

**War and Peace in the 21st Century:
Reflections upon the Century of War**

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Preface

This report consists of the papers submitted by the participants of the Second NIDS International Symposium on Security Affairs, "War and Peace in the 21st Century – Looking Back at the 20th Century," which was held on October 7th (Friday) and 8th (Saturday), 1999.

The main objective of this year's symposium was to reflect upon the twentieth century, which has been called the Century of War, as the year 2000 approaches, in order to foresee possible issues of war and peace of the coming twenty-first century.

The history of conflict by mankind goes back to mankind's birth. Since then, conflicts have endlessly and repeatedly occurred, and even today, nations in many regions around the globe fight over sovereignty, national interests and prestige, and peoples fight for independence, ideologies and religion. Various struggles are thus being fought across borders and within nations, over what are perceived by the participants as survival, interests and rights. Such struggles have been called wars or conflicts, and mankind has striven to expand his knowledge and strength in order to win these struggles, or to maintain security by refraining from and avoiding invasion by others.

Ever since Sun-Tzu, many strategists, such as Machiavelli, Clausewitz, Jomini, Moltke, Mahan, Ludendorff, Douhet, Liddell-Hart and a score of others have tried to provide a framework for, or theories on, war and strategy, and this has led to the development of modern military ideas. Napoleon, who influenced greatly the development of military thinking through practice, naturally cannot be forgotten. In addition, war and armed conflict have acted as a catalyst for national and social revolutions. Wars which have defined trends in military thought since the sixteenth century have invigorated the discussion on Revolution in Military Affairs in the twentieth century. To put it another way, this discussion views the RMA both as a revolution of international society, in which changes in the forms of warfare manifest themselves, and as a phenomena which is essentially one and the same as the never ending, continuous cycle of revolutions in military affairs and society.

When discussing wars of the twentieth century, therefore, it is impossible to ignore not only changes in military thought and revolutions in military affairs, but

also the conflicts from the sixteenth century European wars which brought about the demise of the feudal system of the Middle Ages, through the Napoleonic wars and Prussian wars of unification. In addition, a discussion of military history extending back so far in time is needed in order to adequately discuss both wars of the twentieth century, and wars which may occur in the twenty-first. This symposium therefore has taken a very comprehensive approach. A wide array of wars and conflicts will be discussed, from wars between independent states to World Wars One and Two, which were total wars on a truly global scale, through wars and conflicts during the Cold War, in which the two nuclear and military superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, faced each other in a bipolar world which resulted in the east-west confrontation, and wars and regional conflicts in the post-Cold War world, in which ethnicism, religion and economic competition were the causes. Scholars from the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, Australia and Japan shall discuss war and peace in the twenty-first century, taking into account the current and possible future international situation, ideas and thought, policies, diplomacy, economics, culture, military strategy, tactics, weapons and technology and other various factors.

The Gulf War and the Kosovo conflict, which occurred as the twentieth century neared its end, brought to light a number of new issues. For example, the objectives of the wars, the legitimacy of the interventions, the development of high-tech weaponry, the superiority of air forces and their tactics, the use of such weapons and air forces in order to hold casualties to a minimum, the expanding use of visual technology for both intelligence and press reportage, made possible by the computerized society which was created, in part, by advances in military technology, are all issues related to these conflicts. The increasing influence of public opinion on decisionmaking in military affairs in the advanced countries, and the increasing need to form a multilateral consensus among the participants in such conflicts, are also important issues which made themselves felt during the Gulf War and Kosovo.

International society has reached a stage where it is seeking a new world order which will enable a stable national security environment to be created which can prevent wars and armed conflicts. Harmony is required for the co-existence of multilateral cooperative relationships and alliance relationships, not only to prevent inequality or competition among the military and economic interests of the member nations, but also to prevent conflicts among such groups. The purpose of recent

efforts being made to spread stable peace and prosperity throughout international society is to enable that new order to function effectively, and in the process, the creation of a new national security regime seems likely in the future, which would serve to heighten awareness about the effectiveness of military force as a means of reducing frictions which will necessarily arise among nations or groups of nations.

It is therefore hoped that the discussions which were held in this symposium, "War and Peace in the 21st Century," will contribute to the attainment of stable security relations in international society. This report was prepared so that questions could be asked of the many persons who so earnestly participated in the symposium as the audience, and the many more who are interested in national security issues, so that perhaps we at the National Institute for Defense Studies could learn from them and make even greater contributions to the creation of national security policy.

This report contains the papers used by the speakers in the symposium for their presentations, as well as the paper submitted by Professor Yuan Ming of China, who unfortunately was unable to attend but generously gave us permission to print her paper. Also included are the opening remarks made by Defense Minister Tsutomu Karawa, who graciously made the time in his extremely busy schedule to give us a few comments, as well as the opening remarks made by Yasuhiro Ohgoshi, President of the National Institute for Defense Studies.

Finally, this report was prepared by Jun'ichiro Shoji, Chief of the 1st Research Office, Military History Department, and Senior Researchers Kiyoshi Aizawa, Tomoyuki Ishizu, Kyoichi Tachikawa and Researchers Hiroyuki Shindo and Sugio Takahashi. Research Program Coordinating Officer Yuichiro Nagao was responsible for overall coordination and proofreading.

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