



Neo-Nationalism and Future Warfare

2018

SoSACorp

Pauletta Otis, PhD

703.989.9320.

(Gary Citrenbaum, PhD

703.349.7056)



***The following countries are
undergoing dramatic change ...***



Turkey 2018





Hungary 2018





Burma / Myanmar 2018



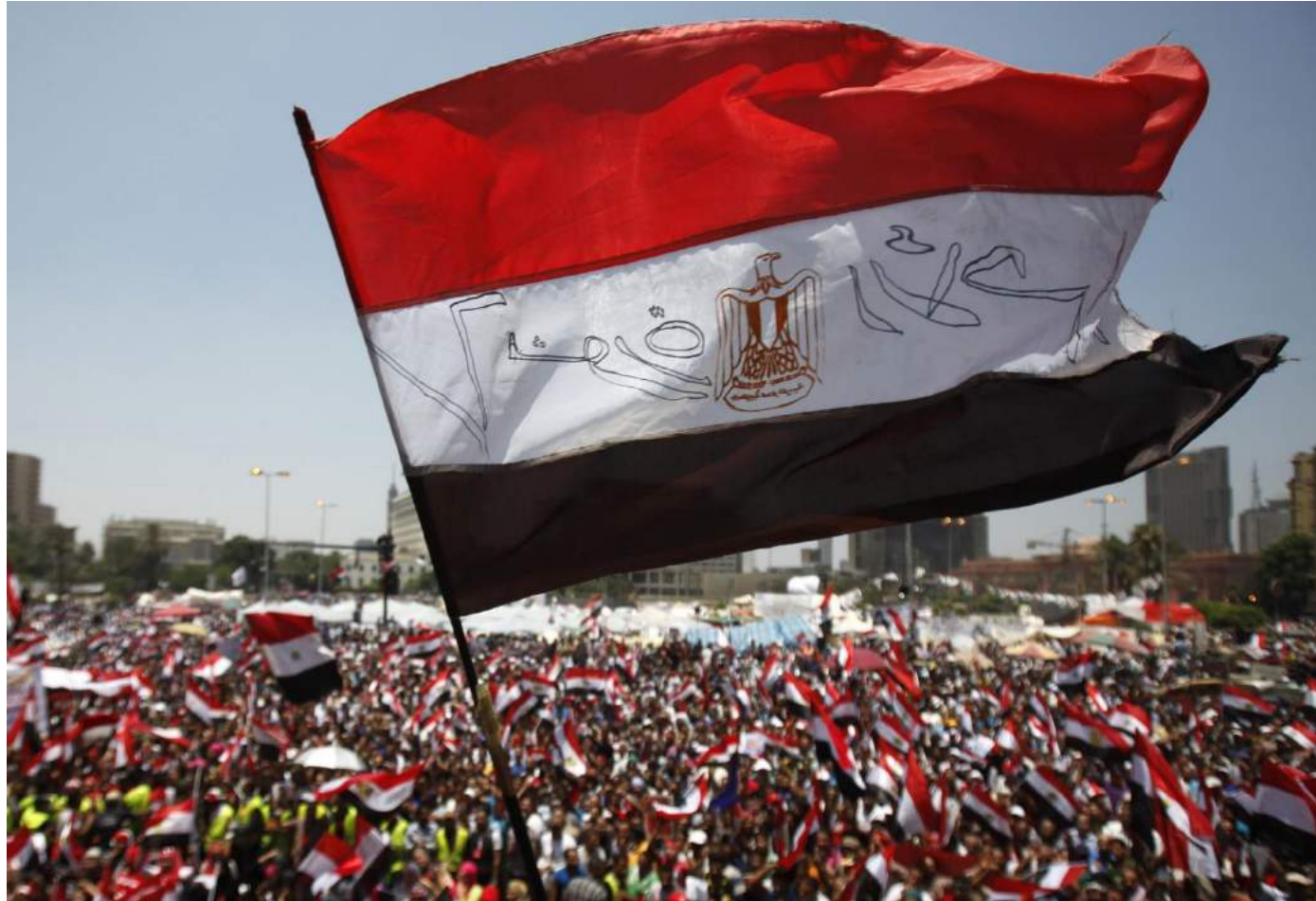


Germany 2018





Egypt 2018





Venezuela 2018



Japan 2018





China 2018





Sweden 2018





What they have in common:

- **Neo-Nationalism, that is**
 - Increasingly competitive within region
 - Increasingly militarized
 - Less cooperative with international organizations
 - Relies on a dominant leader
 - Economic self-interested
 - Features “democratically” elected leader
 - Communication with other neo-nationalist countries
 - Rewrite of history, producing new narrative/ ideology
 - Changes in domestic policies from universalist to particularist



Agenda

- I. Purpose of briefing – goal
- II. Neo-Nationalism definition
- III. Thesis and logic statement
- IV. Indicators to use with comparative case studies
- V. *Implications for future warfare: In a competitive environment, states and nationalities will use the capabilities available:*
 - A. *Between states:*
 1. *Nuclear states in competition are likely to threaten use nuclear war*
 2. *Mid-range or distracted states are likely to use conventional, limited means*
 3. *States under visible indications of change will engage in subnational, Gray Zone, TTPs*
 - B. Within states – neo-nationalism predicts to dominant vs non-dominant violence



I. Purpose of this Brief

- **To draw attention to the emergence and dynamics of “neo-nationalism”,**
- **To start development of a common analytical framework, &**
- **To identify the consequences for US national security community military policy and preparedness.**



II. Definition of Neo-Nationalism*

- Nationalism is a political, social, and economic system characterized by the promotion of the interests of a particular nation, especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining autonomy of the homeland and the people deemed indigenous to the land. Political nationalism holds that a nation should govern themselves, free from outside interference, and linked to the concept of self-determination. Nationalism is further oriented towards developing and maintaining an identity based on shared, social characteristics, such as culture and language, religion, and politics, and a belief in a common ancestry / history. Nationalism seeks to preserve a nation's culture, by way of pride in national achievements, is closely linked to supra-patriotism, and includes the belief that the nation should control the state government.
- Nationalism has a chequered past and *has been* used to mean identity politics that contributed to separatism, anti-colonialism, ethnic warfare, and national-socialism. The term is often conflated with “state” as in “nation-state”, which is generally a misnomer. States under “liberal regimes” often enacted policies which would encourage a single national identity within legal state borders.
- In history, nationalism was identified in the 1300s, 1600s, and early 1900s. This is “new” in that it is not based strictly on an emerging definition of a nation -- the state-nation distinctions made by the Treaty of Versailles, the national identities as redefined in World War I, or the anti-colonialism of pre and post World War I and II. This “neo” nationalism is similar in that it redefines an autonomous group with the capabilities of the 21st century. Any change of this magnitude will make some people very unhappy – and challenge the survival of groups less able to compete.



Then (2017) and Now (2018)

Liberal order reality

- Liberal order
- Integration
- Global institutions
- International law
- Military cooperation
- Transnational corporations

Neo-nationalism reality

- Revert to protection-ism
- Fragmentation
- National institutions
- Local, regional legal regimes
- Military defense
- Economic protectionism



Vocabulary / Concepts

- **Populism**
- **Nationalism**
- **Neo-nationalism**
- **Ethnic nationalism**
- **Resurgent nationalism**
- **Nativism**
- **Ill-liberalism**
- **Nation-state**
- **Fascism, national socialism**
- **Conservatism**
- **Muscular nationalism**
- **Techno-nationalism**
- **Xenophobia**



III. Changes within & between States

- Changes within States
 - Democracy
 - Identity - definition of citizen
 - Law vs justice
 - Economic mobility slowed
 - Political rhetoric polarized
- Resulting in:
 - **(1)** Change in the nature and character of sub-state violence
 - Repression
 - Terrorism
 - Counter-insurgency
 - Migration and Refugees
 - Criminal centers of control
- **(2)** Changes between States
 - Relationship with other states becomes Zero Sum game
 - Competitive
- Resulting in new conflict characteristics
(All will use power/ military as appropriate to capabilities)
 - Nuclear
 - Conventional
 - Gray Zone
 - (Small wars of terrorism, border disputes, criminality,....)



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Emerging Conflict

- Nuclear
- Conventional
- Gray Zone
- Seemingly random



IV. Indicators of Change (2018)

- 4.1 Ideological**
- 4.2 Identity**
- 4.3 Political power**
- 4.4 Economic**
- 4.5 Social cohesion and cleavages**
- 4.6 Geography**
- 4.7 Communication and social networking**
- 4.8 Leadership and emergence of “new” political reality**



4.1 Ideological Shift

- **From liberal order with the ideal(s) of democracy to survival of the group in competition with all others**
- **From democracy and illiberal democracy to new form of popular democracy**
- **Challenges to old realism, liberalism, conservatism, constructivism, fascism, communism, environmentalism, religion, chaos theory, security, democratic theory, and economic globalism**
- **Goal is not the “best” for all humanity, but the survival of the dominant group against all comers**



4.2 Identity

- **From global human rights to the rights of the individual as a member of a specific group**
- **In / Out group--Us vs Them**
 - **Redefinition of “in group” as ethnic, linguistic, class, or elite**
 - **Redefinition of “out group” as dangerous, dirty**
 - **Construction of boundaries between dominant group and others**
- **Human rights are defined as the rights of the individual only as a member of a specific group; emphasis on majority rights**
- **Highly visible symbols of differentiation as means of communication of status**



4.3 Political Indicators

- **Ideological shift -- power should be used to support a new nationalism generally defined as the cultural attributes of a dominant national or ethnic group.**
- **Single party control**
- **Political leadership message of dominant right to rule**
- **Police and military increasingly used for domestic enforcement**
- **Legal mechanisms favor in-group members**
- **Emphasis on (dominant) group rights rather than individual human rights**
- **Process factors such as media, communication, symbols under control of dominant group**



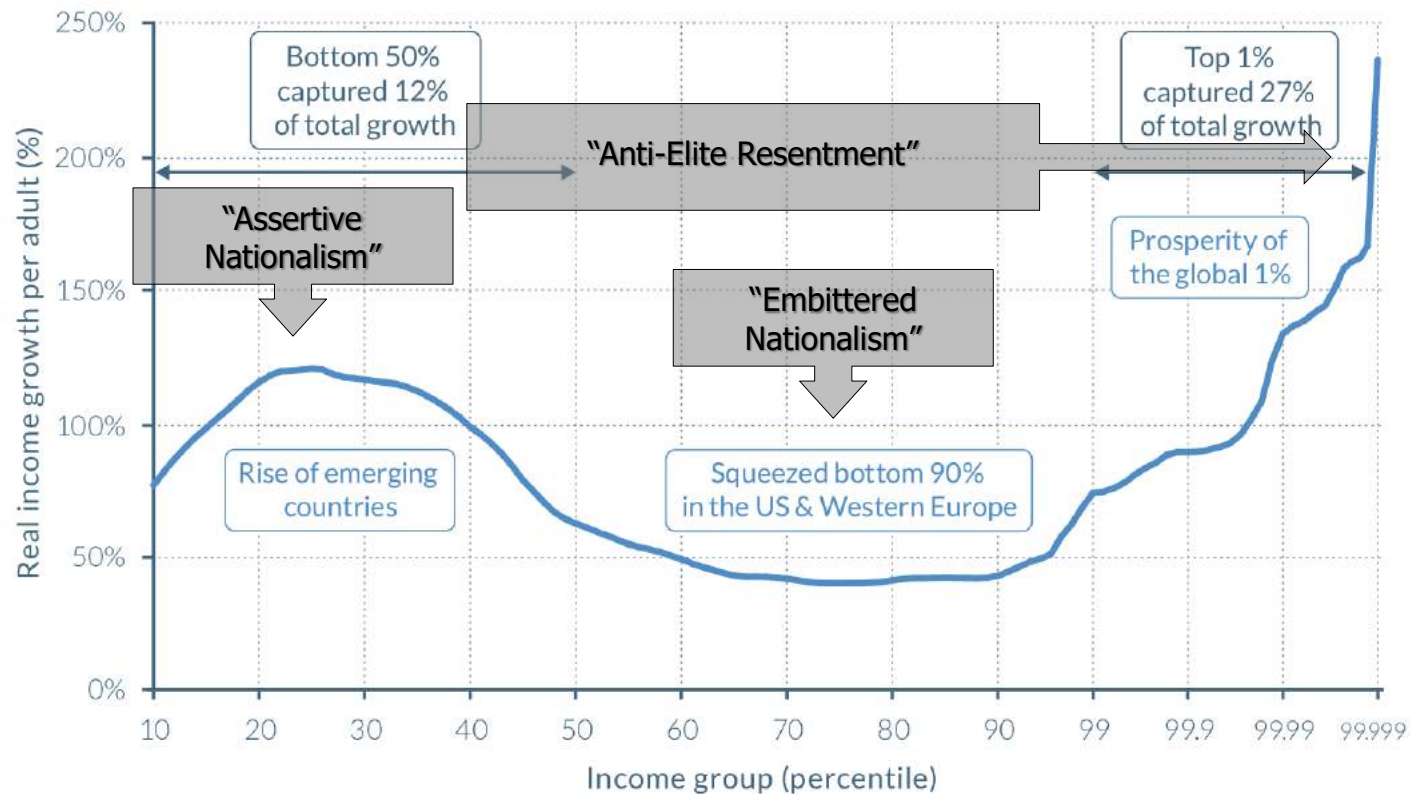
4.4 Economic Indicators

- **Perceived or “real” belief in state failure to ensure success**
- **Increasing levels of income inequality within states**
- **Increasing levels of protected trade**
- **Decreasing membership in international trade/financial organizations**
- **Decreasing adherence to rules of liberal trade order**
- **Belief that the country has been left out of global prosperity**

Globalization: Economics & Resentment

The bottom 50% grew... but the top 1% captured twice more total growth.

Total income growth by percentile across all world regions, 1980–2016





Global Economic Dynamics

A more equal world

A less equal “developed” “West”...

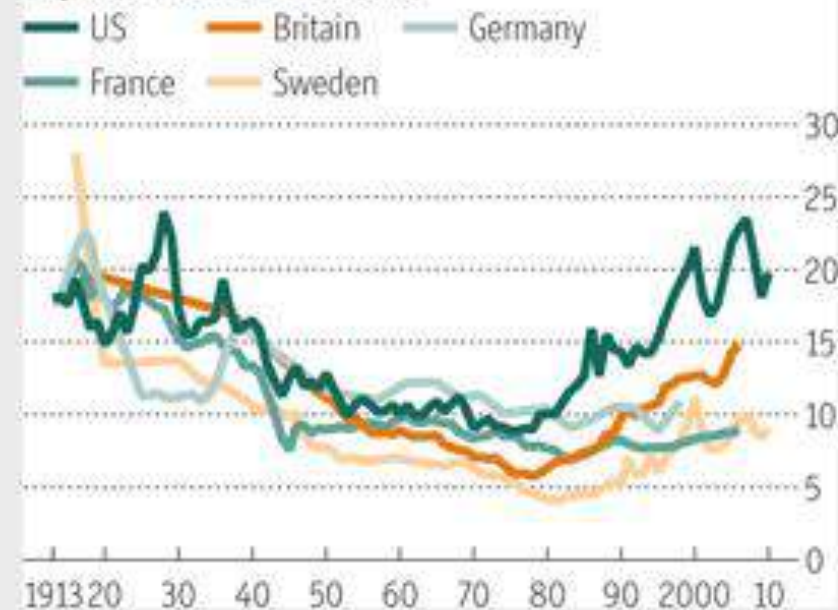
“Income inequality in OECD countries is at its highest level for the past half century. “

It depends how you look at it

Global inequality, Gini coefficient*



Top 1% income share‡, %

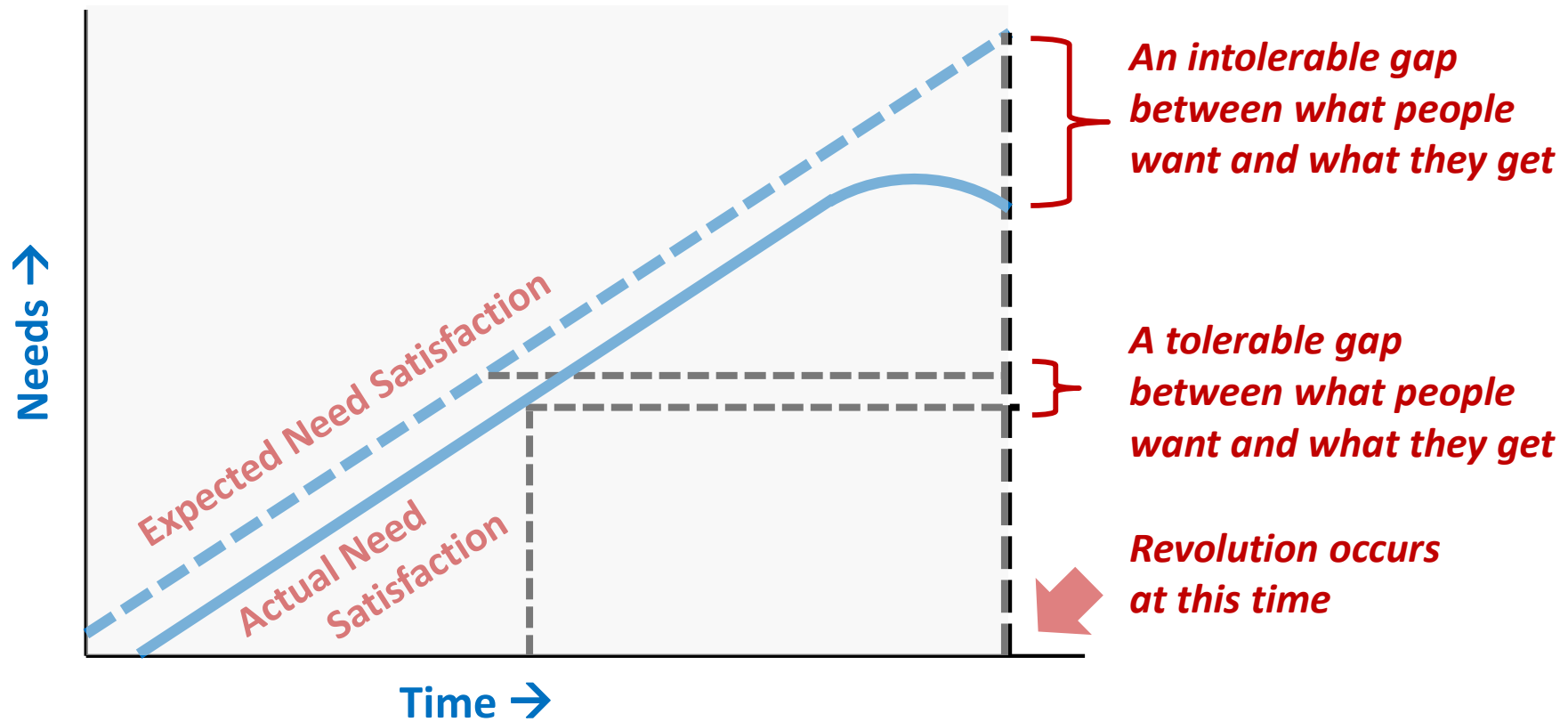


Sources: The World Top Incomes Database; World Bank; “Inequality among World Citizens: 1820-1992”, by Bourguignon & Morrisson, *The American Economic Review*, 2002; “A short history of global inequality: The past two centuries”, by Branko Milanovic, *Explorations in Economic History*, May 2011

*0=perfect equality, 1=perfect inequality
†Estimate ‡Includes capital gains, except Britain and France



Expectations and Political Incapacity





4.5 Social

- Religion increasingly in support of nationalism
- Civil protests as indicators of social/ political polarization
- Social cleavages around multiple issues and memberships
- Social divisions visible in music, art, literature
- Education in support of dominant group narrative
- Shift of formal education increasingly private and elite
- Dominant narrative becomes one story
- Increasing levels of censorship
- Housing and community boundaries become more exclusive



4.6 Geography

- **Definition of ownership returns to “boundaries” rather than borders**
- **Symbolic space and historical places become politically sacred**
- **Use of land, territory increasingly is controlled by, and benefits dominant group**
- **Those people living within the boundary who are not identified as in group, are excluded from social, political, and community activities**
- **Generally believe global agreements such as environmentalism to be international conspiracy**



4.7 Communication & Social Networking

- **Social networking increasingly reveals links between and among members of in group**
- **Antipathy to out-group members**
- **Belief/policies of “freedom of speech” only for those who support the regime**
- **Relies on social media to enhance in-group identity and out-group exclusion**



4.8 Leadership

- **Charismatic**
- **Communicators**
 - **Repetition**
 - **Limited vocabulary**
- **Centralize ideas**
 - **Belief systems not reliant on “facts”**
 - **Patriotism associated with belief in leader**
- **Criminalize non-adherence**
- **Conflate positional power and personal power**



V. Required Research

- **Evidence of neo-nationalism from comparative indicators across countries and regions**
- **Evidence of increasing military/ policing capabilities**
- **Identification of potential enemies**
- **Types of warfare potential in each of the cases that link back to resurgent or neo-nationalism**



Conflict and War Scenarios

- **Continuum of war – not phases**
- **No absolute peace**
- **More conflict, less willingness to engage**
- **Changes patterns with regard to intervention**
 - **Insurgency**
 - **Terrorism**
 - **Humanitarian**
- **Fewer stability and support operations**



Neo-Nationalism evidenced in nuclear power countries

- North Korea – *juche* reunification of *the people*
- Russia – government is increasingly “Russian”, less USSR
- Pakistan – ethnic and religious exclusivity, persecution of minorities
- China – centrality of Han; exclusion of Uighurs, Christian, minority groups
- India – increasing power of BJP and “Hindu Nationalist” groups
- Britain – Brexit and as with Europe, questions re “minorities”
- Israel – nation and state are equated in definition
- Sweden – reinstated conscription; increased defense spending



Neo-Nationalism evidenced in non-nuclear countries

- Bangladesh
- Poland
- Hungary
- Philippines
- Colombia
- Nicaragua
- Indonesia



Military Implications of NeoNationalism

- **Internal defense and policing**
- **Boundary maintenance**
- **Border control**
- **Military spending increase**
- **Military hardware increasingly for domestic policing**
- **Decrease in international cooperation**
- **Decrease in alliance / coalition participation**
- **Conscription / draft reinstated, but draftees selected according to national adherence**

Research Theory and Neo-Nationalism



- A common, single vocabulary
- The dynamics of globalization
- Understanding “nationalism” as a form of social order
- Understanding the “Neo” in national-ism”
- Sequence of events for in group consolidation
- Sequence of events for social cleavages
- Predictive analysis of consequences
- Addressing consequences: (between and within states)
 - Between – increasing competition
 - Within – increasing dominance and exclusion with indicators of poverty, exclusion, repression, lack of human rights, increase in racism, class reification, elimination of democracy, elimination of freedom of religion and institutionalization of state religion
 - Changes in the Causes and Use of Force/
 - Military and policing consequences



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NOW: way ahead

- Need to understand neo-nationalism as security and military change/ threat
- Understand what is changing and suggest adaptation
- Focus on the big picture – and then adapt to
 - CoComs
 - Services
 - Special Forces
- Need for study and analysis, and then application for operational forces.