exclusively American RMA thinking has taken some root in other western countries.[96] In addition, the catalytic role of the NRF in transforming NATO military forces by accentuating rapid deployability, high-technology, and joint operations suggests further that concrete steps have been taken in Europe in order to test the usability of mostly non-American RMA forces.

It is noteworthy that the American influence on transforming the military forces at NATO's disposal via the RMA took effect rather slowly and mostly on the level of ideas – i.e. shared conceptualisations of the constitutive elements of military power. Until recently – most notably until the decisions concerning the DCI, PCC, and NRF were formulated – the accumulation of this western understanding of military power in Europe was not evident on the level of resources or technology to the extent that it has been in the US for years. Even today there is no distinctly European RMA project or its equivalent in the making. However, it seems that in the European

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[95] Shea (2003).

[96] See Maisonneuve (2004) NRF "will also form the basis for us to transform NATO, to try new … to experiment with new methods, the new way of war if you wish and to actually use the latest technology, the latest doctrine, the latest training to…". See also Gambastiani (2003) .

(NATO) analysis of contemporary military power of states, *the constituent elements of the explicitly formulated American project of transformation through RMA have been accepted* – although the possibilities for Europeans to participate in this project are understood to be limited. It is more a question of multinational European cooperation to produce specific RMA capabilities rather than an overall RMA exploitation strategy. With the creation of NRF the American RMA project is being inserted in a moderate or modest way into Europe on practical terms that take into consideration the limited European strategic interests, the rather non-existent expeditionary culture, and the fragmented nature of the European defence policies.

While the RMA has never been as celebrated within NATO as it has been – mainly in the late 1990s – within the US DoD, the perceived need to a) operate militarily around the world (expeditionary 'culture'), b) reorganise armed forces by exploiting information technology, and c) increase interoperability with the only RMA force in the world – the United States Armed Forces – is now driving *NATO transformation*. This transformation *is currently taking place according to US definitions*.

8.2. Towards Autonomous European Military Capabilities – The European Union

The post-Cold War era has witnessed a declared European willingness to develop autonomous military capabilities for different kinds of military crisis management missions within the framework of the European Union. Autonomous in this context means military action without the involvement of NATO or the US. However, development of the Union's military capability for autonomous military operations has been based on the possibility of relying upon critical NATO military capabilities – e.g. command structures.

Momentum in the process of defining and 'creating' European military capability picked up speed at the turn of the millennium. By that time the Balkans had been riddled by almost a decade of turmoil and violence – Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by 1999 Kosovo. Similarly, by the end of the 1990s, the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy had operated and matured for almost a decade. As one manifestation of this development process, the provisions of the Amsterdam Treaty became 'binding' during 1999. This meant the inclusion of crisis management tasks – defined in the WEU Petersberg Declaration of 1992 – into the Union's agenda and the progressive framing of a common defence policy.

The fact that the framing and implementation of the European defence policy and the 'creation' of EU's military crisis management capability have a

relatively short pedigree does not prohibit an analysis of the shared European understandings of war and military power that have become more explicitly formulated during the 1990s and the first years of the new millennium. In this context, the 'European military' refers to the national military forces fulfilling policies agreed upon within the European Union. The policies formulated and negotiated within the EU concerning the threats facing the Union and its member states, the nature of war in today's international system, and the constituent elements of effective military power can be conceptualised as a shared western European paradigm of war – one constitutive part of the western paradigm of war.

The general characteristics of the two 'deeper' elements of a western paradigm of war – the character of threats and the shared understandings of the nature of war – were analysed in Chapter 5. A clear shift was noted towards non-state actors as a source of threats – e.g. terrorism and organised crime. In addition state failure – a [non-traditional] state-level threat – is now conceptualised to provide a breeding ground for threats of non-state terrorism and crime. The threat related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is similarly connected to the threat of non-state terrorism: "The most frightening scenario is one in which terrorist groups acquire weapons of mass destruction."[97] According to the 2003 published *European Security Strategy*, the combined effects of the mostly non-state new post-Cold War era threats could become a serious challenge:

> Taking these different elements together – terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatisation of force – we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed.[98]

Concerning the nature of contemporary war from the western perspective the shift from the Cold War era has been characterised by an awareness of the increasing obsolescence of large-scale military formations and decisive battles, and the increasing significance of crisis management operations, humanitarian interventions and other smaller-scale military contingencies – often in remote locations.[99] This trend was expressed in the early 1990s and has since then consolidated significantly in Europe by the increasing focus on military crisis management and less concern for territorial defence.

The following chapter analyses the shared understandings of military power within the EU. This analysis is based on the decision to develop an

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[97] E.g. A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), pp. 3-5. Of the five listed threats in the European Security Strategy only one is 'directly' and traditionally connected to the state level: regional conflicts.
[98] Ibid., p. 5.
[99] E.g. Petersberg Declaration (1992).

autonomous military capability for the Union. The two above-mentioned 'deeper' level shared understandings form the framework for this analysis. They will be elaborated to the extent that their framework-setting function requires.

8.2.1. The Road to Cologne

The development of the European Union's defence dimension and the progressive framing of the Union's defence policy surely did not begin in Cologne (1999), with the approval of the Amsterdam Treaty, nor with the endorsement of the Maastricht Treaty. Similarly to the American case of promulgating defence policy of the post-Cold War era during the 1990s, the roots of those policies are in the Cold War years. Concerning the European case – the Cold War era European Community (EC) – the European Political Cooperation (ECP) started to form its international relations framework at the beginning of the 1970s. Later, this framework was institutionalised in the Single European Act, and then codified as Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1991. The treaty included defence matters in the agenda of the Union under the second pillar – the CFSP.

Beginning in the early 1980s the strengthening of the Western European security dimension took place within the Western European Union (WEU). As was stated in the 1984 *Rome Declaration*, the member states agreed to make "better use of the W.E.U. framework". In addition, according to the declaration, "a better utilisation of W.E.U. would not only contribute to the security of western Europe but also to an improvement in the common defence of all the countries of the Atlantic Alliance". The 'reactivation' of the WEU and the emerging policies and actions within this framework were intended to make a European contribution to the defence and deterrence efforts of the Atlantic Alliance. A better use of the WEU framework meant the strengthening of the European pillar of NATO.[100]

Simultaneously with the process of framing and constructing the European Union and its first formulations on security and defence matters, the member states of the Western European Union took joint action in the Persian Gulf and were involved to some degree in the Yugoslav conflict. Importantly, the WEU Council of Ministers also defined the self-imposed European limits on military operations in the 1992 Petersberg Declaration – going beyond article V and collective defence – by focusing upon humanitarian rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, and tasks of combat forces in crisis

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[100] Rome Declaration (1984) (also quotes); Platform on European Security Interests (1987).

management, including peacemaking.[101] Starting with the articulation and further development of the European Union's second pillar – that of the Common Foreign and Security Policy – most of the missions and structures of the WEU were transferred to the EU framework within a decade of the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. During this period, however, the WEU formed a link between the EU and NATO, concentrating on participating in the Petersberg tasks in its rather small-scale operational role. When the CFSP and the ESDP gained momentum within the EU, especially after a British policy change in 1998 – the Western European Union was practically dissolved, except for its common defence article V and the Parliamentary Assembly.[102]

The development of the political cooperation and the establishment of the CFSP was not only an internal process within the Union; it also reflected the general change in the international security landscape caused by the end of the Cold War. With the Soviet threat gone, the framing and development of a European Security and Defence Identity was no longer inhibited by the transatlantic logic[103] that guided much of Western Europe's security efforts during the Cold War. On the contrary, it could be argued that the creation and fostering of a European Security and Defence Identity became necessary as the United States reoriented its defence policy and withdrew a large portion of its troops from Europe. The burden of providing security and defence in Europe was becoming more a matter for the Europeans although the traditional military threat was decreasing rapidly by the beginning of the 1990s. In addition, within several years of the end of the Cold War the continuing reality and relevance of military force in international affairs became apparent. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent large-scale Gulf war, the highly publicised internal disorder and violence in Somalia, and the breaking-up of Yugoslavia, all came together to shape a western view of a violent post-Cold War world. Contrary to the emerging vision of a 'New World Order', the first post-Cold War era decade was marked by the continuous and even increasing possibility of large-scale – though not necessary interstate – violence. For the maturation of the European military project, the unfolding of the Yugoslavian case was particularly important.[104]

After the decision was made to develop the Common Foreign and Security policy – with the vision of framing a common defence policy, and the pos-

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[101] Petersberg Declaration (1992), p. 6 [section II, paragraph 4].

[102] E.g. Græger and Larsen and Ojanen (2002), pp. 11-16.

[103] The inhibitive effects of the transatlantic logic refer here to the need for cohesion within the Western Alliance during the Cold War. The European Security and Defence Identity and the related European military capabilities could have signalled increasing heterogeneity and possible fractures within the Atlantic alliance of the Cold War.

[104] E.g. Lombardi (2002), p. 1.

sible prospects of a common European defence – one important task at hand was to articulate its meaning for the transatlantic community – NATO in general and US particularly. After all, ever since the reinvigoration of the WEU had begun, the declared European aim had been to strengthen the European pillar of NATO. With the growing significance of the EU and the WEU in European defence matters, the role of NATO and that of the US in taking care of European defence and in rearticulating post-Cold War era western security policies needed to be explicitly stated.

After the signing of the Maastricht treaty, the situation in the former Yugoslavia unfolded and the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia became starkly apparent. Lacking the needed capabilities to act militarily without the United States under any European 'coalition of the willing', the general European lessons of Bosnia suggested increased intervention capabilities with an emphasis on possible future interventions at an early stage. The Cold War era European armed forces and the related territorial defence system proved less useful in the context of Bosnia than they had been vis-à-vis the Soviet threat. The lessons of the crisis in Albania 1997, especially Operation Alba (which was not implemented within the EU framework, but by a European coalition of the willing) reinforced the lessons of external intervention and the need of Europe to act at least within its perimeters.[105]

Concerning the European defence dimension, the 1997 signed Amsterdam Treaty was an advance over the Maastricht framework. The lessons of Bosnia were codified in the treaty, which spoke of "progressive framing of a common defence policy", established common strategies and the post of High Representative. Importantly, the Amsterdam Treaty marked the EU's entry into crisis management as Petersberg tasks were added to the Union's functions. According to these tasks, the EU would contemplate participating in military missions that vary from humanitarian and rescue tasks and peacekeeping missions to the tasks of combat forces in crisis management and peacemaking. In anticipation of the acceptance of the Amsterdam treaty, Operation Alba had already carried out part of these Petersberg tasks, though not within the framework of the European Union.[106] However, the lessons to be drawn were there for all of Europe.

The deteriorating situation in the Balkans became manifest once again in Kosovo, in 1998 at the latest. The ongoing 'internal' conflict there intensified the European response to the challenge of creating a coherent common security and defence policy as well as acquiring relevant intervention capabilities that were suited to the articulated Petersberg tasks. In December

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[105] Missiroli (1999), p. 27; Haine (2004), p. 40.
[106] Italy, France, Greece, Spain, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey, Denmark, Austria and Belgium set up Operation Alba. See e.g. Missiroli (1999), p. 28.

1998 The United Kingdom and France issued a *Joint Declaration on European Defence* – the St. Malo Declaration – arguing for the need for the EU to accept "its full role on the international stage" in order to turn the Amsterdam Treaty into reality. The document argued that:

> [T]he Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises. … Europe needs strengthened armed forces that can reach rapidly to the new risks, and which are supported by a strong and competitive European defence industry and technology.[107]

The St. Malo Declaration and the subsequent December 1998 Vienna European Council espousal of the declaration reflected the frustration over the inability of Europe to act in Kosovo. Combined with the coming war between Serbia and the US-led NATO, the focus of the European defence dimension shifted from the 'top' political objectives and forms of defence cooperation to the more concrete level concerning capabilities – and the relationship between EU's military capabilities vis-à-vis NATO and the US. This emerging European understanding highlighted the need of the EU to back the CFSP with "credible operational capabilities".[108]

8.2.2. Focus on European Capabilities

From the European perspective, the increasing tensions and violence in Kosovo during 1997 and 1998 was a depressing and a reminiscent process. The depressing nature of the evolving crisis in Kosovo was based on the analogy of Bosnia few years earlier and the European inability to act decisively. Without the American lead, and its proportionally greater military efforts, the Europeans had little chance of success in solving the Bosnian problem. When the tensions in Kosovo became apparent early 1998[109], the Treaty of Amsterdam was not yet in force and no politico-military process for constructing a European Union crisis management capability existed – apart from the shared understanding that such a capability was of the essence and the general agreement on the need to develop it.

The war over Kosovo was coming to a close during the June 1999 EU Cologne European Council meeting. Influenced heavily by the Kosovo ex-

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[107] Joint Declaration on European Defence (1998);
[108] Presidency Conclusions – Vienna European Council (1998), quote in paragraph 76; Ojanen and Herolf and Lindahl (2000), pp. 41-42.
[109] E.g. Cordesman (1999).

perience and by the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam[110], The European Council declared that:

> *[T]he Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces*, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crisis without prejudice to actions by NATO.[111]

The emphasis on the availability of credible military forces to fulfil the Petersberg Tasks highlighted the need for the member states to acquire what they needed to engage in expeditionary operations. After all, the projected Petersberg missions were planned from the start to be executed outside the Union's territory. Capabilities "in the field of intelligence, strategic transport, command and control" were thought to be needed most. Similarly, efforts to strengthen European defence industry and its technological base were conceptualised to be at the core of creating the appropriate post-Cologne military capabilities.[112]

The requirements 'directed' at the national governments in developing appropriate military capabilities were thus intended to make European expeditionary operations possible. The Cologne *Presidency Report on the Strengthening of the Common European Policy on Security and Defence* added to the European Council Declaration that the 'missing' European capabilities were related to the military characteristics of "deployability, sustainability, interoperability, flexibility and mobility" – all features that had sprung up during the decade of post-Cold War experiences of the western (mostly US-led) crisis management missions.[113]

The areas of acknowledged European military weaknesses reflected the changing nature of projected military missions – from territorial defence to crisis management. Being able to deploy small and efficient mobile forces quickly even to remote locations was at the heart of these changing conceptualisations of European military missions of the late 1990s and particularly of the future. The characteristic of interoperability – one of the military

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[110] With the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Petersberg tasks were officially included among the functions of the Union.

[111] Presidency Conclusions – Cologne European Council (1999), Annex III, European Council Declaration on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defence, paragraph 1.

[112] Ibid., paragraphs 2-5. For a similar British formulation about the progressing European defence in 1999, see e.g. Robertson (1999). He mentions sustainability, flexibility, mobility, survivability, and interoperability as the central characteristics required of modern military forces.

[113] Presidency Conclusions – Cologne European Council (1999), Annex III, Presidency Report on the Strengthening of the Common European Policy on Security and Defence, paragraph 4.

catchwords of the 1990s – left ample room for interpretation. Was it interoperability between different national elements of EU forces, between forces of NATO and EU, or between EU and the US. After all, the only power that had been committed to a series of expeditionary operations globally in the post-Cold War era was the United States. Occasionally it had been accompanied by junior partners from Europe and elsewhere. Focusing solely on interoperability between the national forces that the EU was commencing to create would have limited the operational possibilities of those forces in combined operations – either with the US or with NATO. The latter was increasingly conceptualised to be in the position to 'lend' capabilities to the EU – if the Atlantic Alliance was not willing to get involved in a mission that was deemed to be important for the Europeans.

The question of interoperability did take into account the American lead in military technology and operational concepts. This was a practical necessity after the politico-strategic European decision had been reached about the desirability and, in fact, necessity of the Union's capability to take military action outside of its territory. This idea of western interoperability – between EU, NATO and the US – was observable particularly in the framing of EU-led operations using NATO assets in situations when the Atlantic Alliance would not be committed to take action. The most probable scenario for the EU-led operation to take place with NATO assets would be one where the US has decided to refrain from taking part, thus transforming the burden of responsibility to Europe. The NATO decisions of Berlin (1996) – to continue building the European Security and Defence Identity within NATO and the general agreement on future WEU-led operations based on some "separable but not separate"[114] NATO capabilities – and Washington (1999) paved the way for the Cologne formulation: "EU-led operations using NATO assets and capabilities".[115]

The explicit acknowledging of interoperability with the United States – in addition to NATO – was stated in the 2003 European Security Strategy:

> The transatlantic relationship is irreplaceable. Acting together, the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world. Our *aim should be effective and balanced partnership with the USA. This is an additional reason for the EU to build up further its capabilities* and increase its coherence.[116]

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[114] NATO Press Communiqué (1996).

[115] Presidency Conclusions – Cologne European Council (1999), Annex III, Presidency Report on the Strengthening of the Common European Policy on Security and Defence, paragraph 4.

[116] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 13 (my italics).

The Helsinki European Council's reference to the "mutually reinforcing" nature of the EU's headline and capability goals on the one hand and NATO's 1999 launched Defence Capabilities Initiative on the other highlighted the deeply interpenetrated nature of the interoperability concept.[117] After all, the DCI was devised in order to get the other NATO members to start approaching the Americans by acquiring 'new' military systems and adopting related operating procedures. Interoperability *à la* EU has thus been directly connected to NATO, but at least implicitly has taken note of the need to be interoperable with the US – the leading NATO state.

Following Cologne it was the Helsinki European Council that brought the development of European military capability to fruition. The headline goal of being able to deploy 60,000 troops within 60 days, and capable of sustaining the deployment for at least a year was reached in Helsinki. In addition, part of this force was to be "available and deployable at very high readiness." The focus on capabilities – the collective capability goals – was related to command and control, intelligence, and strategic transport. In addition, the Helsinki European Council decided to establish the required permanent political and military bodies – Standing Political and Security Committee, Military Committee, and Military Staff – for the implementation and guidance of the developing European military dimension.[118]

The further development of European military forces after the Helsinki European Council has since revolved around three themes. First is the *rationale* for the development of these 'new' capabilities, premised on the notion of the EU "playing its role fully on the international stage". Being before mostly related to economical cooperation, this 'military dwarf' was conceptualised in the late 1990s to need civilian and military tools for crisis management. Regarding the development of military capabilities, the need to address the challenges posed by new wars – possibly in Europe and in Africa – has guided the framing of threats that 'necessitate' the strengthened European contribution in addition to NATO.

The second theme concerning the development of European Military forces since the Helsinki European Council has been the need to focus on those *capabilities* that are needed for the Petersberg missions. The general notions of availability, deployability, sustainability, interoperability, and flexibility circumscribe the extent of the consensus among the member

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[117] Presidency Conclusions, Helsinki European Council (1999), Annex 1 to Annex IV, Presidency Progress Report to the Helsinki European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defence; See also NATO Handbook (2001), p. 97.

[118] Presidency Conclusions, Helsinki European Council (1999), Annex 1 to Annex IV, Presidency Progress Report to the Helsinki European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defence.

states. These highly general characteristics have been developed into a more tangible set of previously lacking European operational capabilities. Especially the ability to command and control forces, the means of acquiring and delivering useful intelligence information, and the means of deploying troops and supplies through air and sea transportation systems have been the backbone of this capabilities enhancing process.

The transformation of pre-existing (Cold War era) European military capabilities and the creation of a new European (EU) means to decide, launch, and conduct EU-led military operations within the perimeters and particularly outside of Europe reflects the shared European understanding of military power in the contemporary international system. This European conceptualisation of military power did not espouse the Revolution in Military Affairs explicitly, but it does share the logic of the American promulgated transformation of the armed forces via an RMA. The ability to use small, well-trained, professional, mobile, and rapidly deployable forces with technologically advanced military systems that may be used in distant theatres captures this 'emerging European RMA logic'. As was articulated in the *European Security Strategy* adopted in 2003:

> To *transform our militaries into more flexible, mobile forces*, and to enable them *to address the new threats*, more resources for defence and more effective use of resources are necessary.[119]

The third principle theme in the European Defence project since the late 1990s relates to the means of *maintaining momentum* in the progressive framing of the defence dimension. In addition to creating 'new' forces with 'new' equipment or transforming the already existing forces into modern crisis management forces, the Union has found itself in the position of establishing a new set of agencies, procedures, and mechanisms in order to evaluate, define, and create 'proper' forces. It has also had to construct a review mechanism in order to monitor progress, (re)define needed capabilities, and inhibit the incoherence of the Union's military dimension with the existing western defence commitments – mostly through NATO.[120]

Concerning the development of the Union's military capabilities vis-à-vis NATO, it has been clear from the beginning that "any unnecessary duplication" should be avoided. In addition, going further than merely avoiding

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[119] A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), p. 12 (my italics).

[120] See e.g. General Affairs Council Meeting - 2386th Council Meeting (2001); External Relations Council Meeting - 2541st Council Meeting (2003). These 'tools' and processes include for example the Capability Commitment Conference, the Force Catalogue, the Capability Improvement Conference, European Capability Action Plan, Capability Development Mechanism, and the Single Progress Report.

unnecessary duplication, it has been emphasised that the process of developing European Union military capability should take into account NATO's Defence Planning Process and the Alliance's Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process – PARP. Furthermore, with the promulgation of the guidelines for developing EU capabilities, the more detailed NATO Defence Capabilities Initiative was espoused, namely

> the need, for the countries concerned, to ensure the compatibility of the commitments taken in the EU framework with the force goals accepted in the framework of the NATO Defence Planning Process or the PARP; [and] … the need for mutual reinforcement of the Union's capability goal and those arising, for the countries concerned, from the Defence Capabilities Initiative.[121]

There has thus been close cooperation between the Union and NATO in the process of defining the required European military capabilities. One of the latest expressions of this was the finalisation of the Berlin Plus arrangement in March 2003, which implemented the earlier political decision to establish EU-led crisis management operations using NATO planning capabilities, assets, and capabilities. The agreement also included procedures and mechanisms for the release, monitoring, return, and recall of NATO assets, as well as consultations between NATO and the EU in situations where a EU-led crisis management operation has been established. Finally, the Berlin Plus agreement provided "[a]rrangements for coherent and mutually reinforcing Capability Requirements" between NATO and the EU.[122]

Another example of the close collaboration between the EU and NATO can be found in the explicitly declared parallel between NATO's Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) and the Union's European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) with the establishment of the NATO-EU Capability Group in May 2003. This development continued – and thus strengthened – the logic behind the link between NATO DCI and the Union's ECAP.[123]

If the Helsinki Headline and Capability Goals were similar or even identical to the goals agreed upon within the NATO DCI-framework, the creation and development of the EU Battlegroups concept had its ideational role model in the NATO Response Force (NRF).[124] The idea of developing a European rapid response capability was expressed concurrently with the

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[121] Presidency Conclusions – Nice European Council Meeting (2000), Annex I to Annex VI, paragraph 6.
[122] Berlin Plus Agreement (2003); NATO Issues (2004a).
[123] E.g. NATO Press Release (2003).
[124] Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004), paragraph 16. See also ESDP Presidency Report (2003), paragraphs 17, 25a.

more detailed analysis of the Helsinki Headline Goals[125], but it was in 2004 that the implementation of this EU rapid reaction capability advanced rapidly under the concept of EU Battlegroups – "a combined arms battalion sized force package with Combat Support and Combat Service Support." This approximately 1,500 persons strong military force package is supposed to start implementing its mission on the ground within 10 days after the decision to deploy has been reached.[126]

The Battlegroups concept endorses the global nature of the EU and its military 'out-of-area' crisis management operations, particularly in Africa. It is at the heart of the post-Helsinki *Headline Goal 2010*, expressing the need to rectify the qualitative shortfalls of the military forces assigned to the Force Catalogue that sets out national commitments to the Union's pool of forces. This shortfall was noticed already at the Laeken European Summit in the end of 2001, when the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) was launched.[127] The characteristics – or "capability standards" – of EU Battlegroup forces include availability, employability, deployability, readiness, flexibility, connectivity, sustainability, survivability, medical force protection, and interoperability.[128]

The momentum of creating and refining European military capabilities has been reinforced by the Union's crisis management operations, which started to be implemented during 2003.[129] The first military crisis management operation of the Union was operation *Concordia*, a follow-on operation of NATO's operation *Allied Harmony* in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The operation commenced in March 2003, and was terminated nine months later in December 2003. It involved approximately 350 lightly armed personnel from thirteen member countries and an equivalent number of third countries. France operated as a framework nation in the operation until the transfer of responsibilities to EUROFOR in September 2003. The operation was based on the NATO Berlin Plus arrangement that was agreed upon in Prague 2002 and consolidated in the Framework Agreement on March 2003. Accordingly, operation Concordia's headquarters was located in Belgium, at Supreme Headquarters Allied Power Europe (SHAPE).[130] With the termination of operation Concordia in mid-December of 2003, the EU launched a police mission – operation *Proxima* – as a follow-on mission to Concordia.

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[125] E.g. Military Capabilities Commitment Declaration (2000), paragraph 4.

[126] Headline Goal 2010 (2004), quote on paragraph 4.

[127] Presidency Conclusions, Laeken European Council (2001), Annex II.

[128] Declaration on European Military Capabilities (2004), paragraph 12.

[129] The first ESDP crisis management mission commenced in the beginning of 2003 as a police mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[130] Lindström (2004), pp. 116-118.

While Concordia was still underway, EU launched its first autonomous military crisis management operation in Africa, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The French-led, UN Security Council mandated operation *Artemis* involved approximately 2000 troops and replaced the existing UN peacekeeping troops on the ground – temporarily. The deadline of the operation was already in sight when the decision to deploy was made. It was set to be 1 September, with the return of a UN peacekeeping force.[131] In the beginning of December 2004 the Union took over the crisis management mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina from NATO-SFOR. Again, under the provisions of the Berlin plus package, this EU-led force relies on NATO capabilities. The magnitude of operation *Althea* supersedes the Union's precedent crisis management operations – some 7000 troops are now deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The momentum of progressively creating a European crisis management capability has thus been maintained through the mutual influence of setting capability goals and fulfilling these goals, as well as committing troops to increasingly demanding and larger-scale crisis management operations. The process of setting military goals, committing troops, and evaluating committed capabilities began in 1999. In December 2001 the Union was able to announce a limited crisis management capability at Laeken[132], followed by a declaration of "operational capability across the full range of Petersberg tasks, limited and constrained by recognised shortfalls"[133] in May 2003. Simultaneously the Union had launched its first crisis management operation, soon to be followed by its first autonomous military crisis management operation outside Europe and the conceptual development of the European Battlegroup.

The *European Security Strategy* was approved in December 2003. It reflects several of the 'new' features of the post-Cold War and post-9/11 era security environment. First, it conceptualises threats mainly from a non-state perspective. It lists terrorism, proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organised crime as the key threats of the contemporary era.[134] In addition – following the lessons of the 1990s – it espouses a strategy of greater EU activity in the globalising world:

> We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention.[135]

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[131] Ibid., pp. 119-121.

[132] Presidency Conclusions, Laeken European Council (2001), paragraph 6.

[133] External Relations Council Meeting – 2509th Council Meeting (2003), p. 13.

[134] A Secure Europe In a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003), pp. 3-7.

[135] Ibid., p. 11.

Thirdly, the strategy proposes a Union with military capability for diverse missions. With the acceptance of the security strategy, the previously accepted Petersberg Tasks were supplemented with "joint disarmament operations, support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform."[136]

Between the end of the Cold War and the time that the *European Security Strategy* was debated, negotiated, and finally accepted in 2003, a threefold change had taken place within the international system on the one hand and within Europe on the other hand. The first was the demise of the Cold War and the related possibility of rapid and even far-reaching political cooperation on the European level. The second was the experience of the 1990s – the increasing call for western crisis management operations in Europe and elsewhere. This need was met mostly with *ad hoc* arrangements, as Europe and the United States were still trying to come to terms with the principles of the post-Cold War era use of military force. The third element of change was linked to the preceding two elements. It was accepted that the European project should increase relevant military capabilities for military interventions. This had taken place mostly in the aftermath of the war in Kosovo. With the willingness to prevent humanitarian suffering and avoid large-scale crises within the international system, and with the increasing military capabilities at the disposal of the Union[137], the end of the year 2003 proved 'ripe' for an explicit statement of the fundamental shared European ideas on security.

The progressive implementation of the European crisis management capability moved beyond the 1999 Helsinki Headline Goal with the official announcement of the Headline Goal 2010 in 2004. The new Headline Goal emphasises interoperability, deployability, and sustainability of forces – based on the evident shortfalls of the European military capabilities vis-à-vis the Helsinki Headline and Capability Goals, the promulgation of the European Security Strategy in 2003, the effects of the recent evolution of technology, as well as the lessons learned from the European crisis management operations – particularly operation Artemis. The conceptual innovation in Headline Goal 2010 is related to the rapidly deployable forces through the Battlegroup concept. It specifies that a decision to deploy forces must be made within five days and that implementation of the mission on the ground must begin within 10 days after the decision.[138]

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[136] Ibid., p. 12.

[137] These capabilities do not only refer to existing EU assets, but also to those NATO assets that would be available to the Union in a EU-led crisis management operation under the provisions of the Berlin Plus agreement. This despite the fact that during 2003 the EU declared its operational capability across the full range of the Petersberg Tasks.

[138] ESDP Presidency Report (2004), annex I; External Relations Council Meeting – 2582nd Council Meeting (2004), p. 6

The Headline Goal 2010 emphasises the voluntary transformation of national military forces in order to arrive at interoperability at the technical, procedural, and conceptual level. In addition, interoperability is considered in a broad framework including military, civilian, and civil-military aspects, as well as the further promoting of agreed standards with NATO.[139]

In addition to the practical implementation of the Battlegroup concept by attaining operational capability for these rapid response capabilities by 2007 and the accentuation of a broad framework of interoperability, the Union also decided to create an agency in the field of defence capabilities development, research, acquisition and armaments – the European Defence Agency – during 2003. The Agency was established in 2004 with the aim of:

> *[D]eveloping defence capabilities* in the field of crisis management, promoting and enhancing *European armaments cooperation*, *strengthening the European defence industrial and technological base* and creating a *competitive European defence equipment market*, as well as promoting, in liaison with the Community's *research activities* where appropriate, research aimed at leadership in *strategic technologies for future defence and security capabilities*, thereby strengthening Europe's industrial potential in this domain.[140]

The main projected task of the Agency has been, then, to identify and promote the creation of usable military capabilities and to evaluate the capability commitments of member states, to harmonise military requirements for furthering interoperability, and to adduce multilateral projects in order to promote cost-effectiveness and efficient procurement within the Union. In addition the Agency seeks to strengthen the technological and defence industrial base of the Union in order to devise up-to-date military capabilities and promote a competitive European defence equipment market.[141]

8.2.3. 9/11 and the EU

Shortly after the decision to develop European assets in the field of crisis management was taken, the effects of 9/11 – and the subsequent American-declared War on Terror – were felt also in Europe. When the extraordinary European Council meeting on 21 September 2001 was held in order to evaluate the effects of the terrorist attacks on the international security environment, President Bush had already declared the global War on Terror.

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[139] Headline Goal 2010 (2004), paragraphs 8-11.
[140] External Relations Council Meeting – 2541st Council Meeting (2003), p. 12 (my italics).
[141] Ibid., p. 13-14.

In addition to expressing full solidarity with the United States, the European Council declared the fight against terrorism to be a priority of the Union. The external dimension of this fight fell into the domain of the CFSP: "The Common Foreign and Security Policy will have to integrate further the fight against terrorism."[142]

With a new threat of destructive terrorism facing the "open, democratic, tolerant and multicultural" western societies, the international role of the Union was to be heightened. The means to do so were conceptualised to lie within the CFSP in general and the ESDP particularly:

> The fight against terrorism requires of the Union that it play a greater part in the efforts of international community to prevent and stabilise regional conflicts. … It is by developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and by making the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) operational at the earliest opportunity that the Union will be most effective.[143]

> [T]he ESDP must take fuller account of the capabilities that may be required, in accordance with the Petersberg tasks and the provisions of the Treaty, to combat terrorism.[144]

The *European Security Strategy* also emphasised the priority assigned to the threat of terrorism. Putting aside the threat of large-scale military aggression against any Union members, the strategy placed its highest priority on the threat of terrorism. Of the five named threats facing the Union in the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism was the one that had links with all the other threats – WMDs, failing states, regional conflicts and organised crime. In the document, terrorism is conceptualised as the new determinant of early 21st century threats facing Europe. In order to counter the terrorist threat – and the other non-traditional threats – new modes of operations are called for: "the first line of defence will often be abroad." With the adoption of the *European Security Strategy*, the member states of the Union accepted the general notion of transforming national militaries in order to address new threats and included new Union missions alongside the Petersberg tasks. Concerning the threat of terrorism, support for third countries in combating terrorism reflected this "wider spectrum of missions".[145]

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[142] Conclusions and Plan of Action of the Extraordinary European Council Meeting (2001).

[143] Ibid.

[144] Presidency Conclusions – Seville European Council (2002), Annex V, paragraph 6.

[145] A Secure Europe In a Better World – European Security Strategy (2003). Quotes on p. 7, 12.

After the March 2004 Madrid terrorist attacks, the member states of the Union declared solidarity against terrorism. In the spirit of the draft Treaty of the Constitution of Europe, the member states agreed to:

> [M]obilise *all the instruments at their disposal, including military resources* to:
> - prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of one of them;
> - protect democratic institutions and the civilian population from any terrorist attack;
> - assist a Member State or an acceding State in its territory at the request of its political authorities in the event of a terrorist attack.[146]

The boost of 9/11 to the development of the ESDP has not meant that a European response to terrorism would be dominated by military action. While the EU has increased the sense of urgency related to the development of the ESDP after the 9/11, the European response to the threat of international terrorism has been centred within the frameworks of police and judicial cooperation.[147] Nevertheless, within the framework of the developing defence dimension of the Union – the ESDP – the attacks of 9/11 and then Madrid provided at least a two-fold new momentum within the Union. First, it was acknowledged that the Union should play a more active role within the entire international community. Second, the already agreed-upon provisions of Helsinki, with their subsequent modification and rearticulation, were conceptualised to need rapid implementation and development.[148]

In the aftermath of Madrid bomb attacks, the Union declared its position "on combating terrorism". While retaining a primary position on the non-military aspects of counter-terrorism or anti-terrorism, the member states agreed to "do everything within their power to combat all forms of terrorism", taking into account the UN Charter and particularly UN Security Council Resolution 1373, which had been adopted before the American-led attack on Afghanistan 2001.[149] The resolution reaffirmed that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 – and all acts of international terrorism – "constitute a threat to international peace and security" and that terrorism needs to be combated by all means.[150]

With the attacks of 9/11 and the subsequent American launched War on Terror – and the European fight against terrorism – the new military requirements of the post-9/11 era have been somewhat different from the ac-

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[146] Declaration on Solidarity Against Terrorist (2004) (my italics).
[147] See Declaration on Combating Terrorism (2004), pp. 3-17.
[148] Ibid., p. 2.
[149] Ibid., p. 1.
[150] UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001).

cumulating lessons of the 1990s crisis management operations. Even greater emphasis has been placed on rapidly deployable effective military force during the post-9/11 era. Similarly, increasing emphasis on quality instead of quantity has marked the recent efforts to develop European military capability. However, these trends of the post-9/11 era have not compromised the Union's efforts to generate military capabilities according to the Helsinki goals. Rather, the Headline Goal 2010, which was promulgated in 2004, continues the development of existing and projected military capabilities and thus builds upon the preceding five years of defining and building European military capability.

The battlegroup concept is the most telling example of the new momentum provided by Headline Goal 2010. Although the Helsinki formulations already contained the notion of "smaller rapid response elements available and deployable at very high readiness"[151], it was not until the adoption and development of the Franco-British initiative during the first half of 2004 that a concrete project to create effective multinational European rapid response forces was actually in place. Already in November 2004 – less than a year after the official acceptance of the European Security Strategy – it was agreed that 13 battlegroups would be committed by the member states, nine of which would be multinational. Initial operational capability was set to be reached in 2005, paving the way for full operational capability in 2007.

8.2.4. The EU – Conclusions

For more than half a decade now, the European Union has been taking serious measures in order to become a regional and even global crisis management actor. Being an economic and political union by nature, the Union has decided to expand its agenda into the field of security and defence. This has led to the setting of politico-strategic level general goals for outlining the purposes that the military dimension of the Union's security policy is to serve. The 1992 Petersberg tasks – declared within the framework of the WEU and later adopted within the framework of the EU – have outlined the general principles of developing the European military dimension. According to these tasks, the European Union's military capability is to serve crisis management purposes. In addition to providing a common European vision for the military role of the Union in the world, the Petersberg tasks have also imposed limits to more ambitious articulation of the Union's military development. With some operational European military crisis management capability, and in the aftermath of the 9/11, the idea of widening the scope of the military crisis management tasks to include joint dis-

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[151] Presidency Conclusions – Helsinki European Council (1999), Annex 1 to Annex IV.

armament operations, support for third countries in combating terrorism, and security sector reform in addition to the Petersberg tasks was injected into the Union. These 'new' tasks were codified into the *European Security Strategy*, and have since then been characterised as possible missions[152] within the whole spectrum of crisis management operations of the European Union.

Similarly, within this process of defining and creating military ends and means, the Union has specified those required military capabilities that are considered to be necessary in order to successfully boost European military crisis management capability. On the general level this has taken the form of Headline Goals – first the Helsinki Headline Goal and later the Headline Goal 2010 – which describe the general requirements of future European military forces. On the more specific level the military capability goals spell out the more detailed requirements that must be met in order to turn today's European military forces into capable forces of the future – ones that can fulfil the roles and missions described by the headline goal and the politico-strategic guidance of projected missions.

The idea of introducing security and defence issues to the European agenda gained momentum during the Cold War. The reactivation of WEU in the mid-1980s was one pragmatic step in this process. The easing of superpower tensions in the latter part of the 1980s and the subsequent end of the Cold War facilitated the explicit articulation and development of European foreign and security policy, supported later by a common security and defence policy and the development of a progressively framed military capability for crisis management tasks. The inclusion of the defence and military dimension into the Union during the 1990s was not only *possible* due to the changing international security landscape, but was also deemed *necessary,* as the increasing political significance of Europe in the world also called for the means to deal with the diverse crises taking place particularly in eastern Europe and more generally throughout the world. This logic was reinforced by the argument that a European pillar within NATO should be strengthened.

In the articulation of possible EU military missions, the lack of historical 'baggage' – from the Union's perspective, not so much from the perspective of individual member states – has facilitated the focus on the new missions of the post-Cold War era. In addition, the strong transatlantic link inherited from the Cold War and the existence of NATO as the western collective defence organisation have directed the emerging European military efforts to be able to take on non-article 5 types of missions. Still, just as the

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[152] E.g. External Relations Council Meeting – 2582nd Council Meeting (2004), paragraph 5.

strengthening of the European military capabilities has also benefited the Atlantic Alliance, the general idea of a militarily more capable and active Europe has been accepted and embraced on both sides of the Atlantic – although some concerns have been expressed by the US throughout the process of creating a stronger *autonomous* European military dimension.

In the process of defining and articulating the projected military missions of the Union, several factors have come together to influence the route taken. The end of the Cold War has facilitated the process by which the EU has become an actor with a regional and, lately, global military agenda. The multitude of post-Cold War humanitarian catastrophes due to new wars or civil wars has prompted the desire to manage and prevent these conflicts for humanitarian reasons and in order to preserve and bolster international stability. Particularly the wars of Yugoslavian succession have pushed the European military dimension forward. In addition, NATO's intra-alliance dynamics have added to the 'pressure' for Europe to create usable military capabilities. The gap in military technologies and capabilities between the US and its European allies has been showcased consecutively in the Persian Gulf, in Bosnia, in Kosovo, and in Afghanistan. The resulting pressure from this widening gap not only stems from the US efforts to get Europe to build more and better capabilities, but also from the European understanding that it should keep up with the US to such an extent that military cooperation between Europe and the US remains a viable possibility also in the future. While NATO is the main framework for US-Europe military consultation and cooperation, links between the US and the EU, and NATO and the EU also in military matters were clearly strengthened after the decision to include security and defence issues in the Union's agenda was made.

The effects of 9/11 have also impacted the framing of the Union's projected military missions. First, taking into account the lessons of Kosovo concerning the poor ability of the Europeans to operate militarily alongside the US, the post-9/11 US choice to cooperate militarily with those countries that have operational offensive military capabilities has further highlighted the capability gap between the US and Europe. As a result, the Union has faced pressures to take more vigorous steps in its capability improvement process. Second, the American declaration of the War on Terror and the raising of terrorism to the top of the list of threats facing the EU have meant the surfacing of a need to reappraise projected missions in the post-9/11 world. The Petersberg tasks do not provide a basis for the use of military means against terrorism, and after the Union decided to use all possible means against terrorism – including military ones – the need to redefine the tasks or at least to add some new tasks to the already existing Petersberg tasks surfaced. Thus the notion that the Union *might* decide to support third countries in combating terrorism was accepted.

The guiding principle of constructing an autonomous European military capability for crisis management operations has not meant departing from the general notions within NATO concerning contemporary western military tasks or constitutive elements of today's military power. This is not very surprising, as a vast majority of NATO members are also member of the European Union. Thus the European Union's military project has been built upon practically the same foundations with NATO, but taking into account the possibility of 'purely' European military operations – with or without NATO assets. Taking into account the different nature of NATO and the EU – the former is a military alliance and the latter a more wide ranging political union with a defence dimension – it is to be expected that within NATO the shared military provisions and tasks are more encompassing and 'demanding' than within the EU. The very recent launching of the European military project also means that within the institutional structures of the EU the shared conceptualisations of a European defence dimension – the 'proper' role of the EU in global security affairs and the resulting defence policies and military capabilities needed – are being articulated for the first time.

In the post-Cold War era European project of developing military capabilities the link between the European Union and NATO has been strong. From the very first formulations of a European Security and Defence Identity to the articulation of a Common Foreign and Security Policy, the European Security and Defence Policy, and the practical ways to implement these policies have been connected to the pre-existing structures and procedures of NATO. Although NATO itself has been undergoing several processes of transformation in the post-Cold War era, it has been a reference point for the EU's military crisis management capability development and the articulation of European defence policies. This has been so for several reasons. First, while it was acknowledged in Washington that the Europeans needed to develop their military capabilities in the new security environment of the post-Cold War era, any attempts to develop autonomous European military capabilities outside the traditional transatlantic forum – NATO – have been watched with caution and scepticism in the US. Second, the already existing structures of military cooperation within NATO provided familiar and sedimented channels for the development of allies' military capabilities. In addition, with the declining defence budgets of the 1990s, any unnecessary duplication in defence matters has been avoided on both sides of the Atlantic.

Looking at the European project to build autonomous military capabilities for Petersberg crisis management tasks and lately also for some additional tasks from the theoretical perspective presented in Chapters 4 and 5, the close link between NATO and the EU is expected. As most European NATO member states are also members of the EU, it is rather logical that

the shared understandings of military missions and constituent elements of military power framed for half a century within NATO would provide the foundation upon which the European project can be built. The shared western understandings concerning threats, the nature of war, and the constituent elements of military power that have existed and evolved for five decades within NATO are not disappearing from European intersubjective knowledge as the NATO framework is being 'replaced' with a EU one. Similarly, the developed common operating procedures and standards within NATO have developed into such sedimented structures of influence (inertia) that an attempt to devise 'purely' European way to organise and conceptualise the EU's defence dimension would be impractical, not to mention impossible to conceive.

The shared understandings concerning the constitutive elements of military power within the EU are based on the shared ideas of what is threatening the member states in a way that requires military preparations and for what purposes the Union must be prepared to use armed force. In respect to the faced threats within the EU, the explicit and implicit articulations of threats and risks are practically identical to those of NATO. However, the nature of potential EU military missions deviates somewhat from those of NATO. This feature derives from the different, though converging, natures of these two institutions: while NATO is transforming from a defence alliance towards international crisis management consortium, the European Union has started to develop its military dimension particularly for crisis management operations.

Looking at the constitutive elements of military power within the framework of the EU, it becomes obvious that the trend within NATO of accentuating rapidly usable expeditionary capabilities and the exploitation of advanced technologies, is also guiding the construction of EU's autonomous military capability. Naturally the very close contacts between NATO and the EU, as well as the dual membership in both organisations by a vast majority of the member states, has led to the rather identical conceptualisations of military power. It is noteworthy that the accentuation of usable military capabilities within European NATO members, and the transformation of NATO coincide with the rapid development of autonomous military capability within the European Union. Both of these highly intermingled processes build on the end of the Cold War and the subsequent changes in the nature of contemporary warfare and the related western possibilities to respond rapidly by relying upon smaller, better-trained forces with better high-tech equipment.

Most of the momentum for developing post-Cold War era RMA forces emanates from the United States. Analysing the EU framework, the influence of the United States on the European conceptualisations of military

power through the RMA is most clearly visible in the way the US has viewed NATO. After all, the US has been pressing vigorously for the development of European military capabilities within NATO according to the RMA requirements – under the rubric of interoperability or narrowing the gap. In addition, the military capability dimension of the EU has been developed in tandem with NATO as cost-effectiveness and (alliance-)political reasons have demanded caution in this field. Furthermore, the member states of the EU – even those who are not members of NATO – have witnessed the supremacy of American military capabilities in the interstate wars of the 1990s and the new millennium. These capabilities also provide possibilities to engage troops and apply military force in the kind of operations that the Union has been planning – peace operations of different kinds – although they do not totally replace the need to have the 'traditional' peacekeeping troops, the soldiers on the ground.

8.3. Transformation of the Post-Cold War Era Determinants of Military Power – The European Perspective

The post-Cold War era process of rewriting or redefining threats and the nature of military confrontations within the west has been a continuous step-by-step process. With the progression of time and the fading of the Cold War era paradigm of war, the post-Cold War era 'new' realities have become injected within the European conceptualisations of war and military power.

The development of military capabilities of both NATO and the EU reflect the general shared western understanding about the need to transform armed forces in order to be effective and useful in the new – still evolving – security environment of the post-Cold War era. The underlying conceptualisations of the constitutive elements of military power within these transatlantic and European frameworks have been rather consonant with the American promulgated vision of military transformation through the RMA. Although the concept of the RMA has never evolved into a catchword in Europe, the central message of the American-led RMA discourse has characterised rather widely the terms of the European policies of developing new transformed and useful military capabilities for the ongoing and future military conflicts during the post-Cold War era. Small, mobile, and effective forces – equipped with advanced military technology – characterise the projected European fighting forces, whether used in military crisis management or other more high-intensity missions.

The realisation of what might be called a moderate European RMA is to be carried out through the process of transforming the militaries according to the model provided by the United States. While the proposed American

RMA capabilities, and the related operational concepts, and organisational innovations will mostly be out of reach of the Europeans, the direction of force transformation is similar to that of the US. Thus, while currently not being able – or willing – to compete with the United States in the field of military power, the Europeans have accepted the overwhelmingly US-defined understandings of the constitutive elements of military power in the post-Cold War era despite some differences in assessing the terrorist threat and disagreements over the proper way to counter this threat.

When comparing the three western agents of this study – the US, NATO, and the EU – the EU has been the least prone to participate in the American RMA. While the Union has not espoused the RMA officially in its efforts to develop and broaden the scope of the CFSP and the ESDP, it has followed the route embarked upon by NATO in the late 1990s – that of accentuating the transformation of national armed forces by exploiting the possibilities of high-tech military systems and the benefits offered by them. In addition, the Union has expressed its willingness to expand the potential repertoire of its missions with the increase of its military capability and following the changing nature of the international security situation, particularly the effects of 9/11.

The conceptualisation of military power according to the logic of the RMA discourse was consolidated in the US between 1995 and 1997. In Europe, the corresponding change started to take root explicitly in 1999. By that time the wars of Yugoslavian succession had already shown the brutal face of post-Cold War era new wars and highlighted the limited European capabilities for military action. During the late 1998 and early 1999, military confrontation in Kosovo started to look probable. By that time NATO was developing its approach to ameliorating European military capabilities – through the DCI. Similarly, the European Union began a rapid process of developing its security and defence dimension – including usable military capabilities.

The conceptualisations of effective military power within NATO and the EU were 'formed' within the framework of the American RMA discourse and the intentional US policy of exporting the premises and capabilities related to the 'emerging RMA'. In addition to the need to acquire useful military instruments to confront the new post-Cold War era security challenges and risks, the European path of 'modest' accentuation of RMA forces and capabilities has been taken only after considerable American RMA prodding: intentional attempts to make the Europeans follow the path of the American DoD – transformation through exploiting the RMA.

It needs to be accentuated that the notion of shared western conceptualisations of military power according to the RMA discourse are not totally co-

herent, fully shared, or without tensions. As was claimed in Chapter 4, the continuous process of redefining shared understandings contains controversial as well as taken-for-granted aspects. It is the very essence of shared understandings – particularly concerning their transformation – that some level of conceptual 'struggle' is involved. Thus shared understandings are never 100% shared, and this applies also to shared western understandings of military power. However, in estimating the post-Cold War era processes of (re)constructing military power within the framework of evolving shared conceptualisations of war, the US-originated and dominated discourse of the RMA has provided the west with one 'successful' reading of the effective and legitimate means of playing an active role in post-Cold War era military confrontations.

The RMA discourse has been connected to the Cold War era understandings of war and military power, but at the same time has opened up the possibility of devising and using military force innovatively at a time when the nature of the international system is perceived to be undergoing a process of change. Combined with the other discerned post-Cold War era discourses of war, the discourse of the RMA has not only been part of the western process of reconstructing the constituent elements of effective and legitimate military power. It has also been part of the wider process of reconstructing war in the aftermath of the demise of the Cold War.

The United States 'inherited' strong expeditionary forces when the Cold War came to an end. Its military-technological sophistication and the large quantity of its offensive military capabilities were second to none. In Europe the situation was very different. Comprised of many small or medium-sized states with only very limited expeditionary capabilities, the European governments faced the end of the Cold War with more decentralised political decision-making structures and with only a very limited arsenal of usable military instruments. In addition, the European ambitions related to the maintenance and use of military capabilities had not developed to the level of US ambitions during the decades of the Cold War. Throughout that period, Europe was preparing itself to be helped by American military capabilities in battles taking place on European soil.

When comparing the European development of military capabilities with that of the United States during the post-Cold War era, it is noteworthy that in Europe the speed and momentum of devising new military concepts, forces, and equipment has been relatively moderate and limited. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned aspects of the European Cold War era defence strategies and forces – as well as the dominating role of the US within the Cold War era western alliance – this is hardly that surprising. But the limited post-Cold War era European reconceptualisation of military power – to the extent that this has occurred within the NATO processes of

the DCI and NATO transformation as well as the development of autonomous military capabilities within the EU – has followed the American lead. When the redefined European interests regarding the use of military force became expressed in more concrete terms at the turn of the millennium, the road to be followed had already been 'defined' by the US. The discourse of the Revolution in Military Affairs had become more than an academic discourse concerning the rewriting of modern warfare, or 'pure' political 'rhetoric' concerning the American attempts to spread the idea of an RMA. The spreading of the post-Cold War era RMA discourse emanated also from the practical instances of US-led military action and the generally inferred lessons learned from those operations.

With the inclusion of catastrophic terrorism among the top security threats or risks after the surprise attacks of 9/11, the logic of creating rapidly usable autonomous European military capabilities was strengthened. In addition, the calls for increased European contributions within the transatlantic alliance in order to narrow the existing technology gap – or capabilities gap – between the US and the European members of NATO were strengthened as the dangerousness of the 'new' terrorist threat was revealed. One possible avenue for the military response to catastrophic terrorism was 'within' the RMA discourse. Rapid reaction forces with high technology intelligence and communications systems and precision weapons provide possibilities for traditional large-scale military operations, military crisis management, and counter-terrorist operations. This quality of the RMA discourse – its offer of effective military solutions to practically all envisioned post-Cold War and post-9/11 western military engagements – has facilitated its 'rise' into the shared western understandings of the constitutive elements of military power.

9. WAR AND MILITARY POWER IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

This study has been animated by a need to understand the consequences of the end of the Cold War for the shared western understandings of war and military power. The analysis of war and military power has traditionally been at the core of international relations research in general and realism-oriented strategic studies particularly. During the Cold War the dominant position of realism – within IR and strategic studies – was supported by disciplinary and international political circumstances. By the time the Cold War was coming to an end, the first-order theorising of realism had been challenged for decades, and the second-order theorising was coming under attack when the debate between positivists and post-positivists started to dominate scholarly activities. Although realism – in a multitude of diverse and even contradictory forms – has retained a significant or even mainstream position within the discipline, its overwhelmingly dominant role has receded and given way to other theoretical constructs. As an expression of the increasing theoretical polyphony within the discipline of IR and the subject of strategic studies, this study has aimed at engaging realism and explaining the changing nature of war and military power during the post-Cold War era.

The dual task of this study called for a review of the Cold War era interpretation or expression of realism in IR studies related to military power before attempting to conceptualise and explain the changing nature of war and military power from an alternative perspective – one that has not tried to refute or neglect realism, but rather engage it. Moving beyond realism to postmodernism – in Chapters 2 and 3 – and the articulation of a theoretical framework for analysing war and military power – the constructivist framework in Chapters 4 and 5 – was conceptualised as a dialectical process of reaching a synthesis through the promulgation of a thesis and an antithesis. It is noteworthy that the synthesis – the 'paradigm of war' framework – is based on the interplay of realism and postmodernism on the one hand, and different versions of constructivism on the other. The 'paradigm of war' formulation is not unsympathetic to the classical realist writers, particularly to the more sociological European realists. The criticism of realism is based on Cold War era interpretations of these classical realist writers and the 'scientification' of realism, accompanied by an attempt to apply methods from the natural sciences and to emphasise theoretical parsimony at the expense of historical context.

Chapter 4 explicated the general constructivist framework of this study, accentuating the important roles of socially positioned actors, norms and

rules of the international system, social and material resources, as well as of historically structured meaningful action. Chapter 4 also presented a morphogenetic methodology that does justice to the historical path of events and their effects on the present conditions of the international system, while at the same time noting the importance of agents' practices in continuously directing the historical path into the future. My account of the changing nature of war and military power has been based on theory-dependent generative mechanisms and concrete contingencies that have together produced particular outcomes. This explanatory format explicitly rejects the positivist ideal of objective laws and regularities in social sciences. The positivist conceptualisation of military power – the bedrock of the Cold War era strategic studies – creates an illusion of a predetermined future that can be approached objectively. The ahistorical caricature of military power sketched by the realist wing of IR studies is based on quantified indicators and the natural laws of human existence. Thus, for the positivist, the process of understanding the genesis – through reproduction or transformation – of military power by agents is a futile enterprise.

The theoretical framework and adjoining constitutive explanatory format of this study have thus sought to downplay the objectivity often assigned to military power. The importance of unforeseen contingencies and historical context has been emphasised. The question of what constitutes military power is not only a question of developing effective military systems for the Armed Forces. It is also connected to the questions of what kind of missions the armed forces should be prepared to undertake, and in which situations is the use of military force appropriate, possible, or indeed necessary. The constructivist theoretical framework and the constitutive explanatory format thus envision the future being made by the interaction of agents' practices and the intervention of contingencies.

The general theoretical framework was elaborated for the case study of shared western understandings of military power in Chapter 5 – under the title of the 'paradigm of war' framework. This framework accentuates 1) the shared understandings concerning the character of threats that require military preparations, 2) the shared understandings of the nature of war – i.e. the objectives that can legitimately be sought with warfare, and the means of warfare that are legitimate – and 3) the shared understandings concerning the constitutive elements of military power. In addition, the framework accentuates the material factors related to the 4) prevailing level of technology, and 5) the distribution of material resources within the international system. In this context it was assumed that within the west – described as a historical, not a geographical construct – a shared paradigm of war exists, meaning a rather similar outlook towards war and military power. For analytical purposes of this study, the concept of the west was

limited to the United States and Europe – the latter covering the membership area of NATO and the EU.

The following chapters – Chapters 6-8 – approached war and military power according to the 'paradigm of war' framework. The case study on shared western understandings of military power accentuated the Cold War paradigm of war and the post-Cold War era discourses of war that challenged this sedimented and ossified paradigm and opened up possibilities for rearticulation or redefinition of post-Cold War era shared western understandings of military power.

The analysis of today's shared western understandings of military power in Chapter 6 focused on the changing aspects of the international systems' social structure after the demise of the Cold War. The norms and rules of the Cold War were challenged, as states and other agents faced the end of the Cold War and the 'new' or 'emerging' post-Cold War era. Without explicit or taken-for-granted corresponding 'new' shared understandings about the constitutive and regulative rules of the new era, agents began to construct these norms and rules by their actions – mostly in reactionary ways – and thus either reproduced or transformed the Cold War era accepted and taken-for-granted norms and rules of the system. The address of President George H. Bush before a joint session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the federal budget deficit on 11 September 1990 is a revealing case in point:

> *We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment.* The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. … *Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known.* … This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around the world understand *how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.*[1]

Chapter 6 also focused on the historically structured meaningful action through the prism of military power in a snapshot-like picture of today's shared western understandings of military power. It did so by analysing some recently published official security strategies and other security-related declarations made by western officials. Thus, while Chapter 5 elaborated the Cold War era 'baseline' of western understandings of war and military power, Chapter 6 discussed the current western view on them. Together these chapters then provided the ground for the process tracing analysis of the post-Cold War era shared western understandings of mili-

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[1] Bush (1990).

tary power by analysing the historically structured meaningful action within the 'paradigm of war' framework.

Chapters 7 and 8 – respectively – analysed how certain key military resources and past military actions have been bestowed with meaning and significance in the US and in Europe during the post-Cold War era. Both chapters acknowledged – and indeed traced – the historical path of events and its effects on the subsequent (present) conditions of the international system from the perspective of military power. This process-tracing enterprise was guided by the analytically selected and defined case of the Revolution in Military Affairs. Chapters 7 and 8 were designed to explain – in constitutive fashion – the process through which the Cold War era shared western conceptualisations of military power have transformed into those of today. With their emphasis on meaning, sequence, and contingency, Chapters 7 and 8 provided empirical material for analysing the post-Cold War era western redefinition of military power. Explaining the transformation of military power has thus relied on the sequential interplay of structural conditioning, social interaction, and structural elaboration.

The analysis in Chapters 6-8 led to the conclusion that the American-originated discourse of RMA has been at the heart of the shared western understandings of military power. Chapter 7 shows the path. The American defence establishment 'accepted' the notion of RMA at the middle of the 1990s. A few years later the RMA was officially espoused within the US DoD and by the President of the United States as the vehicle with which the US Armed Forces were to be transformed. The rationale for this transformation flowed from the end of the Cold War and the subsequent need to be prepared to wage 'new' wars of the coming century.

Chapter 8 focused on the European – and transatlantic – conceptualisations of military power, concluding that within Europe the shared understandings of military power have also been defined within the discourse of the RMA. On the European side this development has been considerably slower and more moderate than in the United States. This discussion was also expressed less explicitly and later than in the US. NATO has been the forum within which Europeans have – together with the United States – redefined the projected tasks of the military and the constitutive elements of military power. The developing security and defence dimension of the European Union also reflects the lessons of the RMA discourse in the Union's project to create and transform military capabilities, although less explicitly and with more restricted goals than is the case with NATO.

9.1. Socially Positioned Actors and Shared Western Understandings of War and Military Power in the Post-Cold War Era

In is noteworthy that the general constructivist framework of Chapter 4 provides an additional broader perspective on the 'paradigm of war' framework. While the latter focuses upon the emergence, transformation, and withering away of several discourses of war within the international system or within the west, the former focuses upon the socially positioned actors, norms and rules of the international system, resources, and historically structured, meaningful action. In this way the general constructivist framework elaborates and builds upon the analysis of the 'paradigm of war' framework. After all, this framework accentuates historically structured action and the norms and rules of the international system.

Accordingly, the end of the Cold War was a reproduction crisis for the western states. With the 'old' paradigmatic threat gone, the norms and rules of the international system, as well as the identities of western states, were open to redefinition for the first time in several decades. As it was no longer possible to define western military policy and response on the basis of a Soviet threat, new determinants or signifiers were 'needed'.

The United States found itself as the only superpower of the international system when the Soviet Union disintegrated and withdrew from its former empire. Its purpose or rationale for action – now as the sole superpower – was perceived to be in need of reinterpretation. While the identity and interests of the United States were under renegotiation after the end of the Cold War, the resources at the disposal of the US were on a relatively higher level that during the Cold War. Now, without peers, the political, military, and economic resources of the United States were unmatched.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 was one significant intervention of contingency in the larger chain of events related to the ending of the Cold War. The United States used this event in an effort to redefine the emerging post-Cold War world by orchestrating a multinational response to Iraq's aggression. As an incipient rationale for military intervention of the post-Cold War era, the American-promulgated "New World Order" was an attempt to define the nature of the post-Cold War era international system on American terms.

Also the Europeans hailed the end of the Cold War. After all, had the threat of the Soviet Union resulted in military invasion, that invasion would have taken place in Europe. In the beginning of the 1990s the European nations had only scant military resources at their collective disposal. Although some countries had usable offensive military expeditionary capabilities during the Cold War and its demise (mostly Britain and France) the bulk of

the operational and usable expeditionary forces of NATO were American. The European Community was not a credible political, not to mention a military, actor. It had focused mostly on the economic sector during the Cold War. Thus, while many European governments accepted the American lead in the response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait – and some even sent troops, supplies, or provided monetary resources for the costs of the 1991 war – they did so under American leadership and on American terms.

While the emerging and developing nature of the post-Cold War era international system facilitated cuts in the military budgets and forces of western armed forces, the 'new' essence of the international system did not emerge with the successful termination of the Gulf War. Although the rapid capitulation of Iraq to the superior American military capabilities provided lessons concerning the importance of high-technology military systems in warfare, these lessons were based on the assumption that US troops would have to be deployed far from US territory, indeed globally – when and wherever the stability of the international system was threatened. Thus, rather than being objective lessons applicable to all agents within the international system, the RMA lessons of the Gulf War advocated an interventionist, technocentric, and offensive view of post-Cold War era warfare.

The gaps in the western military horizon caused by the demise of the Cold War were partially filled with the lessons of the 1991 Gulf War. *Under American leadership, the west came to be defined militarily more through military intervention outside the western territory than had been the case during the Cold War, when the focus was on defending Western Europe.* This process of identity-transformation – i.e. changing the role of the armed forces for the west – was easier and more natural for the US than for Europe. After all, the US had planned, trained, and procured intervention forces for decades while most of the Europeans had relied on more static territorial defence forces. However, within the context of NATO, the concept of engaging in 'new' missions outside of alliance territory was gradually embraced.

While the emergence and development of the American RMA discourse was based on the military technological lessons of Operation Desert Storm, its influences were not felt for several years within the international system. Rather, after the Gulf War, the emerging 'new' wars confronted the west with a new problem. Again under American leadership, peace operations and military crisis management to prevent, contain, or limit the destructiveness of new wars rose in significance, as traditional territorial defence missions lost some – though not all – of the importance previously accorded to them.

Although the next interventions of contingencies in Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Burundi, Haiti, and East-Timor did not strengthen the case of humanitarian interventions, *from the military perspective the west was increasingly defined by the capability to intervene militarily outside of one's own territorial area*: The traditional threat of large-scale armed aggression receded during the 1990s and practically all the western military missions conducted during the 1990s were peace operations conducted under US leadership. *Military relevance in the west was increasingly connected to the ability to take part in multinational military operations*. In practical terms this meant *interoperability with the US*, as no other agent was able to mount a large-scale military operation for a lengthy period of time – exceeding several months.

The domestic American RMA debate gradually gained momentum after the 1991 Gulf War. Originating within the US DoD it quickly spread to the larger defence establishment, including the think tanks and the American defence industry. The strengthening of the American RMA discourse and its injection into official defence policy during the mid-1990s were connected to the perceived need to reconfigure the role of the Armed Forces domestically vis-à-vis the declining defence budgets and troop strengths, as well as to the process of reconstructing the post-Cold War US identity in view of its exclusive superpower status and the new understanding of what constituted military power after the end of the Cold War.

The American RMA discourse provided possibilities to redefine military power during an era when the old system was acknowledged to have ended but the new defining features of the post-Cold War era were still in the making. While, at first, the RMA provided a vision for the development of American Armed Forces based on a projection of what the post-Cold War era military conflicts would be like, its implications for redefining military power more generally within the international system on American terms were soon acknowledged. Within a year after the official adoption of the RMA concept in the American defence policy, the European allies were facing pressure to follow the American lead.

Once articulated, the American RMA thesis offered to transform conceptualisations of military engagements and needed military instruments – corresponding to the change related to the end of the Cold War – while at the same time it still reproduced the state-centric focus on military affairs. Thus, on the one hand, the RMA thesis provided a sense of continuity for the US DoD during the unpredictable post-Cold War era. On the other hand the RMA-discourse was in tune with the process of redefining the post-Cold War era American military identity and interests – the sole superpower coming to terms with the new exigencies and rationale for its military actions within the international system. *The RMA thus offered a means*

by which the US could adapt its military capability and respond appropriately to new threats with the weakening of the sedimented Cold War era social structure of the international system.

The American RMA discourse, and the US policy of orchestrating a European strategy to exploit the RMA did more than just serve the purpose of transforming the armed forces by investing in advanced technologies. It also promoted a particular understanding of war and of the role of the US and the west in managing the international security situation. Although RMA capabilities could be used in traditional large-scale mechanised war in defence of national/alliance territory, its implications for the shared understandings of war were mostly related to the shift from these traditional military missions to global intervention capability and the offensive use of military force. All of the practical lessons of the emerging RMA were inferred from the outcomes of military missions that did not correspond to the Cold War era understanding of conventional war. Even though 1991 Gulf War, which raised the RMA into the American strategic discourse, came closest to the traditional Cold War era understanding of war, it also furthered the 'new' western outlook on war – offensive intervention outside the traditionally conceptualised theatre – Europe.

By the end of the 1990s, then, the Cold War era norm of non-intervention had evolved into a more contested and conditional approach to solving international problems with military implications. This was not only reflected in the more active use of military force in many post-Cold War interventions by the US and NATO, but also in the development of the European Security and Defence Policy, and subsequently the development of the EU's capability to intervene rapidly under the battlegroup concept. Simultaneously with the weakening of the norm of non-intervention, the United States began to press for the development of a European RMA in order to facilitate future military cooperation on US terms.

During the first years of the new millennium, Europeans have taken the first steps – though relatively cautiously compared to the US – in the process of realising a limited European RMA capability within NATO and the EU. This caution has been caused by at least two intersecting factors. First, the Europeans have come to terms with the post-Cold War era military conflicts and the need for western responses to them. *During the first decade after the Cold War, the west committed itself to the more active use of military force for crisis management in the expectation that embracing the RMA would provide effective and useful military capabilities to take necessary military action.* Second, as has explicitly been argued within the EU, Europeans have accepted that it is in their interests to allow the EU to take its 'proper' role in the world – meaning that it should increase its ability to

intervene militarily to defuse crises – and they have internalised the American view of military power in the post-Cold War era.

In the US and in Europe, the espousing of RMA thinking has been connected to the process of redefining military identities and interests in the post-Cold War world. While differences of magnitude and scope still remain between the US and the Europeans in their different RMA exploitation strategies, the rather straightforward acceptance of RMA by the Europeans has meant a partial fulfilment of the vision of President George W. Bush – namely the redefinition of war according to US standards. *The sole superpower status of the United States – inherited from the Cold War era – has provided it with social and material resources to operate as a lead agent in the redefinition of shared western understandings of war and military power during the post-Cold War era.*

The response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 – the global War on Terror – has explicitly redefined the American view of international norms: the 'old' restrictions concerning the use of military force do not apply if the requirements of US national security make them obsolete. Similarly, the US has redefined itself as the leader in the global struggle against terrorism. With its policy of the more assertive use of military force, and a clearly promulgated global leadership position, *the US has advanced and expanded the pre-9/11 vision of redefining war on US terms by devising new technologies of war to include the redefinition of threats and risks and the rearticulation of the legitimate means of warfare – unilateral and preemptive use of military force against emerging threats and risks.*

These emerging threats and risks have not led to a similar revision of military priorities in Europe. While some European governments have participated in the US-led War on Terror – e.g. Britain, Italy, and Denmark – the development within NATO and the European Union in military terms has been more limited. Both organisations have declared terrorism to be the defining security threat of today, but neither shares the militarised response taken by the US. Nevertheless, the topic of countering terrorism with military force has now been placed on the European agenda. Corresponding to the slow start and a more limited European RMA exploitation strategy compared to the US, the military dimension of the post-9/11 terrorist threat has explicitly been defined by the US. The limited European military response to terrorism is taking place mostly within the US defined War on Terror.

In all, the post-Cold War era redefinition of American and European military priorities – and these in the west in general – have been associated with the changing character of military threats as well as the emerged reality of new wars and the need to contain them. In addition – as a derivative

of the changing nature of threats and the nature of war – *the foundations of the entire western military establishment have been redefined in terms of the development and use of technologically advanced expeditionary intervention capabilities*. The United States has been the lead agent in this process, but the Europeans have gradually participated in it more actively by not only adapting to the new military exigencies of the post-Cold War era, but also by helping to define them.

While Europe has not embraced an explicit RMA exploitation strategy, the spreading of the American RMA thesis to Europe has meant that *the post-Cold War era process of redefining shared western understandings of war have converged around the shift from defending national/alliance territory towards more active and more interventionist use of military force within a larger geographical area*. Although the discourse of the RMA has not been the only element in the process of redefining war in the post-Cold war era, its implications have been wider than the overtly technological focus on the RMA discourse implies. The RMA is not 'just' about effective military systems!

9.2. Socially Constructed Material Resources

The United States and Western Europe won the Cold War. With the demise of the superpower confrontation and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the United States remains the only truly global superpower with wide-ranging interests and unrivalled political, economic, military, and cultural resources. At the end of the Cold War, Europe was still politically, militarily and culturally fragmented, although its economic power has since increased.

In addition to the military identity crisis caused by the end of the Cold War, *the demise of the cemented rules of the superpower confrontation started to challenge the material military aspects of American power*. After all, its superpower status was based militarily on the possession of a vast number of sophisticated nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, large-scale mechanised armed forces, and the capability to transport large number of troops and heavy military equipment to Europe and elsewhere. The challenge of the post-Cold War era emerged only gradually during the 1990s – particularly since the 1991 Gulf War had been waged successfully based on the Cold War formula. Still, as the new military realities of the post-Cold War era gradually emerged, the old determinants of military power were challenged. Armoured divisions, aircraft carriers, and strategic bombers seemed to be of limited usefulness in Somalia, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia. Nuclear weapons were even less useful than the conventional forces and equipment of the Cold War era.

From the European perspective, the weakening of the Cold War era rules of recognising military power was not as problematic as it was from the American perspective. The status of Europe in general, and of most of the individual European states, had not been defined by military might during the Cold War. American military preponderance in the west during the threatening decades of the Cold War had secured the safety of Europe, although the Europeans had provided the bulk of NATO forces for the possible conventional war against the Soviet Union. Europe had no defence identity during the Cold War apart from NATO, and even the militarily most prominent European states – Britain and France with their nuclear capability – were militarily significant only as part of the western alliance.

In addition to its overwhelming material military resources compared to those of its western partners, America also possessed formidable discursive resources. During the Cold War years, the American strategic community expanded as it elaborated and refined nuclear theorising and provided policy recommendations for decision-makers. Government agencies and think tanks in the US were at a much higher level than anywhere else in the west.

Even with the acknowledged transformation of the international system as the Cold War ended and as the 1990s progressed, the inertia of the sedimented Cold War era rules for recognising military power inhibited the promulgation of path breaking or totally new shared western understandings of military power. However, with the reduced threat level after the end of the Cold War, the west was able to demobilise and disband many of the units that had been preparing to counter a possible Soviet invasion. It was at this juncture that the discourse of RMA was internalised within the US defence establishment.

Within the American defence establishment, the emerging RMA discourse provided a new focus for the military vis-à-vis the lowering troop strengths and decreasing defence budgets. The emerging RMA discourse provided a proactive – rather than a reactive – view of military affairs, promising to replace the challenged Cold War era forces, platforms, and doctrines with a set of new, American-defined, military instruments. When the Cold War era military legacy was beginning to be conceptualised as an obstacle to military change and as a waste of money, the discourse of the RMA offered an empirically 'tested' vision of post-Cold War era warfare that promised to reverse the declining utility of America's military resources vis-à-vis the new reality of war.

Thus, in response to the slow gradual process of undermining the Cold War era determinants of military power, the embracing of the RMA discourse within US defence policy facilitated the rearticulation of US military leadership within the west and more generally globally – particularly if others

acquiesced to it. Transformation of the armed forces by exploiting the Revolution in Military Affairs thus became not only one important aspect of the American defence policy in the latter part of the 1990s, but also a significant part of the US attempt to frame the post-Cold War era reality of war and military power within the west and throughout the international system.

The Europeans have witnessed the actual deployment and utility of US-defined military capabilities in the several post-Cold War era wars in which the west has had a stake – at least in relative terms when compared to the Cold War European legacy forces. The typical feature of these wars has been the use of military force in out-of-area offensive operations. And with the increasingly accepted European need to participate in military engagements outside of Europe, the American RMA capabilities have offered a 'ready-made' solution to the European problem of developing and procuring military capabilities that are effective in the post-Cold War era international system.

Calling for the abandonment of the Cold War era military mindset when declaring the War on Terror, the George W. Bush Administration explicitly acknowledged the limited utility of many of the material military resources available during the Cold War era. In addition, the administration has turned what was an implicit American goal of the 1990s to redefine war and military power within the international system into an explicit project. Thus while the rationale for transforming the militaries by exploiting the RMA was promulgated already during the 1990s, the *post-9/11 American view on war and the exploitation of RMA in order to fight the War on Terror have explicitly challenged the western Cold War era paradigm of war.*

9.3. Avenues for Further Research

Even without a revolutionary paradigm shift within the western paradigm of war, and taking into account the incrementally transformed western conceptualisations of war in general and military power particularly, the processes by which the west responded to the perceived need to transform the military calls for further research. This study has been focusing almost solely on the *shared understandings* related to war and military power in the US and Western Europe. These shared understandings have been interpreted within the constructivist 'paradigm of war' framework, analysing the publicly expressed post-Cold War era discourses that are related to the way that the west has conceptualised the threats that need to be countered with physical violence, the legitimate objectives and means of war, and the constitutive elements of military power.

Within its explicated research problematique and the constructivist theoretical framework, this study cannot provide all-encompassing answers related to the changing nature of war and military power within the international system of the post-Cold War era. It has deal only with a small part in a larger set of possible research problems and questions. Based on the theoretical perspective of this study, there are many interesting areas of further research.

First, this study calls for further research on the domestic US processes related to the emergence of the RMA discourse and related policies. The links between the US DoD, the US Armed Forces, defence industry and military contractors, as well as individual 'opinion leaders' within these and other defence institutions should be subjected to additional scientific scrutiny. These studies should concentrate not only on the importance of certain prominent figures – such as William Perry, Andrew Marshall, or William Owens – but focus more on the interplay of the changing international security environment and the domestic US defence policy circles. In addition to the traditional methods of historiography, this kind of research should be based on a theoretical framework that would facilitate the writing of an analytical history of the emergence of American RMA conceptualisations.

Second, this study lays the foundation for further research focusing upon the way in which the national American and European armed forces have been and are being transformed. This future research should take into account the projected military missions assigned to the armed forces and the corresponding military means aimed at delivering projected outcomes. In addition, the changing operational concepts, organisations, and procurement priorities should be taken into account in studies of national militaries within the west.

Third, this study also provides a theoretical basis for further research on other western national armed forces. Particularly the cases of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand could provide valuable additional perspectives.[2]

Fourth, this study calls further research on the topics of non-western states and their conceptualisations of post-Cold War era threats, nature of war, and military power. Particularly interesting would be studies concerning Russia and China as representatives of existing and/or potential military great powers. In addition, studies of the reforms now being made within Russian and Chinese defence establishments and armed forces in the post-

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[2] Also the case of Japan as a developed and modern state could provide interesting insights concerning the redefinition of war, military power, and identity in the post-Cold War era.

Cold War era would provide additional valuable insight to the changing global understandings of war and military power.

APPENDIX A

Multilateral Interventions in the Post-Cold War Era 1989-2003[1]

Angola	(1989)
Namibia	(1989)
Nicaragua	(1989)
Western Sahara	(1991)
El Salvador	(1991)
Cambodia	(1991)
Croatia	[1992] (1996)
Bosnia-Herzegovina	[1992] {1995} (1995)
Somalia	(1992) {1992} [1993]
Mozambique	(1992)
Georgia	(1993)
Liberia	(1993)
Haiti	(1993) {1994}
Rwanda	(1993) {1994}
Tajikistan	(1994)
Guatemala	(1997)
Central African Republic	(1998)
Sierra Leone	(1998) {2000}
Kosovo	{1999} (1999)
East-Timor	(1999) {1999}
Democratic Republic of Congo	(1999)
Afghanistan	{2002} (2002)
Iraq	{2003}

(1989) = year of 'traditional' UN peacekeeping mission.
[1989] = year of coercive UN mission.
{1989} = year of intervention with leading role of non-UN actor.

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[1] Modified from Ottaway (2003), p. 78.

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