Dr. Barnett began by noting a follow-on book to his book The Pentagon’s New Map has been published as Blueprint for Action. The second book further develops thinking about such topics as Globalization and military transformation. Both books are described on the website http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com/articles/

The Pentagon’s New Map
Underlying concepts:

- Globalization: Some people get it and some never will
  - Could consider the concept “Marx on Steroids”
- Combining economic and sociological concepts plus adding political / military aspects of the current and near future world.

In a 2003 Esquire magazine article Dr. Barnett described the process of mapping trouble spots in the world to predict where US military forces will be fighting in the future.

- Looked at 150 cases of US forces deployed overseas
- US has been exporting security overseas for years now
- Where mass violence had occurred the US military would eventually go
- Rather like the Old West
- Early versions of the maps can be found at http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com/published/pentagonsnewmap.htm

Basic concepts of the mapping effort

- The focus area of the study contains two-thirds of world population
- Once we get past the Cold War complications and ancient disputes there should be no reason to go to war
- There have been no Great Powers Wars since 1945
- Need broadband economic interchanges between countries
- Do not need democracies necessarily to integrate with rest of world
- Building a country to levels needed for good economic interchanges usually requires a one-party system at least for a few years

The following slide sums up the basic tenets of the mapping study. (Versions of other slides used in the presentation are available through the Video/Podcast webpage: http://www.jhuapl.edu/POW/rethinking/video.cfm#barnett along with video and audio-only versions of Dr. Barnett’s presentation.)
US focus must be on the Non-Integrating Gap

- Where the violence is, so that’s where the US military will go
- The original area did shrink a little when the Balkans stabilized enough for improved if not perfect connectivity

Indicator: If a major aid mission is pulled from an area for security reasons, expect a US military deployment there will be likely within 5 years

- Happens mostly where there is no deep connectivity
- Inside the NIG is where there are mass rapes, killings, other horrors
- Where 97% of terrorist activity comes from

Considerations

- These theories are being accepted because of the accuracy of the observations
- Developed into the Arc of Instability concept for the Pentagon
- Canadians, Australians, and Brits have also been studying similar concepts
- Vertical shocks cannot be predicted or prevented (earthquakes, hurricanes)
  - However, there is a need to contain the resulting horizontal shock as much as possible
  - A lot of the private sector effort will also be needed
Example of a changing world:
- Going through the Hong Kong Airport today, remote sensors will take the temperatures of passengers
- Anyone with elevated temperatures will be quarantined for 48 hours to contain potential bird flu or SARS or any other virus
- Civil rights are not an issue there

What the world needs now
- Many people in the Non-integrating Gap would love to be exploited just to have a job
  - No country can build up its economy without money from outside
  - Even the US did this in its early history: the US provided cheap labor for European investors
- US has a superb military force to handle hostilities
  - Now need a force of broader skills to build stability
- Grand Strategy must last decades, not years
  - Need to talk to younger people and convince them

US military has different types of forces
- Leviathan – bombers and carriers
- Mini-Me Leviathan (or Leviathan Light) – soldiers (boots on the ground)
- Needs a bridging force between: Systems Administrators (SysAdmin)

Compare the Leviathan Forces with a new System Administrators force
- Leviathan force well prepared for deploying rapidly
  - Takes care of the problem and goes home
  - Only deploys occasionally
- SysAdmin force does not come home
  - Builds up the country during stability
  - Younger people understand this already
- Leviathan force can be made up of 19-year-olds
- SysAdmin force may require 40-year-olds with city cop backgrounds
  - Many won’t even carry weapons
- Leviathan force can’t be stopped but is not brought out until US is committed
  - Also must be prepared for and committed to the follow-on peace effort
  - Don’t want “drive-by regime change”
- SysAdmin force may even be virtual when not operating
  - Relating to funding social and economic projects in developing countries

How Iraq SysAdmin operation should have been done
- Stage 1: Flood area with Peacekeepers
• Stage 2: Uniformed police take over – not contractors because they cause too many problems
• Stage 3: Civil Recovery includes developing sources of food for the people and money for work to help develop a real economy

What to expect from these Stages
• Stages 1 and 2 take from 1-3 years
  o If give the country money at this point they will mostly buy weapons based on their most recent experiences
• Stage 3 may take from 4 to 7 years
  o Only then can there be a break in the cycle
• War is now the most likely cause of civil war
• Country won’t be able to absorb a lot of money at first so need Peacekeepers
• Once the area stays stable for 10 years, then the country should not fall back into anarchy and war

US military has many skill sets – saw many of them in New Orleans
• Military needed early on especially
• First it was about the Jointness of the Services working together
  o Then with abilities to work with Allies
  o Now need to look at interagency processes to get over “not-my-job” issues

Comparison of forces
• Leviathan force is young, male, unmarried, “slightly pissed off”
• SysAdmin force is older, gender neutral, married with kids
• Leviathan force follows posse comitias rules
• SysAdmin wipes out distinctions between civil and military functions by establishing networks

The Services in the future
• Marines will be needed to go in and rescue any aid workers that are being threatened
• Small ship Navy is more likely because the US has the only blue water navy
• Army will be needed for the boots on the ground concept of control
• Air Force has a problem especially with fighter pilots – no force to fight with
  o Last fighter pilots to shot down an enemy are now one-star flag officers
  o No other force likely to threaten in the future
• Reserve component needs to have its contracts renegotiated
  o Today they are being promised school assistance but getting deployed frequently
  o Can lose whole family of reservists if they see one taken advantage of
  o Not about money being paid them but about being honest with recruits up front
• Intelligence considerations: War is classified activities; peace isn’t
- Need to develop local knowledge, not intelligence, during stability building
- Example: Echo-boomers (children of the Baby Boomer generation) went to Iraq wired with own equipment and are teaching themselves about counter-insurgency on line
  - Military tried to stop this as not good for security
  - Response: the insurgents already know all of this, we don’t

**Blueprint for Action**

Primary focus
- Discusses concept that terrorists reject a future that they find either incomprehensible or reprehensible
- Looks out to 2025 so arguments are designed for the next generation of leaders
- Describes the Ying/Yang of globalization and immigration
  - Realism versus idealism
  - US always wants black and white situations
  - Rest of the world wants balances between forces

In 1933 Normal Angell received the Nobel Peace Prize for explaining in 1910 that Europe would not go to war because the countries were so interconnected
- Barnett sees himself as the Norman Angell of the Nuclear Age

- Angell’s 1910 thesis: «military and political power give a nation no commercial advantage, that it is an economic impossibility for one nation to seize or destroy the wealth of another, or for one nation to enrich itself by subjugating another»
- Angell wrote 42 books in 42 years

Concepts to consider
- Until you connect with other parts of the world, you cannot see the differences between peoples
  - Need to have a minority to be a racist
  - Germans and Dutch did not until recently have to face those problems
- 9-11 told us that globalization will bring conflict – not surprising
  - Since the mid-1800s there have been a procession of conflict-inducing ideologies
  - First socialists, then Communists and Fascists
  - Global jihadists are just the latest variety

The Pentagon’s B-B-Q: Budget / BRAC / QDR
- Involves discussion between proponents of NetCentric Operations with those involved in 4th Generation warfare
- Theory of war debates are on going about what is 4th Generation Warfare versus Netcentric Warfare
  - NetCentric: Hi-tech / peer focused / “bloodless” / Air Force & Navy
  - 4th Generation: Asymmetric / unequal foes / “bloody” / Army & Marines
• A continuum, not a stark choice: First you blow up people, then their belongings, then their industrial base and that leads to destruction of the will to fight.

• US needs both sides of the effort
  o Enemies have learned not to fight the Leviathan – wait it out
  o When the US goes home, take over

• US needs to disrupt this game plan

• Will need lots of resources: people and material
  o Overwhelm them with resources: It’s the American way.
  o In one war game, US forces provided the initial military force effort but then the Chinese came in with masses of cheap help in the stability phase

• US is a first half team while others can come in for the second half to help
  o There is a need for 300,000 peacekeepers in Iraq – not just Americans
  o After 5 months in Iraq, US lost the support of the people
    • “OK, you took out Saddam, but now you can’t give us electricity.”
    • Iraq’s “Peace” will change US military more than Iraq will change

We need to stop calling Iraq a war; that was over a long time ago
• But the peace needs 250,000 troops
• Using Bad Cop/Good Cop tactic (military plays bad to State Dept’s good)
  o No one works the transition between the two sides
  o There are war games but only seminars on peace

• Now need new departments to help move countries from the Non-Integrating Gap
  o “Department of Everything Else” – so as not to fight the name
  o Department of Homeland Security is not about everything else – about US
  o Does not need to be a real department – can be virtual
  o Like a film company, many skill sets come together for a movie but then disperse

Problem: If Al Q’aeda kills a million Americans tomorrow, who do we bomb?

New Rule for the Pentagon
• In old way, military had a big footprint so had lots of forces left over to do jobs during peacetime
• Now the Leviathan force does not have to be so big so need to work with SysAdmin force

Realities:
• Shorter the War – the longer the peace effort
• Easier the War – the harder the peace effort
• Cheaper the War – the more expensive the peace effort
• Smaller the War force – the bigger the Peace Force

If foreign countries no longer want to buy our debt, we won’t have the money to afford forces we say we need
The Army is ambivalent about the SysAdmin force
  • They fear losing the war-fighter ethos
  • However, it has been discovered that troops like doing the SysAdmin ops

Units of action are not divisions like they were in World War I and afterward
  o Today’s units need to be more like those of the cavalry days

A to Z Rule Set and A 6-Step Program for Failing States
  o Many agencies involved
  o Different entities at different times in a specific order for specific jobs
Examples:
  o Economic bankruptcy should be handled by the IMF
    ▪ Some countries do better at it than others
    ▪ Russia paid 50 cents on the dollar while Argentina got away with only 30 cents
    ▪ No one wants that country to fail – want it part of the international system of trade
  o Perhaps there should be a political bankruptcy system
    ▪ Handling situations with either too little or too much government control
    ▪ Have the UN indict countries with bad governments
    ▪ US is afraid that if it goes into that Gap, it will be held responsible
      • US is seen as weak and decadent but that it loves violence

There is a need to get money out quickly to prove interest in the failing country’s situation
  o Without a victory in the second half (peace operations) there is no reason to do the first half (the hostilities)
  o We need to regularize the system and internationalize it
  o We said if you didn’t come for the war, don’t come for the peace – wrong attitude

Need to develop the interagency system during peacetime
  • Make it transparent
  • Most dictators can be bribed to leave their failing countries
    o Avoids the invasion part
    o Cheaper than war but must be ready for peace operations
  • All the resources needed are available in the Core countries
    o Currently, they are being spent badly

Connecting the Middle East
Three Key Seams
  • Operational with Russia and Europe
  • Strategic with South and East Asia
  • Tactical with Sub-Saharan Africa
Considerations
• Huge pool of people who cannot connect to the rest of the world
• Al Qaeda has been kicked out of every country it was in so all they have left to do is fight
• Seams to the east revolves around oil but must not be the only connection

Three Key Players
• Iran – its two worst enemies are gone because of US actions but US got nothing out of it
• India and China cut big oil deals which should provide leverage
  o Avoid the model perfected with Cuba of isolating them

The Middle East is not the Wild West
• Some things actually are improving
• There should be civil control of the military – not journalist control

Biggest problem in the MidEast is the lack of access to outside capital
• For an exit strategy need to develop a way to get enough jobs to handle the demographic bulge
• Egypt is suddenly getting outside capital funding now that it is making noises about small changes in the government structure
• Such issues as better education for all youth including girls will help

Islamic Fundamentalists – just the latest resistors
• In 10 years it will not matter about the positions of Israel and the US
• In 10 years it will be China and India taking control of the internet
• Salafi Jihadists – basic fundamentalist idea of keeping pure by keeping separate
  o Sort of the Amish with guns
  o Apocalyptic…. Like David Koresh in Waco – taking all the followers down with them
• Really wants its own reformation – at war with itself
• Rise of political Islamic parties is scary especially for Europe

Iran is the key to the Middle East
• We need to know what they want
• All the reasons that Nixon wanted to befriend them are still there
  o They can disrupt flow of oil in the Gulf
  o Can veto efforts for peace in Israel, elsewhere
• Iran is like Brazil but with failing government
  o Constrains on what movies can be shown in theaters
  o But any movie can be bought on the black market, so no real control
• US should handle Iran like the Soviet Union – outspend them
  o Kill them with connectivity
• Connect Middle East faster than terrorists can disconnect it
New Anti-Terrorist Rule Set
- One set for failing countries
- One set for individual bad actors
- Process individual terrorists
  - Conflicts are with individuals not with the nations involved
  - More like the Mafia wars – need to disrupt the connectivity
- Process failing states
  - Need to be serious about civil affairs
  - Big Army needs to be good at this too
  - Need to grow through the Core for help with rule set
  - Need new world-wide (Core country) organization for help
  - Not the Geneva Rule Set
- Must have distinctly separate war and peace units so need SysAdmin force to free up trigger pullers

Securing the Far East
- China provides the only fantasies for a big war
  - Suddenly growing in power because of the QDR
- Should have a strong relationship with the UK in response
- China’s internal migration is bigger than external and a problem for them

5th and 6th generation leaders in China will be much more sophisticated
- First to be educated abroad
- Coming to power about 2010
- Older generation will be hanging over but with no imagination
  - Imprinted on Russian and India and no other experiences
- Next generation will understand need for connectivity

To understand China, watch the HBO program on Rome.

China’s demographic dilemma – interesting comparisons of its revolutions
- From agriculture to industry
- From central planning to free markets
- From top down to bottom up
- From centralized control to provincial governments
- From disconnected to globalized
- Upcoming demographic revolution

What will happen first?
- China gets old
- China gets rich
- China gets threatening

Demographic problem described as 4-2-1 Social Security
- 4 grandparents and 2 parents will rely on one son for their security
• He won’t be available to fight
• He will be able to marry abroad

China’s balancing act: Promise and peril at the same time
• China as a consumer – with huge global impact because of numbers
• Just the textile and steel needs alone show the situation

Reverse Domino Theory: Communist China turns all other countries in Asia more capitalistic
• The more connected China becomes, the more capitalistic it will be
• Need to lock in China at today’s prices
  o It would be crazy to let Taiwan force the US and China to go to war
  o Should go more like Hong Kong – now all of China uses the type of contracts developed there

Tailbone of the Cold War: North Korea
• Provides an excuse for the US and Japan to build a missile shield
  o Message is really for China
• Biggest opportunist in Asia – will sell weapons to anyone
  o No friends at all
  o Kim is equivalent of parents who keep kids in closets and don’t feed them
• No reason to let Kim stay around
Possible methods to get Kim out of North Korea
• Baby Doc Method: pay the leader to leave quietly
• Ace of Spades Method: an invasion followed by a round-up of top bad guys
• Show him the Plan Method
  o Zoelick has already dangled options in front of Kim
  o Need to have the other neighbors involved especially China

In his two books Dr. Barnett outlines seven scripts that describe what is required:

**Take these 7 scripts and call me in the morning**

1. End the NCO v. 4GW false dichotomy
2. Create the Department of Everything Else
3. Build the A-to-Z rule set on processing politically bankrupt states in the Gap
4. Co-opt Iran to keep the Big Bang rolling
5. “Dirty Harry” joins a WCTO
6. Lock in China at today’s prices (Taiwan)
7. Build the East Asian NATO (North Korea)
Most people born before 1955 have been imprinted with Cold War thinking
  - If you agree with us politically, you are our friend, otherwise…
Echo boomers: if you are connected to us economically then you are our friend…
  - 90% of what is involved in world politics is economic
  - We will have more in common with China than with Japan
  - We will have more in common with India than with UK

**Question and Answer Discussions**

**Iran**
- US needs to talk with China more about relations with Iran
  - China could help with other countries, too
- Israel’s having nuclear weapons makes for unstable one-sided relations in the MidEast
  - Things would be more stable if Iran had nuclear weapons, too
  - Small confidence-building measures might be the best method to handle the situation
- Could also use the same method US did with the Soviets – outspend them until the country collapses
- In a rare reversal, the people love the US but the government hates the US

The first SysAdmin force is already in Iraq
- However, building roads and such can get them into trouble with headquarters
  - If US does not build roads, China will
  - Must develop a “need to stop them” mentality in Congress
- Africa is ours to ignore
  - We are not doing enough there and probably won’t
  - We will only start paying attention when Jihadists starts appearing there

China has a lot of investments worldwide – not politically but economically

Demographic issues – large populations that cannot be satisfied by own governments
- Psychological as well as economic issues
- Need to develop better connections with MidEast expatriates

There are some potential sources of better outcomes in the MidEast
- Women leading religious changes in US mosques
- Rise of Islamic parties in Europe
  - Would be like Marxist parties during the Cold War
  - Would give some space to those who are alienated
  - Would provide both personal connections and funds back to home countries providing some more European system ideas
• Potentials for leadership from Indonesia and East Asia
  o Prove they can be good Moslems within a modern economy
  o Have connections to Saudi Arabia through large numbers of guest workers
  o Over 10% of Philippino work force works overseas
  o Jihadists have said that some attacks were designed to frighten guest workers out of Saudi Arabia

Iraq
• Iraqis need to learn to deal with people in the wider environment
• A perfect constitution will not help unless there is a certain comfort level established for the Kurds
• It does not matter that there will not be a real democracy – best to do some sort of nation building
• One problem is that no outsiders own/feel responsible for the Sunnis

Allies
• Australians would also like to work in developing the connections between the Gap countries and the Core countries
  o They want to use their military to preserve their connectivity to the world economy
• US does not need the Dutch or the Italians if they are too afraid to fully engage
• Neither China nor India would have any qualms about killing very large numbers of Muslims
• Allies need to be given incentives to help
• Must also recognize that over 400 million people have been lifted out of poverty in the past 20 years