

# **The Changing Character of Warfare:**

## **Defense Dominates the Battlespace**

Dr. T. X. Hammes  
Institute for National Strategic Studies  
National Defense University

# THE WORLD ACCORDING TO AMERICANS



# America according to the World



# Purpose

- What drives changes in character of warfare?
- What is driving change today?
- What forms will future conflict take?

**Underlying**  
**NATURE OF WAR**  
**does not change,**  
**CHARACTER OF**  
**WARFARE**  
**changes continually**

# Key Question -

Why does the  
character of war  
evolve?

# Character of War Reflects Societies

- Economic
- Political
- Social
- Technical

# Warfare is evolving

- Widespread agreement
- What it will be – continuing disagreement
- Three types of enemy
  - State, Insurgent, Terrorist
  - Crime is always present



# Nation States

# Key Changes

- Pervasive Surveillance
- Mass with precision
  - Drones/rockets with Task Specific AI
  - Advanced (3D) manufacturing
- C4I that can exploit both

**Will this lead to  
tactical dominance by the defense?**

# **Pervasive Surveillance: Satellites and Drones**

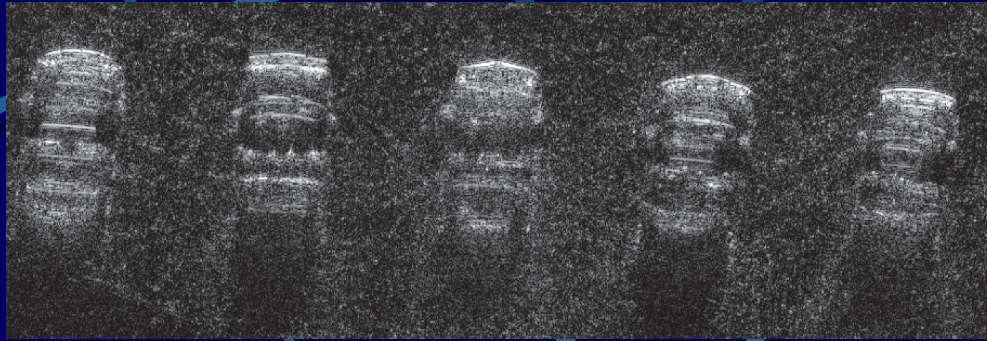
# Pervasive Surveillance

- Visual/IR - 24 hours; Targeted – 10x/day
- SAR - Capella Space – 6 hours going to 15 mins
- EW – Hawkeye 360 - locate to 3 KM - every hour
- 100,000 small sats by 2030
- Cyber/Social Media – Continuous

## Change Detection Software

# **CAPELLA SPACE**

## **Very high resolution SAR imagery through vegetation**



# **PLANET LAB**

## **Image taken 9 Apr, posted 10 Apr**





# Surveillance Drones

Long-range



- Aurora Orion UAV
- 120 hours = 5 days
  - 1,000 lb payload
- 48 hours at 3,000 miles



- Flexrotor
- VTOL
- 1,500 miles
- 30 hours
- E/O, IR, SAR



- V-BAT -128
- VTOL
- 11 Hours
- E/O, IR

# **Mass with Precision**

## **Artillery, rockets, drones**

# Artillery



- Swedish Archer
- 155 mm
- Range: 50 km
- Emplace, 3 rounds, displace
  - 72 seconds
- Auto-load, 21 rounds



- French Caesar
- 155 mm
- Family of rockets
- Range: 55 km
- 36 rounds



# Missiles/Rockets



Jumper – Israel  
50 km – 8/box



HIMARS – PrSM  
2022 – 480 km  
2025 – 800 km



JLTV – NSM  
180 km

# Attack Drones



- Harop – loitering munition
- 600 miles – 55 lbs
- Autonomous – Visual, IR, EMS
- Operational in 10 nations



- TUV-S
  - 1,200 miles – 250 lbs unitary
  - 4,000 miles – 1,000 lbs
  - 1 meter CEP
  - C-130, Civilian A/C
- USAF CLEAVER Program

# Attack Drones



- XQ-58A *Valkyrie*
- 1,500 miles – 500 lbs
- Autonomous
- Stealth configured
- VTOL
- \$3M



**170 = 1 F-35 A  
Purchase + O&M**



# Attack Drones



Shahed-136  
1,000 miles  
50 lbs  
\$30,000  
Autonomous



# Loitering Munitions



- Warmate – Poland
- \$40K each
- Visual/IR
- HE, HEAT, Thermobaric
- Range: 30 km
- Two-man carry

225 per M1A2



# Loitering Munitions



- Drone 40
- UK and USMC
- 15 km
- \$500-1000

9,000 per M1A2

- Hero Family
  - Loitering Munitions
    - 15 - 100s of km
  - Semi-autonomous



# Containerized Weapons



Club – K LACM – 2,400 km  
ASCM – 600 km



Tested by Russia, China,  
Israel, USMC, USN





# Hide in Plain Sight





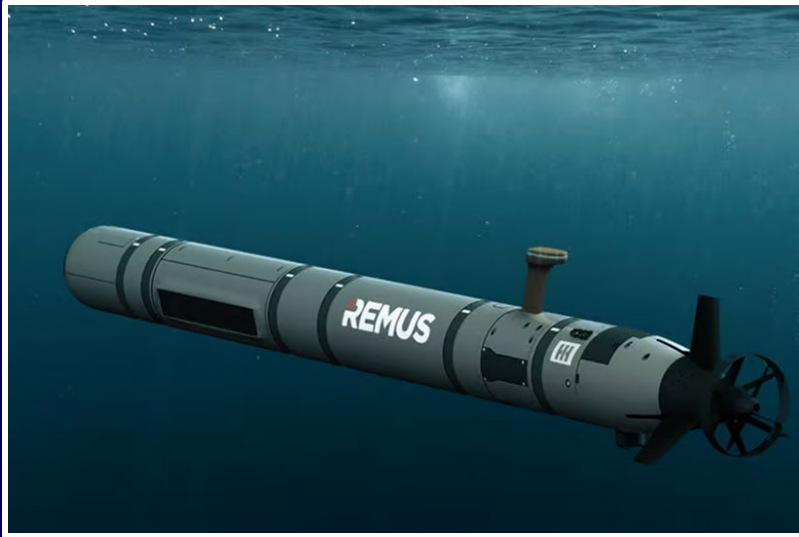
# Autonomous USVs

## Autonomous Boat Swarm TF 59



## Ukrainian USV

# Autonomous UUVs



- **Remus 620**
- **5 Days endurance**
- **275 NM range**



- **Australian "Ghost Shark"**
- **10 days endurance**
- **Nextgen – school bus sized**

# 3D: Capability + Volume



2014  
Autonomous  
50 kms  
\$800

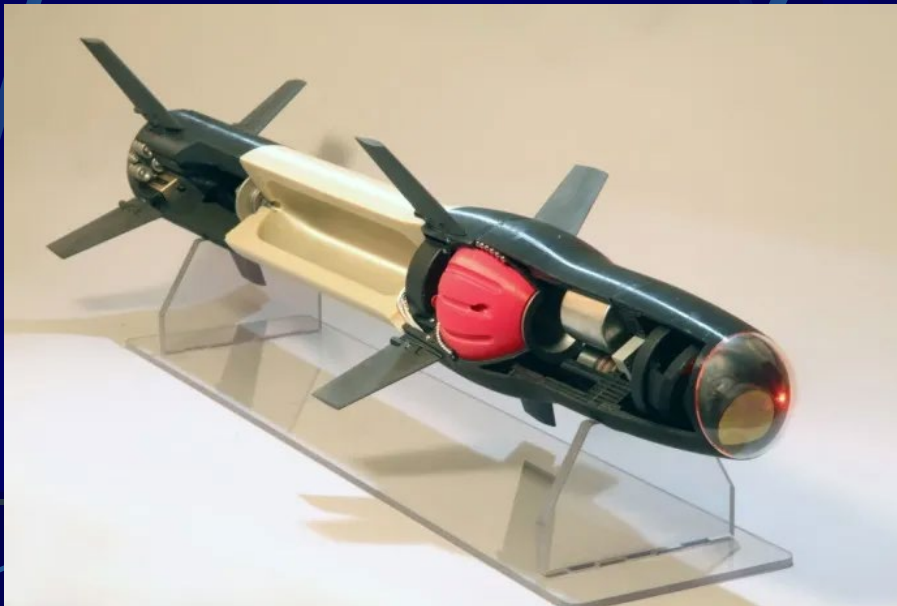
10,000 to 100,000  
a day



# Advanced Manufacturing



**Turboprop from  
855 parts to 10**



**Raytheon  
3D Manufactured  
Drone Model**





# Mass Launch Drones



# **Countering Mass?**

## **Auto-cannons and Directed Energy Weapons**

# Auto-cannons

**Gephard 35mm**



**CIWS 20mm**

- **Range**
- **Magazine capacity**



# Lasers







# Microwave Systems



# Directed Energy: Lasers and Microwave

- Advantage to land-based defense
  - Massive power generation advantage
  - Concealment
- Weakness
  - Lasers - smoke, haze, reflective coatings
  - Microwave – Faraday cages; hardened electronics

# **C4I:** **Exploit advances**

# Ukraine

- Initially crippled
- Created “Delta” on the fly
  - Based on Diia
  - Routed through Starlink
    - Can create local networks from one phone
  - Coded almost all potential sensors
- Uber for fires

# Non-state actors – Insurgents

- Human network – “Coalitions of angry”
  - Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, ISIS
- Transnational
- Transdimensional
- Self supporting

# Insurgents

- Three drivers –
  - 1<sup>st</sup> driver – anti-colonial
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> driver – conflict over who rules
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> driver – identities (borders are wrong)

# Implications of Third Driver

- Transborder conflicts
- Coalitions of angry and opportunists
  - Based on societies in conflict
- Historically very long conflicts
- U.S. Doctrine doesn't work



# Non-state actors - Super-empowered Terrorists

- Super empowered small group
- Use what society provides
- Loyalty to “cause” not nation





**Oklahoma City  
1995  
3 Tons**



**Beirut Port  
2020  
1.1 Kilotons**



**Texas City  
1947  
2 Kilotons**

# **Tactical Impacts:** **C4I, Pervasive Surveillance, and** **Mass w/ Precision**

# Irregular War

- Long-range precision strike; swarms
- Convergence favors non-state actors
  - Little infrastructure to protect
  - Weak drone/missile defense
  - State infrastructure vulnerable
  - Defense of logistics – civil and military
- Powerful role for outside sponsors

# Ground Domain

- Combined arms defense becomes dominant
  - Signature minimized – organic ISR
- Mass is essential
  - 10,000 dumb swarm is doable today
- Dispersed commercial containers/pods
  - Independent or networked firing batteries
  - Range allows massing fires from distance

**Can you maneuver with 1,000 hunters overhead?**

# Sea Domain

- Defense dominant to increasing ranges
  - Choke points closed
- Land based concealment & magazine advantages
- Small states/insurgents challenge navies
- Weapons not platforms
  - Missiles, drones, mines



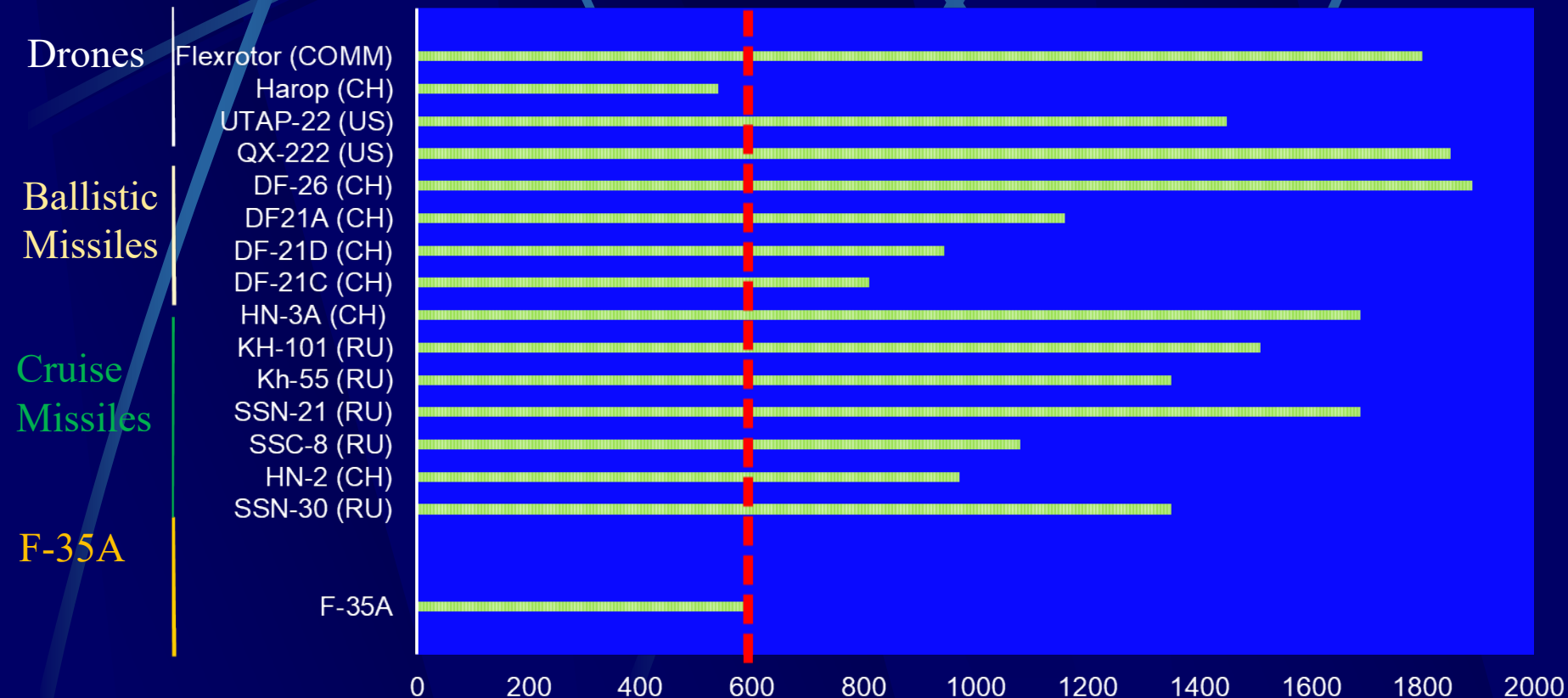
# Air Domain

- Weapons not platforms
- Fixed bases become untenable
- Kill aircraft and enablers on the ground
- With right weapons, defense dominates
- Offense may be forced to attack commercial targets

**Are manned aircraft range obsolete?**

# F-35A vs Missiles/Drones

## Operational Range in Nautical Miles



# Space Domain

- Heavily congested and contested
- Everyone has access to space
  - Surveillance, Communications, Attack
- Rapid space replacement evolving
  - Commercial space, drones, balloons
- Key issue = PNT for civilians

# Cyber Domain

- Nodes vulnerable to precision strike
- Conventional wisdom – offense dominated
  - Ukraine shows the opposite
- Historical precedence
  - Espionage
  - Theft
  - Destructive attacks
    - Lovebug to NotPetya
    - Solarwinds/Holiday Bear

# Conventional – Electromagnetic

- The critical domain??
- Contested by combined arms
- Russia in Ukraine, Syria, Nagorno-Karabakh
- China - SSF



# Transition pattern

- Historical pattern – takes time
- Helper – Partner – Replacement
- Pike to musket; battleship to carrier
- Manned A/C to cruise missiles/drones
  - Helper – Gulf War I – IADS suppression
  - Partner – Gulf War II/Afghanistan
  - Replacement –
    - Strike vs heavily defended
    - Long-endurance missions

# Operational Implications

- Connected C2 critical
  - Ukraine improvised “Delta”
- Defense dominates air, sea, land domains
- Space and electromagnetic contested
- Cyber uncertain
- Power projection much more costly

# Strategic Implications

- Geography favors the defense
  - Major Allied advantage in Europe/Asia
- Smaller states/non-states deny major powers
- Greater allied contributions
- Mass returns
- National mobilization required

# Big Questions

- Should joint operating concepts focus on defense?
- Are we buying the wrong stuff?
- Production for long wars?
- Implications for joint/combined forces?

# Contact Information

txhammes1  
@gmail.com

