

NATIONAL SECURITY for a NEW ERA



Focusing National Power



Final Report

From the Thirty-First Annual
IFPA-Fletcher Security Conference

FLETCHER CONFERENCE 2001

NATIONAL SECURITY *for a* NEW ERA



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President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

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*Chairman, Procurement Subcommittee,
House Armed Services Committee*

General Wesley Clark, USA (Ret.)

former Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Rear Admiral Kathleen Paige, USN

Technical Director, Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

Lieutenant General Edward G. Anderson III, USA

Deputy Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Space Command

General Barry McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

*former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command,
and former Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy*

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The Honorable Gary Hart

*Co-Chair, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century,
and former U.S. Senator from Colorado*

Ms. Michelle Van Cleave

President, National Security, Concepts, Incorporated

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Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard

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former Ambassador to the People's Republic of China
Dr. Keith Payne
Chairman and President, National Institute for Public Policy
General Montgomery C. Meigs, USA
Commanding General, United States Army Europe and Seventh Army
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Introduction

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Net Assessment, and the United States Army cosponsored the thirty-first annual Fletcher Conference on November 14th & 15th, 2001 in Washington, D.C. The conference examined and advanced ways to more effectively focus our instruments of national power on the full range of security challenges confronting America. Speakers included current and former national security policy makers, senior military officials, Congressional leaders, internationally recognized security specialists, corporate and industry leaders and representatives from the national news media. The Conference provided a high-level forum for the more than 450 participants to discuss national security visions with a specific focus on the more effective use of the diplomatic, economic, and military instruments of national power.

The conference consisted of five panels and five addresses. Addresses were delivered by Governor Tom Ridge, Director, Office of Homeland Security; Dr. Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense; General Richard Myers, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Mr. Sean O’Keefe, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget; and General William Kernan, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Joint Forces Command.

The first panel contemplated security visions and priorities from interagency and Congressional perspectives and featured The Honorable Avis Bohlen, Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Arms

Control; The Honorable Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; Senator James Inhofe (R-OK), Senate Armed Services Committee; and Ambassador Paul Bremer III, Chairman, National Commission on Terrorism. The second panel dealt specifically with the role of military power in complex environments and featured Congressman Curt Weldon (R-PA), Chairman, Procurement Subcommittee, House Armed Services Committee; General (Retired) Wesley Clark, former Supreme Allied Commander, Europe; Rear Admiral Kathleen Paige, Technical Director, Ballistic Missile Defense Organization; Lieutenant General Edward Anderson, Deputy Commander-in-Chief, United States Space Command; and General (Retired) Barry McCaffrey, former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command and former Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy. The third panel addressed the requirements for homeland security and counterterrorism. Panelists included The Honorable Gary Hart, Co-Chair of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century; Ms. Michelle Van Cleave, President, National Security Concepts, Inc; Admiral James Loy, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard; and Major General John Parker, Commanding General, U.S. Army Medical Research and Materiel Command.

On day two, the fourth panel examined ways to focus the multiple instruments of national power – diplomatic, information, military, and economic – within our current interagency structure. Panelists included The Honorable Frank Carlucci, former National Security Advisor and Secretary of Defense; General (Retired) Anthony Zinni, former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Central Command; and Dr. Gordon Adams, George Washington University. The fifth and final panel discussed the United States’ relationship with allies and coalitions. Panelists included Admiral (Retired) Joseph Prueher, former Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China; Dr. Keith Payne, President, National Institute for Public Policy; General Montgomery Meigs, Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe; and Air Vice-Marshal John Thompson, Defence Attaché, British Embassy.

Summary

Key Outcomes

Throughout the conference two themes remained constant: the need for greater intergovernmental cooperation and the requirement for military transformation. Participants unanimously agreed that inter-agency cooperation and information sharing must be improved at all levels of government. However, the scarcity of specific proposals to improve cooperation, illustrates the difficulty of accomplishing this objective. Conference participants also reaffirmed the necessity to properly resource military transformation to enhance each service's agility, flexibility, and jointness. The resourcing, shape, and speed of that transformation remain subjects open to debate.

The Emerging Security Environment

In today's evolving security environment, the United States is now exposed to a wide range of global threats, while U.S. territory and American citizens are the direct targets of our adversaries. In this new era, many of our adversaries are difficult to identify, challenging to isolate, difficult to defeat as this new enemy uses the liberties and freedoms of free societies to blend into civilian populations and freely move across borders. Senator Hart noted that the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century identified the outlines of this new era, but few of the Commission's recommendations have been implemented. Several participants noted that the September 11th terrorist attacks served as a "wake-up call" to demonstrate unequivocally that the U.S. homeland is now exposed to a wide range

of threats that emanate from multiple sources, such as terrorism, ballistic missiles, WMD/E and cyber attack.

The current geopolitical dominance of the United States forces our state and non-state adversaries to confront the U.S. using the cover of democratic liberties to attack the U.S. with asymmetric means in order to avoid force on force, conventional warfare. This method allows our adversaries to choose the time and place to inflict maximum harm and impose disproportionate costs while forcing other democracies and the U.S. to take wide ranging and expensive precautions. Unlike terrorism in the 1960s and 1970s, in which terrorists sought to achieve narrow political objectives, today's terrorists do not seek political negotiation but instead inflict mass casualties in direct attacks to force the U.S. and other democratic nations into self-imposed isolation. In the past, terrorism was countered most effectively within a legal context by treating terrorists as criminals. Combating this new form of terrorism requires the synchronization of all instruments of national power across global networks and a shift from threat-based to capabilities-based planning.

"New" terrorism takes many forms, from the attacks of September 11th to the spread of biological agents and the employment of weapons of mass destruction. While the need to confront the threat posed by catastrophic acts of terrorism is clear, there was some disagreement among panelists regarding the prioritization of this threat within national security policy. Ambassador Bremer suggested that terrorism poses the single greatest danger to American national security, while Dr. Adams held that terrorism is only one "vector" among many U.S. national security concerns. There was general consensus that while the United States government and the American people must adapt their security thinking to deny and deter terrorism, the U.S. military must retain a strong, balanced, conventional capability to address both existing and unforeseen threats to U.S. security and interests. Additionally, the terrorist attacks highlighted the necessity of maintaining current capabilities, enforcing nonproliferation regimes, and developing and fielding a missile defense system for the United States and its allies.

According to Deputy Secretary of Defense, Dr. Wolfowitz, the lack of American preparedness demonstrated in the September 11th attacks had its origins in "a poverty of expectations." Throughout the Cold War the United States based its national security strategy on countering a known threat. Today, the threats to U.S. national efforts are

diffused and hidden, and through the use of asymmetric means, capable of inflicting catastrophic damage using surprise. It is now imperative that the U.S. Government plan for and adapt to surprise. There are three categories of required measures to better meet the requirements of this new national security era: developing new capabilities, revitalizing neglected institutions, and reinvesting in human capital.

The conference discussions included a variety of recommendations to meet these requirements with new capabilities. The majority of the conference participants viewed missile defense as an essential capability to address existing and potential threats to the United States and its allies. Similarly, U.S. space capabilities remain a critical asymmetric advantage over potential adversaries. Homeland security is also vital both to prevent and to respond to attacks against U.S. territory. Finally, conference participants noted that the United States must develop transformed rapidly deployable, full spectrum, joint military forces that can deter, preempt and respond to crises abroad.

Revitalizing the U.S. Government

The U.S. must revitalize traditional agencies and institutions to ensure they are more effective in influencing and shaping international events. For example, numerous speakers noted the inadequate funding of the State Department and the need to improve and expand the use of public diplomacy.

The effectiveness of our military and government agencies depends on the quality and skill of their personnel. Panelists noted the United States must reinvest in human capital and promote public service. The U.S. must restore the regional and language expertise neglected since the end of the Cold War. Our military leaders must be trained in the art of war, and in political science and other fields, to give them the necessary tools to lead and operate in a complex world.

General Zinni stated the United States must employ its diplomatic and economic powers proactively before crises develop. But, due to a hesitancy to apply diplomatic and economic resources, there is a tendency to rely on the military's size, speed, and effectiveness to reestablish stability. Military intervention often comes too late to achieve political objectives thus a long-term military presence evolves. However, once the military is involved, tremendous leverage may be applied by synchronizing the military, diplomatic, and legal tools towards the political aim. According to General Clark, we do

not have to be militarily decisive to be strategically decisive if we effectively employ the other instruments of national power.

Information Operations

The participants debated the proper role of information in this new security environment. Although information operations efforts rarely affect hardened adversaries, an effective communications campaign dampens the support upon which terrorists rely and the U.S. requires to help maintain the coalition against terrorism. It was noted, that in the current war against terrorism, the United States allowed the adversary to seize the initiative in the war of ideas. Lieutenant General Anderson highlighted how technological advances increases the potential of information operations and the evolving importance of information management in our military doctrine. General Clark stated that in “modern warfare” it was essential that America project a positive image of its values and society. However, the impact of information operations remains limited against this new brand of terrorism. Ambassador Bremer stated that we are unable to influence “new” terrorists through information operations; they already understand American values and hate us for those values. However, he and others acknowledged the potential to influence the moderate populations in Muslim states.

Homeland Security

Homeland security remains a significant organizational challenge, since the forty or fifty agencies involved have little overarching coordination. Participants widely agreed that any Director of Homeland Security must have budgetary authority over these agencies to encourage cooperation. In a special address, Governor Ridge noted that the Office of Homeland Security, working through the Office of Management and Budget, is sufficiently involved in the budget process to synchronize these efforts. There was disagreement, however, as to whether the Director should be a cabinet-level position, accountable to both the President and Congress.

Governor Ridge also noted that the terrorist attacks of September 11th created a shared sense of urgency and common purpose within America, fueling an immediate and comprehensive national response. Yet, as crucial as the current efforts are, Governor Ridge remarked that neither the country nor the Office of Homeland Security could focus exclusively on present responses. He further pointed out that we must strengthen our domestic security for the long-term through greater interagency cooperation.

It is widely recognized that the first responders - police, firemen, and local medical practitioners - have the primary responsibility for consequence management. To adequately respond to attacks on the homeland, these organizations must be standardized - or at least interoperable - in training and equipping, and must have the latest technology. In the aftermath of this attack, experts note the military must continue to play a large, but supporting, role. General McCaffrey advocated the creation of a "national gendarmerie" to patrol U.S. borders and the modernization of the U.S. Coast Guard. He was one of several speakers to recommend the redirection of the mission of the National Guard to Homeland Defense.

Enhancing the Military's Capability to Address Terrorism

This new security era requires the development and enhancement of certain military capabilities to adequately provide for U.S. national security needs. Asymmetrical threats demand that U.S. military forces act quickly and decisively across the globe while synchronizing our efforts throughout the U.S. interagency and with the resources of alliance and coalition partners. Although alliances and coalitions ensure forward basing remains a valuable strategic asset, U.S. military forces must be able to operate without bases. We must continue developing long-range, full spectrum precision strike capabilities. Despite these new threats, the military must retain a strong conventional force with a broad range of capabilities to meet traditional threats.

The role of the military in the current war against terrorism will be varied. Under Secretary of Defense Feith asserted that the United States must eliminate terrorist bases to defeat the threat of international terrorism. Many panelists further suggested that the war on terrorism must expand to other countries and could involve significantly more forces over a protracted period of time.

Panel members emphasized that continuing to enhance military jointness is essential to sustain U.S. military power. According to General Myers, jointness begins with the acquisition process. Systems should be "born joint" to receive funding. Various other proposals were discussed, such as the creation of a standing Joint Task Force headquarters with interoperable communications and seamless information sharing.

Dr. Payne noted that a broad spectrum of coalition capabilities is needed to deter and defend against multiple threats across a wide

variety of contingencies, a situation that is exacerbated by the increasing lethality of small groups. He remarked on the importance of thoroughly understanding the threats in the new security environment in order to construct effective deterrence policies.

The instruments of national power - diplomatic, information, military, and economic - reinforce each other. Each instrument has its limits, and national security strategy must apply all of these instruments in order to meet the current and future security needs of the United States. Interagency communication and cooperation at all levels of government focus these instruments of national power; and strategic leadership is essential to achieving an integrated national security strategy.



Conference Charter

The emerging security environment holds both promise and peril for the United States and its allies. The complexity of evolving threats, the limitations of finite resources, and finally, increasing vulnerability to a diverse set of traditional and less traditional challenges make it necessary that decision makers develop a more integrated approach to national security. The challenges of this security setting – now and in the future – require a comprehensive strategy, focused on synchronizing all of the elements of national power simultaneously to achieve an unprecedented unity of effort. Because the boundaries between foreign and domestic security policy are increasingly blurred, a comprehensive approach to national security based on the fullest integration of the instruments of national power is the only viable course in planning for, responding to and ultimately dominating the full-spectrum of future threats and challenges. The 2001 IFPA-Fletcher Conference, *National Security for a New Era - Focusing National Power*, will cut to the core of this issue. Representatives from a diverse spectrum of backgrounds and perspectives will be brought together for in-depth discussion of national security for the twenty-first century. The conference is intended to afford the new administration an opportunity to showcase its vision for national security; to initiate an informed debate on a comprehensive approach to national security policy making; and to advance the concept of wholesale security transformation as a joint force, interagency and multinational strategic imperative.

The recent terrorist attacks on the United States have made the demand for a comprehensive national security policy even more urgent. A broad and sustained campaign to eradicate global terrorism will require the synchronized employment of all instruments of national power. However, the United States must successfully prosecute this campaign while continuing to adapt to the emerging security environment of this new era.

The United States not only interacts and competes with other state actors but also with a diverse collection of transnational, international and sub-national entities and actors ranging from the legitimate – multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations – to the illicit – organized crime syndicates, terrorists and paramilitaries. The countervailing influences of globalization, integration and fragmentation contend worldwide in many previously uncontested arenas for primacy with the sovereign rights of established states. In the transnational and sub-national arenas, in particular, no one state – including the United States – can either exercise power with impunity or accurately predict the course of future events. Indeed, a new class of empowered actors of consequence – state and non-state – has risen from the structural vacuum left in the wake of the tense but more predictable order of the previous era. Unlike the ritualistic unity governing alliances in the last half-century, a new global disorder has emerged with actors motivated by nascent and divergent conceptions of vital interests, including survival.

Within this environment, the United States remains alone – for the foreseeable future – at the pinnacle of comprehensive global power. Nevertheless, where necessary and possible, the United States seeks to mobilize allied and coalition efforts in support of shared interests and values. Its willingness to lead under the most difficult and perilous conditions; its commitment to its interests, responsibilities and values; a global economy; and finally, its demonstrated capability and willingness to apply decisive military power have positioned the Nation to exploit unique opportunities while at the same time managing – where possible – the effects of widespread disorder. As retention of position and influence remain critical to the United States entering the new century, the Nation can ill-afford complacency in the face of increasingly diverse security challenges. The potential for war and other forms of violent conflict is a persistent condition inevitably in the Nation's future. Though homeland security and counterterrorism rightfully remain the current focus of our national security efforts, the emerging security setting presents chal-

lenges to our interests and values that will not allow the Nation the luxury of ignoring any portion of the broad spectrum of threats.

Clearly, the instruments of state power acting in unison provide the greatest promise for exploiting opportunities, as well as overcoming and prevailing against a complex array of threats and challenges. IFPA-Fletcher 2001 focuses on the synergy required for defeating global terrorism and sustaining American preeminence and decisive influence. The conference will open with a focus on the *“Opportunities and Challenges for American Power”* from the perspective of the Bush Administration followed by two days of frank discussions and diverse presentations relevant to focusing and synchronizing domestic, national, and international efforts to effect broad and enduring resolution of the most compelling security issues facing the United States in the new century.

Panel 1

Security Vision and Priorities for a New Era

Chair

Mr. John McWethy

*Chief National Security and Pentagon Correspondent
Washington Bureau, ABC News*

Panel Members

The Honorable Avis T. Bohlen

Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Arms Control

The Honorable Douglas J. Feith

Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

The Honorable James Inhofe - (R-OK)

Senate Armed Services Committee

Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III

Chairman, National Commission on Terrorism

Panel Charter

The instruments of national power – diplomatic, military, economic, and cultural – possessed by the United States are without peer. How they are to be used is related to the security vision that shapes our national priorities. Our security vision and priorities encompass a broad range of threats, risks, and issues on which the instruments of national power must be focused. As the events of September 11 have amply demonstrated, the relative importance and utility of such instruments depend on the issue or interest at stake. There are enduring elements of our security vision – a world in which our values and interests are protected. The challenges to such values and interests at any one time translate into priorities that determine how, when, and where the instruments of national power will be employed.

Panel 1

This panel examined each of these instruments of national power. For example, the importance of diplomacy arises from the need to build coalitions of support within and beyond the alliances, of which the United States is a member, and to communicate with adversaries. Although it may be preferable for the United States to act when possible in cooperation with allies or coalitions of nations, there are occasions when United States will find it necessary to take action alone. Among the topics for this panel was a discussion of security cooperation – what type and for what purposes. This includes political/military trade-offs between coalitions and unilateral action as well as consideration of how coalition size may affect overall effectiveness.

In supporting values and interests shared by the United States and its allies and in dealing with enemies, diplomacy must be backed by military means; hence the synergism between the diplomatic and military instruments. Inevitably, there are cases in which military forces must be used early, just as there are times when the military is best employed only as a last resort. How to calibrate the employment of force with the conduct of diplomacy as an instrument of power is an enduring question. The timing of the use of military power, no less than when, how, and where such capabilities will be employed, is of utmost importance for sound national security planning.

The foundation for the economic instrument of power lies in sustained economic growth. As recent events have clearly demonstrated, the ability to provide for national security is the vital prerequisite for prosperity. The environment in which the economy can function to its maximum level is decisively shaped by the extent to which national security is safeguarded. How we employ diplomatic and military resources has profound implications for our economy. At the same time, a highly developed economy is essential if we are to maintain other instruments of national security, including the advanced technologies that are indispensable to our military forces.

Last but not least, as a society the United States is shaped by cultural infusions from those who have come to its shores first from Europe and then from other parts of the world. Its unity lies in its diversity. The United States derives strengths from many sources, from the numerous groups who have become Americans, bringing with them talents, energy, and values that have enriched our national culture and thus in themselves represent a powerful instrument in broaden-

ing the appeal of the United States to other societies around the world.

Our national security vision and priorities will be shaped by events such as those that we have just witnessed but also by the ability of the Congress and the Administration to reach a consensus that has necessary public support. In times of national crisis such agreement has been forthcoming. How well the separate branches of government work together is of pivotal importance. No less a requirement is the need to achieve synchronization within the executive branch of government across the numerous departments and agencies having a role in national security policy formulation and implementation. This requires sustained public support.



In sum, as the United States conducts a broad and continuing effort to end global terrorism, and to support the broader security mission, we will have to focus all instruments of national power – diplomatic, military, economic, and cultural – in ways previously not envisaged. The paradigm in which domestic tranquility stood in sharp contrast from conflicts across the expanse of oceans has been obliterated by attacks against our centers of financial and military power that were launched from within the United States itself. As we develop national security strategy for the twenty-first century, it becomes essential to think of security at home and abroad as inextricably linked in a seamless web that should be reflected as fully as possible in our interagency/ Congressional perspectives as well as our strategies and capabilities based on a vision that shapes priorities for the decades ahead.

Discussion Points

- What is the twenty-first-century conflict spectrum that should shape defense priorities?
- What are other security priorities in the new era aside from combating terrorism? How should they be addressed?
- How can the United States achieve essential synchronization among the instruments of power?

- How adequate are the existing arrangements for security cooperation? What should be done to strengthen them?
- What are the requirements for achieving bipartisan consensus for foreign policy and national security? How much is necessary? What is possible?
- How do the events of September 11 affect the emerging national security relations between the Congress and the Administration?
- The information age shapes our perspectives in security and its implications for security. What are the threats to critical infrastructure, including the potential for cyberwar?

Summary

The Honorable James Inhofe

United States Senator, Oklahoma

- *Cuts in defense spending during the 1990s have jeopardized U.S. national security and the readiness of our military forces. Congress must renew its efforts to make national security the number one priority by setting new spending priorities, making the necessary sacrifices for the common defense, and providing the resources needed to bolster our national security.*
- *Congress should reexamine the national security establishment and focus on how agencies and departments interact. More than ever before, today's threat demands a focused, integrated, and comprehensive approach to national security.*
 1. *The new threats of today present challenges with which our current interagency structure does not adequately deal. There is no longer a clear distinction between foreign and domestic matters, between peace and war, or between law enforcement and national security.*
 2. *Congress should consider updating the National Security Act of 1947.*
- *Congress must reexamine the intelligence community, focusing on the organization and the structure of our present system. Both the intelligence community and the cooperation between other national security organizations must be strengthened. This cannot be accomplished without a cultural change across the government.*

1. The United States must recruit and train more linguists and analysts to reduce the current lack of language capability.
 2. The Federal Government should compel agencies to work together more effectively and efficiently and ensure that their computer systems can communicate. Agencies should focus on establishing a common intelligence picture, rather than protecting parochial interests.
 3. Despite its culture of not sharing information adequately, the intelligence community also needs to reexamine who needs access to the intelligence and analysis and disseminate that information appropriately.
- *Congress must support transformation of the military, but must guard against sacrificing the current core competencies and systems for tomorrow's technology.*
 1. One of the key elements of transformation must be a further move towards jointness, not just in how we fight, but in how the military is equipped.
 2. Missile defense must be a top transformation priority. The United States should not allow itself to be blackmailed by groups or states possessing ballistic missiles or weapons of mass destruction.

The Honorable Douglas Feith
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

- *Just days before September 11th, the Defense Department completed a major reassessment of U.S. defense strategy, known as the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). In light of the campaign against global terrorism, this review has increased relevance.*
 1. Planning should reflect that even with the best intelligence and the most careful analysis, surprises are unavoidable and we should plan and prepare to handle them.
 2. The military needs forces that can take action quickly anywhere in the world and are agile, versatile, and lethal, even in relatively small-scale deployments. These forces need to be responsive, capable of being moved quickly and easily, and of operating in multiple locations simultaneously.
 3. The military must recognize that having access to bases abroad is an important strategic asset. However, the military must also plan for the likely circumstance that forces will have to operate

without bases and must therefore maintain long-range precision strike capabilities.

- *Homeland security is a long-term concern for the Department of Defense (DOD). The terrorist attacks on the United States have implications for organizing military forces, developing capabilities, and planning operations.*
 1. The government did not anticipate the scope of the territorial security challenge and the difficulty of defining the appropriate military role.
 2. The Department of Defense is learning innovative ways of exploiting our comparative advantages and working with local authorities and forces. This will shape our conception of security cooperation with our allies in peacetime, and lay the basis for cooperation in war.
- *The current campaign against global terrorism must focus on denying terrorists state support and the territory from which to operate. The United States and its allies should have a territorial, not an organizational, approach.*
 1. There are simply too many terrorist organizations and cells to be targeted individually.
 2. State sponsorship of terrorism provides the nexus of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Many states that support terrorism are also pursuing nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and the missiles needed to deliver them.
 3. Much of the hatred directed towards the United States cannot be appeased; we must simply defend ourselves against these organizations. However, some terrorists have a political agenda that is focused against their own regime and not the U.S.
 4. We must engage in the battlefield of ideas to influence not only the enemy, but also the enemy's possible supporters. In this respect, we have a tremendous strategic and moral advantage.
- *The Federal Government should encourage more thinking on how the different instruments of national power can reinforce one another to maximize their effectiveness while accepting that each instrument has its limits.*
 1. National security policy must take all of the instruments into account to change the international environment and to change the way people define victory in the war on terrorism.

2. The use of military force can improve the conditions for diplomacy or intelligence collection. Likewise, intelligence is crucial to the effective application of military force, and diplomacy can aid the achievement of military ends.

The Honorable Avis Bohlen

Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control

- *September 11 did not really catapult the United States into a different world. The threat posed by sub-state actors has been apparent for the last decade, both in terms of their capabilities and their motivations.*
 1. The Quadrennial Defense Review states that “while the United States cannot predict with confidence which adversaries will pose threats in the future, the types of military capabilities that will be used to challenge U.S. interests and U.S. military forces can be identified and understood.”
 2. We are no longer dealing with an easily identifiable foe with large, recognizable forces easily spotted by our intelligence.
 3. Threats today are multiple and unpredictable. We do not know the “who” and the “when”, but we can guess the means that they will use to attack.
 4. Asymmetrical means will predominate, as future adversaries will seek to avoid U.S. strengths by using terrorism, information operations, and missile attacks.
- *Since we cannot calculate the probability of one threat against another, we therefore need a full range of capabilities to defend ourselves from each of them. Consequently we need a better interagency process, greater flexibility, and a comprehensive strategy. Beyond the military forces and intelligence capability, we need a broad range of policy responses to the challenges with which we are dealing today. The fight against terrorism embraces the full panoply of instruments.*
 1. We need an appropriate set of military capabilities. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and delivery methods makes missile defense an essential ingredient for effective homeland security.
 2. Our leaders need innovative economic and diplomatic policy options to deal with the new threats.
 3. Diplomatic tools need to be strengthened, and we need better integration between agencies. We need to revive U.S. public diplomacy programs, which have been under-funded over the

last ten years. We need a broad effort that addresses the cultural roots of other peoples. To strengthen diplomatic instruments, we need more linguists and more regional expertise.

4. The United States must think strategically about its partners and friends. We should, above all, not lose sight of long-term allies such as the NATO countries, Japan, South Korea, and others. These allies are irreplaceable in endeavors such as counter-proliferation and cutting off financial support to terrorists.

Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III

Chairman, National Commission on Terrorism

- *The terrorist attacks on September 11th represent the major threat to American national security for approximately the next decade. The trends in terrorism for the last decade led many to predict mass casualty terrorism.*
1. Terrorism is the ultimate asymmetrical warfare because it allows the weak to attack the strong. Terrorists benefit from two specific asymmetries. First of all, we have to defend across the entire range of our vulnerabilities, whereas the terrorists can choose a single spot to attack. Second, terrorists benefit from a gross asymmetry in costs.
 2. Old style terrorists before the 1990's were motivated by narrow political objectives and relied on public support; therefore they had self-imposed limits on the number of casualties they would inflict. The United States developed an effective method of meeting their threat by not making concessions to terrorists, treating terrorists as criminals who should be brought to justice, and not allowing states to use terrorism as an instrument of national policy.
 3. The new terrorists of the early 21st Century – having evolved since the late 1980s – are not motivated by limited political goals, but by hatred, sometimes revenge, and often ideological or religious extremism. They have planned fewer, but more deadly, attacks and often committed suicide. During the 1990s, the number of international terrorist incidents declined while the number of casualties increased. Additionally, fewer terrorist incidents were claimed by any specific group.
 4. This new style of terrorism has rendered irrelevant two-thirds of the old antiterrorist strategy. These terrorists are not looking for concessions and typically cannot be brought to justice.

Therefore, the United States must focus solely on eradicating state support for terrorism.

5. The end of the Cold War left the United States in a position of geopolitical dominance, which is without equal and without comparison at any time in recorded history. There are a lot of people who hate us for that dominance. Public diplomacy and presenting the best side of American life is not the only answer. These terrorists know and understand American values and hate America for those values.
- *The United States is now at a critical point in its foreign policy, very similar to 1946 and 1947, when the postwar leaders of the United States had to find an organizing principle to guide American foreign policy.*
 1. The United States must employ the entire spectrum of American capabilities and be absolutely clear about its strategic objective: to deny terrorists state support and territory.
 2. Destroying terrorist organizations with a global reach is not sufficient. The United States cannot sustain an international coalition against terrorists if we only target groups that kill Americans. Therefore, the focus must be to stop any state that supports terrorism.

Analysis

The first panel discussed the disparate security perspectives of the various executive departments and the Congress as each seeks to develop a comprehensive security vision for the United States in this new era. The panelists reached broad agreement that the United States faces a combination of unique factors, including decreased military readiness due to funding cuts, a burdensome interagency process, and a period of unprecedented geopolitical dominance on the part of the United States. This situation, together with the terrorist attacks and ensuing war on terror, requires new thinking on how to exploit our comparative advantages and maximize the effectiveness of the entire spectrum of U.S. capabilities to counter the predominance of asymmetric threats and ensure U.S. national security. The formation of a new organizing principle may entail updating the National Security Act of 1947.

There was broad agreement on Ambassador Bremer's assessment that suicidal mass terrorism is the primary threat to the United States for the next 10-15 years. The best way to counter this new enemy is to deny them a territorial base within states or non-state entities that

support terrorists and to reduce the ungoverned or under-governed space associated with weak governments that terrorists exploit to plan and support major operations.

To counter such threats and integrate the various instruments of national power, the United States must undertake four main tasks.

First, the U.S. must integrate the actions of the national security establishment and strengthen communications between and among the various agencies and departments, especially with regards to the intelligence community.

Second, the United States must reinvest in national security, especially in the transformation of the military. Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith emphasized recent QDR conclusions that the United States must be prepared for surprises with military forces able to take action anywhere in the world, even without forward bases. Indeed, the focus of efforts must maintain and enhance agile, lethal, and survivable joint forces with long-range precision strike capabilities. In addition, missile defense must be a priority in order to deny terrorist groups or states the opportunity to blackmail the United States. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and delivery methods makes missile defense an essential ingredient for effective homeland security. Senator Inhofe cautioned against taking unnecessary risk in the readiness levels of our core competencies during the transformation.

Third, the United States' diplomatic tools need to be strengthened, Assistant Secretary of State Avis Bohlen noted, by increased funding and enhancement of language and regional expertise. Enhancing diplomatic tools also includes reviving public diplomacy programs to dissuade nations from directly or indirectly supporting terrorists while assuring potential allies of the U.S. against these mutual adversaries. Ambassador Bremer advised that the terrorists hate American values and cannot be convinced otherwise, but that information operations can be effective against the less-committed populace in order to inhibit terrorist attempts to recruit support for anti-American activities.

Fourth, the coordination of the instruments of power must keep in mind the requirement to build and maintain coalitions. The United States, as Ms. Bohlen remarked, must think strategically about its long-term allies, as they are irreplaceable in endeavors such as counter-proliferation and ceasing financial support to terrorists.

Luncheon Address

The Economic Instrument of National Power

Mr. Sean O'Keefe

Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget

Summary

- *The United States is experiencing an entirely new economic reality since September 11. The aftermath of the terrorist attacks sparked a spirited debate regarding our priorities, economic capacity, and our wherewithal to deal with a range of national policy questions. History has shown that similar debates, while grounded in economic realities, are primarily political in nature.*
- 1. In the late 1980s, it was a working assumption that the persistent structural deficit was unavoidable for the foreseeable future. It was argued that a constitutionally mandated balanced budget was the only means to end deficit spending. Sustained growth during the 1990s negated this assumption.
- 2. As of September 10, the latest debate focused on the size and allocation of the budget surplus and protecting social security by placing it in a "lock box." In reality, however, all excess revenue was used to service the national debt. Therefore, the discussion was also political, not economic.
- 3. The President has consistently stated that his intention is to maintain a balanced budget unless we encounter war, recession, or national emergency. On September 11, we



met all three criteria and shifted our national security dialogue from resource availability to a political debate of priorities and requirements.

- *There is no question that the United States has the economic capacity to meet our current and future national security requirements. Despite the current recession, our \$10 trillion economy is robust, resilient, and very resourceful. The greatest policy imperatives of our new economic reality are not questions of resource, but of organization and prioritization.*
1. The first issue is meeting the rapidly rising requests from federal agencies for funds to deal with the September 11 aftermath and future homeland security needs in a period of declining revenue.
 2. The second challenge is defining homeland security in broad organizational terms, as well as specific programs and resources – and deciding at what level the federal government should be involved.
 3. The third effect of the attacks will be a continuing debate about future strategy and force structure. Of particular concern will be whether and how a transformation of policy and/or the military is needed, and how the pursuit of such goals should be prioritized with respect to legacy forces and procedures.

Analysis

In his address, Mr. O’Keefe pointed out that the United States has the economic capacity to meet current national security challenges. The current debate on resources and priorities, like similar discussions in our recent history, is a political issue, not an economic challenge. In the late 1980s Americans assumed a deficit was inevitable and could only be reduced by a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. And, in recent years, the debate centered not on an “inevitable” deficit, but on how large the *surplus* should be and the need to protect Social Security revenue. Since September 11, the debates on the surplus and the “lockbox” have given way to a new set of imperatives.



America must now determine how best to respond to the immediate challenges posed by the war against terrorism. The \$40 billion supplemental authorization bill, requested by the President

and approved by Congress shortly after the September attacks, gave the President unprecedented authority to allocate resources and meet the nation's immediate needs. But the \$125 billion requested by federal agencies since September for consequence management and homeland defense illustrates the magnitude of the current homeland security challenge. Congress and the Executive Branch must now determine the appropriate role of the federal government, including the military, in homeland security in order to determine the resource requirements.

Mr. O'Keefe suggested, in light of the September 11 attacks, the national security strategy be altered to address potential changes to the military's transformation objectives. These and other resource demands strain our economic capacity. However, the \$10 trillion U.S. economy is indeed resilient, and debates are ongoing about how best to stimulate the economy to return to the unprecedented growth rates of past decade.

Mr. O'Keefe reinforced themes heard in the conference's first panel: the yet-to-be-defined requirements for homeland defense, determining the extent and pace of transformation, and the need to prioritize the requirements resulting from the terrorist attacks. Mr. O'Keefe emphasized that we cannot assume this current economic reality will persist. Just as the economy experienced a period of recurrent deficits and sustained surplus in the last two decades, the future will continue to be dynamic. The nation is at the start of a new economic period. The events of September 11 require national security leaders to move beyond theoretical concepts and begin the hard, yet necessary, debate on our current requirements and priorities.

Panel 2

The Role of Military Power in a Complex Environment

Chair

Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

Panel Members

The Honorable Curt Weldon - (R-PA)

Chairman, Procurement Subcommittee

House Armed Services Committee

General Wesley Clark, USA (Ret.)

former Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Rear Admiral Kathleen Paige

U.S. Navy, Systems Technical Director

Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

Lieutenant General Edward G. Anderson III, USA

Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Space Command

General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

*former Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern Command,
and former Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy*

Panel Charter

The United States possesses the strongest military force in world history. Nevertheless, as the recent terrorist attacks have demonstrated, adversaries have studied our successes, noted our strengths, identified our weaknesses, and developed asymmetric means to attempt to destroy our resolve and undermine our strength. Our armed forces, in conjunction with the other instruments of national power, must remain vigilant to deter, dissuade, and take necessary action to defeat such adversaries.

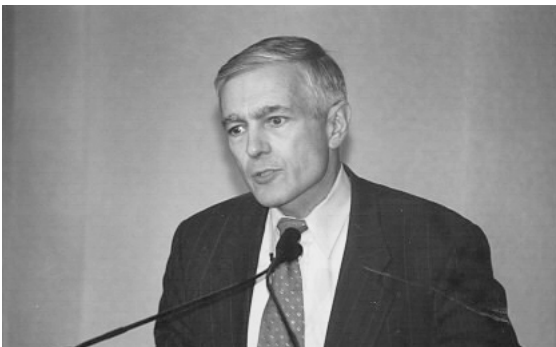
Panel 2

The ability to apply decisive military force at the appropriate time and place is indispensable for the United States to provide for its security. The U.S. military must maintain a high level of readiness and operational flexibility. Among other things, this calls for information dominance as a key element of power. The quality of information in advance of the use of military capabilities and as part of situational awareness during the conflict is essential if we are to minimize the fog of war. In the broadened security spectrum of the twenty-first century, the U.S. military faces a broad range of potential missions extending from deterring the use of weapons of mass destruction against our deployed forces, our homeland, and our allies/coalition partners to the ability to project and maintain forces capable of operating for prolonged periods overseas in hostile environments. Such diverse contingencies make necessary a military capability that is lethal, mobile, agile, and flexible. In order to build and maintain such a force, we must draw the appropriate balance between the readiness of present capabilities and the modernization that will be needed to create tomorrow's military.

Among the threats faced by the United States is the possibility of a ballistic missile attack. Therefore, the United States places high priority on developing and deploying an effective missile defense system. This includes the defense of U.S. population as well as military forces and extending protection to our allies as well. The importance of missile defense arises from the increasing proliferation of missiles and WMD warheads to larger numbers of states and other actors as well. The timelines for deploying a missile defense appear to be narrowing as missile and warhead technologies become more readily available to additional states and perhaps non-state entities as well. Missiles represent a potential capability for asymmetrical warfare against the United States and its allies/coalition partners.

Our armed forces, no less than the private commercial sector, have grown more reliant on space-based assets. The overall U.S. dependence on space is increasing at a rapid pace, especially as a result of the need to acquire and transmit information whether in the military arena or in the private sector. In many cases, commercial satellites are utilized to carry military information. At the same time, the vulnerabilities of the United States – in space and from

space – are multiplying. This includes space-based communications, reconnaissance, and surveillance systems. This trend



will only accelerate in the coming decades. As a result, space will become an arena of growing importance for national security. This presents numerous issues for consideration in this panel session such as the relationship between operations in space and overall U.S. security strategy and the priorities to be attached to space. These include the challenges that the United States is likely to confront to its civil, commercial, defense, and intelligence interests in space.

In the early twenty-first century, the U.S. armed forces are undergoing their most extensive transformation in more than a century. Our armed forces are being shaped by a Revolution in Military Affairs. This includes new-generation weapons systems based on innovative applications of information-age technologies. As such change proceeds, the U.S. military must also be prepared to respond to threats and challenges across the spectrum. This includes the use of military forces in support of operations other than war. The effort to feed Afghanistan's population, even as the United States engages in military operations, represents an obvious present example. In other words, the U.S. military is being called upon to undertake an unprecedented number of diverse tasks. This panel provided an unusual opportunity to address issues directly related to the appropriate balance between modernizing for the future and remaining ready for today's challenges across that spectrum.

Discussion Points

- In light of the broadened conflict setting, what are the most important readiness requirements for the United States military?
- What impact will Operation Enduring Freedom have on military readiness?
- What are U.S. military modernization priorities in light of the events of September 11?
- The requirements for application of decisive force as a key component of national security strategy.
- What role will missile defense will play in U.S. national security policy? What will be the role of allies?
- What are the R&D and acquisition priorities for missile defense? How will the types of missile defense – ground-based, sea-based, space-based – fit together?

- Space is an integral part of overall national security strategy, including elements such as space situational awareness, surveillance from space, and C4I
- What types of capabilities will the United States need to provide assured access to space and improved homeland security?

Summary

The Honorable Curt Weldon (R-PA)

*Chairman, Procurement Subcommittee,
House Armed Services Committee*

- *September 11 should not have been the wakeup call. The call should have come in 1993 after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, in 1998 with the embassy bombings in Africa, or in 2000 with the bombing of the USS Cole. The American people must understand the nature of the threats to our security and that the federal government's number one constitutional responsibility is to provide for our national security.*
- *The declining defense budgets of the last ten years coincided with dramatic increases in troop deployments – 37 major deployments in eight years. These operations were funded by cuts in readiness, modernization programs, and research and development. And, the failure to enforce arms control treaties – particularly with Russia – facilitated virtually uncontrolled proliferation and gave potential adversaries access to technology they could not have developed on their own.*
 1. *America is always going to have to play a lead role because of our stature. However, we should review our deployment criteria and ensure we are placing troops in harm's way only as a last resort, when necessary to attain our national objectives.*
 2. *We have short-changed our military over the past decade, and this funding shortfall has severely damaged our military facilities, spare parts, and troops' readiness. One possible solution is to eliminate excess infrastructure commensurate with the post-Cold War decrease in force structure. However, the Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) process has proceeded slowly and remains politically charged.*
- *We must understand how to deal with the high technology threats of the 21st Century by using all of the existing intelligence resources, which have largely been "stove piped" in the past, to provide a common intelligence picture.*

- *Our first responders must be properly prepared and trained, especially in terms of integrated, emergency communications systems. However, they will always need backup, and the National Guard plays a crucial role in that requirement.*

General Wesley Clark, USA (Ret.)

former Supreme Allied Commander Europe

- *As a result of the war in Vietnam, our senior military leaders were determined that we would not become engaged without the strategy, the resolve, and the means to be decisive. But after the Cold War, the world became less structured; our armed forces were committed more and more in ambiguous and difficult situations.*
- *Since 1993, we have been engaged in “modern warfare,” which is characterized by unclear objectives and an uncertain end state. With no extended period for preparations and build up, combatants must continue to plan, adapt while fighting, and operate with multiple strategies.*
 1. *As long as our armed forces are superior and unchallengeable, we will retain the capacity to use our military in limited ways and achieve tremendous leverage. We do not have to be militarily decisive to be strategically decisive if we bring the other elements of national power to bear effectively.*
 2. *In the early stages of a campaign, there is a heavy reliance on air power, and it is difficult to commit ground forces. Throughout a campaign, there is a heightened fear of civilian casualties driven by the risk of losing legitimacy and support.*
 3. *We must have allies and coalitions, not only for military access, but also support. We need to give allied governments time to change their procedures, in order to be able to share intelligence and take action against fundamentalists on their own soil. And, we need to reinforce the efforts of moderate Muslims to oppose Islamic extremism.*
 4. *The information campaign is essential, in particular projecting a different image of America. We must build this image by reducing our consumption of the world’s resources and helping build the safety net for those left in globalization’s wake.*
- *The U.S. military needs to adapt to the challenges of the 21st Century.*
 1. *Long-range precision strike capability has improved our global reach and is essential to our current and future force structure.*

2. We need lethal, agile, and survivable ground forces, consisting of high quality, dedicated personnel. We need the full spectrum of capabilities, including special forces, light forces, intermediate brigades, and heavy forces.
 3. We must train our forces to exploit public affairs and information operations. Our military education system should teach the application of pure military force *and* the integration of the military with other instruments of national power.
- *The 1990s revealed heavy requirements for nation building. The United States has a responsibility to help, but military deployments are not the most effective long-term solution. Troops are effective in ending hostilities, but not in fixing states. We need an agency – not the State Department or Defense Department – to help develop legal infrastructure and set the conditions for economic development.*
 - *Americans are not rushing to volunteer and perform public service. We need to build a new sense of community to keep people interested and engaged and to get young people to stay in school and serve.*

Rear Admiral Kathleen Paige, USN

Systems Technical Director, Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

- *We must defend against terrorist use of ballistic missiles; and due to the nature of this threat, we must anticipate being surprised and place the uncertainties in the hands of our adversaries.*
 - *The DOD has refocused and revitalized the missile defense program from one focused on a single-site national missile defense system to a broad-based research, development, test and evaluation effort aimed at deployment of missile defense.*
1. Until very recently, we had a clear demarcation in missile defense programs between strategic threats and theater, or shorter-range, threats. We now view threats along a continuum, which will change our concept of operations in both our theater and unified commands.
 2. In the past, we have had a collection of independent programs managed by the three services. Now missile defense will be managed as a single, integrated program that will exploit the various synergies of a unified architecture.
 3. We want to be able to intercept incoming ballistic missiles in the boost phase, during midcourse, and in the terminal phase as

they approach their target. Technically, each phase offers both targeting opportunities and challenges.

4. We are planning a variety of basing modes to create systems that can operate from the ground, from the sea, from the air, and conceivably even from space. We are using a variety of technologies and approaches, focusing heavily on research, development, testing, and evaluation.
- *We must move from a threat-based model to a capability-based approach to provide management and engineering flexibility. We will deliver incremental capability by employing mature systems and integrating emerging technologies as they become available.*
 1. We need to deploy current technologies with the capability to field future upgrades to those systems seamlessly.
 2. We must preserve program flexibility to incorporate future technological breakthroughs.

Lieutenant General Edward G. Anderson III, USA
Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Space Command

- *We must treat full spectrum information operations as a key warfighting capability and develop the organizations and processes to employ it effectively. Joint Vision 2020 highlighted information and decision superiority as keys to success in military operations. The QDR stated that space and information are emerging as warfighting core competencies and no longer just enablers. A global area of operations requires a global*



reach that space capabilities can provide. Our ability to control space and cyberspace will determine whether our combatant commanders will achieve complete situational awareness.

1. We must make maintaining space and information superiority a priority while denying these capabilities to our adversaries. Space control is vital, given our increasing reliance on space assets, including commercial assets. Developing these systems and integrating them with our existing capabilities will provide us a global perspective with worldwide connectivity and real-time situational awareness.
 2. U.S. Space Command is building real-time situational awareness for all combatant commanders using traditional space capabilities such as missile warning, satellite communications, and navigation and timing. In addition, they are providing terrestrial and space weather as well as intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance.
- *Space and cyber space can make major contributions to the military during its transformation. There are many promising technologies that can translate into warfighting capabilities and integrate into joint and combined forces to enhance our information and decision superiority capabilities.*
 1. We need a mix of terrestrial and space-based systems that complement the high-demand, low-density assets in our inventory. We must: develop the ability to model, simulate, and analyze; build a comprehensive terrestrial and space-based surveillance system; create systems to protect our satellites from environmental hazards and hostile acts; and develop the ability to deny the enemy the use of his assets.
 2. Since our cyber systems will become prime targets, indications and warning systems are our top information superiority priorities and we must address the DOD's role in national information infrastructure protection.
 - *In the war against terrorism, the United States and its allies are fighting a sophisticated enemy on a primitive battlefield, who has effectively used the mass media to spread his message. However, even in this unsophisticated environment, high technology, such as space and cyber space capabilities, have a very important role. Providing timely, usable information over long distances gives our warfighters the decisive advantage.*

General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

*former Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern Command,
and former Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy*

- *The United States is operating in a new world order: the survival of the force is at stake and American people have paid with their lives for an enemy attack. There are five principles that bear on how we organize our military.*
 1. The first defense responsibility for the U.S. armed forces is to prevent the employment of weapons of mass destruction against the U.S. or our allies. We must ensure that our nuclear attack capability is credible, secure, trained and modern. We need sound international treaty constraints, strategic intelligence, and missile defense capabilities.
 2. We must control the oceans' choke points and ports and maintain the appropriate naval and other forces to do so.
 3. We need a strategic conventional attack capability, which includes air and sea components, cyber warfare, special operations forces, and ballistic missiles, which are synchronized with the other elements of U.S. national power.
 4. Enhancing the capabilities of expeditionary operations in order to transfer substantial amounts of combat power to theater by air is essential.
 5. We must sustain the readiness of our air and land forces to provide political stabilization through deterrence.
- *The United States will spend whatever resources are required to construct an adequate national military strategy and develop the necessary foreign aid and foreign intervention tools. Sometimes it is inappropriate to discuss exit strategies when we talk about U.S. military strategy.*
 1. Despite advances in technology, our military must sustain the lethality of combat forces to fight and win the nation's wars.
 2. We must reorganize our headquarters and ensure that the majority of our senior leaders are in the frontier.
 3. To multiply force structure, better training and better quality people are more important than more units and should be our funding priorities.
 4. We need much better protection of America's 7,000 miles of national frontier. We need a 40,000-strong national gendarmerie

to patrol the borders, since we do not want the armed forces involved in domestic law enforcement policy.

5. We need to modernize the Coast Guard to ensure its capabilities, strategy, and doctrine are adequate for its missions. Although it is an incredibly effective force, its ships and aircraft are aging.
6. We must construct domestic defenses that are responsive, adequate, and decentralized. Governors, mayors, and city councils will need the appropriate non-Title 10 force structure – including military police, light infantry, field hospitals, signal capabilities, and new biological-chemical reconnaissance and decontamination – in every geographic entity.

Analysis

The United States military faces an unprecedented set of opportunities and challenges in this new era. Our forces are without a peer competitor and can expect to sustain this advantage for at least the next ten to twenty years. However, the nature of warfare is changing; our adversaries counter our strengths through asymmetric means. The military must reorganize and exploit technological advances to maintain its preeminence while simultaneously sustaining current readiness to deter and defeat today's threats.

Since the end of the Cold War, the military conducted over 37 major deployments in the context of what General Clark terms “modern warfare.” Our military objectives are not always clear; and, as General McCaffrey observed, it may not always be appropriate to define an exit strategy. However, the unparalleled power of the United States supports strategic decisiveness without necessarily being militarily decisive. To continue to be successful in the future, we must integrate the employment of our military with our other instruments of national power - diplomacy, economic, and information.

Military doctrine continues to evolve and embrace space and information operations as key warfighting competencies. Full spectrum space and cyberspace operations can provide timely, useful information to combatant commanders. Lieutenant General Anderson stated that, as technology continues to develop, U.S. Space Command is working to provide real-time situational awareness to give our warfighters a decisive advantage in any future conflict. General Clark reiterated that a critical component of information operations is the communication of our values, goals, and objectives to influence external populations. We must ensure we are projecting the appropri-

ate image of America and educating our officers to exploit the full range of information operations, including public affairs.

As the United States continues to modernize and improve the effectiveness of its armed forces, our adversaries counter with asymmetric means, such as ballistic missiles, to undermine our might and challenge our resolve. General McCaffrey and Rear Admiral Paige highlighted the need for a sound missile defense capability to combat this threat. Admiral Paige discussed the DOD's current efforts to revitalize and integrate missile defense programs into one broad-based effort aimed at deployment of a missile defense system. This flexible, incremental model incorporates both mature and emerging technologies. This capability allows the United States to anticipate surprise, if not the specifics of the actual attack, and forces our adversaries to face the uncertainties of the U.S. reaction in terms of time, method, and location.

We must maintain the lethality of the current force to achieve the directed military purpose or mission while modernizing and preparing the future force. As General McCaffrey stated, the armed forces must prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against the United States and its allies, control the oceans' ports and choke points, sustain a strategic conventional attack capability, enhance expeditionary capability, and provide stabilization through deterrence. To perform these missions, General Clark advocated long-range precision strike capabilities and the full spectrum of highly capable ground forces, from special forces and light forces to intermediate brigades and heavy divisions.

The modernization effort was challenged in the 1990s by decreasing defense budgets and a significant increase in the frequency and number of major deployments, a paradox that necessitated a shift in resources from modernization and research and development to near term readiness. This lack of investment undermined the effectiveness of the current force. Representative Weldon recommended improving readiness by reviewing our deployment criteria and reducing our excess infrastructure while stopping the uncontrolled proliferation of WMD. General McCaffrey believes these same resources should be used to improve the quality of people and training to enhance our current force structure most effectively.

The United States must continue to operate with allies and within coalitions for military access and support and to sustain the public endorsement and legitimacy of our actions. However, we must work

with our allies to encourage further investment and modernization in their forces to improve interoperability and reduce the current gap in military technology.

As we wage the current campaign against global terrorism, we must also review the ability of our forces to defend the homeland and respond to future threats. Our first responders must be properly trained and equipped, and it is essential that the National Guard provide effective support to their efforts. The National Guard must be organized to provide this support. General McCaffrey recommended that the National Guard be restructured and reorganized to provide governors and local officials more effective and responsive capabilities. We must also review our intelligence organization and capability to ensure we are providing decision-makers at all levels a common intelligence picture.

Panel 3

Homeland Security and Counterterrorism

Chair

Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis

Executive Vice President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

Panel Members

The Honorable Gary Hart

*Co-Chair, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century,
and former U.S. Senator from Colorado*

Ms. Michelle Van Cleave

President, National Security Concepts, Incorporated

Admiral James M. Loy, USCG

Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard

Major General John S. Parker, USA

*Commanding General, United States Army Medical Research and
Materiel Command and Fort Detrick*

Panel Charter

Although the United States continues to face other security challenges, the September 11, 2001 attacks brought homeland security and counterterrorism dramatically and tragically into a sharp focus within the government and in the public consciousness. As we conduct a broad and sustained campaign to eradicate global terrorism, we must focus all of the necessary instruments of power at home and abroad. Since September 11, homeland security has become the most immediate priority even though the United States has had to deal with previous terrorist actions. These have included the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993, as well as the Khobar Towers terrorist attack in 1996, the car bombing of the U.S. embassies in

Panel 3

Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the attack against the *USS Cole* in 1999. What these actions, together with the events of September 11, have in common is their escalating lethality.

How to cope with terrorism, including the use of anthrax and perhaps other weapons, requires a strategy and organizational effort that cuts across traditional jurisdictions and approaches to security and creates the need for new capabilities and the more effective utilization of existing resources. It is also necessary to consider homeland security as encompassing not only a continuing effort to prevent and to counter terrorism at its point of origin, but also to deter and defend against other threats to population and critical infrastructure and to cope with the immediate and longer-term consequences of terrorist acts. How to detect, prevent, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks has become a matter of utmost urgency. This panel focused on homeland security and counterterrorism. This includes the need to achieve the essential integration of effort from organizational efforts such as the newly created Office of Homeland Security and the Homeland Security Council, together with other initiatives to prevent future attacks. How to link response efforts at all levels of government – federal, state, local – and with the private sector is an essential part of the mandate for this panel. The newly created Council has as its mission the development and coordination of national strategy against terrorist threats.

The military campaign against terrorism is unlike any previous war waged by our armed forces, just as the domestic effort to prepare for homeland security is unprecedented. This encompasses consideration of the most appropriate existing assets for this effort, together with what additional capabilities we may need. How military forces can be used most effectively is a necessary focal point of discussion. The

relationship between terrorist networks and states that sponsor them must be understood. The sources of support, including funding, safe havens, training camps, and other logistical aid must be identified and destroyed. There is widespread recognition of the basic fact that in order to defeat



international terrorism, we must use all available political instruments and legal authority as well as intelligence collection and analysis resources. The methods by which terrorists select targets and plan operations must be understood as a basis for counterterrorist operations. Of utmost importance if we are to deter future terrorist attacks will be an enhanced ability to identify with reasonable certainty and then to deter impending terrorist actions by appropriate countermeasures.

As we respond to the current crisis, we must develop strategies and plans that can be the foundation for sustained action in the coming decades. We must provide a more secure society without undermining the civil liberties that define our way of life. How to cope with such challenges provides an important task for this panel.

Discussion Points

- What are the basic elements of a comprehensive strategy against terrorist threats or attacks?
- What are the potential roles and limitations of U.S. active and reserve military forces, the National Guard, and the Coast Guard in the homeland security mission?
- What are the lessons of September 11 for homeland security and counterterrorism coordination within and between the federal, state, and local levels? Between the government and the private sector?
- Will additional organizational changes be required to assure effective leadership and coordination from the national to the state and local levels?
- What are Congress' antiterrorism priorities? Would establishing a committee on homeland security be effective?
- What implications do the recent terrorist attacks have for the intelligence community and law-enforcement authorities, in terms of collection priorities and threat analysis?
- What types of military forces will the United States need to strengthen or develop to fight the war against terrorism?
- What is the appropriate balance between more effective counterterrorism policies at home and the preservation of democratic institutions?

Summary

The Honorable Gary Hart

*Co-Chair, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century,
and former U.S. Senator from Colorado*

- *The U.S. Commission on National Security for the 21st Century was created in the fall of 1998 and was given a mandate to report to the next President of the United States. The commission published three reports, beginning by trying to describe the world that the United States would inhabit in the 21st Century and concluding in the final report with 50 recommendations that were unanimously agreed upon by the Commission.*
 1. The first finding was that “America will become increasingly vulnerable to hostile attack on our homeland and our military superiority will not entirely protect us. Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers.” While not reaching consensus on the timeframe, most members of the Commission felt it would happen soon.
 2. The report called for the creation of a national homeland security agency, the recapitalization of America’s strengths in science and education, and Congressional reform to reduce the dispersion of national security responsibility in the legislative branch.
 3. The Commission recommended institutional redesign and suggested specific steps for the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, and the intelligence community.
 4. The Commission encouraged the government to expand efforts to attract talented people to public service.
- *Our new security environment includes the following new realities:*
 1. We no longer live within secure borders.
 2. Traditional rules of war are not being followed by our enemies; they feel free to target our civilian population.
 3. The distinctions between war and crime have disappeared.
 4. In contrast to the conflicts that dominated the last century, conflict in the early 21st Century will be more cultural than ideological.



- *The implications of these realities are:*
 1. Convenience, but not liberty, will need to be sacrificed in the national security interest. Careful thought is needed to distinguish between constitutional liberties and conveniences.
 2. Civil defense is once again central to national security.
 3. Rules of engagement and conduct must be reviewed within the context of American principles and values.
 4. As war and crime merge, the distinction between law enforcement and warfighting is fading and could disappear.
 5. Reducing cultural friction through diplomacy will be crucial to the future security effort.
- *This new environment requires immediate action to guarantee our national security.*
 1. We must adopt a doctrine of preemption based on superior intelligence and give human intelligence a special, almost elite, status.
 2. The roles and missions of the Special Forces should be more central to doctrine and planning.
 3. The National Guard is the appropriate entity to protect the United States; therefore it should be trained and equipped for the homeland security mission.
 4. We need a review of all national security-related laws, structures, and institutions similar to the comprehensive evaluation conducted after World War II.
 5. We must engage the American population in structuring the new security order.

Ms. Michelle Van Cleave

President, National Security Concepts, Inc.

- *In the aftermath of the recent terrorist attacks, there have been many demands on DOD resources. The Department has tried to answer many difficult questions by calling groups of people together to think in new ways about the next set of risks that we might be facing.*
- *The Quadrennial Defense Review identifies specific objectives to maintain sufficient military forces to protect the United States' domestic population, territory, and critical defense-related infrastructure against attacks emanating from outside U.S. borders.*

1. The QDR states that the military must be able to support U.S. civil authorities as directed in managing the consequences of an attack.
 2. The Review requires the military to be prepared to decisively respond to international terrorism committed on the territory of the United States or an ally.
- *The definitions of homeland security and homeland defense should be clarified. There are at least three broad areas that could be considered homeland security:*
 1. Active defense, which includes air defense, defending the borders, missile defense, and computer network defense.
 2. Military support to civilian agencies, such as support for consequence management in the event of a WMD incident.
 3. National security and emergency preparedness, continuity of government, and continuity of operations activities.
 - *Ensuring that sufficient funds are available to combat the terrorist threats may require a theater engagement plan to unify defense resources within the United States and an operations plan to integrate homeland defense and theater operations.*
 1. DOD is considering reorganization within the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the same time it is reviewing the Unified Command Plan.
 2. To combat terrorism, we must create conditions that make it impossible for terrorists to succeed. This will require a full range of tools, including military capabilities, which are effective at disrupting the terrorists' cells, support, communications, logistics, and safe haven.

Admiral James M. Loy

Commandant, United States Coast Guard

- *Protecting our ports, coastline, waterways, and the ships that use them must be an integral tenet of our homeland security strategy. These assets are more involved in our international commerce than airlines and trade centers, and are perhaps more vulnerable.*
- *Homeland security requires prioritizing difficult tasks and improving risk-based decision-making skills. Preventing another attack requires an understanding of the maritime dimension of homeland security. Sustained*

prosperity clearly depends on economic globalization; 95 percent of our international commerce transits our seaports.

1. The biggest challenge facing our marine transportation system today is trying to ensure that legitimate cargo is not unnecessarily delayed by enhanced security measures. Government needs to keep ports open and minimize the disruptions and delays caused by federal inspections.
 2. Conversely, ensuring maritime security paradoxically suggests a requirement to restrict access to our ports to keep illegal migrants, drugs, weapons, and other contraband from entering and leaving the country.
- *The security failure of the September 11th attacks was not one of prevention, response, or consequence management, but rather a failure of "awareness." Awareness involves anticipating the threats well in advance and recognizing our vulnerabilities.*
 1. Improved maritime awareness will allow us to adopt a risk management approach to reconcile the competing interests of security and prosperity.
 2. International and domestic cooperation, both civil and military, is essential. We must establish international standards for all ports.
 3. This approach should include point of origin inspections in foreign ports by U.S. or other trusted inspectors, in-transit transparency for cargo entering the country, one-stop coordinated inspections in the United States, and advanced detection equipment.
 - *As both a military service and a federal law enforcement agency, the Coast Guard is uniquely positioned to fight the terrorist threat.*
 1. The Coast Guard can help coordinate the efforts of various levels of federal, state, and local civil authorities, as well as of private sector industries, creating a bridge among the various players within the civil interagency community and the Department of Defense
 2. The Coast Guard can provide legal authority, coastal assets, and command structure for military and civil agencies.

Major General John S. Parker, USA

Commanding General, United States Army Medical Research and Materiel Command and Fort Detrick

- *Countering bioterrorism requires that we enlarge our capabilities of research, think creatively, and educate doctors, health care workers, and the general public.*
 1. We should welcome academic institutions, foundations, study groups, and manufacturing industry in their desire to contribute to the protection and defense against bioterrorism.
 2. We must improve communication between people, between agencies, with our customers, and with the people involved in the incident. We must clarify which agencies have the lead role in particular circumstances.
 3. We must identify the thresholds above which people feel safe and then communicate the true level of risk.
- *We must advocate federal support for public health infrastructure.*
 1. We need a national, not just military, test bed where entrepreneurs can test their equipment against established standards.
 2. We must improve our laboratory base at the county, state, and federal levels in order to identify and verify pathogens and chemicals of concern.
 3. We must have medical intelligence, including disease and medical surveillance, to monitor the diseases, injuries, and complications across the country so that we can intervene if necessary.
 4. We must find a way to share public health information without compromising or impeding forensic investigations.

Analysis

The third panel considered the organizational and resource requirements for creating an effective structure to secure the homeland and to combat terrorism at home. The concept of homeland security requires an interagency definition; likewise, the legal boundaries and institutional organization within and among agencies with homeland security responsibilities must be developed. Especially interesting to the panel and audience was the evolving relationship between DOD and the Department of Justice, an interface that becomes much more significant as the lines between war and crime – at least in the case of terrorists – continue to dissolve. Major General Parker discussed the importance of encouraging increased coopera-

tion to find homeland security solutions. Senator Hart argued that while some conveniences must be sacrificed to improve security, essential liberties must remain protected.

Admiral Loy discussed the need for recognizing the threats and anticipating our vulnerabilities before addressing protection, response, and consequence management. He stated that homeland security involves prioritizing difficult tasks and improving risk-based decision-making skills, as well as developing an in-depth understanding of each aspect of defense. The panelists discussed the various approaches for integration that may maximize homeland security.

There was agreement on the need for better intelligence, especially human intelligence, to help preempt terrorist attacks; the need for better interagency coordination; and recognition of the central role of special forces in the new security environment. In order to improve consequence management, General Parker pointed out the importance of clarifying which agencies have the lead role in particular circumstances.

According to Senator Hart, the National Guard is the appropriate entity to protect the homeland; therefore it should be reequipped and reorganized for this mission. Admiral Loy suggested that the Coast Guard, as both a military service and a federal law enforcement agency, could help coordinate the various efforts of federal, state, and local civil authorities to create a bridge between the DOD and the civil interagency community.

While developing a homeland security infrastructure, it is useful to examine the conclusions of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, which advocated several measures, including the creation of a homeland security agency. Unfortunately, according to Senator Hart, “virtually none” of the recommendations were implemented before the attacks. Echoing a recurring conference theme, Mr. Hart asserted that the new security situation necessitates a thorough review of national security-related laws, structures, institutions, and rules of engagement and conduct, similar to the review undertaken as prelude to the passage of the National Security Act of 1947.

The panel charter stated that homeland security includes not only counter-terrorism measures, but also the responsibility to deter and defend against other threats to population and infrastructure, and to cope with the immediate and longer-term consequences of terrorist

acts. Ms. Van Cleave similarly emphasized that homeland defense cannot be accomplished at the expense of warfighting capabilities.

In addition to discussing overarching homeland security themes and issues, the panelists also provided insights into their institutions' ongoing debates. Ms. Van Cleave, special assistant to the Secretary of the Army in his role as the OSD executive agent for homeland security, described the organizational changes under consideration in DOD, and discussed how the QDR provides a useful framework for thinking about the military role in homeland security. It identifies the military role as one of prevention, support, and response. While broad parameters of the military role are still in development, the mission must include active defense, consequence management, and emergency preparedness to ensure continuity of government. Admiral Loy discussed the challenge of balancing the paradoxical requirements of loosening security at ports in order to encourage more trade, and the need to tighten security. General Parker emphasized the challenges in protecting Americans from bioterrorism.

Keynote Address

Opportunities and Challenges for American Power

The Honorable Paul Wolfowitz
Deputy Secretary of Defense

Summary

- *September 11, 2001 was as much a turning point in American history as December 7, 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor inspired the United States to take a more active role in the world. The terrorist attacks on New York City and the Pentagon are the wake-up call for this generation.*
- *The strategic response of the United States should not be planned around one or two well-defined threats. We must develop plans that allow for complexity and uncertainty, provide a range of options, and can be adapted quickly and effectively.*
 1. The United States needs to focus both on the war of the present and on wars of the future. There is a danger of focusing exclusively on the new challenges posed by terrorism.
 2. An evolution in threats has caused a revolution in how we think about defense. Adapting to surprise quickly and effectively must be a central element of defense planning.
 3. To deal with surprise and uncertainty, we must shift



our planning from a threat-based model to a capabilities-based model that accounts for an adversary's existing and potential capabilities and compares them with our own.

- *The six top transformational goals of the Quadrennial Defense Review will guide our efforts to build a 21st Century military. The capabilities that looked so expensive in peace seem relatively cheap in light of the challenges we face today.*
 1. Protect the U.S. homeland and bases overseas, particularly against the threat of WMD, by developing passive defenses, such as medical countermeasures and biological surveillance systems, as well as active defenses against ballistic missiles.
 2. Project and sustain power, even in anti-access environments, by reducing the military's dependence on logistical support and by exploiting technologies such as long-range aircraft and stealthy platforms.
 3. Deny our enemies sanctuary, particularly by exploiting the asymmetric advantages of long-range precision strike capabilities, intelligence, and undersea warfare.
 4. Enhance offensive and defensive information network measures.
 5. Leverage information technology to enhance joint operational capabilities.
 6. Maintain unhindered access to space and protect the infrastructure that supports critical space capabilities.
- *Our recent successes can be attributed to leveraging the capabilities of friendly forces on the ground, exploiting our asymmetric advantages, attacking the weaknesses of our enemy, taking risks, thinking boldly, and adapting to circumstances.*
 1. Today, our greatest asymmetric advantage is the unlimited power of a free democratic people whose government is based on universal ideals. We should support the successes in the Muslim world and encourage freedom and self-governance.
 2. The Taliban, by contrast, ruled by terror and weakened their country through barbarism. Every state that sponsors terrorism also terrorizes its own people. People who suffer under their own government can become our allies in the war on terrorism.
 3. Our mission in the war on terrorism is not only to eliminate the terrorists, but also to enlarge the circle of freedom to include

people of Muslim nations who are still seeking the benefits of a free and prosperous society.

Analysis

In his keynote address, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Dr. Paul Wolfowitz, stated that September 11 – like December 7, 1941 – was a turning point for America and the world, and that gave the American people a new perspective on what is affordable for national defense. Yet he cautioned against focusing exclusively on the terrorist threat; we must also plan for complexity and uncertainty. Adapting to surprise must be a central tenet of U.S. defense planning. Force planning must also concentrate on developing certain capabilities rather than countering specific threats. The flexible future force must exploit America's asymmetrical advantages, such as precision strike and undersea warfare.

Dr. Wolfowitz asserted that military transformation goals, such as protecting the homeland and bases overseas, sustaining power projection capabilities in anti-access environments, and denying the enemy sanctuary, must be realized during the current war against terrorism. To guard against future uncertainties, additional objectives must also be achieved, including developing offensive and defensive information and space capabilities that will safeguard our computer networks, enable joint interoperability, and ensure unhindered access to space.

Dr. Wolfowitz discussed the effectiveness of U.S. forces in leveraging several capabilities in the current war on terrorism, including collaborating with friendly forces on the ground. He also reminded the audience that the United States has recently come to the aid of Muslim people in Kuwait, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan. He suggested that the United States should continue to support moderate Muslim regimes and citizens repressed by state sponsors of terrorism, as they can become our allies in the war on terrorism.



Morning Address

The Military Instrument of Power as a Critical Enabler for National Security

General Richard B. Myers, USAF
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Summary of Introduction

General Eric K. Shinseki
Chief of Staff, United States Army

- *The power of information and the confidence of the American people are central to the strength of our nation.*
 1. The military instrument of national power nurtures this confidence in our citizens and those of other countries by providing stability for economic growth and development.
 2. The military's ability to transition from unconventional to major conventional war when and if necessary is what makes us world class in the profession of arms and inspires the confidence of the American people.
- *Although the current conflict against international terrorism is not the large conflict for which we maintain major standing forces, it is essential for our forces to fight and decisively win this asymmetric war to prevent further attacks on the American homeland.*

Summary

Remarks by General Richard B. Myers
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

- *We have the following immediate goals for this war on global terrorism:*

- Deny terrorists a base of operations in Afghanistan
 - Destroy the military capabilities of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda
 - Alleviate the suffering of the Afghan people
 - Convince other states to deny support to terrorist organizations
- *In this campaign, the U.S. government seeks to coordinate the use of all instruments of national power with the actions of our coalition partners.*
 1. The war on terrorism will be an extended campaign that will require patience and will challenge the resolve of the coalition. The United States will have to balance actions necessary to maintain the evolving coalition and actions necessary to wage war successfully.
 2. Gaps in technology between coalition members make coordination increasingly difficult. In the current strategic environment, our coalition partners need to increase their defense budgets to improve interoperability.
- *The war on terrorism requires significant coordination to focus the elements of national power. We are developing organizations and procedures that are proving effective and have implications for future joint warfighting capabilities.*
 1. We are sharing information, people, and resources at unprecedented levels, and we must foster this increased cooperation.
 2. The effective coordination of joint interagency task forces in Washington, DC, is being exported to the theater of operation.
 3. However, there are areas for improvement. For example, information operations in the current campaign began too late and should have been integrated with all government agencies, the National Security Council, and coalition partners to present a timely and coherent message.
 4. The Department of Defense role in homeland security needs to be clarified, including issues such as primacy within the department and orchestration of support within the unified and combatant commands.
- *Like the U.S. Army's Louisiana Maneuvers prior to World War II, today we must establish an environment that fosters innovative thinking and embraces a new level of collaboration between the services.*
 1. We must increase the flexibility and responsiveness of our forces by assigning joint command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities (C4ISR) at lower levels.

2. Joint Force commanders and their staffs must understand not only what their own service brings to the joint fight, but also what the other services and coalition partners can contribute.
3. To dissipate the fog of war and enable timely, decisive action by our commanders, we need to exploit our superior information gathering systems and develop enhanced knowledge management tools.
4. Fielding a Joint Force with interoperable weapon systems and C4ISR requirements will facilitate the coordination process and enable timely and informed decisions by operators and commanders.
5. Weapons and weapons systems must be designed for joint and coalition interoperability. The military will have to focus on both upgrading existing systems and ensuring that new systems are "born joint."
 - i. *"If a system is not interoperable, if it does not contribute to the joint fight, it's probably not right."*
 - ii. The military has been forced to cobble together creative work-arounds, because some of our existing forces did not "plug and play" in this joint war fight.
6. The Department is also experimenting with the expansion of joint task force headquarters. The headquarters would be an operational-level headquarters unit, not an on-call fighting force. It would have robust C4ISR architecture that would be compatible with all future program upgrades, weapons platforms, and communication systems.

Analysis

General Myers identified two theaters in our current war against terrorism - one in Afghanistan and one in the homeland. In Afghanistan, the military is clearly in the lead, although that may change as the war is carried to other terrorist organizations and their state sponsors. The military is much more involved in homeland security than before the September terrorist attacks, but still remains primarily in a supporting role to other agencies, notably to law enforcement and first



responders. Requirements for both theaters are significant, but those for homeland security are still in development and responsibility has yet to be assigned for all of them. In both theaters, interagency cooperation improved tremendously since the terrorist attacks, and synchronization of the diverse interagency efforts remains essential. General Myers did not discuss where the war on terrorism will be fought next and what form that fight will take. While it may be possible to expand the conflict to another state and maintain the coalition if another element of national power is in the lead, similar expansion, led by the military, will carry significant risks.

General Myers focused on the importance of information operations overseas and public information at home. Information operations abroad help with coalition maintenance by providing support to allies and partners in their need to maintain the support of their domestic populations. Maintaining popular support in the United States also depends on other types of actions to keep the public informed and to keep them solidly behind the government and the military. The Chairman emphasized that there is a long war still ahead and recommended patience as operations become less visible than those currently being conducted in Afghanistan.

General Myers stated his intent to focus on building and improving the interoperability of the joint force. Even in platforms as advanced as the B-2 bomber, there are still interoperability to resolve. He identified the need for the Services to change how programs are developed to ensure joint interoperability is inherent not additive. He noted the improvements made as a result of lessons learned in Kosovo, but reiterated that much work remains. Command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (C4ISR) are the keys to joint warfighting, but General Myers also discussed organizational initiatives - specifically the standing joint task force - that may enable more effective joint operations.

Finally, General Myers discussed the need to transform the military to prepare for future threats. As with the homeland defense mission, many of the parameters of transformation remain undefined, but the Chairman emphasized that transformation must encompass doctrine, training, and organizations, not simply technological enhancements. While his immediate focus is on joint interoperability, his long-term goal is the transformation of the entire U.S. military. While acknowledging that a joint force with appropriate land, sea, and air capabilities is essential, both in defeating global terrorism and against future

threats, General Myers did not discuss how the current war affects the timing or course of the military's transformation.

In closing, General Myers stated that he firmly believes the younger generation will answer the call to serve. All that service will undoubtedly not be military, but service to the Nation now seems to have resonance absent before September 11.

Panel 4

Employing the Instruments of National Power in a Complex Environment

Chair:

Dr. Loren B. Thompson

Chief Operating Officer, The Lexington Institute

Panel Members

The Honorable Frank Carlucci

*National Security Advisor and Secretary of Defense,
Reagan Administration*

General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Ret.)

former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command

Dr. Gordon M. Adams

Professor, George Washington University

Panel Charter

If they are to be employed most effectively, the instruments of national power must be synchronized in support of a shared and unifying security strategy, as previous panel charters have suggested. First and foremost, such synchronization is best achieved when those charged with the task of decision-makers are able to work effectively together in an appropriate organizational setting that brings together the various instruments. This encompasses the use of force, together with other instruments such as financial resources and information on behalf of the strategic goals of the nation.

The complexity of the issues facing the United States today requires a reexamination of the interagency process that has evolved since World War II and especially since the National Security Act of 1947, now more than fifty years old. What have been its strengths and weaknesses, its successes and failures? The distinction once drawn between what was considered “international” and what was deemed to be “domestic” has been rendered obsolete by the events of September 11. The creation of an Office of Homeland Security, together with a Homeland Security Council having broad Cabinet-level representation, is illustrative of this organizational need. What are the other organizational changes that may be necessary to maximize tomorrow’s opportunities and meet future challenges?

This question must be considered with much greater urgency than seemed necessary until the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Organizational relationships among the various departments and agencies may require modification to achieve greater clarity in strategy and responsiveness.

In previous eras, the nation has employed its military forces across a broad spectrum of security challenges to fight and win the nation’s wars. They have also been used when necessary to respond to natural disasters such as the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 and Hurricane Andrew in southern Florida in 1993. Military forces have been indispensable to crisis management as well as the essential basis for economic development, stability, and crisis management. The events of September 11 point up both the vulnerability of our society and the tasks confronting our military forces across the operational spectrum. How well the use of such forces will be meshed with the other instruments of power from the strategic to the tactical levels will depend in no small measure on how we organize for national security in the new and novel setting.

Of special importance is the integration of the instruments of power represented by financial transactions. The ability to halt the movement of funds to support terrorist operations has become an important national security concern. This underscores the need for national security strategy to be based on effective integration of such instruments of power, together with diplomacy and intelligence. All must work in synchronization in the interagency process, based on improved mechanisms that allow each to contribute most effectively to overall national security. The terrorist attacks of September 11 have given heightened importance to such tasks as protecting domestic infrastructure, including airports and air travelers, as well as other transportation

systems, ports, power grids, and financial institutions, in the complex new security environment. Last but not least, we need to identify the lessons that can be learned from prior experience, as we develop organizational structures to focus the instruments of national power.

Discussion Points

- What are the essential organizational issues to be addressed to synchronize the economic, military, and other instruments of power assure? How do the events of September 11 affect the need for organizational adaptation?
- Do the current interagency processes produce solutions that are adequately responsive, flexible, and adaptable?
- How can we ensure that interagency processes produce coherent programs, taking into account issues of responsibility, accountability, resources, and procurement?
- How can policy cohesiveness be enhanced by bringing together diplomatic and military instruments, including the Departments of State and Defense, and the various military commands, as well as the numerous other departments and agencies which have an important national security role?
- Developing more effective national security organizational capabilities to integrate resources among the various levels of government.

Summary

The Honorable Frank Carlucci

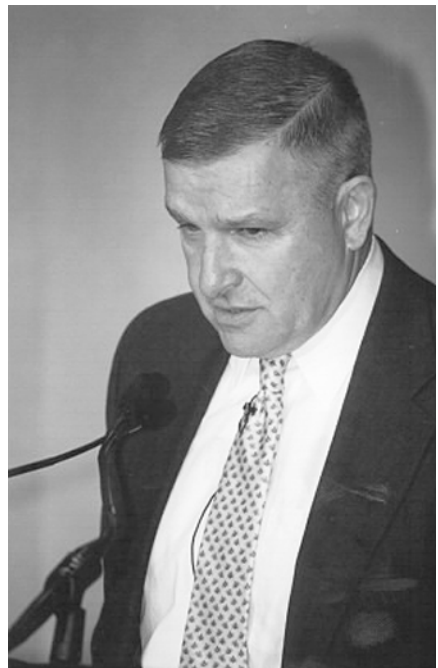
Former National Security Advisor and Secretary of Defense

- *Unprecedented teamwork and coordination are required to properly prosecute the war on terror. Victory in this war will be difficult to define.*
 1. The new enemy has no fixed location and seeks to employ asymmetric means against us.
 2. The four main elements of this effort will be covert action, intensive diplomacy, broad-based financial action to cut off the terrorists' source of funds, and coordination of agencies involved in homeland security.
- *The President is the ultimate coordinator of homeland security, but he has a chief of staff, a director of homeland security, and a national security advisor that assist in this effort.*

1. How well this circle of advisors works together is crucial to the success of interagency coordination.
 2. To encourage cooperation among domestic agencies, the Director of the Office of Homeland Security needs the right to review and comment on various agencies' budgets and the authority to increase funding that he believes is inadequate.
 3. Like the National Security Advisor, the appointment of the Director of the Office of Homeland Security should not require Congressional confirmation. The Director's sole focus should be to provide unfettered advice and counsel to the President.
- *The NSC serves as an appropriate model for the new Office of Homeland Security, since it is the most capable component of our national security organization.*
1. DOD has been severely under-funded for some time, damaging military readiness and preventing the realization of military transformation concepts.
 2. The State Department has been hollowed by reductions in overseas posts and by a 40 percent reduction in authorizations.
 3. Overwhelmed with regulations and forced to disclose information threatening sources and methods, the CIA has developed a risk-averse culture and eliminated most of its covert action capability.
 4. To be most effective, the Director of the Office of Homeland Security, like the Assistant to the President for National Security (National Security Advisor or NSA), must be capable of handling several delicate interactions.
 - i. Both must have access to the President and be an honest broker in reconciling tensions between different agencies, especially the Departments of State and Defense.
 - ii. Both must also have the confidence of the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence, and must ensure that all policy options and agency positions are presented and made clear to the President.
 - iii. The NSC has had problems that can serve as a lesson to the emerging homeland security process. In the past, organizational lines of authority and accountability have been blurred, and the NSC has lacked a system of checks and balances.

General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Ret.)
former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command

- *The military is the key foreign policy enabler for development, security, and crisis resolution. The post-Cold War practice of relying primarily on the military instrument of national power has produced mixed results.*
 1. The military has had over a decade of experience and can employ different tactics, techniques, and procedures to operate effectively in a varied number of environments and locations.
 - i. The military's sheer size, planning and logistics capability, and flexible capacity make it uniquely qualified to deal with a wide variety of problems.
 - ii. Our forces have valuable regional expertise, relations with local leadership, as well as experience with engagement programs.
 - iii. The military is capable of quickly stabilizing a crisis situation after domestic political support and commitment coalesce.
 - iv. Forces on the ground demonstrate American commitment and help build a "coalition of the willing" because potential partners feel more comfortable contributing their capabilities.
 2. However, the military is often distracted by small-scale contingencies (SSCs) that do not have a clear mission or endstate. Rather, these contingencies are often messy, expensive, and asymmetric and often become open-ended commitments.
- *We need better integration of the political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian aspects of national power with the military and security dimensions. This integration is not easily achieved in the interagency process.*
 1. The other instruments of power cannot react as quickly as the military, and there is the potential that global commitments may outpace our ability to respond.



Panel 4

2. Political objectives are difficult to translate into clearly defined military tasks.
 3. A disconnect exists between strategic decisions made in Washington and the conditions in theater.
- *In the future we will face seven different kinds of missions:*
 1. Coping with a possible peer competitor
 2. Dealing with regional hegemons who possess WMD and will try to employ anti-access measures
 3. Countering transnational threats, including terrorist groups and extremists, international criminal and drug organizations, and local warlords
 4. Addressing environmental security issues, such as disease, health control, and illegal migration
 5. Conducting humanitarian and peacekeeping operations in failed or incapable states
 6. Domestic emergencies that exceed the capacities of other federal and local agencies
 7. Countering threats to information systems
 - *The military accepts the need to change but lacks a clear-cut transformation strategy and direction. We have four areas of change to address:*
 1. The military's personnel system must foster a more professional and experienced corps of leaders.
 2. Modernization must outpace the capabilities of any potential enemies, but we must not overlook proven capabilities like ground forces. Our CINCs want a balanced set of forces; new technology cannot solve all of our problems.
 3. When upgrading systems, the new capability must be online before we retire the legacy system.
 4. We need to conduct research and development towards transformation in a way that manages risk and maintains a broad set of capabilities.



Dr. Gordon Adams

Professor, George Washington University

- *Five assumptions shaped the Bush administration's early national security agenda.*
 1. The military needs to be transformed to perform its job of fighting and winning wars more effectively.
 2. There will be a deliberate attempt to end to over-commitments.
 3. There will be increased concern about defending the United States.
 4. The U.S. will not bail out foreign governments in financial trouble.
 5. There should be a reluctance to engage overseas and commit to treaty regimes.
- *September 11 highlighted the homeland's vulnerability to terrorism and asymmetric attacks and focused attention on the integration of foreign and domestic capabilities to fight the terrorist threat. However, the fight against terrorism is not a central organizing concept for American national security policy, but rather one vector in the broader concern about global engagement.*
 1. Our vital regional interests lie in Europe, Russia, the Middle East and East and Northeast Asia.
 2. Issues of regional conflict, primarily ethnic conflict and state collapse, continue to fester despite our distraction by the war on terrorism.
 3. Weapons of mass destruction continue to proliferate, along with other asymmetrical capabilities that may be used against us at home and abroad.
 4. Globalization in the economy and technology and the movement of people and financial information exacerbates the tension of economic disparity.
- *There are two main policy lessons from September 11:*
 1. We need an integrated National Security Strategy to focus attention on a broad set of goals and the instruments needed to achieve them. This strategy must have three critical foci:
 - i. The United States must anticipate, not simply respond.

- ii. We should seek to engage and shape, not just react to events.
 - iii. We must be able to engage without leaving the defense forces of the United States deployed indefinitely.
- 2. We must integrate all the instruments of national power to address the war on terrorism and other vital issues. The military has become the key enabler for integration since we have not developed the other instruments to allow more selective use of the military.
- *Our economic resources remain vital in anticipating and shaping events, but are not integrated within the national security process.*
 - 1. In trade policy, we lack a clear strategy for expanding free-market economies.
 - 2. International development and bilateral assistance programs are not properly integrated with other elements of power.
 - 3. Our capacity to stimulate and develop our domestic economy has a tremendous impact on the global economy, yet domestic economic policy is often overlooked as an international security policy issue.
- *To better manage our economic tools, four areas need improvement.*
 - 1. Better integration is needed. Leadership is required to ensure that all agencies are involved in the development of the National Security Strategy and the interagency process.
 - 2. We need better integration of strategic and budget planning.
 - 3. We need better Congressional integration of the relevant subcommittees and authorization committees to streamline the process.
 - 4. The Foreign Service Corps, the Agency for International Development, and other areas of the diplomatic establishment require better funding.

Analysis

The focus of the fourth panel was the organizational and policy changes necessary to synchronize the various instruments of national power. The United States has no peer competitor, but many challengers; and while we have more global might than any nation in history, and more constraints on the use of that power. To most effectively use

our great strength to achieve our lasting vision of national security, we must ensure we are optimally employing our resources in this complex environment.

Winning the war on terror requires more effective utilization of the military, intelligence, law enforcement, and economic tools at the disposal of the U.S. and its allies. In his introductory remarks, Dr. Thompson observed that during the Cold War our government directed its entire effort towards fighting communism in all realms. After the Cold War we thought that the source of future threats would be rogue states; now we are focusing upon terrorism. We used to have ample time to adapt; now we must learn to adapt and change quickly.

The panelists were unanimously discouraged by the current state of interagency cooperation, and believe that the continuously shifting nature of the terrorist threat strains it even more. Dr. Adams, who has served in many government economic agencies including the Office of Management and Budget, described the events of September 11 as a “critical learning moment” that has influenced the current administration to increase its involvement in multilateral and interagency issues. He argued that the current administration’s National Security Strategy should aim to anticipate and shape problems in a region before they become crises, in order to create the ability to engage without the need for interminable military deployments. Economic elements of power are particularly poorly integrated into policy processes, and domestic economic policy needs to be better tied to the national security strategy.

Mr. Frank Carlucci, former National Security Adviser and Secretary of Defense for President Ronald Reagan, argued that the new Office of Homeland Security should be based on the model of the National Security Council, and that the Director should operate as an honest broker between the responsible departments and agencies. The panel agreed that in order for Governor Ridge to be effective in his new position, he must have budgetary authority over the agencies he is coordinating.

General Zinni explained that the military is “the key enabler” for American activities overseas – despite its reluctance to assume many of those missions – because of its broad capabilities, regional knowledge, and flexibility. The other panelists acknowledged the need for leadership and a coherent strategy to make interagency integration work; however, the lead role for the CINCs and their forces in advanc-

Panel 4

ing American interests in their regions was more controversial. Dr. Adams argued that terror is a tactic primarily aimed at U.S. global presence, and, while military presence and capability is important, the proper response requires worldwide engagement on a number of fronts, complemented by more coherent policies involving trade, international development, finances, and technology transfers. Other recommendations included providing CINCs with more interagency representatives and ensuring that other government departments become more adept at the operational level of planning between tactics and strategy. General Zinni noted that military organizations also need to reform and transform, but that they should not concentrate too much on technology and neglect maintaining the balanced joint force, including adequate ground power that is essential for protecting vital national interests.

Panel 5

Leadership: Achieving Unity of Effort-Allies, Coalitions, and International Efforts

Chair

Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

Panel Members

Admiral Joseph W. Prueher, USN (Ret.)

former Ambassador to the People's Republic of China

Dr. Keith B. Payne

Chairman and President, National Institute for Public Policy

General Montgomery C. Meigs, USA

Commanding General,

United States Army Europe and Seventh Army

Air Vice-Marshal John Thompson

Defence Attaché and Head of the British Defence Staff, Washington

Panel Charter

Our greatest successes in foreign policy have been based on the ability to mobilize the support of allies and others sharing common interests. This has been demonstrated from our own Revolutionary War to the alliances and coalitions in which the United States participated or led over the last century. We are now in the process of utilizing existing alliances such as NATO and at the same time developing new coalitions in response to the events of September 11. Such cooperative arrangements provide political as well as military support, together

with access to overseas facilities, intelligence, and information. The need for the United States to work closely with allies is growing as a result of the proliferation of the means for asymmetrical warfare. Increasing levels of lethality available to a variety of states and other actors are producing important implications for deterrence and thus for Alliance/coalition operations.

Alliance/coalition cooperation in military operations requires a high level of synchronization among the forces of contributing partners. However, unity of effort extends to the national level as well. The need for joint operations that bring together the capabilities of each of the military services places a high premium on synchronization within military organizations. At the national level we need to assure unity of effort within and among joint forces.

How to achieve international unity when the partners have shared, but also distinctive, national interests and objectives is challenging. Whether or not it is the dominant alliance/coalition member, the United States still faces formidable problems in forging, sustaining, and maximizing the potential for collective international action. The United States has participated successfully in military campaigns with a variety of allies, coalitions, and partners. In most cases, the United States is the leading member, as in the current campaign against terrorism. In other situations the United States may have a supporting role as in East Timor, where Australia has played the leading part.

The coalition against global terrorism exemplifies the challenge and complexity of achieving a unity of effort with diverse nations. Coalitions are shaped by the issues that draw members together. In the present terrorist crisis, the United States seeks to include states with which there have been fundamental differences in the past. How to maximize areas of agreement, while recognizing the inherent limitations on such cooperation, is a problem of continuing importance. The inherent relationship between diplomacy and military operations must be considered at the Alliance/coalition level. In the present crisis, the issue of NATO participation has come to the fore. For the first time in its history, NATO invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This was done in support of the United States after the events of September 11. According to this provision, the attack upon the United States is regarded as an attack on all Alliance members. NATO cooperation has many important dimensions. In addition to transatlantic military cooperation, such as having NATO surveillance aircraft (AWACS) patrolling U.S. skies, the Alliance furnishes an

important basis for diplomatic synchronization. Such international efforts provide a unique set of challenges. The United States faces the need to determine how and when coalition efforts may support U.S. goals and how and when they may be less than beneficial.

As demonstrated in the U.S.-led NATO Operation Allied Force in 1999, the transformation of America's military poses a challenge for future combined operations. There is a growing gap between U.S. forces and those of allies as a result of disparities separating the United States and its Alliance partners in military technology investment. This gap is symbolized by the Revolution in Military Affairs – the vastly greater U.S. investment than that of its allies in information-age technologies for its armed forces, together with the potential for a major change in the nature of warfare brought about by the innovative application of new technologies leading to new military doctrines. If allies lack the advanced military technologies required to make them useful coalition partners in military operations, their ability to act together will be diminished, and the overall collective effort will be weakened. How the United States and its allies address this issue will shape the future of Alliance relationships. In those efforts in which the United States chooses not to act as the leader or principal contributor, there are other challenges to be faced. These include the type and level of support, together with arrangements for continuing consultations and necessary levels of coordination of military integration among Alliance/coalition members.

Discussion Points

- NATO as an organizational framework for combined action. What are the lessons of recent operations, from southeastern Europe to the war against terrorism?
- What is the likely extent of support and the potential for discord between the United States and its allies?
- Will the RMA and the emerging technology gap between the United States and its alliance and coalition partners hinder cooperation in the future?
- What are the implications for designing deterrence concepts for the United States alone and in concert with Alliance/coalition partners?

Panel 5

- Priorities and tasks facing the United States in achieving agreement among allies/coalition partners. What is the role of diplomacy, and how does diplomacy relate to other instruments of power?
- What lessons can be drawn from the events of September 11 for future alliance/coalition cooperation?

Summary

General Montgomery C. Meigs, USA

Commanding General,

United States Army Europe and Seventh Army

- *Multinational operations are notoriously difficult due to the domestic politics, military cultures, and unique strategic interests of the countries involved. Personalities of subordinate commanders can also complicate these operations. Multinational political consensus on clearly-defined strategic objectives, a shared sense of danger, and a common purpose in confronting the threat is required for unity of effort in coalition operations.*
- *The coalition commander is simultaneously responsible to a domestic political constituency and to the political leadership of the coalition for the results achieved by its elements individually and collectively.*
 1. Contingent commanders are bound by orders from home; their ability to act depends on the degree of commitment from their political leadership.
 2. An aversion to risk in the United States, for example, severely constrains American commanders' actions. Asking contingent members to accept a higher level of risk than is carried by his own nation's troops will undermine the cohesion and morale of the operation.
- *Military commanders in multinational operations must constantly balance influences and pressures from their own nations, from other nations, and from international organizations.*
 1. They must be able to balance competing military and political pressures and understand the unique operational priorities of the coalition members.
 2. To foster mutual respect and confidence among senior allied officers, multinational command-



ers should routinely address the concerns and advice of officers from other nations.

3. Commanders must exhibit and demand impartiality, patience, and a strong sense of moral responsibility.
4. Subordinates must trust the coalition commander to accept personal responsibility for all coalition actions.

Admiral Joseph W. Prueher, USN (Ret.)

former Ambassador to the People's Republic of China

- *Coalition operations require alignment between the coalition commander and the political leadership of their own country.*
 1. The leadership and commanders must fully exploit the political, information, military, and economic instruments of national power.
 2. Sun Tzu wrote that a great general maintains forces that are prepared to prevail in combat, yet avoids combat while other means remain available.
- *An important lesson of September 11 is that fundamental security issues, like homeland defense, form the basis for our broader national security strategy and organization.*
 1. The Cabinet's interagency problem-solving approach should be applied to other levels of military and civilian interaction.
 2. The military's role in focusing the instruments of national power is to create conditions – stability, time and space – that will give the other elements of U.S. national power the opportunity to function.
- *Although common threats and fears bring coalitions together, common objectives and goals are needed to maintain them. Common values, shared culture, and open communications make it easier for a coalition to function as a cohesive organization.*
 1. We must develop interagency engagement plans, similar to CINC theater engagement plans, to foster the necessary trust among coalition members before a crisis begins.
 2. The United States is seen as a competent, confident honest broker and leader. The United States must respect its coalition partners as sovereign equals to facilitate coalition building and teamwork.

3. In the early stages of an operation or campaign, it may be counter-productive to define an exit strategy, but it is necessary to identify our criteria for success.

Air Vice-Marshal John H. Thompson

Defence Attaché, British Embassy

- *The attacks of September 11 were perpetrated against the entire world and affected the priority, organization, and goals of international relationships. The United States was able quickly and masterfully to unite a broad range of countries that were ready to join in our coalition.*
- 1. While NATO responded first by invoking Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, individual countries followed with concrete offers of assistance. The rapid response improved NATO's credibility, but the coalition against terrorism must include non-NATO countries as well to be fully effective.
- 2. Groupings such as the EU and the G-8 have also contributed by attacking the terrorists' funding sources and denying them safe havens.
- 3. The United States has also wisely recognized the essential role of the United Nations, which can bestow legitimacy on coalition operations and provide a forum for developing anti-terrorist measures.
- 4. The current campaign demonstrates the readiness and capacity of the majority of countries to work together and the unprecedented opportunities for cooperation to address other global threats.
- *The leadership of the United States has been admirable; the challenge will be to sustain the coalition-building efforts. The United States can continue to expect strong support as long as it finds ways to involve those extending help. The United Kingdom welcomes the extent to which the United States has made use of these multinational bodies to promote its counter-terrorist strategies.*
- 1. Even the United States cannot act alone in confronting the wide range of transnational threats.



2. The vigorous approach taken by the United States to expand international cooperation in the fight against terrorism has been welcome, particularly in the cases of Russia and Pakistan.

Dr. Keith Payne

Chairman and President, National Institute for Public Policy

- *The trend towards increasing lethality in the hands of small groups has grave implications for deterrence and coalition warfare.*
 1. The dramatic decline in the cost of weapons has increased their availability to small groups. The increasing lethality of weapons and the increasing density of urban areas have reduced the number of participants necessary to inflict immense casualties.
 2. Biological and chemical weapons are threats today and nuclear weapons may be a realistic threat soon.
- *A wide array of agile and adaptive military capabilities is needed to deter threats across a wide variety of contingencies.*
 1. Attacks by small groups armed with WMD can inflict mass casualties anywhere in the world.
 2. Predictable policies of deterrence have become much more difficult to establish.
 3. Familiarity with opponents is critical to fashioning effective deterrence by knowing what to threaten, how to threaten it, and how best to communicate that threat to an appropriate decision maker.

Analysis

The task of integrating the instruments of power on the international level is complicated by the need to synchronize the efforts of multiple coalition members, as in the current war on terrorism. Military, diplomatic, and political goals must be balanced at the coalition and national levels, taking into account partners' distinctive national interests and objectives.

Dr. Payne noted that a broad spectrum of coalition capabilities is needed to deter and defend against multiple threats across a wide variety of contingencies, a situation that is exacerbated by the increasing lethality of small groups using weapons of great power in asymmetric ways. He remarked on the importance of thoroughly understanding the threats in the new security environment in order to construct effective deterrence policies.

Air Vice-Marshal Thompson discussed the importance of expanding the coalition against terrorism outside the NATO alliance, for example the European Union and the G-8, and continued involvement

of the United Nations, and emphasized that no nation should act alone in the emerging security environment. He highlighted the need for the participation of economic and political agencies as well as military alliances. Air Vice-Marshal Thompson suggested that the unprecedented level of support following the terrorist attacks could create opportunities to address other global threats cooperatively. However, Admiral Joseph Prueher cautioned that common threats and fears, while effective at bringing coalitions together, were insufficient to maintain them. For this, common objectives and goals are necessary, and a shared culture, values, and communications approach are desired. Indeed, there was broad agreement that unity of effort in coalition operations requires multinational political consensus on clearly defined strategic objectives.

General Montgomery Meigs also discussed the challenge coalition commanders face in balancing competing influences, pressures, and demands from partner nations, from their political leadership at home, and from the organization sponsoring the coalition. Contingent commanders' actions are in turn constrained by the degree of commitment from their political leadership, and the extent to which they have the trust of their superiors. Admiral Prueher also emphasized the importance of domestic politics to effective coalition operations and suggested that the cabinet-level problem-solving approach be applied to other levels of military and civilian cooperation.

Admiral Prueher also noted the need for jointness at all levels, the increasing importance of non-military dimensions of national power, and the importance of seeking non-military solutions to avoid the unnecessary waste of national resources in combat. In planning operations, he argued that while we should not insist on exit strategies before using force, we should nevertheless think through desired end states in advance. We must also retain our confidence but remain humbled by the terrorist attacks in our participation in and command of coalition operations.

Whereas the speakers uniformly emphasized the importance of broad coalitions to establish the legitimacy of U.S. actions and gain access to intelligence and other resources where partners' strengths complement our own, others have identified important disadvantages of coalition operations, primarily the restriction on states' freedom of action that comes with the need to maintain a coalition. Balancing the two in a complex, global conflict will remain a major challenge.

Special Address

Homeland Security

The Honorable Tom Ridge

Director, Office of Homeland Security

Summary

- *The principal challenge for homeland security is focusing our resources – federal, state, local and private – to maximize U.S. security. The events of September 11th created a shared sense of urgency and a common sense of purpose that has fueled an immediate and comprehensive national response.*
- *We cannot focus exclusively on response and recovery efforts. We must also continue developing a comprehensive, forward-looking strategy for homeland defense by maximizing our innovation, discipline, patience, and resolve, and by maintaining a willingness to reconsider traditional missions and relationships.*
 1. We must force our adversaries to respond to our strategy, instead of us responding to their actions.
 2. We must detect and deter terrorist threats before they happen and employ a seamless system of rapid response and recovery.
 3. To develop a comprehensive strategy, we must base our goals on performance, not process, and resolve discrepancies between our current and future capabilities.

4. This strategy will be national – not federal – involving all levels of government, and will include the public and private tools of national power.
- *Based on the National Security Advisor model, every future President needs an assistant to coordinate the multiple departments and agencies involved in homeland defense.*
 1. The Office of Homeland Security, working through the Office of Management and Budget, is sufficiently involved in the budget process to synchronize these efforts.
 2. The Homeland Security budget will use the DOD model to create a multi-year plan that cuts across all agencies. The President has instructed the Office of Homeland Security to focus on the immediate needs of the agencies, while incorporating longer-term needs into the annual budget process.
 - *The Defense Department has been essential in responding to the terrorist attacks, and its future role in homeland security is evolving.*
 1. The National Guard should have a primary role in domestic security. The Office of Homeland Security will work with DOD and individual states to determine the National Guard's appropriate role and force structure for this mission.
 2. The President and the Secretary of Defense view the use of regular forces for homeland security as a last resort.
 3. The DOD's valuable experience in combating biological, chemical, radiological, and nuclear threats will be critical as we develop our domestic capabilities.
 - *We must enhance cooperation across the federal government, and we may merge some agencies with overlapping responsibilities.*
 1. We need a stronger bio-defense strategy that strengthens the public health system, increases the ability of local hospitals to handle major public emergencies, and better protects the nation's food supply.
 2. We must find better ways to quickly share intelligence, not only across the federal government, but also with state and local officials, especially law enforcement.
 3. Our domestic first responders need standardized training, procedures, and equipment to communicate with each other and operate together in crisis.

Analysis

Governor Tom Ridge, Director of the new Office for Homeland Security, identified the need to focus on both the current situation and the longer-term aspects of the war on terrorism. The tragic events of September 11 provide an urgency and purpose to the difficult task of responding and recovering. That effort is both extensive and impressive, but the long-term view brings added challenges into focus.

Terrorists must be made to respond to American initiatives, rather than the United States reacting to their attacks. To meet these challenges, it is essential that we develop a comprehensive national strategy that provides direction beyond the federal level to all government agencies and coordinates and integrates the efforts of the private and public sectors, including state and local governments.

To develop this strategy, the Office of Homeland Security must coordinate an effort to identify goals, needs, and ways to meet those requirements. The strategy must be forward-looking and include a biological defense strategy. Current processes and institutions must also be analyzed to find ways to make them more effective in the war on terrorism.

An essential part of the strategy must be the provision of tools,



such as equipment and standardized training, to first responders. Sharing of intelligence must also be facilitated and that intelligence must get to state and local governments in a timely fashion. Governor Ridge stated that he saw the National Guard – perhaps reorganized and re-equipped – as the most obvious candidate to lead the military effort in homeland defense.

Recovery remains the priority for homeland

Special Address

security while this strategy is developed and refined. Governor Ridge stated his belief that broad public support will carry America to victory in the war on terrorism. Many details of the national strategy and the implementation of that strategy remain to be defined and executed before the path to that victory becomes clear.

Closing Address

The Military's Role in Homeland Security

General William F. Kernan, USA
*Commander-in-Chief
United States Joint Forces Command*

Summary

- *The United States needs a national strategy for homeland security. Each agency and department needs a clear role, mission, and an understanding of who has primacy in each area.*
 1. We must avoid arbitrary change in favor of a systematic plan of requirements and actions.
 2. Homeland security is hemispheric. The United States has a transparent relationship with Canada but needs to improve its cooperation with Mexico.
 3. Sustaining national will is essential to combating terrorism.
 4. Americans view terrorist attacks as immoral. The terrorists have a different value system and culture and do not abide by the rule of law. They consider their actions to be military operations.
 5. Synchronization and integration of the interagency process is essential. We must fuse our intelligence resources to better assess threats and determine how to defeat them.
- *The primary mission for military forces is to fight and win wars. Historically, our forces have trained to defeat a conventional attack outside the United States. The military must now address the asymmetric threat of terrorism.*

1. The military must be postured to prevent an attack on our homeland.
 2. Primacy for homeland defense belongs to the civil authorities and first responders. The National Guard is legally permitted to undertake law enforcement responsibilities to augment the civilian effort. The Reserves and active military components are legally restricted to a supporting role in this mission.
 3. We must have complementary plans and communications. We have to identify local, state and regional capability and be prepared to augment these capabilities where required.
 4. We need a regional command and control architecture to accomplish the necessary fusion within the ten FEMA regions and national headquarters.
 5. We have to align the Unified Command Plan to achieve the synchronization needed for homeland security. There are five CINCs involved in homeland security. We do not want to create new organizations but use the existing structure to streamline command and control.
- *Joint Forces Command has combatant command of 83 percent of the general-purpose forces in the United States and has great synergy among the services.*
 1. Because of its location and role as the primary force provider, Joint Forces Command is well prepared to assume the mission of land and maritime homeland security on an interim basis.
 2. JFCOM's primary focus is to undertake experimentation, transformation, and concept development to support the evolution of the Joint Force.



Analysis

General Kernan noted that the events of September 11 inspired a move from simply talking about homeland security to significant action on the issue. He asserted it is important to define homeland security to ensure that each agency and department properly understands its roles, missions, and responsibilities. He noted the two elements of homeland security are homeland defense and civil support (with significant focus today placed on consequence management). The former recently received much more attention – and resources – than earlier, but the requirements for each element demand definitive identification. The civil support element is well defined and understood through the lessons of many civil-military operations in our nation’s history and again on and after September 11, but General Kernan argued that there is both a need and the capability to improve our capability and capacity to execute this mission.

While homeland defense is an enduring military mission, its primary focus has long been to counter a conventional attack from overseas. General Kernan recognized the military’s continuing leadership of the external portion of the mission to defend the nation, and noted that the military has been – and will continue to be – the supporting agency in the execution of homeland defense in the continental United States.

Like many speakers and panelists, General Kernan commented on the need to synchronize and integrate actions between active and reserve components, between the CINCs and Services and in the interagency process. His proposal that Joint Forces Command assume responsibility for land and maritime homeland security to facilitate the streamlining of the homeland security process during the transition period.

General Kernan’s views on homeland security tracked well with those of other speakers, particularly Governor Ridge. Like the Director of the Office of Homeland Security, General Kernan advocated the development of a national campaign plan to integrate the agencies and other organizations working at the various levels of government. He noted the particular importance of synchronizing foreign and domestic intelligence to assess threats and how to combat them. He also reiterated that the National Guard is legally permitted to undertake law enforcement responsibilities if needed, and therefore should provide the bulk of military support for homeland defense.

Closing Address

General Kernan, again like many others, said that the maintenance of national will is an essential task for all. National trust and confidence must be built and maintained; resources applied to homeland defense will assist materially in that effort.

Biographies

Dr. Gordon M. Adams

Dr. Gordon Adams is Professor of the Practice of International Affairs and Director of the Security Policy Studies Program, the Eliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University. Previously, he was Deputy Director, the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Before moving to London, he served as the Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget for the Executive Office of the President. Dr. Adams has also taught at Rutgers University and Columbia University. He has held positions at the Council on Economic Priorities, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Social Science Research Council. He was founder and Director of the Defense Budget Project from 1983 to 1993. Widely published in the areas of security policy, defense policy, and the defense budget, Dr. Adams graduated magna cum laude in Political Science from Stanford University. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University.

Lieutenant General Edward Anderson III, USA

General Edward Anderson is Deputy Commander in Chief and Chief of Staff, United States Space Command and Vice Commander, U.S. Element, North American Aerospace Defense Command. In this capacity, General Anderson helps lead the unified command responsible for directing space control and support operations including missile defense and Computer Network Defense and Computer

Network Attack. General Anderson has also served as Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, the Joint Staff. His awards and decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Army Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with two Oak Leaf Clusters, the Bronze Star Medal, and Bronze Star Medal with V Device. He is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and holds a M.S. in Aeronautical Engineering from the Georgia Institute of Technology and a M.A. in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College. General Anderson is also a graduate of the British Higher Command and Staff Course.

The Honorable Avis T. Bohlen

Ms. Avis Bohlen was sworn in on November 24, 1999 as the Department of State's Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Arms Control. She joined the Foreign Service in 1977 and had several assignments in the Bureau of European Affairs. She served as U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria (1996-1999); Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Paris (1991-1995); and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (1989-1991) with responsibility for European security issues. She has also served on the Policy Planning Staff and as Executive Director on the U.S. Delegation for Nuclear and Space Talks in Geneva. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Ms. Bohlen worked for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna. She has a B.A. from Radcliffe College and an M.B.A. from Columbia University.

Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III

On October 11, 2001, Ambassador Bremer was named Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Marsh Crisis Consulting Company, a subsidiary of the Marsh & McLennan Companies. Prior to his work there, he served as a Managing Director at Kissinger Associates. Ambassador Bremer joined the Diplomatic Service in 1966. He served as the Deputy Ambassador and Chargé d'Affaires at the American Embassy in Oslo, Norway. In his Washington assignments, Ambassador Bremer served as Special Assistant or Executive Assistant to six secretaries of state. President Reagan named Ambassador Bremer as the United States Ambassador to the Netherlands in 1983. He was subsequently appointed Ambassador-at-Large for Counterterrorism, responsible for developing and implementing America's global policies to combat terrorism. In September 1999, Ambassador Bremer was appointed Chairman of the National Commission on Terrorism. He received his B.A. from Yale University, a CEP from the Institut

D'Etudes Politiques at the University of Paris, and an MBA from Harvard University. Ambassador Bremer received the State Department Superior Honor Award, two Presidential Meritorious Service Awards, and the Distinguished Honor Award from the Secretary of State.

The Honorable Frank C. Carlucci

Mr. Frank Carlucci is Chairman and a Partner in The Carlyle Group, a Washington, D.C. based merchant bank. Prior to joining The Carlyle Group in 1989, he served as Secretary of Defense from 1987 to 1988 and as President Reagan's National Security Advisor in 1987. Before returning to government service, Mr. Carlucci was Chairman and CEO of Sears World Trade, a business he joined in 1983. His government service included positions as Deputy Secretary of Defense; Deputy Director of Central Intelligence; Ambassador to Portugal; Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget; and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Carlucci was a Foreign Service Officer from 1956 to 1980. He currently serves on numerous corporate boards, including Ashland, Inc.; BDM International, Inc.; General Dynamics Corporation; Kaman Corporation; Neurogen Corporation; Northern Telecom Limited; Texas Biotechnology Corporation; Pharmacia & Upjohn, Inc.; Westinghouse Electric Corporation; and the Board of Trustees for the RAND Corporation. Among his awards and honors are the Herbert Roback Memorial Award, 1989; the George C. Marshall Award, 1989; Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree, University of Scranton, 1989; the Woodrow Wilson Award, 1988; the James Forrestal Award, 1988; Presidential Citizens Award, 1983; National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, 1981; the Defense Department Distinguished Civilian Service Award, 1977; the Health, Education and Welfare Distinguished Civilian Service Award, 1975; and the State Department Superior Service Award, 1971.

General Wesley K. Clark, USA (Ret.)

General Wesley Clark was the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) from July 1997 through May 2000. He was also the Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command. In his position as SACEUR, General Clark was also the overall commander of the approximately 75,000 troops from 37 NATO and other nations participating in ongoing operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. In 1999, General Clark commanded Operation Allied Force. His previous assignments include: Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern

Command in Panama from June 1996 to July 1997, and Director, Strategic Plans and Policy, J5, the Joint Staff from April 1994 to June 1996. In addition, he led the military negotiations for the Bosnian Peace Accords at Dayton. General Clark is a 1966 graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, and holds a Master's Degree in philosophy, politics, and economics from Oxford University, where he studied as a Rhodes Scholar.

Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis

Dr. Jacquelyn Davis is executive vice president of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and president of National Security Planning Associates. Dr. Davis is an authority on force planning and military technology trends; U.S.-allied security relations in NATO-Europe, the Persian Gulf, and the Asian-Pacific region; counterproliferation and deterrence issues; and regional security dynamics. Her other areas of expertise include defense problems related to the former Soviet Union and the CIS republics and the security policies and programs of key European countries, particularly the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. As a member of the chief of naval operations' Executive Committee, she has written and lectured extensively on issues of naval strategy and maritime power. Her recent publications include: *Strategic Paradigms 2025: U.S. Security Planning for a New Era* (co-author) and *CVX: A Smart Carrier for the New Era*. Dr. Davis served a four-year tenure (1992-96) on the Board of Advisors at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. In addition, she was a member of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS), serving as national chairperson from 1986-88. Dr. Davis is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the CNO Executive Panel, the Hart-Rudman Study Group, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Dr. Davis received her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

The Honorable Douglas J. Feith

Mr. Douglas Feith is Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. His responsibilities include the formulation of defense planning guidance and forces policy, Department of Defense relations with foreign countries, and the Department's role in U.S. government interagency policy making. Before President George W. Bush appointed him in July 2001, Mr. Feith was for fifteen years the managing attorney of the Washington, D.C. law firm of Feith & Zell, P.C. From March 1984 until September 1986, Mr. Feith served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy. Prior to assuming that position,

he served as Special Counsel to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy. Mr. Feith worked from 1981 to 1982 as a Middle East specialist on the National Security Council Staff. Mr. Feith's writings on international law and on foreign and defense policy have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic*, and elsewhere. He has contributed to a number of books, including James W. Muller, ed., *Churchill as Peacemaker*; Douglas J. Feith, et al., *Israel's Legitimacy in Law and History*, and Uri Ra'anani, et al., eds., *Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism*. Mr. Feith holds a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center and an A.B. from Harvard College.

The Honorable Gary Hart

Senator Gary Hart currently serves as co-chair of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, a bipartisan commission chartered by the Department of Defense. Since 1988, Senator Hart has also practiced law as a strategic and legal advisor to American companies in the field of international business. He travels extensively to Russia, Europe, the Far East, and Latin America. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S.-Russia Investment Fund, created by Congress in 1993, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Most recently, Senator Hart has been a Visiting Fellow and McCallum Memorial Lecturer at Oxford University. He completed his ninth book, *The Minuteman*, in 1997. Gary Hart received his B.A. in 1958 from Southern Nazarene University; attended Divinity School in 1961 at Yale University; received his J.D. in 1964 from Yale Law School; and served as a U.S. Senator for Colorado from 1975 through 1987.

The Honorable James Inhofe (R-OK)

Senator James Inhofe was first elected to the Senate in 1994. He is a member of the Armed Services Committee, and serves on the Strategic Forces Subcommittee, the AirLand Subcommittee, and is the ranking member of the Readiness and Management Support Subcommittee. He also serves on the Environment and Public Works Committee, the Intelligence Committee, and the Indian Affairs Committee. Senator Inhofe plays a leadership role on defense and national security issues. Senator Inhofe previously served four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. He graduated from the University of Tulsa with a degree in Economics. He served in the U.S. Army and has been a small businessman for over thirty years. He was elected to the Oklahoma State House of Representatives in 1966, served one term, and was then elected to the State Senate, where he served

two terms and became Minority Leader. From 1978 to 1984, he was Mayor of Tulsa.

General William F. Kernan, USA

As Commander in Chief, United States Joint Forces Command (JFCOM) and Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, General William Kernan is responsible to the President and the Secretary of Defense through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for JFCOM's mission of maximizing the nation's present and future military capabilities to ensure that U.S. forces continue to advance in a multi-service and multi-national mission capacity. He also provides ready U.S.-based Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps forces to support the command's geographical area of responsibility, domestic requirements, and other unified combatant commands around the world. General Kernan entered Officer Candidate School as a staff sergeant, gaining his commission as an infantry officer in 1968. He has served several staff and command-level units, including stints as the commander of the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) and XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg, N.C. He completed combat tours in Vietnam, Grenada, and Panama. He is a native of Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and holds a M.A. in Personnel Administration.

Admiral James M. Loy, USCG

Admiral James Loy has been Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard since May 1998, during which time he has focused on restoring the readiness and shaping the future of the Coast Guard. Previously, Admiral Loy served as the Coast Guard Chief of Staff from 1996-98. From 1994-96, he was Commander of the Coast Guard's Atlantic Area. His other flag assignments were as Chief of Personnel and Training and Commander of the Eighth Coast Guard District. A career seagoing officer, Admiral Loy has served tours aboard six Coast Guard cutters, including command of a patrol boat in combat during the Vietnam War and command of major cutters in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Admiral Loy graduated from the U.S. Coast Guard Academy in 1964 and holds Masters degrees from Wesleyan University and the University of Rhode Island. He also attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and interned at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He has received the Department of Transportation Distinguished Service Medal, four Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medals, the Defense Superior Service Medal, two Legion of Merit awards, the Bronze Star with Combat "V," the Meritorious Service Medal, five Coast Guard

Commendation Medals, the Coast Guard Achievement Medal, the Combat Action Ribbon, and other unit and campaign awards.

General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

General Barry McCaffrey is the Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, the United States Military Academy. He is also President of his own consulting firm in Alexandria, Virginia, and has been elected to the Board of Trustees of MitreTek Systems and to the Board of Directors of both the Phoenix House Foundation and the Atlantic Council of the United States. Previously, General McCaffrey was Director, White House Office of National Drug Control Policy from February 1996 to January 2001, where he served as member of the President's Cabinet and the National Security Council. During a distinguished military career, he served overseas for thirteen years, which included four combat tours. His last assignment was Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern Command coordinating national security operations in Latin America. General McCaffrey twice received the Distinguished Service Cross and was awarded three Purple Heart medals for wounds sustained in combat. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy and holds an M.A. in Civil Government from American University. He also attended Harvard University's National Security Program.

Mr. John McWethy

Mr. John McWethy is Chief National Security and Pentagon Correspondent, Washington Bureau, ABC News, a position he has held since 1984. Mr. McWethy's assignments have included coverage of the air war over Kosovo and its aftermath, tensions in the Persian Gulf and in North Korea, and the India-Pakistan conflict. For more than a decade, he was ABC News' primary correspondent covering secretaries of state Warren Christopher, Lawrence Eagleburger, James Baker, and George Schultz. He has traveled to more than fifty countries and covered the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of the nations that replaced it. He joined ABC News in 1979 as chief Pentagon correspondent, covering the Iran hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He has received three National Emmy Awards for his reporting on Ross Perot, the Persian Gulf War, and the Soviet Military. He has also received an Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia Award and the Overseas Press Club Award. From 1973 to 1979, Mr. McWethy was a reporter for *U.S. News and World Report*, the last two years as chief White House correspondent. He began his career in journalism at the *Congressional Quarterly*. A graduate of DePauw

University, he holds a Master's Degree from Columbia University's Pulitzer School of Journalism.

General Montgomery C. Meigs, USA

General Montgomery Meigs is Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army in Heidelberg, Germany, a position he assumed in 1998. He also served as Commander of the multinational Stabilization Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina beginning on October 1998. General Meigs has held a variety of positions during his career, including Commander, 1st Squadron, 1st Armored Cavalry Regiment; strategic planner on the Joint Staff in Washington, D.C.; command of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Armored Division; and Chief of Staff of V Corps and Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations of the U.S. Army, Europe and 7th Army. General Meigs commanded the 3rd Infantry Division from July 1995 until its reflagging as the 1st Infantry Division in February of 1996. In October 1996, he deployed with the 1st Infantry Division to Bosnia, serving nine months as COMEAGLE in command of NATO's Multi-National Division (North) in Operations Joint Endeavor and Joint Guard. He is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and spent a year at the Army's Command and General Staff College. He received a Ph.D. in History from the University of Wisconsin in 1982. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Bronze Star Medal with V device, and the Purple Heart.

General Richard B. Myers, USAF

General Richard Myers is the fifteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's highest ranking military officer. In this capacity, he serves as the principal military advisor to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council. His career includes operational command and leadership positions in a variety of Air Force and Joint assignments. General Myers is a command pilot with more than 4000 flying hours in the T-33, C-21, F-4, F-15 and F-16, including 600 combat hours in the F-4. From August 1998 to February 2000, General Myers was the Commander in Chief, North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Space Command; Commander, Air Force Space Command; and Department of Defense manager, space transportation system contingency support at Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado. Prior to assuming that position, he was the Commander, Pacific Air Forces, Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii, from July 1997 to July 1998. From July 1996 to July 1997 he served as the Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and from November 1993 to June 1996 General Myers was the commander of

U.S. Forces Japan and 5th Air Force at Yokota Air Base, Japan. General Myers is a 1965 graduate of Kansas State University and holds a MBA from Auburn University. He has also attended the Air Command and Staff College at Maxwell Air Force Base, the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Mr. Sean O'Keefe

Mr. Sean O'Keefe is the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. As the first deputy cabinet officer appointed in the Bush Administration, Mr. O'Keefe oversees the preparation, management, and administration of the Federal budget and government-wide management initiatives across the Executive Branch. Prior to his current appointment, Mr. O'Keefe was the Louis A. Bantle Professor of Business and Government Policy at the Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. He also served as the Director of National Security Studies, a partnership of Syracuse University and Johns Hopkins University for delivery of executive education programs for senior military and civilian Department of Defense managers. Mr. O'Keefe was appointed Secretary of the Navy in July 1992 and served as Comptroller and Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Defense since 1989. Mr. O'Keefe was also a staff member of the United States Senate Committee on Appropriations staff for eight years, and served as Staff Director of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. He is the author of several journal articles, contributing author of *Keeping the Edge: Managing Defense for the Future*, and co-author of *The Defense Industry in the Post-Cold War Era: Corporate Strategies and Public Policy Perspectives*. Mr. O'Keefe earned his B.A. in 1977 from Loyola University in New Orleans, Louisiana, and his M.P.A. in 1978 from The Maxwell School.

Rear Admiral Kathleen K. Paige, USN

Admiral Kathleen Paige is the Systems Technical Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization. She is a 1970 graduate of the University of New Hampshire and was commissioned in 1971. Her tours of duty include Technical Director, AEGIS Program Office; Chief Engineer, Naval Surface Warfare Center; and Baseline Manager for the Combat Systems Division of the AEGIS Shipbuilding Program. Her first Flag Officer assignment was as Commander, Naval Surface Warfare Center in July of 1996. In June of 1998, she was assigned as Deputy Program Executive Officer for Theater Surface Combatants. In April 1999, she was assigned the duty of Chief Engineer to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Development, and

Acquisition. In September of that year, she was assigned as Director, Theater Air and Missile Defense and Systems Engineering. In May 2000, Admiral Page was frocked to Rear Admiral (Upper Half). She earned an MS from the Naval Post Graduate School in Monterey, California, and is a graduate of the Defense Systems Management College and the Cornell University Program for Executives. Her personal decorations include the Legion of Merit, the Meritorious Service Medal, and the Navy Achievement Medal.

Major General John S. Parker, USA

General John Parker is Commanding General of the United States Army Medical Research and Materiel Command and Fort Detrick. He was commissioned out of ROTC in 1963, and has since served as Assistant Surgeon General for Force Projection/Chief of Medical Corps Affairs in the Office of the Surgeon General; as Commanding General, Fitzsimons Army Medical Center/Commander, Central Health Service Support Activity; as the Special Assistant to the Surgeon General, Health Services Division, and as Chief of the Medical Corps Branch, Health Services Division. He holds degrees from Washington Jefferson College and Georgetown University, and has attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the Armed Forces Staff College. Major General Parker's personal decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with two Oak Leaf Clusters, and the Meritorious Service Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters.

Dr. Keith B. Payne

Dr. Keith Payne is President and Director of Research at the National Institute for Public Policy and an Adjunct Professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University. He also serves as Editor-In-Chief of Comparative Strategy and is a member of the Department of State's Defense Trade Advisory Group. He has authored *The Fallacies of Cold War Deterrence and a New Direction*; *Post-Cold War Requirements for U.S. Nuclear Deterrence Policy*; *Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age*; *Peacekeeping in the Nuclear Age* (co-author); *A Just Defense: The Use of Force, Nuclear Weapons and Our Consciences* (co-author); *Missile Defense in the Twenty-First Century: Protection Against Limited Threats*; *Countering Proliferation: New Criteria for European Security*; and *Proliferation und westliche Sicherheit*. Dr. Payne frequently testifies before congressional committees and has also testified before the British Parliament. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Southern California.

Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

Dr. Robert Pfaltzgraff is the president of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He has held a visiting appointment as George C. Marshall Professor at the College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium, and as professor at the National Defense College, Tokyo, Japan. He has advised key Administration officials on military strategy, modernization, the future of the Atlantic Alliance, nuclear proliferation, and arms control policy. Dr. Pfaltzgraff has published extensively and lectured widely at government and industry forums in the United States and overseas, including the National Defense University and the NATO Defense College. Dr. Pfaltzgraff leads the Institute's research projects on future security environments, technology diffusion, and curricular development on issues associated with WMD. His work encompasses alliance relations, crisis management, missile defense, the development and conduct of gaming exercises, arms control issues, and strategic planning in the emerging security environment. He holds an M.A. in International Relations, a Ph.D. in Political Science, and an M.B.A. in International Business from the University of Pennsylvania.

Admiral Joseph W. Prueher, USN (Ret.)

Admiral Joseph Prueher was sworn in on December 2, 1999 as U.S. Ambassador to China, a position he held until earlier this year. On May 1, 1999, Ambassador Prueher completed a thirty-five year career in the Navy during which time he flew over 5,500 hours in 52 types of aircraft with over 1,000 carrier landings. His last assignment was as Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command. Immediately following his retirement, he was a consulting Professor and Senior Advisor for the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project. Admiral Prueher received a M.S. in International Relations from the George Washington University and a B.S. in Naval Science from the U.S. Naval Academy. He has published numerous articles on leadership, military readiness, and Pacific region security issues, and has received multiple military awards for combat flying as well as Naval and Joint service. Additionally, he has been decorated by the Governments of Singapore, Thailand, Japan, Korea, the Republic of the Philippines, and Indonesia, and is an Honorary Officer in the Military Division of the Order of Australia.

The Honorable Tom Ridge

Governor Tom Ridge was appointed Director of the Office of Homeland Security in October of 2001. Previously, he served as Governor

of Pennsylvania, where he focused his efforts on education, land conservation, and reconfiguration of the state's fiscal management. Prior to becoming Governor, Director Ridge served six terms as the first Vietnam veteran elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He has also served as an assistant district attorney in Erie, Pennsylvania, and as an infantry staff sergeant in Vietnam, where he won the Bronze Star for valor. Director Ridge graduated with honors from Harvard University, and earned his J.D. from the Dickinson School of Law.

Air Vice-Marshal John Thompson CB RAS

Air Vice-Marshal John Thompson was educated in Palmerston North, New Zealand and at the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell where he was commissioned in 1968. After a tour flying the Hunter in Bahrain, he served as a Qualified Weapons Instructor on a Harrier Squadron in Germany. In 1975, he returned to the United Kingdom on posting to the Harrier Operational Conversion Unit before becoming a Staff Officer at Group Headquarters in 1982. The next three years were spent commanding Number 3 (Fighter) Squadron in Germany before returning to take up post as an Air Plans Staff Officer at the Ministry of Defence. In 1989 he assumed command of Royal Air Force Wittering, which was followed by attendance on the 1991 course at the Royal College of Defence Studies. Subsequently, he completed the Higher Command and Staff Course at Camberly, prior to a tour as Senior Staff Officer at Headquarters 2 Group at Rheindalen, which included three months as the NATO Liaison Officer in Headquarters UNPROFOR Zagreb. In 1996, Air Vice-Marshal Thompson spent 6 weeks on the Staff at the Royal College of Defence Studies before moving for an eleven-month detachment to Brussels and Sarajevo as the Military Advisor to Mr. Carl Bildt. In January 1997, he was appointed Air Officer Commanding and Commandant of the Royal Air Force College Cranwell. In July 1998 he was posted as the Air Officer Commanding Number 1 Group. He came to the U.S. in April 2000 as the Defence Attaché and Head of the British Defence Staff in Washington.

Dr. Loren B. Thompson, Jr.

Dr. Loren Thompson is the Chief Operating Officer of the Lexington Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public-policy research organization headquartered in Arlington, Virginia. In that capacity he directs the Institute's national security program and participates in its research on a variety of domestic issues. Dr. Thompson is a long-time advisor to major defense and aerospace companies, the federal government, and various public-policy organizations on national

security issues ranging from military logistics and industrial-base trends to nonlethal weapons and infrastructure management. For nearly twenty years, Dr. Thompson has taught graduate-level seminars on strategy and military affairs in Georgetown University's National Security Studies Program and, from 1988 to 1995, was Deputy Director of the Program. He has also taught at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Prior to assuming his current position, Dr. Thompson was Executive Director of the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution's national security program. A frequent author of national security articles and commentaries, he holds a Ph.D. in Government from Georgetown University.

Ms. Michelle Van Cleave

Ms. Michelle Van Cleave is President of National Security Concepts, a Washington, D.C. firm specializing in strategic planning and senior-level policy analysis for government customers. In the 105th Congress, Ms. Van Cleave was Staff Director and Chief Counsel of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information. From 1993 to 1997, Ms. Van Cleave was Counsel to the Washington law firm of Feith & Zell, P.C. During this time, she also worked as a consultant to several government agencies including Los Alamos National Laboratory and the Central Intelligence Agency. Ms. Van Cleave has also held the positions of General Counsel and Assistant Director for National Security Affairs in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. Ms. Van Cleave holds an MA and BA in International Relations from the University of Southern California (USC) and a J.D. from the USC School of Law.

The Honorable Curt Weldon (R-PA)

Congressman Curt Weldon was elected to represent the Seventh Congressional District of Pennsylvania for an eighth term in 2000. A member of the House of Representatives since 1987, he has taken leadership roles on a wide variety of issues, ranging from national security to the environment. A senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. Weldon served six years as the Chairman of the Military Research and Development Subcommittee, overseeing the development and testing of key military systems, weapons programs, and technologies that fulfill military needs, followed by service as Chairman of the Readiness Subcommittee. The congressman now serves as the Chairman of the Armed Services Procurement Subcommittee. He has worked with Russian leaders on a variety of issues, including efforts to improve Russia's energy supply, correct environmental damage, and

protect both nations from ballistic missile attack. In addition, Mr. Weldon is the founder of the Duma-Congress Study Group.

The Honorable Paul Wolfowitz

Dr. Paul Wolfowitz was sworn in on March 2, 2001 as Deputy Secretary of Defense. Prior to assuming these duties, Dr. Wolfowitz served for seven years as Dean and Professor of International Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University. From 1989 to 1993, Dr. Wolfowitz served as Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. During this period, Secretary Wolfowitz and his staff had major responsibilities for the reshaping of strategy and force posture at the end of the Cold War. Under his leadership, the Policy Staff played a major role in reviewing war plans for the Gulf War. During the Reagan administration, Dr. Wolfowitz served for three years as U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia. Prior to that posting, he served as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In addition to contributing to substantial improvements in U.S. relations with Japan and China, Assistant Secretary Wolfowitz played a central role in coordinating the U.S. policy towards the Philippines that supported a peaceful transition from the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos to democracy.

General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Ret.)

General Anthony Zinni is currently a distinguished Senior Advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. For the last three years of his career with the Armed Forces, General Zinni was Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command. He joined the U.S. Central Command in September 1996 as Deputy Commander in Chief. Following Operation Desert Storm, he served as the Chief of Staff and Deputy Commanding General of combined task force Provide Comfort. During 1992-1993, General Zinni directed the Unified Task Force Somalia during Operation Continue Hope, and earlier, he was Deputy Commanding General of the U.S. Marine Corps Combat Development Command at Quantico, Virginia. He served in Vietnam as a company commander in 1970. A graduate of Villanova University, General Zinni holds a B.A. in Economics, a M.A. in International Relations, and an M.A. in Management and Supervision. His decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters, the Bronze Star Medal with Combat "V" and gold star in lieu of a second award, and the Purple Heart.