

琉球大学学術リポジトリ

在日米軍の削減可能性を探る研究

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U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY IN 2020

NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES

In a world characterized by these key trends and future challenges, we must preserve the sovereignty, political freedom, and independence of the United States with its values, institutions, and territory secure; protect the lives and personal safety of Americans at home and abroad; and provide for the well-being and prosperity of the nation and its people. These concepts can be summarized by the following imperatives.

National Survival

Protecting the United States from any threats to its survival as a nation remains the primary role of our military forces. In terms of the immediate physical destruction of the country, weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, remain the primary threat. Therefore, we must maintain the appropriate offensive and defensive capabilities to protect and defend against the coercive threat or actual use of these weapons. At the same time, threats that would destroy or undermine our economic viability, institutions, and values, while perhaps taking longer to have an effect, are ultimately as dangerous. Consequently, our military capabilities must also be able to assist in protecting the nation from threats such as drug trafficking or assaults such as cyber-terrorism on our information or economic infrastructures.

NATIONAL SURVIVAL

- *Threats of physical destruction*
- *Threats to undermine economy, institutions, and values*

Global Economic and Political Stability

The United States remains a world military and economic superpower.

GLOBAL STABILITY

- *Cooperative relationships with friends and allies*
- *Expanded free market arrangements*
- *Free flow of information*
- *Interoperability with allies*

Our national interests are enhanced by global stability. The main threats to global stability are wars, international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the destabilizing effects of demographic, economic, and social trends as discussed

previously. These threats pose challenges that require an effective response from all elements of the national security establishment, including robust and specialized military capabilities.

Cooperative relationships with other nations, especially our friends and allies, are essential to maintaining global stability. Such relationships promote global interdependence, ensure orderly political arrangements, and bolster the rule of law. Cooperation increases our access and ability to influence and promote stability, democratization, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and humanitarian efforts. Central to this cooperation is expansion of free market arrangements into all regions of the world. At the same time, we must promote and sustain U.S. technology in ways that cultivate the advancement of U.S. scientific and commercial development while maintaining interoperability with our allies. Finally, we must foster the free flow of information to promote national security and economic prosperity, reduce tensions, and promote international cooperation.

Domestic Security

DOMESTIC SECURITY

- *Safety*
- *Protection*
- *Preparedness*

...peace of mind at home...

Ultimately, Americans must feel secure and safe in their own country. Beyond its responsibility to secure our borders against attack, the Department of Defense must be able to assist civil authorities against a variety of threats to lives and property in the United States, regardless of their source.

These imperatives cannot be considered in isolation. They are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, each contributing to the overall security of the United States. We must recognize that pursuing these imperatives may directly conflict with the interests of other states, groups, and individuals. Consequently, we acknowledge that security is a dynamic process that changes and adapts to strategic realities.

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The Panel discussed a wide range of alternative strategies ranging from those that depicted the United States as relatively withdrawn from military and political involvement in the international system (but heavily engaged economically) to those that saw the United States as broadly engaged. In the latter case, one variation depicted the United States as heavily dependent on the military cooperation of allies and coalition partners to assert effective military power abroad. Another variant witnessed the United States as heavily dependent upon unilateral military action in virtually every region of the globe. In all cases, the United States was portrayed as being prepared and able to defend its homeland, although the degree of threat was varied.

It was the Panel's judgement, however, that selecting a strategy appropriate for twenty years hence was not possible or desirable. Events and circumstances at that time will drive the decisions of the U.S. leadership. Therefore, we believe that the best way to ensure our future security is to provide

a process for developing the tools and concepts necessary to implement whatever the most appropriate strategy might be at that time. What did become clear in our discussion is this: our current course is unlikely to produce the military capabilities necessary to meet the range of challenges we foresee in 2010–2020.

The Panel considered operational challenges the United States may face in light of current U.S. force structure and strategy, as well as that posited by the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). While the Panel acknowledges that many of today's legacy systems will play a role in deterring and responding to threats to U.S. interests, we believe that the current and planned structure, doctrine, and strategy—that is to say, our current security arrangements—will not be adequate to meeting the challenges of the future.

The force structure of the future must have the ability to respond effectively to some of the new challenges:

- Information attacks;
- The use of weapons of mass destruction—especially against civilian and commercial targets;
- Space operations;
- The absence of access to forward bases;
- Deep inland operations;
- Mass population problems such as urban operations and mass refugee or epidemic crises.

Therefore, the Panel focused on the need for a transformation strategy and how best to prepare our security structures now for the unknowns of the 2010–2020 time frame. In the pages that follow, we consider the range of challenges the United States will have to meet, the capabilities we will need, and how to obtain them.

The Strategy for the future:

TRANSFORMATION

- *Develop the process to produce the tools and concepts to engage the future*
- *Change defense structure to match emerging challenges*
- *Develop concepts that embody the total force*

MEETING NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES OF 2020

Current defense strategy states that U.S. forces should be capable of fighting two regional wars at almost the same time. Potential threats in North Korea and Southwest Asia define the type of threat we may confront. This two-theater war concept is predicated on the belief that the ability to fight more than one major war at a time deters an enemy from seeking to take advantage of the opportunity to strike while the United States is preoccupied in another theater. Moreover, this posture dictates that, should the second enemy strike, we would swiftly deploy the necessary forces to defeat the second aggressor while continuing to successfully engage the first.

The Panel agrees fully that the United States cannot afford to ignore the near-term threats posed by Iran and Iraq in the Persian Gulf and North Korea in Northeast Asia. Our current forces, however, with the support of allies, should be capable of dealing with Iraq, which still poses a serious threat to the region and appears intent on acquiring an offensive WMD capability. The risks in Korea remain high, but the challenge in that theater is unique: a large, well-concealed force with extensive artillery and rocket forces and likely armed with chemical and possibly biological and nuclear capabilities. Forward bases could be put at risk, limiting the ability to deploy forces into Korea and sustain them. We must continue to work with South Korea to cope with this threat while we attempt to moderate it by political and economic means. As long as we retain the ability to introduce forces into the region, we have adequate combat power within the present force structure to deal with this threat. As a result, it is our judgment that our current force structure is sufficient for the regional threats that we see today.

The Panel views the two-military-theater-of-war construct as a force-sizing function and not a strategy. We are concerned that this construct may have become a force-protection mechanism—a means of justifying the current force structure—especially for those searching for the certainties of the Cold War era. This could leave the services vulnerable if one of the other major contingencies resolves itself before we have a transformation strategy in place, creating a strong demand for immediate, deep, and unwise cuts in force structure and personnel.

Current Two-Theater Construct

- *A sizing mechanism for the past*
- *A concern for today*
- *An inhibitor in reaching tomorrow*

Accept transitional risk
Emphasize long-term security

The two-theater construct has been a useful mechanism for determining what forces to retain as the Cold War came to a close. To some degree, it remains a useful mechanism today. But, it is fast becoming an inhibitor to reaching the capabilities we will need in the 2010–2020 time frame.

The issue is not whether the current posture is useful. The real issue is where we are willing to take risk. The current posture minimizes near-term risk at a time when danger is moderate to low. A significant share of the Defense Department's resources is focused on the unlikely contingency that two major wars will break out at once, putting greater risk on our long-term security. While we cannot identify future threats precisely, we can identify the challenges. Our priority emphasis (including resources) must go to the future.

Therefore, the Panel concludes (without understating today's security construct) that the Defense Department must move beyond its current focus to pursue a transformation strategy that safeguards our qualitative edge now and in the future. Incorporated in those efforts must be careful consideration of the forward deployed and forward presence arrangements and, most important, our relationships with allies in various regions of the world.

The scope of the missions that the Department of Defense must be prepared to undertake does not appear at first glance to be radically different from

the past: regional stability, homeland defense, projection of power, space operations, strategic deterrence, and maintaining information superiority—all missions that the U.S. military has done

***FUTURE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
MISSIONS***

- *Missions remain largely unchanged*
- *Emphasis among missions changes*
- *Specific challenges within those missions may be radically different*

before to a greater or lesser extent. What makes these missions different today, and especially in 2010–2020, is that the nature of the challenges is changing. Executing missions will be more complex, and there will be a greater need for cooperation with other instruments of national power, as well as with allies and coalition partners. Underlying all of these missions and linking them together is the growth in information technology, which creates opportunities and problems that we are just beginning to comprehend.

The combined effect of new and evolving challenges to our national security is profound. It demands a new approach to defense. It suggests that without significant change in our national security structures and processes, we face the grave risk that we will be unprepared for the future. The primary focus of our preparation for these future challenges is outlined below.

HOMELAND DEFENSE

Protecting the territory of the United States and its citizens from “all enemies both foreign and domestic” is the principal task of government. The primary reason for the increased emphasis on homeland defense is the change,

POTENTIAL HOMELAND VULNERABILITIES

Cold War Strategic Nuclear Attack by Superpower
Today and Tomorrow Nuclear Attack by ????
PLUS
Terrorism

Information Warfare

Ballistic and Cruise Missiles

Transnational Threats

Attacks on Critical Infrastructure

*America may not be any more or less safe than before,
but the challenges to its safety and security will be very
different*

both in type and degree, in the threats to the United States. Besides the enduring need to deter a strategic nuclear attack, the United States must defend against terrorism, information warfare, weapons of mass destruction, ballistic and cruise missiles, and other transnational threats to the sovereign territory of the nation. In many of these mission areas, the military will

necessarily play the leading role; however, many other threats exist which will require Defense to support local law enforcement agencies, as well as a host of other federal, state, and local entities.

Threats to the United States have been magnified by the proliferation of, and the means to produce and deliver, weapons of mass destruction. The increasing availability of relatively inexpensive cruise missiles and the capability to fabricate and introduce biotoxins and chemical agents into the United States means that rogue nations or transnational actors may be able to threaten our homeland. Along with the growth of delivery systems, the technology needed to create warheads housing nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons has also proliferated. The complexity of the WMD challenge lies in the number of potential enemies who have access to, and may choose, this asymmetric means of attacking the United States in an effort to offset our conventional strengths.

An integrated set of active and passive measures for deterring and defending against the use of weapons of mass destruction is needed. These measures must involve a range of federal departments and agencies which, in turn, must incorporate the state and local levels of government in their planning.

Effective missile defense may also reduce the risk of a limited missile strike and deter blackmail attempts by those who would seek to thwart U.S. military and diplomatic actions. Even if our abilities to defend against large-scale

nuclear attack remain inadequate, we must retain the option to deploy, if necessary, a missile defense capable of defeating limited attacks.

Although not seriously considered since the late 1950s, coastal and border defense of the homeland is a challenge that again deserves serious thought. We see no clear and present danger of an invasion by an armed force; however, the apparent ease of infiltration of our borders by drug smugglers, illegal immigrants, and contraband goods illustrates a potentially significant problem. It suggests that terrorist cells armed with nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons could also infiltrate with little difficulty. Better coordination between those national agencies charged with gathering intelligence outside our borders and with those charged with protecting our citizens and territory will be an absolute requirement. Coordinated intelligence, when coupled with the close integration of efforts by the Navy, Coast Guard, other government agencies, and local authorities, should be able to stop the majority of those who would cross our borders for illicit purposes.

No defense will ever be so effective that determined adversaries, such as terrorists bent on making a political statement, will not be able to penetrate it in some fashion. This is perhaps even true in the case of a regional enemy who threatens to execute WMD attacks on the U.S. homeland employing organized infiltration forces. Even the threat of such attacks could seriously impair our power projection operations, especially if our political leadership felt compelled to accord the enemy's homeland sanctuary status from attacks by U.S. forces.

Managing the consequences of an attack by WMD or other mass casualty-producing devices will require action from all levels of government. Although "first responders" will take the lead (assuming they are still viable) in the vast majority of cases, the Department of Defense must be prepared to assist. Preparation will be the most effective form of assistance. The Panel recommends that the National Guard together with the Army Reserve be prepared to:

- Train local authorities in chemical and biological weapons detection, defense, and decontamination;
- Assist in casualty treatment and evacuation;
- Quarantine, if necessary, affected areas and people; and
- Assist in restoration of infrastructure and services.

The U.S. Coast Guard and the Department of Defense should work closely to ensure that new classes of cutters are outfitted with a combat systems suite that gives these ships a robust capability in support of homeland defense, including such missions as drug interdiction, immigration control, and anti-transnational crime operations. Additionally, the U.S. Coast Guard and the Department of

Defense should investigate the feasibility of providing some U.S. Coast Guard ships with a capability to assist in the cruise missile defense of the homeland.

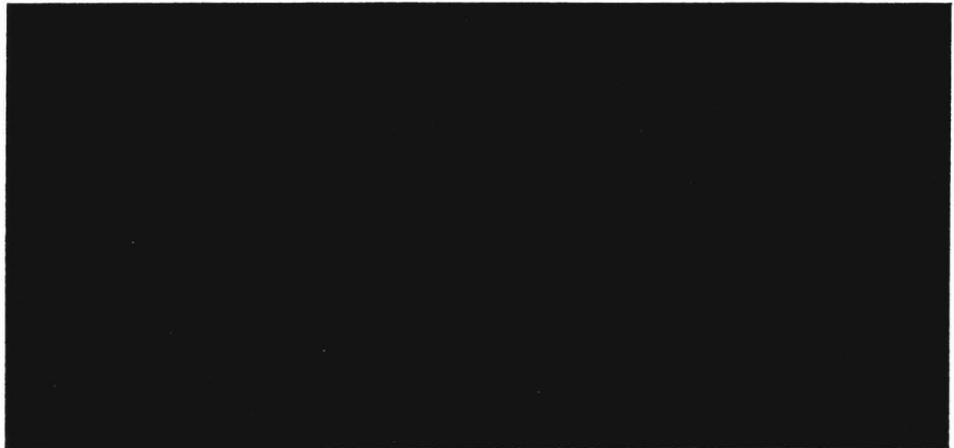
Information systems are rapidly becoming the key components of the nation's infrastructure. At the same time, our competitors will likely redouble their efforts to use our increasing dependence on information systems against us. The potential for an enemy to use attacks on information infrastructures as a means of undermining our economy and deterring or disrupting our operations abroad is of increasing concern. As the threats to commercial and defense information networks increase, the defense of our information infrastructure becomes crucial. The Department of Defense's reliance on the global commercial telecommunications infrastructure further complicates the equation. Our response to information warfare threats to the United States may present the greatest challenge in preparing for the security environment of 2010–2020. The threat is diffuse and difficult to identify. Consensus on how to guard against it is difficult to establish. The recommendations of the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection (PCCIP) should be the foundation of our future information security program. According to the Commission, the United States must begin to:

- Declare a policy and build international consensus on protecting critical infrastructure;
- Strengthen the protection of targets within the infrastructure and deny access to those who wish to disrupt its use; and
- Share information on threats, conduct analysis of vulnerabilities, and issue warnings of potential attack.

The Department of Defense must play an active role in the process envisioned by the Commission and its responsibilities should be made clear. Although information systems are only a small part of a much larger infrastructure, the Department of Defense must take the initiative in developing the techniques and procedures required for information security.

The terrorist threat to the United States is a complex issue which, as it encroaches upon U.S. territory, transitions from a Defense and State activity to one managed primarily by the Department of Justice or local law enforcement agencies. To date, the hand-off of responsibilities and sharing of intelligence on known and suspected terrorists has not been properly delineated and may, in some areas, be dysfunctional. It is not envisioned that Defense would ever take the lead in combating terrorism in the United States. The Defense Department must be prepared, however, to advise and assist law enforcement agencies in actions taken by the nation against terrorism. A key element in that assistance must be the sharing of information on both national and international terrorist organizations and their activities.

The security of our society and our citizens must be a primary concern. The emergence of new threats that have both the means and the incentive to strike at our homeland necessitates a heightened degree of readiness by our national security structures to defend against such attacks and to minimize and contain the harm they might cause.



REGIONAL STABILITY

U.S. national security is directly related to the stability of regions far from our shores. It follows, then, that a major focus of our national security policy—indeed, a principal role of not only our military forces but of all our components of international influence—should be maintaining and strengthening regional stability.

The challenges the United States faces in 2010–2020 are likely to be even more complex and multi-dimensional than those of the second half of the twentieth century. While some of those challenges may threaten U.S. interests directly, a far greater number will test U.S. diplomatic, political, economic, and intellectual resourcefulness to avert and prevent crises that require the intervention of our armed forces. The efforts we and our allies invest in helping to defuse regional or local tensions, promoting sustainable economic development, nurturing the rule of law and human rights, or alleviating human suffering can produce substantial savings by eliminating the need to deploy military forces to the afflicted regions. U. S. efforts to promote democratic reform and market economies in the countries of East and Central Europe and Newly Independent States have made a contribution to the relatively peaceful evolution of those states and their reintegration into the international political and economic community. Thus, a proactive policy to foster regional stability, far from being a lesser mission, should be viewed as an essential component of U.S. national security. The evolution of a more secure and predictable environment will allow the United States to promote its interests globally without employing military forces as often as we do today, and should be central to our security strategy.

REGIONAL STABILITY

*Demands continued interaction
with regional partners and alliances
through diplomatic efforts*

*Requires the constant integration
of U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military
activities*

During the Cold War, regional issues were heavily influenced by our policy of containment of the Soviet Union. The United States and the Soviet Union vied with one another for their respective spheres of influence, but their competition also kept some regional instabilities (e.g., the former Yugoslavia) in check. Today, the problems are more complex and intertwined:

- Expanding U.S. economic activity has increased existing interests or led to new interests in different regions;
- Competition for regional influence now involves nongovernment and international organizations in addition to state actors; and
- Ethnic, nationalistic, or political complexions of regions have changed because of changes in the geopolitical landscape.

Responding to regional stability challenges will entail a broader and more integrated application of the various elements of national power and international cooperation than exists today. Today's forward-based and forward-deployed forces play an important role in enhancing regional stability. However, they should not be the primary resource in this critical area.

The most effective tool should be diplomacy. Diplomacy can help shape the environment and establish the preconditions for successful use of other national security tools. The responsibility for stability in a region should fall first on nations in the region, or on regional organizations. Diplomatic efforts should encourage proactive measures that promote regional stability, focusing on those nations whose interests are compatible with ours. To do this in the fractured post-Cold War world requires more robust diplomatic capabilities than we budget for today.

Alliances also play a key role in solving regional stability problems. Our partners in these alliances are closer than we to the regional problems, and their historic ties to the specific issues can sometimes be used to advantage. We must preserve ties with our Cold War great-power allies (e.g., United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, Korea, and others), while encouraging great powers who are not allied with the United States (i.e., Russia, China, and India) to embrace emerging forms of cooperation while dissuading them from following paths that could lead to military competition.

The success of future military alliances or coalitions will depend on a degree of cooperation that goes beyond a "division of labor." It will require developing and implementing common doctrine, training, and the ability to operate smoothly as a combined, integrated force, much as the U.S. military services operate jointly today.

Cooperation in the area of armaments will also be a factor in alliance relations, starting with cooperation at the research and development level—with appropriate attention to sharing economic benefits and jobs—and including sharing the risks and costs of experimentation and procurement. Past cooperation has some successes as well as some failures. Cooperative development efforts based on ties (including cross-investments) between companies are more likely to succeed than government-to-government agreements. They should be encouraged. Such cooperation in joint development and sales can produce sizeable cost savings for the United States and its partners, as well as draw on the considerable intellectual and industrial capacities of allied countries.

Beyond diplomacy and alliances, economic tools are powerful means to influence the regional environment. In many instances, economic problems in a country or a region cause instability. The United States, in concert with its economic partners and international financial and development organizations, can address specific regional economic problems in ways that promote stability. For

example, trade, economic aid packages, or other incentives not only open doors to economic cooperation on a bilateral or regional basis but also can offer a sound foundation for political dialogue and security cooperation.

While we may not prefer the U.S. military to be the first response to regional crises, the Department of Defense will continue to be committed to peacekeeping and humanitarian relief missions in support of U.S. national interests. These missions, which are best accomplished in coordination with other nations, will likely involve nongovernment and international organizations whose integration into operational environments must be carefully developed. Advance planning should identify clear interrelationships, responsibilities, and, when appropriate, lines of authority.

The challenge confronting U.S. military planners is that the forces, training, and equipment used to maintain ready power projection capabilities do not necessarily lend themselves to the requirements of stability operations. The unpredictable and unique challenges generated by regional crises often require forces tailored to fit specific requirements. This will likely entail restructuring of some forces now focused on regional conflicts to conduct these less demanding but more likely contingencies. Reserve forces, for example, can provide skills that stem from their civilian specialties. Greater use of the reserve components to substitute for active units may also alleviate the operational and personnel tempo pressures on the active components and enable them to maintain their readiness for other missions.

Clearly, the complexity of meeting the challenges of regional stability demands the use of all the elements of national power—diplomatic and economic as well as military. A key question is how to integrate them effectively, both within the U.S. government and with our allies. Done well, it will enable the United States and its allies to influence and shape future security environments to our mutual benefit.

NATIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURE

Involvement of all our national tools early may prevent the over-reliance on military force later

Emphasize INTEGRATION of U.S. tools and PREVENTION of regional instabilities

In keeping with this approach, we should look to agencies that traditionally have had a domestic focus to play a larger role in international affairs. The Coast Guard, for example, could be a model for navies in other parts of the world. The Coast Guard participates in numerous international search and rescue cooperative programs and engages in other international activities that build trust and strengthen military-to-military ties with other countries. Outfitted with updated and adequate combat systems, the Coast Guard could make a stronger contribution to U.S. regional stability efforts in coordination with the Commanders-in-Chief (CINCs). We recommend that the Department of Defense and the Coast Guard move to establish appropriate Memoranda of Understanding

with the regional CINCs to more closely couple Coast Guard international activities to Commander-in-Chiefs regional stability programs.

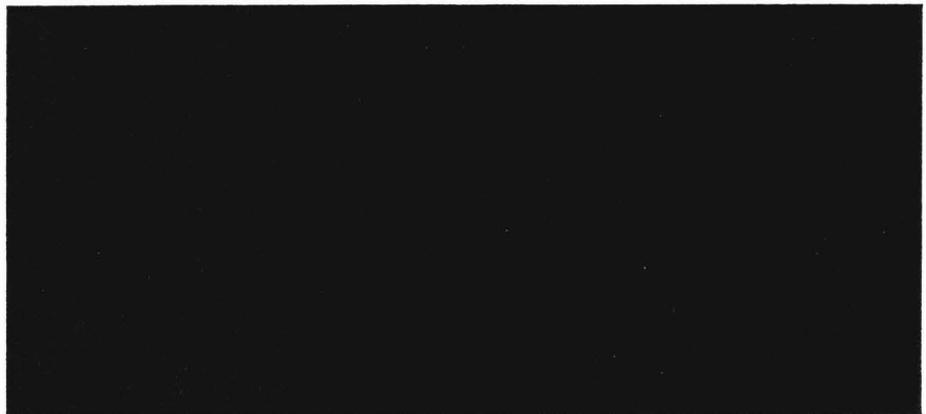
The current approach to addressing national security engages the Department of Defense and services too often and too quickly in situations that should have been resolved by non-military means. Failure to devote adequate attention and resources to promoting regional stability and security increasingly results in the use of military forces to restore social normalcy in areas not central to U.S. strategic interests, such as Somalia, Haiti, and Rwanda. Put in a more positive way, by strengthening our diplomatic, political, economic, and other assistance efforts, we may be able to prevent the breakdown of order, which requires the use of military force.

In this regard, we should also pay more attention to interagency representation overseas. Representatives from other than the Defense Department

JOINTNESS
Extend the spirit and intent of 'jointness'
beyond U.S. forces
to
the U.S. interagency process and
to inter-alliance venues

should be assigned to CINCs. Similarly, Defense representation at embassies in important countries must be carefully considered. The Defense representative should be a senior officer or civilian with interagency and joint experience and should

represent the Department of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as a whole.



PROJECTING MILITARY POWER

Projecting military power will continue to be a central element of U.S. defense strategy. As a global power the United States will employ all the instruments of power—diplomatic, political, economic, and military—to fulfill its obligations and protect its national interests. The skillful application of these instruments will not only protect our interests and those of our allies, but will do so short of war. However, if armed aggressors threaten our interests, we must be prepared—preferably in concert with our allies, but alone if necessary—to respond with sufficient military power to defeat them.

To meet future requirements to project military power and conduct combat operations, the United States must transform the present force, taking advantage of new technology, operational concepts, and force structures. Major combat operations in the future may well require forces and systems that are legacies (e.g., mechanized forces, naval surface combatant, short-range fixed and rotary-wing aircraft) of those currently in use. However, the cutting-edge ability to accomplish U.S. national security objectives will come from new approaches and new thinking about power projection and asymmetric warfare capabilities. The depth and breadth of the capabilities needed are only now becoming apparent, but we can foresee the broad requirements.

POWER PROJECTION

Project military power into critical areas:

- *More rapidly*
- *Absent forward access*
- *With smaller units and footprint*
- *With greater lethality*

We must be able to project military power much more rapidly into areas where we may not have stationed forces. The ability to project lethal forces—in the air, on the sea, or on the land—will be essential. Toward that end, our ability to project combat power anywhere in the world will require new technologies, operational concepts, and capabilities to meet the new challenges. First among these new challenges is the need for a much smaller force “footprint” characterized by fewer but more capable attacking troops and platforms supported by an even smaller logistics element. Priority challenges will also include an enhanced military responsiveness distinguished by its increased range of employment and resulting in reduced exposure of our forces.

In short, we must radically alter the way in which we project power. Projecting military power on short notice into the backyard of a major regional power is an inherently demanding enterprise. This is particularly true when that enemy is willing to accept vastly more casualties than the United States. In this situation, there is a high premium on forces that can deploy rapidly, seize the initiative, and achieve our objectives with minimal risk of heavy casualties.

Forward-deployed land forces would have to operate dispersed. They would not operate from a few fixed bases characterized by “iron mountains” of

supplies, but would rather rely on a combination of numerous small, dispersed supply points. Along with dispersion, ground units would emphasize speed to facilitate the ability to concentrate rapidly for close combat as required. They also may operate in smaller units that place great emphasis on seeing deep (through Special Operations Forces and deep-reconnaissance teams, along with reconnaissance helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles). These units would be integrated into the U.S. reconnaissance architecture, which would also comprise constellations of satellites and unmanned aerial vehicle "grids." Employing rocket artillery, unmanned combat aerial vehicles, and attack helicopters, these units would both emphasize extended-range precision strikes and support similar strikes by air and sea forces. Concentrating ground forces, either to seize or to control certain kinds of terrain (e.g., urban areas), may prove exceedingly challenging in this environment.

Maritime forces would rely more heavily on a "distributed" and networked battle fleet that would comprise, along with carriers, extended-range precision strike forces based on surface and submerged combatants, including submarines, arsenal ships, land-attack destroyers and integrated amphibious forces. The naval expeditionary power projection fleet would employ both short-range aircraft, maneuver forces, and reconnaissance and strike unmanned aerial vehicles. Maneuver forces would employ systems that would insert forces to strike or seize objectives while avoiding an enemy's defenses.

Air forces would place greater emphasis on operating at extended ranges, relying heavily on long-range aircraft and extended-range unmanned systems, employing advanced precision and brilliant munitions and based outside the theater of operations. Aircraft, unmanned aerial vehicles, and unmanned combat aerial vehicles operating in theater could stage at peripheral bases outside enemy missile range, or on Mobile Offshore Bases or carriers. Great reliance would be placed on aerial refueling to extend aircraft range, and perhaps on multiple, austere bases in theaters where "touch-and-go" refueling and rearming could take place.

POWER PROJECTION
Exploit our own offensive asymmetries

Such a force would be fully joint and increasingly combined, engaging in multidimensional (i.e., integrated ground, sea, and aerospace) and, where possible, multinational operations at close and extended ranges. It would be fully integrated through a global, distributed reconnaissance and intelligence architecture composed of satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles, sensors, and infiltration forces. Unmanned systems would likely provide a growing proportion of airborne reconnaissance and strike forces.

Power projection operations would focus on disabling the enemy's strategic center of gravity (including his warmaking potential and military forces), and occupying key terrain. In general, we must be able to rapidly target and

access whatever an adversary values most, the loss of which would render him either unable or unwilling to continue his hostilities. This has always been an objective in war, though very difficult to achieve, given war's uncertainties and frictions. Toward that end, we should try, so far as possible, to stop aggression through our own strategic initiative and control of the battlespace. Accomplishing this will likely require the simultaneous execution of a range of operations—conducting extended-range precision strikes, seizing control of space and information superiority, exercising ground and sea control, and providing missile defense.

Along with the asymmetric U.S. military advantages noted above, our forces will also have to operate and organize differently for power projection in order to achieve the following objectives:

- Inserting and extracting forces in the absence of forward bases;
- Forward-deploying forces prior to a conflict if forward bases are available, but at risk;
- Resupplying forward forces through airlift and sealift operations when access to forward ports and airfields is at risk;
- Seizing and controlling key terrain (including urban terrain) if our ground forces must operate dispersed;
- Achieving air superiority against an enemy's missile force—ballistic and cruise, as well as air-to-air and surface-to-air threats; and
- Defending key regional coalition partners against enemy missile strikes.

The visions of the various services contain many of the capabilities outlined above. However, the procurement budgets of the services do not adequately reflect the central thrust of their visions.

Meeting the power projection challenge will require aggressive transformation. This process may

Concentration on effects, not destruction

present some risk in the mid-term as the force transitions from the combat capabilities of the post-Desert Storm era to those demanded in the 2010–2020 security environment. The risk is moderate, however, and acceptable, given the capability of the current force and the improbability of a hostile competitor making a decisive technological leap ahead in the near term. Furthermore, risk is likely to decline as we develop and deploy new capabilities. The longer we delay action, however, the greater the risk. Key to managing the risk of a major conflict while we transform the force is that at any point in the process we retain the

means to conduct major combat operations and, more important, that potential adversaries understand that we have this capability. Successful power projection requires more than robust lift and the ability to wage effective operations against major regional threats. It requires other capabilities, described below.

Handling Lesser Military Threats

In our transformation efforts we must also provide the capabilities required for other emerging challenges. In many cases, the training and equipment used to prepare forces for major combat operations will also be able to handle these challenges. However, unique

<p>LESSER THREATS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Some overlapping capabilities with major combat operations</i>• <i>Many unique and specialized capabilities</i>• <i>Anticipated critical contributions from allied capabilities</i> <p><i>Potential for significant contribution from the reserve components</i></p>
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and critical military capabilities demand specialization. In addition, these challenges may well present difficult operational environments (urban deployments, chemically or biologically contaminated locales, major refugee flow) that do not fit easily the way our forces are currently structured. A partial solution to this dilemma may come from the reserve components (described in detail later in the Report). The specialized skills that reside in the reserves can make a significant contribution in tailoring our contingency forces to deal with emerging challenges to our security. It is also critical that we seek allied military support in these situations. In almost all cases, a coalition approach is clearly preferable to the United States operating alone. In some cases, our allies or regional organizations may be in a position to handle lesser contingencies without significant U. S. involvement. Nonetheless, the United States, both today and as is likely in the future, will possess some unique capabilities, such as transport and command, control, communications, and intelligence. Therefore, U.S. support will likely be in demand even when allies bear the brunt of the military operations.

Effective Urban Operations

Urban environments will present particularly thorny problems to our military forces. The maze of streets, crush of population, and complex of buildings and vertical and subterranean constructions present a demanding landscape that has the capacity to absorb ground forces, confound the effectiveness of stand-off weapons, and slow operations to a virtual standstill.

<p>URBAN OPERATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Specialized weapons</i>• <i>Tailored intelligence and communications</i>• <i>Sophisticated operational concepts</i>• <i>Civil–military and interagency coordination</i>• <i>Joint and allied force integration</i> <p><i>Increase priority; expand efforts</i></p>
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Even peacetime operations tend to be complicated and hazardous in an urban habitat.

Although we might prefer to avoid urban situations, mission requirements in peace and war may not allow this preference. We need to develop intelligence systems and military capabilities that enable the effective control (or eviction) of regular enemy forces from urban terrain. Furthermore, we must do so without putting at risk friendly forces or noncombatants, while being careful not to destroy critical infrastructures that will be essential to post-hostility recovery. Finally, urban operations will require sophisticated operational concepts, civil-military and interagency coordination, new force structure elements, and integrated efforts by joint and allied forces. Emerging technologies will change the characteristics of the urban battlefield and thus our concepts for fighting there.

In recent years the Department of Defense has focused research and development effort on urban warfare issues, and the services, especially the Marines, are developing new and better ways of fighting in cities. These efforts should be encouraged and expanded now if we are to successfully meet the challenges of the future.



SPACE OPERATIONS

Unrestricted use of space has become a major strategic interest of the United States. The next twenty years will see dramatic expansion of space operations for a variety of purposes. We are in an era similar to the early development of aviation, in that breathtaking opportunities are there for those who can envision the possibilities and who possess the skills and determination to act upon them.

Commercial use of space is expanding quickly, and on a global scale. In the next ten years, more than 1,000 satellites are projected to be launched. This represents a total investment (including all related services) of more than one-half trillion dollars. The majority of these satellites will be commercial. In 1996, for the first time in history, commercial launches exceeded government launches. Worldwide today more than 1,000 companies develop, manufacture, and operate space systems. Many of these companies are in the United States.

Our enemies, however, will seek to develop their own space capabilities or to gain access to space-derived products. The explosion in the commercial use of space will afford them the opportunity. As the costs of getting to space and operating there decline—and we expect that they will—not only will we see more satellites in space, but more military organizations will have the means to access them.

Military competitors will seek ways to reduce our current advantages. As competition increases, business will turn to government for protection. Some protective measures may take the form of regulations or treaties, but as the “flag follows trade,” our military will be expected to protect U.S. commercial interests.

Space power is an integral part of the revolution in military affairs and a key asset in achieving military advantage in information operations. For the military, space is the information battle’s high ground. The United States cannot afford to lose the edge it now holds in military-related space operations.

Despite our strong position, our space program has vulnerabilities. The small number of U.S. launch installations and present launch processes increase our vulnerabilities and costs of accessing space. Our assets in space are also vulnerable and they lack the ability to detect attack. Our protection and denial capabilities are rudimentary, limited to encryption of communication links, some degree of hardened electronics, and enough redundancy to guard against catastrophic loss of capabilities. Denial of enemy space capabilities is largely limited to neutralizing enemy ground installations employing conventional or special operations forces.

Greater accessibility to space by our competitors will strongly influence the struggle for advantage in military operations. For example, an adversary

could use commercial or third-party national remote-sensing and communications satellites, along with space-based navigation data, to help identify or target forward-deployed U.S. forces and fixed facilities such as ports, airfields, and logistics centers. Therefore, we must take steps now to ensure we have the capability to deny our enemies the use of space.

In short, developments in space will both challenge our military and offer it opportunities. Our defensive efforts should extend to ground stations that enable and support operations as well as to the satellites themselves, which will require the hardening or shielding of electronics against interference. We should develop sensors to determine the source and type of interference we might see applied against us so that we can take steps to mitigate its effect and attack the source. We must substantially improve our ability to conduct surveillance of space objects in order to maintain our situational awareness and adjust operations accordingly. And we must be prepared to deny applications that support adversary military operations.

To capitalize on the opportunities that space lends to military operations, we must maintain our lead. We have a strong foundation on which to build. We should emphasize policies and strategies needed to coordinate the civil, commercial, and national security sectors of space. For example, we should be able to better integrate Defense Department and intelligence community operations. We must take advantage of increasingly innovative commercial practices and continually investigate the advantages and vulnerabilities that commercial investments in space will bring.

We should accurately incorporate them into our long-range planning and integrate them into routine operations. We should also examine innovative applications such as paying for modifications that will make commercial systems more useful in crises. Furthermore, we should seek to secure the cooperation of private industry in addressing national security implications in space.

We need to develop a robust space science and technology program that incorporates more experimentation, giving priority to technologies for which there is no commercial market to support innovation and the fielding of the capabilities we will need to meet emerging challenges. We need better simulation models to use in our analyses, war games, exercises, and training. We must educate our

SPACE OPERATIONS

- *Emphasize coordination policies (civil/commercial/national security)*
- *Incorporate innovative commercial practices*
- *Investigate advantages and vulnerabilities of commercial assets*
- *Improve space-asset surveillance*
- *Improve asset protection (ground stations and space platforms)*
- *Develop a robust science and technology program*
- *Develop improved models and simulations*
- *Train commanders and educate national decision makers on space-based capabilities*

*Fully exploit the opportunities of space
Proactively address associated vulnerabilities*

various commands, services, and related national security actors on what capabilities space affords them. The outcome of all this should be better operational concepts and new space capabilities (including better situational awareness and improved precision strike). With the right focus, we can maintain our lead in space and protect against any vulnerability that might cost us an advantage in military operations.



MAINTAINING U.S. INFORMATION SUPERIORITY

Essential to maintaining information superiority will be the development of a “knowledge system” that meaningfully synthesizes existing and new information systems. Toward that end, there are two imperatives to maintaining U.S. information superiority.

First and foremost, we must be able to exploit advances in commercial technology. Given that commercial technology is ubiquitous, we will have to develop the means to exploit it (i.e., transform technology into military capability) more quickly than our military competitors. We must also recognize that our ability to exploit information technologies to create systems architectures—the integration of forces and platforms—is likely to be a future core capability. Second, we must have effective defensive and offensive information capabilities. Not only must we be able to defend our systems against cyber-attack, but we must also be able to discern the origin of cyber-attacks and provide a commensurate response.



COUNTERING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Weapons of mass destruction are an expanding threat. As a result, our operational concepts must stress preventive measures including enhanced intelligence operations, an adequate homeland defense, the means to manage the consequences of a serious attack within the United States or against our interests abroad, and force dispersion with a limited logistics footprint, as well as defenses for our forces and the ability to project power in the absence of forward bases.

As the new millennium approaches, we face the very real and increasing prospect that regional aggressors, third-rate armies, terrorist groups and even religious cults will seek to wield disproportionate power by acquiring and using these weapons that can produce mass casualties. These are neither far-fetched nor far-off threats.

—Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen

The days of the six-month build-up and secure, large, rear-area bases are almost certainly gone forever. WMD will require us to increase dramatically the means to project lethal power from extended ranges. We cannot assume, however, that such measures will, in and of themselves, protect our forces. We must also develop appropriate defensive measures integral to our deployed forces. Even more efficient and lighter protective gear will be required. Vaccinations will be the norm, and detection capabilities must be our highest priority.

Furthermore, we must provide a conventional, non-nuclear deterrent capability against the use of weapons of mass destruction. The above described measures will form the basis of a conventional deterrence as potential adversaries recognize that we are not only capable of striking them from outside their WMD range, but that we are also capable of operating within a contaminated environment. It must be absolutely clear that the United States will respond decisively if weapons of mass destruction are employed against our homeland or against our forward-deployed forces.



FORCE CAPABILITIES

Does the U.S. military run the risk of being unprepared for the challenges of 2010–2020? It could, if we are on the cusp of a military revolution. *Joint Vision 2010* argues that the future will find the U.S. military operating in an environment of uncertainty, faced with very different kinds of challenges than those encountered in the Cold War or the Gulf War. It notes, "Accelerating rates of change will make the future environment more unpredictable and less stable, presenting our armed forces with a wide range of plausible futures."

Much of this change will be stimulated by rapid advances in information and information-related technologies, which are transforming societies and businesses, and which seem likely to effect comparable changes in military organizations. *Joint Vision 2010* states that "the emerging importance of information superiority will dramatically impact how well our armed forces can perform their duties in 2010."

In fact, this military revolution is characterized, in part, by a rapidly growing potential to detect, identify, and track far greater numbers of targets, over a larger area, for a longer time than ever before, and to order and move this information much more quickly and effectively than ever before. This seems likely to produce a very different kind of competition between "finders" and "hidiers" than we have seen in the past. Reconnaissance architectures, comprised of satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles, remote sensors, and individual soldiers, among other elements, may be able to help create a condition of information superiority in which the adversary's forces and infrastructure are clearly identified, while friendly forces remain shrouded from the enemy. In military parlance, such an architecture could dissipate some of the "fog" of war for those who can exploit it to achieve information superiority.

On the other hand, the "hidiers" will seek to frustrate the efforts of the "finders" through a variety of means, including strikes against the reconnaissance architecture and passive measures such as stealth, electronic countermeasures, and the dispersion, cover, and concealment of forces. Thus, while it will be important to seek information superiority to realize the enormous boost it could provide to military force effectiveness, this condition will not be easily achieved.

That being said, the importance of creating as much of a favorable information "gap" between friendly and enemy forces as possible is highlighted by the changing character of the competition between the offense and the defense. The emerging military revolution also is characterized by the potential to engage a far greater number of targets, over a far greater area, in far less time, and with much greater lethality, precision, and discrimination than ever before. Combined with information superiority, such a capability could be an instrument of decisive advantage for the force that possesses it.

In summary, the emerging military revolution seems destined to present the U.S. military with challenges and opportunities that are fundamentally different from those of today.

CONVENTIONAL FORCES

Given the Panel's vision of the future battlespace—the result of the previously discussed revolution in military affairs, geopolitical, socio-economic, and demographic trends, potential asymmetric threats, and the new and emerging operational military challenges—we can expect significant differences in the characteristics of our forces. Consequently, it is insufficient to predicate future capabilities on what is needed today. Such current organizational structures (e.g., “above-the-line” forces defined as divisions, wings, Marine Expeditionary Forces, and carrier battle groups) and the current and planned weapons systems will be required in some forces to maintain our military capability, but alone they do not necessarily prepare us for future challenges. The transformation to a force for 2010–2020 should not be dominated by efforts to modernize legacy systems that will have much less utility in the future.

FUTURE CONVENTIONAL FORCES

- *Systems architectures*
- *Information system protection*
- *Information operations*
- *Automation*
- *Small logistics footprint*
- *Mobility*
- *Stealth*
- *Speed*
- *Increased operational and strike ranges*
- *Precision strike*

Force Characteristics

The Panel believes that relative to today's forces, the U.S. military of 2010–2020 should place far greater emphasis on the following characteristics:

- **Systems Architectures.** Information technologies could dramatically enhance the ability to integrate the actions of widely dispersed and dissimilar units. Such systems architectures would enable highly distributed, network-based operations;
- **Information System Protection.** The defense of our commercial and military information architecture will be critical and will allow us to protect our forces and our platforms from the enemy's reconnaissance efforts. New means to protect information systems and identify the origin of cyber-attacks must be the highest priority. Today, we are vulnerable;
- **Information Operations.** Significant improvements in the application of military force will be achieved by electronic strike capability. We need to develop the ability to insert viruses, implant “logic bombs,” conduct

electromagnetic pulse and directed energy strikes, and conduct other offensive electronic operations;

- **Automation** (to include the migration into space and unmanned platforms). The major advantage automation gives us is speed. Given that time will be an increasingly scarce resource in future warfare, automation-aided operations can temporarily compress operations;

- **Small Logistics Footprint.** Not only do we require lighter, more mobile forces, but we also require lean logistics. There may be no secure rear areas. A smaller logistics footprint will represent less of a target and, at the same time, less of a strain on indigenous infrastructures and our own strategic air and sea lift;

- **Mobility.** The ability to move our forces rapidly and in the right configuration is key to their effectiveness. Most importantly, the greater their mobility, the greater their protection;

- **Stealth.** Increasingly, any force that can be seen is likely to be hit. The best protection, therefore, is not to be seen. At the same time, the ability to avoid detection affords the opportunity for tactical surprise—which in turn can allow for strategic and operational surprise. The stealth embodied in our planes and submarines today will be increasingly important for our air, sea, and ground forces tomorrow;

- **Speed.** Given advances in the speed of information flow and communications, the unfolding and duration of critical engagements—indeed the tempo of war itself—have shrunk dramatically. The rate at which we can mobilize, deploy, set, act, and reset for any action—preemptive or reactive—will likely be fundamental to success;

- **Increased Operational and Strike Ranges.** We will need increased ranges to ensure the safety of our forces and their ability to achieve desired effects from disparate locations. Greater ranges will also offset the growing vulnerability of forward forces;

- **Precision Strike.** Precision weapons will enable the use of far fewer platforms, with no loss in force capabilities. Precision and the ability to discriminate among targets near each other will limit collateral damage.

These characteristics, while important to the capabilities we will need in the 2010–2020 time frame, are not in and of themselves enough to ensure long-term utility of weapons systems, platforms, and organizational structures.

*Concentration of effects,
not forces*

Force packages must be applied in a joint and combined environment, interoperable with all of the components involved in security operations. It

is through the synergistic concentration of effects, not by the assembling of force packages in one locale, that we must dominate our enemies.

If these characteristics comprise a template for our future forces' success, the question remains whether we currently are developing the right systems, operational platforms, and organizational structures to dominate and prove victorious in the future. The Panel suggests that the specific examples below represent the kind of actions we should take to transform our military to meet the challenges of the future.

All Forces

- Shift funds from upgrade of legacy systems to new systems focused on meeting the challenges of 2010–2020;
- Place more emphasis on directed energy, electromagnetic energy, and cyber-weapons;
- Enable greater speed, and penetration capability for Special Operations Forces to preempt or resolve terrorist activity or WMD threat;
- Provide more near-zero miss, long-range, stealthy cruise missiles, brilliant munitions, and submunitions in lieu of dumb weapons;
- Integrate ballistic and cruise missile defense to protect forces (both point and area targets), theaters, and regions; harmonize land- and sea-based missile defenses (i.e., ballistic and air breathers) in an effort to eliminate duplicative systems;
- Establish a distributed user-friendly global information system that includes a broadcast architecture;
- Create a “distributed,” in-theater logistics structure in lieu of “iron

- Provide the ability to project significant power from forward deployed areas, as well as the United States, within hours or days rather than months;
- Explore new air and sealift concepts emerging in the commercial world;
- Accelerate network-centric operations linking sensors and weapons;
- Replace individual service component-unique systems with integrated, joint command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance systems;
- Structure less manpower-intensive forces;
- Create highly networked forces able to see the battlespace in near real time and to dynamically task and control forces.

Land Forces

- Become more expeditionary: fast, shock-exploiting forces, with greater urban operations capability;
- Reduce systems that are difficult to move and support; shift to lighter, more agile automated systems;
- Evolve to lighter, greater range, more lethal fire-support systems;
- Develop the twenty-first century tank to be a unique vehicle relying on speed, agility, and hyper-velocity gun technology for operational effectiveness (the Panel's view is that 30-35 tons is the appropriate weight range);
- Move beyond Force XXI to incorporate the concepts embodied in *Army After Next*;
- Restructure above-the-line units, which evolve to smaller operational elements with equivalent (or greater) lethality;
- Move toward advanced vertical lift systems versus service-life extensions of current rotary-wing aircraft.

CONVENTIONAL FORCES

Consolidate gains from Force XXI and move directly to Army After Next (AAN)

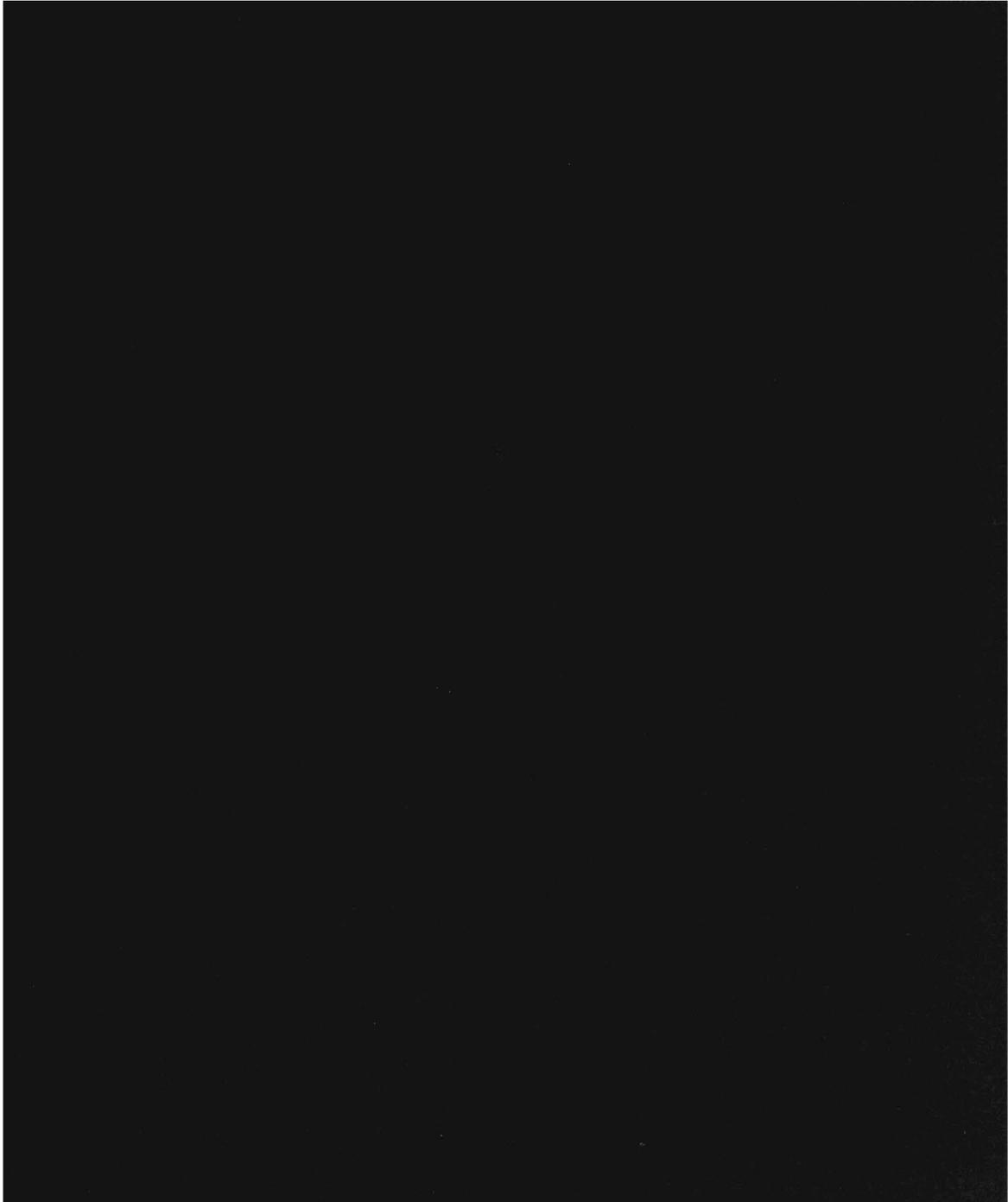
Sea Forces

- Move toward small-signature ships capable of providing sustained long-range, precision firepower;
- Design ship production to allow rapid incorporation of latest technology;
- Provide greater quantities of small unmanned underwater vehicles to augment and extend the reach of submarines;
- Construct follow-on carriers to capitalize on short take-off, vertical landing; unmanned aerial vehicle; and unmanned combat aerial vehicle aircraft characteristics with attendant reduction in size and personnel;
- Consider sea-based mobile off-shore bases to provide access in situations where forward bases are unavailable or at risk to repositioned forces;
- Provide insertion vehicles incorporating the latest technologies to extend the reach of the maneuver component of the naval power projection forces.

Aerospace Forces

- Ensure a proper mix of short- and long-range aerospace forces to enable optimal strike operations;
 - Move toward fewer numbers of short-range aircraft providing increased delivery capacity with smaller, but more accurate weapons ;

- Explore new approaches to long-range, precision delivery vehicles;
- More distributed satellite systems to provide redundancy and survivability of command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance;
- Short-take-off-vertical-landing aircraft on wide array of airfields, ships, and sea-based platforms;
- Increase ground surveillance capability.



STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES

The demise of the Soviet Union has dramatically altered the strategic landscape. Although tensions with Russia have eased, Russia retains numerous nuclear weapons. Russia is placing greater doctrinal emphasis on its nuclear forces, investing the necessary funds to keep their land based missile forces viable at a time when its conventional military forces are in decline.

Simultaneously, China is expanding its nuclear arsenal and developing missiles capable of reaching the U.S. mainland. Its current arsenal is small—several hundred—compared with that of the United States and Russia, but China has the capability to be a more significant nuclear power by 2010–2020.

The key task for U.S. nuclear policy in the first decades of the twenty-first century will be to deter attacks against the United States and its allies, discourage the use of, or the threat to use, nuclear weapons, and promote efforts to achieve balanced and stabilizing reductions in nuclear arsenals. Progress in U.S.–Russian arms control is currently stalled because the Russian Duma has not yet ratified START II. However, retaining nuclear arms at current levels for an extended period is not in the U.S. interest. Those levels will be expensive to maintain and do not facilitate the transformation process essential to respond to future threats.

STRATEGIC FORCES

Emphasis of deterrence should move from sheer numbers to strategic equilibrium

Among the considerations critical to shaping future nuclear policy will be the need to take account of possible shifts in China's nuclear policy, the fate of the Russian nuclear arsenal, and the possibility that other states, including some hostile to the United States, may acquire nuclear weapons. Ensuring that there is a strategic equilibrium among Moscow, Beijing, and Washington will be important to our future security. That does not mean, however, that we will need large numbers of nuclear weapons. Effective deterrence of potential adversaries can be maintained at the reduced levels envisioned by START III and beyond.

Over time, the focus of our efforts to deter nuclear or conventional attacks against the United States, its allies, and interests may differ substantially from that of today. Deterrence of attack as the central focus of nuclear policy is already being supplanted by the need to manage—identify, account for, and safeguard against—the proliferation and possible use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Such efforts are already part of the cooperative threat-reduction initiatives undertaken by the United States and other concerned countries, and they will have to be continued as long as nuclear weapons remain a threat. Arms control and nonproliferation agreements—such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and a strengthened Biological Weapons Convention—will also play an important role in reinforcing the foundations for a more stable security system at lower levels of armaments.

Traditional U.S. nuclear policies may not be sufficient to deter nuclear, chemical, or biological attacks by a rogue state against U.S. allies and coalition partners or forward bases and staging areas to which we seek access. It is unlikely, moreover, that our nuclear forces would deter nonstate actors (terrorists, criminals, or others) who seek to coerce or punish the United States or its allies.

It is in the best interests of the United States, Russia, and the international community that the United States and Russia move as rapidly as possible to START III. We should also consider the potential of non-nuclear weapons to strengthen deterrence. Advancing military technologies that merge the capabilities of information systems with precision-guided weaponry and real-time targeting and other new weapons systems may provide a supplement or alternative to the nuclear arsenals of the Cold War.

Finally, U.S. security considerations must account for the potential risk posed to the U.S. homeland by existing nuclear weapons in other countries. Defense systems should defend against a limited attack by a rogue state or terrorist, but they will not be effective against the large nuclear arsenals that already exist in Russia and may exist in China and elsewhere. Defensive systems will be more effective if they are coupled to arms control agreements that limit offensive capabilities. Given the evolving threat and continued improvement of our missile defense technology, a hedging strategy, rather than immediate deployment of a missile defense system, is a sensible approach. But, it is important that we proceed in a way that permits rapid deployment if threats should develop and our technologies mature.



RESERVE COMPONENTS

The reserve components serve as an increasingly important element of our armed forces. These citizen-soldiers ensure the involvement of the American people in our nation's security. Moreover, their military skills are often enhanced by their experiences within the civilian sector (e.g., engineering, construction, communications, police, aviation, civil affairs, and medical).

The reserve forces today play an increasing role in a variety of military operations worldwide, relieving active units and reducing both operational and personnel tempos of frequent and lengthy deployments. Indeed, in some cases they supply the entire force structure for specific missions. The Panel expects that this role will be expanded. Reserve and Guard units must be prepared and resourced for use in a variety of ongoing operations. Given this, the Department should consider establishing the funding priorities for specific Guard and Reserve programs based on the amount of total force mission capability they provide. The Congress determines funding priorities today.

Not only will reserve forces augment and complement the active forces overseas in missions ranging from combat to peacekeeping to regional stability and contingency operations, but they will increasingly be involved in containing threats here at home. As noted, homeland defense is a mission of growing importance for our military forces. The reserve components, especially the Army Guard, will play a key role in this mission. Effectively organizing and training the appropriate reserve assets to meet the homeland defense mission will not only provide the United States with a more effective deterrent, but it also will provide a quicker and more comprehensive response to crises should they occur. However, concerns over *posse comitatus* must be addressed.

More 'active' reserve components

In any event, the reserve structure must recognize the authority of the Service Secretary for the reserve components under Title 10, as well as the Service Secretary's responsibilities for the Guard under Title 32. This relationship works best in an atmosphere of trust between the active and reserve components in their common commitment to the security of the United States.

The Army and its Reserve Components

While the other services have continued to increase the integration of their active and reserve forces, the Army has suffered from a destructive disunity among its components, specifically between the active Army and the National Guard. This rift serves neither the Army nor the country well. The Panel strongly believes the rift must be healed and makes a series of recommendations toward that end.

As the Army undertakes its transformation, reductions in both the active and reserve components can be expected. Such reductions must be the product of deliberations by the reserve components, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of Defense. Neither the active nor the reserve components should benefit at the expense of the other. Both must be committed to meeting the security needs of the nation.

To enhance the capability of the Guard as a component of the total force, we recommend the following. Many of the principles embodied in these recommendations pertain to all components of the Army, as well as to some of the other services, and are discussed elsewhere in the Report.

First, a series of changes should be made to the Guard's combat units:

- Some portion of the Army National Guard's divisional combat (including combat support) units should become part of active divisions and brigades. Infantry and mechanized battalions, for example, would be integrated as organic units of the active divisions and would deploy with them. The active component commander would be responsible for their combat readiness and training;
- Given the changing character of warfare and the threats we face, Guard divisions should begin now to organize under the concepts proposed in *Army After Next*. The utility of reorganizing the active and reserve division structures is discussed elsewhere in this Report;
- The enhanced brigades should report to an active Army command. The active commander would have clear responsibility and authority to oversee training and to ensure the brigades meet their readiness goals;
- The Guard should develop selected early-deploying units that would join the active component. These units do not now exist but they could be built around technologies embodied in line-of-sight-anti-tank and high-mobility, artillery-rocket system technologies. Formed as battalions, they would be valuable components of the total force. They should be prepared to deploy directly from home stations without extensive post-mobilization training to reinforce early-deploying active units. This implies additional full-time manning requirements and offers an opportunity to exploit the concept of an integrated active component/reserve component unit;

- Lighter, more agile forces will play a key role in future combat. Fewer armored forces will be needed. They are simply too heavy to get into the fight in a timely manner and require too much logistical support. Both the active and reserve components should decrease the number of armored units;
- As planned, portions of the current combat forces should be converted to combat service and combat service support units. The ratio between support and combat units in the total force should be adjusted to reflect the actual needs of the Army in meeting its mission requirements;
- In addition to augmenting and supporting active forces for major theaters of war, reserve support units play a vital role in shaping the international environment. Peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and similar missions are also important. Some additional reserve or Guard units may be needed to reduce pressure on the active Army.

Second, the Army Guard should provide a smaller Strategic Reserve:

- The Strategic Reserve units should have clear peacetime missions such as support for combined operations in Southern Command or Partnership for Peace training in Eastern Europe. It is the Panel's judgment that the Guard should assume the entire U.S. Army South (USARSO) mission;
- To ensure their continued affordability, the modernization of these forces—accomplished largely through cascading—can be slower than that of higher priority units so long as their equipment permits interoperability with active forces and their employment is in accordance with doctrine.

Third, homeland defense will be a much more important mission in the future:

- The National Guard should continue to provide general-purpose forces to give prompt military support to civil authorities. These forces may need specific additional training—similar to that developed for response to civil disturbance during the 1960s and 1970s—but their primary mission should remain to fight with active forces in combat contingencies;

- The National Guard should also provide forces organized and equipped for training of civil agencies and the immediate reinforcement of first-response efforts in domestic emergencies. They would focus on management of the consequences of a terrorist attack (to include weapons of mass destruction) and natural disasters. They must also be prepared to defend critical infrastructure, including information infrastructure;
- As new homeland defense missions develop (e.g., National Missile Defense and information warfare), the Guard should be used in lieu of active forces wherever possible.

Finally, the Army Reserve must continue to be adjusted as the Army's total force needs change:

- The Army Reserve has undergone a significant transition over the past several years, shifting their forces to combat service support as well as playing a much more active role in peacetime missions. Steps—to include some restructuring of the Reserve—need to be taken now to reduce the Personnel Tempo (PERSTEMPO) problem for certain high demand units;
- The current Army Reserve Institutional Training Divisions should be reviewed to ensure that their structure and responsibilities are consistent with the needs of the Army as it transforms.

A total force, fully integrated, requires a common culture to engender unity of thought and action. Shared operational and training experiences, common educational opportunities, and frequent exchange of leaders between the active and reserve components serve to deepen mutual respect and reinforce a common ethic.

These initiatives will enhance the land component's contribution to our defense. Moreover, they will enable the active Army to engage in the vigorous program of experimentation called for in the Panel's transformation strategy.

