Military Thinking in the 21st Century
International Conference in Sweden Hall at National Defence College in Stockholm
14–16 May 2014

Programme

The Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences
Defence of the Realm – Courage and Knowledge
The aim of the conference is to reflect a multitude of international perspectives on current military thinking. The conference will be arranged into panels along themes such as conventional warfare, power projection and sustainability, new technology and warfare and asymmetric warfare. Conventional land warfare, air- and sea power will be covered. Each panel will include a moderator, two to three speaker, and a commentator.
Wednesday 14 May

19.00 Conference dinner at Karlberg Palace
(special invitation)
Hosted by the Supreme Commander Swedish Armed Forces,
General Sverker Göranson

Side event 17.00-18.30 Guided tour of the palace
Thursday 15 May

09.00 Welcome address
Vice Admiral (ret.) Frank Rosenius, President of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

09.10 Address by the Swedish Minister of Defence
Minister of Defence, Mrs. Karin Enström

09.40 Address by the German Minister of Defence
Minister of Defence, Dr. Ursula von der Leyen

10.10 Coffee

10.30 Keynote speech
Professor Christopher Coker, London School of Economics and Political Science – “The Future of War”

Does the future lie in new technology or in new approaches? Is there a single future for conventional warfare or several? And how can we cut through the exaggerations that often accompany new concepts?

Moderator: Ass. Professor Gudrun Persson, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

Panelists: Professor Martin van Creveld, Tel Aviv University – “The Crisis of Military Thought”
Emile Simpson, King´s College, London – “The Concept of the Enemy in Contemporary Conflict”

Commentator: Major General, Dr. Dennis Gyllensporre, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

12.40-13.30 Buffet lunch, National Defence College Mess
13.30-15.00 Panel II – Asymmetric Warfare
Dealing with insurgents and other irregular opponents has been at the forefront for the past 10-15 years. Have we learnt any new lessons, or is it the same age-old lessons over again? How can the asymmetrical approach be used in other contexts than the classical one?

Moderator: Director General (ret.) Lars Nylén, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

Panelists: Senior Colonel, Professor Ouyang Wei, National Defence University, China
Colonel (ret.), Dr. John Mackinlay, King’s College, London – “Subversion and Civil Violence in the Next Strategic Era”
Professor Beatrice Heuser, University of Reading, United Kingdom – “Challenges of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies”

Commentator: Lieutenant Colonel, Dr. Tormod Heier, Norwegian Army

15.00-15.30 Coffee

15.30-17.30 Panel III
– Sea power: Future Concepts of Naval Warfare
– Air Power: On the Rise or in Decline?
What purposes will sea power serve in the 21st Century? Will naval presence and power projection remain pre-eminent, or will access-denial anti-access make power projection increasingly difficult? Is even a new contest between major fleets on the horizon?

Has airpower finally come of age, fulfilling the prophecies of Douhet and others? Or are conflicts still decided on the ground, albeit with assistance from the air?

Moderator: Deputy Director of Studies Niklas Granholm, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences
Panelists Sea- and Airpower:

Professor Geoffrey Till, King’s College, London –
“Navies and the 21st Century”
Professor Milan Vego, U.S. Naval War College –
“On Naval Theory”
Air Commodore, Dr. Frans Osinga, The Netherlands Defence Academy –
“The paradox of air power in the postmodern era”
Ass. Professor Nils Naastad, Norwegian University of Science and Technology –
“The language of Air Power”
Dr. Bettina Renz, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom –
“Airpower and war in the 21st century”

Commentator: Captain (N, ret.) Lars Wedin, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

19.00 Dinner at Restaurant Segelkronan
(special invitation)
Hosted by the President of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences, Vice Admiral (ret.) Frank Rosenius
Friday 16 May

09.00-10.30 Panel IV – Technology and Warfare
Leading-edge military equipment is becoming ever more capable, complex and costly, while combining commercially available goods offers even lower-tier actors effect at a fraction of the cost. Is the high-tech approach coming to the end of the road? What should governments do that cannot afford the latest and best equipment and systems?

Moderator: Dr. Carolina Vendil Pallin, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

Panelists: Colonel, Dr. Leng Feng, Academy of Military Science, PLA, China
Admiral Lutz Feldt, Germany (t.b.c.)
NN, U.S. (t.b.c.)

Commentator: Dr. Tor Bukkvoll, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment

10.30-10.45 Coffee

10.45-12.00 Panel V – Power Projection and Sustainability
Logistics, i.e. moving and supplying armed forces, has always been at the heart of warfare. Are civilian concepts such as smart logistics, outsourcing, and 3-D printing making military logistics simpler? Or is it becoming ever more complicated, costly and vulnerable?

Moderator: Captain (N) Håkan Rugeland, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

Panelists: Lieutenant Colonel, Dr. Harald Høiback, Defence University College, Norway –
“Small sprinters relation to Marathon – Projection of power or indeciveness?”
Colonel (ret.), Dr. Thomas X. Hammes, INSS, National Defence University, USA –  
"Sustaining power projections against the small and many"

**Commentator:** Dr. Dmitri V. Trenin, Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

**12.00-12.30 Concluding remarks**
General Sverker Göranson, Supreme Commander of the Swedish Armed Forces

**13.00-14.30 Reception and Buffet lunch, Stockholm City Hall**
*(special invitation)*
Hosted by the City of Stockholm
Side event 14.30-15.00, Guided tour of City Hall
BIOGROPHIES

Tor Bukkvoll
Tor Bukkvoll is senior researcher at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment. He has studied political developments in Russia and Ukraine since the mid-1990s, especially in the areas of defence and security. He speaks Russian and Ukrainian, and obtained his Ph.D. from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Bukkvoll was a visiting research fellow at the Changing Character of War program at the University of Oxford in 2008, worked as an associate professor of international relations at the Norwegian Military Academy 1996-1999, and has previously also worked at Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIIO). Among his recent publications are “The Russian Defence Industry – status, reforms and prospects”, FFI-rapport 2013/00616, “Iron cannot fight – The Role of Technology in Current Russian Military Theory”, “Journal of Strategic Studies”, 2011, Vol.34, No.5 and “Political and Military Utility of NATO for Ukraine”, in (ed.) Håkan Edström, Janne Haaland Matlary and Magnus Petersson, 2011, “NATO: The Power of Partnership”, 2011, Palgrave McMillan.

Christopher Coker
Christopher Coker is Professor of International Relations at LSE. His publications include “Men at War; what fiction tells us about conflict from The Iliad to Catch 22” (2014); “Warrior Geeks: how 21st century technology is changing the way we fight and think about war” (2013) and “Barbarous Philosophers: reflections on the nature of war from Heracitus to Heisenberg” (2010). He has been a Visiting Fellow at NIDS (Tokyo); the Rajaratnam School (Singapore), Institute for Security Studies (Bangkok) and is a regular lecturers at staff colleges and academies
Lutz Feldt

Colonel Leng Feng is an Assistant Research Fellow at the Department of Operational Theories and Doctrines, Academy of Military Science, PLA. He was born in Liaoning Province, China. He joined the PLA in 1994 and was promoted to Colonel at 2013. He graduated from the PLA Electronic Engineering Institute, and obtained his Doctor degrees in Military Science in 2005. His main filed of research covers military training and joint training. He is the co-author of three books, including “The Scientific Approaches in Training”, “Textbook on Joint Training” and “Theory of Military Training”. He has also published over 20 articles in journals and newspapers.
**Niklas Granholm**

Niklas Granholm is Deputy Director of Studies at Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI). He currently heads a study project on behalf of the Swedish Ministry for Defence studying the strategic change in the Arctic. His current other analytical task is to head a project on behalf of the Swedish Armed Forces on naval developments. Between 1999 and 2006, he headed the project for international peace-support and crisis management operations on behalf of the Swedish Ministry of Defence. Between 1997 and 1999 he was seconded to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Division for European Security Policy. He is a reserve officer in the Swedish Amphibious Corps with the rank of Major. He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Society for Naval Sciences and a member of the Swedish Society of International Affairs. He is an Associate Fellow of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). Since 2005 he is member of the board of the Swedish Commission of Military History, affiliated with the International Commission of Military History in Geneva.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2009.

**Dennis Gyllensporre**

Major General Dennis Gyllensporre currently holds the position of Head of the Plans and Policy Department in the Defense Staff, Swedish Armed Forces HQ, after having previously served as the Director of Future Capabilities. He was first commissioned in 1987 and has since held various operational positions. He has also served in missions in Bosnia, Sudan and Afghanistan. He holds a Military Masters of Arts
and Science from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, as well as a Ph.D. in Policy Analysis and Governance from the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance. He is an author of several books on military strategy and security studies.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2011.

**Thomas X. Hammes**

In his thirty years in the Marine Corps, Colonel (ret.) T. X. Hammes served at all levels in the operating forces to include command of an intelligence battalion, an infantry battalion and the Chemical Biological Incident Response Force. He participated in stabilization operations in Somalia and Iraq as well as training insurgents in various places. Hammes has a Masters in Historical Research and a Doctorate in Modern History from Oxford University. He is currently a Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University and an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University. He is the author of “The Sling and the Stone: On War in the Twenty-First Century” and “Forgotten Warriors: The 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, the Corps Ethos, and the Korean War”, chapters in 14 books and over 100 articles and opinion pieces in Washington Post, New York Times, Janes Defence Weekly, and professional journals. He has lectured widely at U.S. and International Staff and War Colleges.

**Tormod Heier**

Tormod Heier is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Norwegian Army. He is a faculty advisor at the Norwegian Defence University College, and holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Oslo. He focuses on transatlantic relations,
Norwegian security- and defence policy, and international military operations. He has edited four anthologies on these topics over the past three years, and is a frequent lecturer at the University of Oslo. Heier is also editor of “Military Studies” at the Norwegian Command and Staff College in Oslo.

**Beatrice Heuser**
Professor Beatrice Heuser holds a Chair in International Relations at the University of Reading. A graduate of the University of London (Bedford College and LSE) and the University of Oxford (DPhil), she holds a Higher Doctorate (Habilitation) from the Philipps-University of Marburg. From 1991-2003 she taught at the Department of War Studies, King’s College London, where she last held a Chair in International and Strategic Studies. She has also taught at four French universities/higher education institutions, and at two German universities. In 1997/8 she spent a sabbatical at NATO headquarters as a consultant/intern. From 2003-2007 she was Director of Research at the Military History Research Office of the Bundeswehr. Her publications include “The Evolution of Strategy: Thinking War from Antiquity to the Present” (2010); “Reading Clausewitz” (2002); a recent book on insurgencies and counterinsurgency in theory and practice (in German), and several other works on strategy (especially nuclear), NATO, and on Cold War international relations.

**Harald Høiback**
Dr. Harald Høiback is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Royal Norwegian Air Force. He is a faculty advisor at Norwegian Defence University College. He holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Oslo, and a Masters degree in history from the University of Glasgow. His main interest is the epistemology of military
doctrine and the history of military ideas. He has published two books in English: “Command and Control in Military Crisis” (Frank Cass, 2003) and “Understanding Military Doctrine, A multidisciplinary approach” (Routledge, 2013). In Norwegian he has edited the book “Krigens vitenskap”, with Palle Ydstebo (Abstrakt, 2012), and has written the forthcoming book “Krigskunstens historie fra 1500 til i dag” (Cappelen Damm, 2014). Høiback is editor of the military periodical “Norsk Militært Tidsskrift”.

John Mackinlay
Dr. John Mackinlay retired from the War Studies Department of King’s College London in 2012. He began his career as a British Army officer in the 6th Gurkhas, won a Defence Fellowship at Churchill College Cambridge 1985 and completed his Ph.D. at King’s College London in 1990. His most recent research interest has been the evolution of international forces and understanding insurgency. In “The Insurgent Archipelago” (Hurst 2009), he explained why leaders of the wealthiest and most powerful nations habitually fail to understand the evolutionary relevance of insurgency. His most recent paper is “After 2015: The Next Security for Britain” (PRISM 3, No 2).

Nils Naastad
Dr. Nils Naastad is a retired historian from War Studies Department at the Royal Norwegian Air Force Academy. With more than 100 publications on military matters he is a well known figure within Norwegian military academia. At present he holds a position as historian in the teacher training department at the University of Trondheim.
**Lars Nylén**

After graduating from the Faculty of Law at Uppsala University, Sweden, and from the Swedish Police Academy he was with the Tierp police department from 1977 to 1992 as chief of police. 1992-1996 he was chief of police in Uppsala province. 1996-2004 he was Commissioner and Head of the National Criminal Police, Stockholm, Sweden. From September 2004 till June 2011 he was Director General of the Swedish Prison and Probation Service. 2011-2013 he worked as Director General in the Ministry of Justice with rule of law issues in peacekeeping missions. He is a graduate of the FBI National Academy, USA, 1985, has attended police courses with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police/Canadian Police College, International Training Course on Physical Protection of Nuclear Facilities and Materials, USA, the National Swedish Rescue Board (Advanced Rescue Service) and the Swedish National Defence College and has completed the United Nations Senior Management Seminar (UNSMAS). He has been engaged in public order training for the new South African Police Service and was during several years a member of the International Team of experts on Public Order Policing in South Africa funded by the Belgian Government. He is a member of the board of Folke Bernadotte Academy.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2006.

**Frans Osinga**

Air Commodore, Dr. Frans Osinga is the Chair in War Studies, Head of the Military Operational Art and Science Section at the Faculty of Military Sciences of the Netherlands Defence Academy, Director of the War Studies Program, and Director
of the Master Program Military Strategic Studies. He is member of the
Faculty Board of the Faculty of Military Sciences of the Netherlands
Defence Academy.

His previous assignments include a tour at NATO Allied Command
Transformation (Norfolk, Va) from 2005-2007 as the Liaison Officer for
the Germany based newly established Joint Air Power Competence
Center. He has held a number of staff positions at the Netherlands Air
Force Air Staff. From 1987-1994 he served in a number of NF-5 and F-
16 squadrons, also as an F-16 instructor.

ACdre Osinga is the author of more than 45 publications. Among his
most recent publications is ‘Air Warfare’, a chapter in the “Oxford
University Press Handbook of War” (edited by Julian Lindley-French and
Yves Boyer), and “Cyberwarfare, Critical Perspectives” co-edited with Paul
Ducheine and Sjo Soeters. In 2013 Stanford University Press published a
co-edited volume (with Theo Farrell and James Russell) title “Military
Adaptation and the War in Afghanistan”. In 2011, a decade after the terrorist
attacks on New York and Washington, he co-edited a retrospective on
the impact of 9/11. In 2010 he published “A Transformation Gap?
American Innovations and European Military Changes” (co-edited with Theo
Farrell and Terry Terriff). In the past he authored several reports for
major political parties to which he has acted as a consultant, and a
volume of poetry. In 2007 the paperback edition was published of his
book “Science, Strategy and War, the Strategic Theory of John Boyd”, which has
sold over 3000 copies worldwide (with translations in Italian and Finish)
and has received very positive reviews. He is a graduate of the
Netherlands Defence Academy and the Netherlands Defence College.
From 1998-1999 he attended the School of Advanced Airpower Studies
at Maxwell AFB, Alabama. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from
Leiden University. For a variety of national and international audiences
he regularly lectures on international security, contemporary military
operations, strategic thought, and defence policy.
**Gudrun Persson**


She is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2013.

**Bettina Renz**

Bettina Renz is a lecturer in International Security and co-director of the Centre or Conflict, Security and Terrorism at the University of Nottingham’s School of Politics and International Relations. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Birmingham’s Centre for Russian and East European Studies. Her previous positions include lecturer in defence studies at the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell (KCL) and ESRC postdoctoral fellow at the University of Birmingham’s European Research Institute. Her teaching and research focuses on contemporary war and strategic studies. She has published widely on Russian security and defence policy with a particular emphasis on military and security sector reform and is currently preparing a monograph on airpower and war in the 21st century.
Håkan Rugeland
Captain (Navy) Håkan Rugeland currently works with Change Management in the Swedish Defense Logistics Reform, Swedish Armed Forces HQ, after having previously served as Head of Logistics, Operations. After commission in 1983 and a Masters in Naval Architecture and Mechanical Engineering, he served at the Submarine flotilla, at various positions in Defense Material Administration (FMV) and in the Armed Forces.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2007.

Emile Simpson
Emile Simpson served in the British Army as an infantry officer in the Royal Gurkha Rifles until 2012. He completed three tours in Southern Afghanistan, as well as service in Brunei, Nepal, and the Falkland Islands. He previously read history at Oxford University, and subsequently returned as a Visiting Defence Fellow to the Oxford Changing Character of War Programme. He also holds a Graduate Diploma in English law. He is the author of ‘War From the Ground Up: Twenty-First-Century Combat as Politics’. He is currently at King’s College London working on the history of international law in relation to the concept of the enemy.
Geoffrey Till

Geoffrey Till is the Emeritus Professor of Maritime Studies of King’s College London and Chairman of the Corbett Centre for Maritime Policy Studies. In 2007 he was a Senior Research Fellow at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, and in 2008 the inaugural Sir Howard Kippenberger Visiting Chair in Strategic Studies at the Victoria University of Wellington. Since 2009, he has been Visiting Professor in the Maritime Security Programme at the RSIS. In addition to many articles and chapters on various aspects of maritime strategy and policy defence, he is the author of a number of books. His most recent are “The Development of British Naval Thinking” published by Routledge in 2006, a volume edited with Emrys Chew and Joshua Ho, “Globalization and the Defence in Asia” [Routledge, 2008], “Korean Maritime Strategy: Issues and Challenges” [Seoul: KIMS, 2011] (with Yoon Sukjoon) and “Sea Power and the Asia-Pacific: The Triumph of Neptune” [Routledge, 2012] (with Patrick S Bratton), “Asia’s Naval Expansion: An Arms Race in the Making?” [Routledge for the IISS, 2012] “Seapower: A Guide for the 21st Century” (Third Edition) [Routledge 2013] His “Understanding Victory: Naval Operations from Trafalgar to the Falklands” will appear early in 2014, (ABC Clio for Praeger) as will a monograph on the military dimension of the developing relations between China and the United States. His works have been translated into twelve languages, and he regularly speaks at staff colleges and academic institutions around the world.

Dmitri V. Trenin

Dr. Dmitri V. Trenin is Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and chair of the Carnegie Moscow Center's Foreign and Security Policy Program. He has been with the Center since
its inception in 1994. In 1993-1997, Trenin held posts as a Senior Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome and a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. He served in the Soviet and Russian armed forces from 1972 to 1993, including experience working with the military assistance group in Iraq (1975-76), as a liaison officer in the External Relations Branch of the Group of Soviet Forces (stationed in Potsdam, 1978-83) and as a staff member of the delegation to the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks in Geneva from 1985 to 1991. He also taught at the area studies department of the Military Institute from 1986 to 1993.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2012.

**Martin van Creveld**

Martin van Creveld, Professor Emeritus at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, is one of the world’s best-known experts on military history and strategy. Born in the Netherlands, educated in Israel and the United Kingdom, van Creveld is the author of twenty-five books. Most are about military history and strategy; that includes the last one, *Wargames: From Gladiators to Gigabytes* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). Others deal with very different subjects, such as political history, women’s history, American history, and Israeli history. Between them, these works have now been published in twenty different languages.

**Lars Wedin**

Captain Lars Wedin was commissioned in the Royal Swedish Navy in 1969 and retired in 2004. While on operational duty, he served on fast patrol boats and destroyers and had several command tours. Since
1990 he has mainly worked with politico-military affairs *i.a.* in the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and as branch-chief in the EU Military Staff 2000-2003. 2003-2005, he served as director of military history and then as acting professor in military strategy at the Swedish National Defence College. Lars Wedin is today director of studies (Northern Europe) at Institut Français d’Analyse Stratégique (IFAS) in Paris. He is a member of the Board of Directors at ERPIC – European Rim Partnership and Investment Council; Larnaca, Cyprus. His other memberships include the Royal Swedish Society of Naval Sciences and the French Académie de Marine. Lars Wedin has published a number of articles in, mainly, Swedish and French journals on strategy and international politics. He is the author of three books on strategy of which one is translated into French. He now prepares a book on the French Admiral Castex and contemporary maritime strategy.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 1995.

**Ouyang Wei**

Senior Colonel, Professor Ouyang Wei, Ph.D., is director of Center for Mobilization Studies of National Defense University in Beijing, P.R China. He concentrates on Regional Security, Defense Strategy, Crises Management, Border Security, Mobilization, and Non-traditional Security issues. He previously served more than 20 years as a command and staff officer at different level in Armed Forces. He graduated from Armor Command College, Army Command College, National Defense University and Royal College of Defense Studies (UK). Prof. Ouyang Wei has published many books and articles, such as “*The History of Evolution About Operational Thinking*”; “*The Famous Commanders and Campaign in World War II*”; “*Strategic Legacy in 20th Century*”; “*Security Structure of North East Asia*”; “*Disaster Relieve: An Important Mission of Chinese Armed Forces in the New Stage*”; “*National Security..."
Milan Vego


Carolina Vendil Pallin


She is a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences since 2010.
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