

CHAPTER 1

U.S. DEFENSE STRATEGY

Since the founding of the Republic, the United States has embraced the fundamental and enduring goals of maintaining the sovereignty, political freedom, and independence of the United States, with its values, institutions, and territory intact; protecting the lives and personal safety of Americans, both at home and abroad; and promoting the well-being and prosperity of the nation and its people.

Achieving these basic goals requires fostering an international environment in which:

- Critical regions are stable, at peace, and free from domination by hostile powers.
- The global economy and free trade are growing.
- Democratic norms and respect for human rights are widely accepted.
- The spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) and other potentially destabilizing weapons technologies and their means of delivery are minimized, and the threat from existing systems is effectively countered.
- The international community is willing and able to prevent and, if necessary, respond to crises that may threaten security and stability.

In striving toward this international environment, the United States plays a leadership role by working closely and cooperatively with nations that share its values and goals, and influencing those that can affect U.S. national well-being.

THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

There are many positive aspects to the security environment at the dawn of this new century. The threat of global war remains remote and the nation's core values of representative democracy and market economics are spreading throughout many parts of the world, creating new opportunities to promote peace, prosperity, and enhanced cooperation. Relationships with friends and Allies in Europe, the Pacific, and elsewhere around the world, are strong and continue to adapt successfully to meet emerging challenges. Former adversaries, like Russia and other former members of the Warsaw Pact, now cooperate with the United States across a range of security issues. Many in the world see the United States as the security partner of choice.

SECURITY CHALLENGES

Despite these encouraging developments, the world remains a complex and dangerous place. Amidst the great uncertainty about the future security environment, the United States faces a variety of significant challenges, such as those described below.

CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT

Some states will continue to threaten the territorial sovereignty of others in regions critical to U.S. interests. In Southwest Asia, Iraq continues to pose a threat to its neighbors and to the free flow of oil from the region. In East Asia, North Korea still poses a significant military threat in spite of its dire economic and humanitarian conditions, and its recent initial steps toward reconciliation with the outside world. Moreover, sovereignty issues and territorial disputes remain sources of tension, with the most serious potential consequences in East Asia and South Asia. Although most instances of cross-border conflict may remain small-scale in nature, the chance of escalation or the involvement of neighboring states poses increased risk. It is entirely possible that within a generation more than one aspiring regional power will have both the motivation and the means to pose a sizeable military threat to U.S. interests.

INTERNAL CONFLICT

U.S. interests are also threatened by political violence short of cross-border aggression, such as civil wars, internal aggression (e.g., by a state against its own people or by one ethnic group against another), armed uprisings, and civil disturbances. These events may spread beyond the parties initially involved, spur intervention by outside powers, affect U.S. economic interests, or put at risk the safety and well-being of American citizens in the region. Even when important U.S. interests are not directly threatened, the United States may have a humanitarian interest in protecting the safety, well-being, and freedom of the people affected.

PROLIFERATION OF DANGEROUS MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES

The proliferation of advanced weapons and technologies with military or terrorist uses, including NBC weapons and their means of delivery, will continue despite the best efforts of the international community. These weapons and technologies pose a threat to the United States and are a source of instability in regions of critical importance. The continued spread of these weapons and technology would heighten these dangers and increase the number of potential adversaries with significant military capabilities, including smaller states and parties hostile to the United States. Adversaries may be tempted to use these weapons and technologies as an asymmetric means of neutralizing the United States' current overwhelming advantage in conventional military capability.

Of particular concern is the growing threat of a ballistic missile attack on the United States and its key allies and partners. Countries such as North Korea seek to develop and export long-range ballistic missile capabilities. Moreover, the possibility of an accidental or unauthorized launch from Russia or China remains a concern, albeit an unlikely one.

TRANSNATIONAL THREATS

The number of actors that can affect U.S. security and the stability of the international community is likely to continue growing in the years ahead. Terrorists capable of increased levels of violence, for example, can

directly threaten American lives and institutions and seek to undermine U.S. policies and alliances. Terrorist attacks could include conventional weapons, information operations, or even weapons of mass destruction, and are likely to be increasingly sophisticated in targeting, propaganda, and political operations. These attacks might be undertaken with state backing (potentially in response to conventional conflict with the United States elsewhere in the world), or independently by terrorist groups lacking formal structure or allegiance. In addition, U.S. interests can also be threatened by the illegal drug trade, international organized crime, piracy, and attempts to deny U.S. access to vital energy supplies and key strategic resources.

HUMANITARIAN DISASTERS

Failed states, famines, uncontrolled migration, and other natural or man-made disasters will continue to occur, at times affecting U.S. interests and requiring the unique capabilities of U.S. military forces to provide stability, disaster relief, and other forms of emergency assistance until agencies and organizations can bring their resources to bear.

ADDITIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

GREAT POWER/PEER COMPETITOR

The United States faces no global rival today, nor is one likely to emerge for the foreseeable future. Over the long-term, however, a regional great power or global peer competitor could arise. China and Russia appear to have the potential to be such competitors, although their respective futures remain quite uncertain. China's economy has grown rapidly, and the People's Liberation Army continues to modernize and increase its capability. China already has a strategic nuclear arsenal that, while not large, can reach the continental United States. It is not clear, however, whether China will pursue a path that is inimical to U.S. interests. Moreover, China is likely to continue to face a number of internal economic and political challenges that may slow the pace of its military modernization.

Russia could, in the years ahead, reestablish its capability to project large-scale offensive military forces along its periphery, but this would require substantial preparation that would be visible to the United States. While Russia continues to retain a large nuclear arsenal with significant numbers of both tactical and strategic weapons, its conventional military capabilities—both in terms of power projection and combat sustainability—have weakened significantly. Russia's future will depend in large measure on its ability to develop its economy, which in turn is dependent upon a stable internal political environment. Should Russia's political system fail to stabilize over the long-term, the inability of central authorities to maintain a coherent state could pose major security challenges for the United States and the international community.

WILD CARD SCENARIOS

There is also the possibility that unpredictable wild card scenarios may arise that could seriously challenge U.S. interests at home and abroad. Such scenarios could include the unanticipated emergence of new technological threats, the loss of U.S. access to critical facilities and lines of communication in key regions, or the takeover of friendly regimes by hostile parties. While the probability of any given wild card scenario is low, the probability that at least one will occur is much higher, with consequences that could be disproportionately high. Therefore, the United States must maintain military capabilities with sufficient flexibility to deal with such unexpected events.

THE IMPERATIVE OF ENGAGEMENT

Finally, it is important to note that this overview of the security environment rests on two fundamental assumptions: that the United States will remain politically, diplomatically, economically, and militarily engaged in the world for the foreseeable future, and that it will maintain its capability as a world-class military power. If the United States were to withdraw from its international commitments, relinquish its diplomatic leadership, or forfeit its military preeminence, the world would become an even more dangerous place, and the threats to the United States, its Allies, friends, and interests would be even more severe.

THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Given the challenges and opportunities of the security environment, the Administration has developed a National Security Strategy to promote and defend U.S. global interests. The United States will remain engaged abroad, supporting efforts to enlarge the community of secure, free-market, and democratic nations and to create new partners in peace and prosperity. While the United States will retain the capability to act unilaterally when necessary, this strategy recognizes that it is in the country's interest whenever possible to act in coalition with partner nations to protect and promote U.S. national goals and create preferred international conditions. Indeed, the nature of the challenges the nation faces demands cooperative, multinational approaches that distribute the burden of responsibility among like-minded states. For example, to curb the proliferation of NBC weapons, the United States must garner the cooperation of other nations that share U.S. nonproliferation goals, as well as of key suppliers and transshipment states. Therefore, it is imperative that the United States strives to build close, cooperative relations around the world.

Maintaining a strong military and the willingness to use it in defense of national interests remains essential to a strategy of engagement. Today, the United States has unparalleled military capabilities. As the only nation in the world able to organize, lead, and conduct large-scale, effective, joint military operations far beyond its borders, the United States is in a unique position. This role serves as the cornerstone of many mutually beneficial alliances and security partnerships and the foundation of stability in key regions of the world. To sustain this position of leadership, the United States must maintain ready and versatile forces capable of conducting a wide range of military activities and operations—from deterring and defeating large-scale, cross-border aggression, to participating in smaller-scale contingencies (SSCs), to dealing with transnational threats like terrorism.

Nevertheless, U.S. national interests and limited resources argue for the selective use of U.S. forces. Decisions about whether and when to use military forces should be guided, first and foremost, by the U.S. national interests at stake—be they vital, important, or humanitarian in nature—and by whether the costs and risks of a particular military involvement are commensurate with those interests. When the interests at stake are vital—that is, when they are of broad, overriding importance to the survival, security, and vitality of the nation—the United States will do whatever it takes to defend them, including, when necessary, the unilateral use of military power. U.S. vital national interests include:

- Protecting the physical security of U.S. territory, and that of U.S. Allies and friends.
- Protecting the safety of U.S. citizens, at home and abroad.

- Protecting the economic well-being of U.S. society.
- Protecting U.S. critical infrastructures—including energy, banking and finance, telecommunications, transportation, water systems, government and emergency services—from disruption intended to cripple their operation.

In other cases, the interests at stake may be important but not vital—that is, they do not affect the nation’s survival but do significantly affect the national well-being and the character of the world in which Americans live. Important national interests may include regions where America holds a significant economic or political stake, protecting the global environment from severe harm, infrastructure disruptions that destabilize but do not cripple smooth economic activity, and crises with a potential to cause destabilizing economic or humanitarian movement. Use of the military to further these interests should be both selective and limited, reflecting the importance of the U.S. interests at stake. Wherever possible, the United States will seek to avert conflict or relieve humanitarian disasters through diplomacy and cooperation with a wide range of partners, including other governments, international institutions, and non-governmental organizations.

When the interests at stake are primarily humanitarian in nature, the decision to commit U.S. military forces will depend on the magnitude of the suffering, the ability of U.S. military forces to alleviate this suffering, and the expected cost to the United States both in terms of American lives and materiel, and in terms of limitations on the United States’ ability to respond to other crises. Military forces will be committed only if other means have been exhausted or are judged inadequate.

An essential consideration in all cases involving the potential commitment of U.S. forces is to determine whether the associated costs and risks are commensurate with the U.S. interests at stake. Such decisions also require identification of a clear mission, the desired end state of the situation, and a strategy for withdrawal once goals are achieved.

THE DEFENSE STRATEGY

To support the imperative of engagement set forth in the National Security Strategy, the Department of Defense in 1997 adopted a national defense strategy with three essential elements: shaping the international security environment in ways favorable to U.S. interests, responding to the full spectrum of crises when directed, and preparing now to meet the challenges of an uncertain future.

SHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

In addition to other instruments of national power, such as diplomacy and economic trade and investment, the Department of Defense plays an essential role in shaping the international security environment in ways that promote and protect U.S. national interests. The Department employs a wide variety of means to carry out shaping activities including:

- Forces permanently stationed abroad.
- Forces rotationally deployed overseas.

- Forces deployed temporarily for exercises, combined training, or military-to-military interactions.
- Programs such as defense cooperation, security cooperation (e.g., the International Military Education and Training and Foreign Military Sales programs), and international arms cooperation.
- Humanitarian and civic assistance activities provided in conjunction with military operations and exercises.
- Regional centers for security studies (of which there are now five: the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, and the Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies) that promote dialogue and provide training in civilian control of the military, conflict resolution, and sound defense resource management for foreign military and civilian officials.

Relatively small and timely investments in such activities can yield disproportionate benefits in terms of limiting or preventing crises, often mitigating the need for a more substantial and costly U.S. response later. These activities shape the international security environment in three main ways.

PROMOTING REGIONAL STABILITY

The Department of Defense promotes regional stability by reassuring friends and Allies of U.S. commitment, facilitating regional cooperation, supporting democratization, and enhancing transparency. The U.S. military can play a significant role in promoting stability by facilitating cooperation between potential regional rivals. Participation in multilateral alliances with the United States, for example, requires potential rivals to cooperate with each other on several military and political levels, contributing to mutual transparency, trust, and confidence-building. Where multilateral security arrangements are not involved, the United States can make use of its bilateral security relationships with potential rivals to encourage cooperation and act as an honest broker. Military contacts can also promote democratization through formal education and training exchanges and by the example the United States military sets in operating under civilian control. In addition, military contacts can help shape the security environment by increasing transparency and mutual understanding about national defense organizations and decision making processes.

PREVENTING OR REDUCING CONFLICTS AND OTHER THREATS

The Department of Defense prevents conflicts and other threats by limiting the spread of dangerous military technologies, combating transnational threats, and providing security reassurance.

Limiting the Spread of Dangerous Military Technologies. DoD limits the spread of dangerous military technologies, both through efforts to reduce or eliminate NBC capabilities and through activities to prevent NBC and missile technology proliferation. Examples of these efforts include the U.S.-North Korean Agreed Framework, the Cooperative Threat Reduction program with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other New Independent States of Eurasia, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and DoD efforts to monitor

and support agreements like the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Missile Technology Control Regime.

Combating Transnational Threats. DoD combats transnational threats through its activities to prevent terrorism, reduce U.S. vulnerability to terrorist acts, and decrease the production and flow to the United States of illegal drugs. Such activities include efforts to enhance intelligence collection capabilities, protect critical infrastructure (including combating cyber-terrorism), support joint interagency counterdrug task forces operating overseas and in international air and sea space contiguous to U.S. borders, and support to U.S. and host nation drug law enforcement agencies. Pursuant to the National Drug Control Strategy, DoD makes a substantial commitment of approximately \$1 billion per year to support counterdrug operations, and is the lead U.S. agency in source and transit areas for counterdrug detection and monitoring activities.

Providing Security Reassurance. The presence of U.S. military forces overseas, including preventive deployments of U.S. military personnel, provides reassurance that the United States is committed to peace and security in that region, and to reducing the likelihood of conflict by demonstrating resolve and lowering tensions.

DETECTING AGGRESSION AND COERCION

A vital aspect of the military's role in shaping the international security environment is deterring aggression and coercion in key regions of the world on a daily basis. The United States' ability to deter potential adversaries in peacetime depends on several factors:

- A declaratory policy and overseas presence that effectively communicate U.S. security interests and commitments throughout the world.
- A demonstrated will to uphold U.S. security commitments when and where they are challenged.
- Conventional warfighting capabilities credible across the full spectrum of military operations, including both forces forward deployed and forces rapidly deployable on a global scale.
- A demonstrated ability to form and lead effective military coalitions.

The U.S. nuclear posture also contributes substantially to the ability to deter aggression against the United States, its forces abroad, and its Allies and friends. Although the likelihood of global nuclear war has been reduced, nuclear weapons remain important as a response to threats or use of NBC weapons against U.S. interests. Nuclear weapons also serve as a means of upholding U.S. security commitments to U.S. Allies, as a disincentive to those who would contemplate developing or otherwise acquiring their own nuclear weapons, and as a hedge against an uncertain future. The United States will continue to maintain the capacity to retaliate against those who might contemplate the use of NBC weapons, so that the consequences of such use would outweigh any conceivable gains. U.S. nuclear forces based in Europe and committed to NATO, for instance, provide an essential underpinning for the transatlantic link and permit widespread European participation in all aspects of the Alliance's nuclear role. For the foreseeable future, the United States will retain a robust triad of nuclear forces—based on flexible and survivable strategic systems—under stringent command and control safeguards against accidental or unauthorized use. The

Department believes these goals can be achieved at lower force levels and continues to take the lead in exploring new arms reduction opportunities.

RESPONDING TO THE FULL SPECTRUM OF CRISES

Despite the Department's best efforts to shape the international security environment, the U.S. military will, at times, be called upon to respond to crises in order to protect national interests, demonstrate U.S. resolve, and reaffirm the nation's role as a global leader. Therefore, U.S. forces must also be able—either unilaterally or as part of a coalition—to execute the full spectrum of military operations, from deterring an adversary's aggression or coercion in crisis to conducting concurrent SSC operations to fighting and winning major theater wars.

DETECTING AGGRESSION AND COERCION IN CRISIS

In many cases, the first response to a crisis consists of efforts to deter an adversary so as to contain the situation and preclude the need for a more forceful intervention. Deterrence in a crisis generally involves signaling the United States' commitment or expressing its national interest by enhancing U.S. warfighting capability in the region. The United States' ability to respond rapidly and substantially as a crisis develops can have a significant deterrent effect. Flexible deterrent options available to the United States include diplomatic, economic, informational, and military actions. Military flexible deterrent options include increasing the readiness levels of deployable forces, moving forces deployed in the area closer to the crisis, and rapidly deploying forces from the United States to the area. The United States may also choose to make declaratory statements to communicate its intentions and emphasize to an adversary the costs of aggression or coercion. In some cases, the United States may choose to employ its forces in a limited manner (e.g., to enforce sanctions or conduct limited strikes) to underline this message and deter further adventurism.

CONDUCTING SMALLER-SCALE CONTINGENCY (SSC) OPERATIONS

In cases where deterrence fails and conflict erupts, the timely involvement of military forces can help contain, resolve, or mitigate the consequences. Such operations encompass the full range of joint/combined military operations beyond peacetime engagement activities but short of major theater warfare. Examples include show-of-force operations, coercive campaigns, limited strikes, noncombatant evacuation operations, no-fly zone enforcement, maritime sanctions enforcement, operations to address a mass migration, counterterrorism operations, peace operations, counterdrug operations, foreign humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and emergency operations overseas in support of other U.S. government agencies.

Selective participation in SSC operations can serve a variety of U.S. interests, such as protecting U.S. citizens caught in harm's way, supporting democracy where it is threatened, or restoring stability in a critical region. In addition, when an aggressor state defies the community of nations and threatens common interests, the United States may use its military capabilities—for instance, through sanctions enforcement or limited strikes—to help enforce the international community's will and deter further coercion. Furthermore, when natural disaster strikes at home or abroad, U.S. values and interests might call for the use of the unique capabilities of military forces to initiate relief efforts, enabling other elements of the U.S. government or international community to provide longer-term relief.

U.S. military participation in SSC operations will be selective, depending on the interests at stake, the likelihood of success, the costs and risks of involvement, and the option of using other elements of national power. Based on recent experience and intelligence projections, the demand for SSC operations is expected to remain high and will likely continue to pose the most frequent challenge for U.S. forces for the foreseeable future.

FIGHTING AND WINNING MAJOR THEATER WARS

Fighting and winning major theater wars is the most stressing requirement for U.S. forces. In order to protect American interests around the globe, U.S. forces must continue to be able to overmatch the military power of regional states with interests hostile to the United States. Such states are often capable of fielding sizable military forces that can cause serious imbalances in military power within regions important to the United States. Some states possess NBC weapons that they may attempt to use to intimidate neighbors or deter U.S. or international intervention. To deter aggression, prevent coercion of allied or friendly governments, and defeat aggression should it occur, the United States must prepare military forces to confront this scale of threat far from home, in concert with Allies and friends, but unilaterally if necessary. Toward this end, the United States must maintain jointly trained and interoperable forces that can deploy quickly from a posture of global engagement across great distances to supplement forward-stationed and forward-deployed U.S. forces, to assist a threatened nation or ally, rapidly stop enemy aggression, and defeat an aggressor, including in an environment of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons threat or use.

As a global power with worldwide interests, it is imperative that the United States be able to deter and defeat nearly simultaneous large-scale, cross-border aggression in two distant theaters in overlapping time frames, preferably in concert with regional Allies. Maintaining this capability is central to credibly deterring an aggressor in one region from being tempted to take advantage when U.S. forces are heavily committed elsewhere. It is also central to ensuring that the United States has sufficient military capabilities to deter or defeat aggression by an adversary that is larger, or under circumstances that are more difficult than expected. This is particularly important in a constantly evolving and unpredictable security environment. The United States can never know with certainty when or where the next major military challenge will occur, who the next adversary will be, how an enemy will fight, who will join in a coalition, or precisely what demands will be placed on U.S. forces.

This capability also reassures U.S. Allies, makes coalition relationships with the United States more attractive and enduring, and gives the United States greater influence and access in shaping the global security environment. This, in turn, promotes stability and prevents threats of major war from developing. Without this capability, the United States could be inhibited from responding to a crisis in a single region promptly enough, or even at all, for fear of committing its only forces and thereby making itself vulnerable in other regions of the world.

If the security environment were to change dramatically or threats of large-scale aggression were to change significantly, it would be both prudent and appropriate for the United States to review and reappraise its strategy and warfighting requirements. Such a reappraisal must recognize that the security environment remains dynamic and uncertain and that the United States must maintain sufficient military capabilities to be able to deter or respond to the full spectrum of potential challenges to U.S. interests.

PREPARING NOW FOR AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

U.S. forces must be able to meet the immediate challenges of a dangerous world through shaping activities and responding to crises, while at the same time building the capabilities necessary to shape and respond effectively in the future. In the face of evolving threats and challenges, the United States must maintain its military superiority as a means of achieving its objective of creating an international environment that is peaceful, prosperous, and compatible with U.S. interests and ideals.

Acquiring superior technology and exploiting it to the fullest is key to maintaining superior forces. Fully utilizing the advantages that technology affords will require the adoption of new approaches to warfare—including new operational concepts as well as new organizational structures. To maintain this superiority, the United States must also continue to improve its ability to conduct joint and combined operations. This ability can only be achieved through a unified effort by all elements of the Department toward the common goal of full-spectrum dominance envisioned in *Joint Vision 2020*, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's conceptual blueprint for future military operations. Implementing *Joint Vision 2020* requires developing the doctrine, organization, training, education, materiel, leadership, personnel, and facilities to support truly integrated joint operations. Achieving this new level of proficiency also requires improving the U.S. military's methods for integrating its forces and capabilities with those of its Allies and coalition partners.

The Department's commitment to preparing now for an uncertain future has four main parts:

- A focused modernization effort aimed at replacing aging systems and incorporating cutting-edge technologies into the force to ensure continued U.S. military superiority.
- Continuing to pursue the Revolution in Military Affairs in order to improve the U.S. military's ability to perform near-term missions and meet future challenges.
- Exploiting the Revolution in Business Affairs to radically reengineer DoD infrastructure and support activities.
- Hedging against unlikely, but significant, threats in order to manage risk in a resource-constrained environment and better position the Department to respond in a timely and effective manner to new threats as they emerge.

FOCUSED MODERNIZATION EFFORTS

Fielding modern and capable forces in the future requires aggressive action today. Just as U.S. forces won the Gulf War with weapons developed many years before, U.S. forces in the future will fight with weapons developed today and fielded over the next several years. The Department's equipment inventory is aging, with many weapons systems and platforms purchased in the 1970s and 1980s reaching the end of their useful lives over the next decade or so. In response, the Department has substantially increased procurement spending to ensure that tomorrow's forces are even more modern and capable than today's, and to retain the capability to dominate across the full spectrum of military operations.

PURSUING THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

The U.S. military's modernization effort is directly linked to the broader challenge of transforming its forces to retain military superiority in the face of changes in the nature of warfare. Just as earlier technological revolutions affected the character of conflict, so too will the dramatic technological change ongoing today. This transformation involves not only acquiring new military systems, but also developing the advanced concepts, doctrine, and organizations necessary to operate these new systems to their fullest advantage in dominating any future battlefield. DoD will continue to foster both a culture and a capability to develop and exploit new concepts and technologies with the potential to make U.S. military forces more effective. Part III describes in detail the Department's strategy and activities toward transforming its military forces through the Revolution in Military Affairs.

EXPLOITING THE REVOLUTION IN BUSINESS AFFAIRS

A Revolution in Business Affairs is also in progress. Efforts to reengineer the Department's infrastructure and business practices must parallel the Revolution in Military Affairs if the nation is to afford adequate investment in preparations for the future. Measures are aimed at shortening the procurement cycle, particularly for mature systems; enhancing program stability; conserving scarce resources; ensuring that acquired capabilities will support desired mission outcomes; ensuring that critical infrastructures deliver the right services to the right users at the right time; increasing efficiencies; and ensuring management focus on core competencies, while freeing resources for investment in high-priority areas.

These measures will require changes in political and public thinking about DoD infrastructure. This thinking must be flexible, open to new solutions, and focused on the bottom line—support for U.S. forces. New work must be done to radically reengineer the Department's institutions. Building the forces envisioned in *Joint Vision 2020* will require that DoD develop additional programs beyond those currently planned. To afford new programs, the Department will need both the vision and the will to shrink its supporting infrastructure and make it dramatically more efficient. Efforts to transform the Department are covered in more detail in Part IV.

HEDGING AGAINST UNLIKELY BUT SIGNIFICANT FUTURE THREATS

The Department must also take steps today to be able to respond more effectively to unlikely or unanticipated, but significant, future threats, such as the early emergence of a regional great power or a wild card scenario. The Department will focus these efforts on threats that, although unlikely, would have highly negative consequences that would be very expensive to counter. Although such insurance is certainly not free, there are relatively inexpensive ways to manage the risk of being unprepared to meet a new threat, of developing the wrong capabilities, or of having a capability become obsolete by the time it is needed. Such an approach can also help identify costly investments in future capabilities that the United States may not need.

Examples of critical hedging activities are maintaining a broad research and development (R&D) effort, using advanced concept technology demonstrations, continuing contact with industries developing new technologies, and cooperating with Allies in developing new approaches to resolving problems. Hedging against the emergence of new threats also requires ensuring that the U.S. military has the necessary intelligence capabilities for long-term strategic indications and warning.

REGIONAL APPLICATIONS OF THE STRATEGY

The Department of Defense undertakes activities around the world in an effort to secure U.S. national security interests. Each region presents its own unique opportunities and challenges, and the Department's strategies for dealing with these regional challenges are critical to its overall effort to shape the international environment and remain prepared to respond to the full range of crises. Indeed, how the United States uses its forces sends a clear signal to friends and foes throughout the world about its interests, influence, and values.

EUROPE

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

U.S. defense efforts in Europe are aimed at encouraging the development of a Europe that is secure and undivided, that has stable democratic governments, prosperous and increasingly integrated market economies, rule of law, respect for human rights, and lasting reconciliation between former enemies. The security of the United States is inextricably tied to that of Europe, and NATO is the premier institution to ensure the collective defense of the United States and its European allies. NATO is also the leading institution for crisis management operations that involve a significant threat to European security and stability. The United States will continue to work with European allies and partners to counter drug-trafficking, terrorism, and the threat of NBC weapons and associated delivery systems.

U.S. REGIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

The presence of significant and highly capable U.S. military forces in Europe continues to play a critical role. They are one of the essential instruments by which the United States makes manifest its continued commitment to the security of Europe. They underwrite America's national strategy of engagement and protect vital interests and lines of communication in Europe and beyond. U.S. forces stationed in Europe—combined with frequent temporary deployments of U.S.-based personnel for exercise, training, and crisis response purposes—ensure that the United States will always have the means to meet its treaty commitments to NATO. They also underscore the United States' national will to deter or defeat aggression and prevail in crisis management operations.

To ensure transatlantic security in the future, the United States and its Allies must improve defense capabilities in the fields most relevant to modern warfare. The experience of the Kosovo crisis reinforced the need for more mobile, sustainable, and flexible forces to engage effectively in a wide variety of situations. Through NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative, the United States is moving to address these requirements, and other Alliance members must also do their share. Although there have already been important procedural and national successes, key deficiencies remain in the areas of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) assets, strategic lift, air-to-air refueling, suppression of enemy air defenses, support jamming, precision-guided munitions, defense against biological weapons, and secure communications.

The United States welcomes European efforts to increase their contribution to collective defense and crisis management operations within NATO, and to build a capability to act militarily under the European Union (EU) where NATO as a whole is not engaged. The development of European capabilities should not, however, challenge the core NATO mission of, and responsibility for, collective defense. The United States

also remains strongly supportive of NATO's open door policy toward potential new members, and is working both bilaterally and multilaterally, through the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and Membership Action Plan (MAP), to assist those countries aspiring to join NATO to become the strongest possible candidates for membership. An enhanced and more operational Partnership for Peace continues to provide for a wide range of practical cooperation between the 19 NATO members and 26 PfP partners, and partners have assumed an active and important role in supporting NATO-led peacekeeping operations in the Balkans. The MAP is a structured process launched at the 1999 Washington Summit to prepare aspiring nations for possible NATO membership. There are currently nine nations participating in the MAP.

Through its active involvement in the Southeastern Europe Defense Ministerial process and NATO's Southeastern Europe Initiative, the United States is fostering cooperative structures involving Allies and partners that, over time, can make significant contributions to increasing security and stability in the region. These programs promote practical steps ranging from strengthening multilateral peace support capabilities to improving information-sharing networks and military engineering skills in support of broader civil-military emergency planning and response. In addition, cooperation on the issue of accounting for missing American service personnel fosters trust and confidence between the United States and the countries of Central Europe.

THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

The United States seeks the development of Russia, Ukraine, and the other New Independent States (NIS) of Eurasia into stable market democracies fully integrated into the international community and cooperative partners in promoting regional security and stability, arms control, and counterproliferation. Integral to this goal is U.S. support of efforts to secure and stem the proliferation risk posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD), weapons materials, and associated delivery systems or technologies. DoD supports these efforts in part by working with the NIS to eliminate WMD, control the materials and technology to produce them, and advance indigenous capabilities to secure borders against their unauthorized shipment. Integral to promoting regional security and stability is U.S. defense and military cooperation with the armed forces of the NIS, which seeks to reinforce their ongoing processes of restructuring and reform. The United States wants to establish a stable partnership with Russia that seeks and supports Russia playing a constructive role in European affairs, as exemplified by Russia's role in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Kosovo. The United States wants to develop further the NATO-Russian partnership, as well as the NATO-Ukraine partnership promoting Ukraine's integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. The United States also seeks a peaceful resolution to the ethnic and regional tensions throughout the NIS, particularly in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and enhanced cooperation in the fight against illegal weapons and drug trafficking, terrorism, international organized crime, and environmental degradation.

U.S. REGIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

The Department of Defense contributes substantially to overarching U.S. security objectives in the region. In its bilateral foreign military exchanges with the NIS, the Department seeks to improve operational cooperation with their armed forces and to instill the principles of civilian leadership, sound defense resource management, sufficiency and transparency, and military reform and restructuring into NIS defense decision making. Such military interactions help overcome the mutual distrust and suspicion that

are a legacy of the Cold War and create the basis for interoperability between U.S. and NIS armed forces. These bilateral efforts are complemented by multinational efforts, including those conducted through the Partnership for Peace program, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other organizations. The Joint Contact Team Program, State Partnership Program, and the Marshall Center are key programs that support this effort. The Department will continue to broaden military and civilian defense contacts; support the enhanced security for and dismantlement of Russian weapons of mass destruction and associated facilities; and conduct, bilaterally and as part of NATO, combined training and exercises with the New Independent States to strengthen their interoperability with NATO and improve their capabilities for multinational operations. Continued cooperation on efforts to account for missing American service personnel also remains a high-priority issue in the bilateral relationships between the United States and the New Independent States.

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC RIM

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

The United States seeks a stable and economically prosperous East Asia that embraces democracy and market economics. Central to achieving this goal are the United States' strong alliance relationships within the region, especially with Japan, the Republic of Korea (ROK) and Australia. In addition, continued engagement with China is critical to promoting regional stability and encouraging it to act as a responsible member of the international community. The United States desires a peaceful resolution of the Korean conflict resulting in a non-nuclear, democratic, reconciled, and ultimately reunified peninsula, as well as the peaceful resolution of the region's other disputes, including that between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Successful counters to terrorism, illegal drug trafficking, and NBC weapons and delivery systems are also major U.S. goals for the region. Finally, the United States continues to experience success in its efforts to recover remains of Americans still unaccounted for from past conflicts in East Asia and the Pacific Rim, including World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.

U.S. REGIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

The United States is committed to maintaining significant and highly capable forces in East Asia and the Pacific Rim. This allows the United States to play a key role as regional balancer and security guarantor to Allies. The United States will continue a forward presence policy, in cooperation with its Allies, that reflects its interests in the region. Today, roughly half of the U.S. forces in the region are stationed in Japan, and close to 40 percent are stationed in the ROK. The United States will seek to continue and build upon bilateral and multilateral exercises with key states in the region, including Japan, the ROK, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore.

The United States is encouraged by the progress made in cooperative engagement between the ROK and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)—notably the inter-Korean summit in June 2000 and its follow-on initiatives of senior official visits, family reunions, and a pledge for further cooperation. In spite of these positive developments, the military threat posed by the DPRK continues and the United States remains committed to its treaty obligations to assist in the defense of the ROK in the event of North Korean aggression. The United States continues to work with regional Allies, partners, and friends toward a shared goal of a Korean peninsula free of NBC weapons. The U.S.-North Korean Agreed Framework remains a critical tool for ensuring North Korean compliance with its commitment under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Department recognizes the humanitarian cooperation of the DPRK in allowing

U.S. military personnel and aircraft into North Korea to conduct full-scale joint recovery operations to recover and repatriate the remains of U.S. servicemen lost there during the war.

The U.S.-Japan alliance is the linchpin of U.S. security strategy in Asia. Both nations have moved actively in recent years to update the framework and structure of joint cooperation and strengthen the bilateral relationship. U.S. efforts to build on strong alliances with other nations in the region, especially Australia, buttress the U.S. goal of ensuring stability in Southeast Asia, an area of growing economic and political importance. The bi-annual Keen Sword/Keen Edge exercise series in Japan improves command, control, interoperability, and readiness between Japanese and American forces. The continued strengthening of U.S. security dialogues and confidence-building measures with the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) through the ASEAN Regional Forum is one of many ways the United States is working to enhance political, military, and economic ties with Allies and friends in Southeast Asia. The Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies is a key U.S. initiative that promotes mutual understanding and cooperation by providing an academic forum for military and civilian decision makers from the United States and Asia to exchange ideas and explore regional security challenges.

The 1997 Asian financial crisis shook the region's assumptions about uninterrupted economic development. Indonesia's economic and political difficulties in particular will pose challenges to the established order both internally and in the region. The United States engages broadly with Indonesia to promote that country's democratic and market-based economic development, including increased civilian control of the military.

Because of China's critical importance in the Asia-Pacific region, the United States is working to integrate China more deeply into the international community. Specifically, the United States engages China in order to promote regional stability and economic prosperity while securing China's adherence to international standards on weapons nonproliferation, international trade, and human rights. The United States also seeks greater transparency in China's defense program, including its planning and procurement processes, and will continue to engage China in dialogue aimed at fostering cooperation and confidence-building. Military exchange programs, ship visits, and professional seminars contribute to this dialogue and are aimed at building lasting relationships that will foster cooperation and build confidence among U.S. and Chinese leaders.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

The United States seeks a Middle East and South Asia at peace, where access to strategic natural resources at stable prices is unhindered, where no hostile power is able to exercise de facto hegemony, and where free markets are expanding. The region cannot be stable until there is a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace between Arabs and Israelis and a peaceful resolution to Indian-Pakistani disputes. Stability also cannot be achieved until Iraq, Iran, and Libya abide by international norms and no longer threaten regional security. The continuing proliferation in the region of NBC weapons and long-range missiles, particularly in the hands of states of concern, is inherently destabilizing and must be brought under control. Stability in South Asia also depends on improved relations between India and Pakistan and restraint on the part of both countries in their military confrontation, particularly with respect to their missile and NBC weapons policies and practices. Developing successful counters to terrorism is also a major objective for the region.

U.S. REGIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

The United States military presence in the Middle East includes a limited long-term presence and a larger number of rotational and temporarily deployed forces. An average of approximately 20,000 U.S. military personnel, as well as prepositioned critical materiel, are in the region to deter aggression and promote stability. These forces enforce United Nations resolutions, deter aggression by hostile states, ensure the free flow of commerce, and work with regional partners to improve interoperability and regional nations' individual and collective self-defense capabilities. The close military relationships developed with friends throughout the Middle East, complemented by U.S. security assistance programs, contribute to an environment that fosters military cooperation among regional states and increases their ability to more readily and effectively support U.S. crisis response deployments.

The United States' vital interests in the security and stability of the Middle East and its unique military and political position give the United States an indispensable role in promoting regional stability and advancing the cause of peace. In conjunction with diplomatic efforts, the U.S. military will continue to use military-to-military contacts as a means of promoting transparency among regional states, enhancing the professionalism of regional armed forces, and demonstrating the value of the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts. The opening of the Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies will provide an important new venue in which to pursue these important goals.

The Department, through the Cooperative Defense Initiative and various multilateral processes, is working actively with regional partners to address and deter the threat or use of chemical and biological weapons and long-range missiles in the region. DoD efforts also concentrate on thwarting further proliferation of NBC technologies and successfully countering terrorism. The United States must continue working with regional Allies and improving U.S. force capabilities to ensure that U.S.-led coalition forces have the ability to fight and win in an NBC environment.

Until South Asia's nonproliferation issues are satisfactorily resolved, the U.S. military's role in the region will focus on supporting multinational efforts to stabilize the region and safeguard international nonproliferation norms. The United States will also encourage participation by regional parties, where appropriate, in peace operations to help resolve international conflicts and promote regional cooperation.

THE AMERICAS

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

The United States desires all nations of the Western Hemisphere to be peaceful, democratic partners in economic prosperity. U.S. defense engagement seeks to promote a strong commitment among nations of the region to civilian control of their military and security forces, constructive civil-military relations, respect for human rights, the rule of law, and rational, transparent arms acquisition and military budgets. Peaceful resolution of the region's territorial disputes is particularly important.

The United States welcomes collective efforts in the region to adopt confidence and security-building measures designed to prevent misperceptions and ease bilateral tensions. Notification of military exercises, defense information sharing, exchange of exercise observers, expansion of educational programs, and increased communication in border areas can all contribute to fostering openness and inspiring confidence among neighbors in the hemisphere. The United States also supports efforts in some regions, such as the

Southern Cone, to move beyond confidence and security-building measures to implement normal defense cooperation measures ranging from joint exercises to the possibility of cooperative defense acquisition. Additionally, the United States is committed to maintaining the neutrality of the Panama Canal and freedom of navigation along the region's sea lines of communication.

Finally, the United States and nations of this hemisphere share an interest in developing successful counters to transnational threats such as illicit narcotics cultivation, production, and trafficking; arms trafficking; terrorism; organized crime; and illegal migration and refugee flows in the region. Colombia is the strategic point for U.S. efforts to make a major impact on U.S. bound illegal drug traffic. Of the \$1.3 billion in supplemental funding that the United States is spending in FY 2000–2001 to support Colombian counterdrug efforts, DoD programs comprise \$154 million, or twelve percent of the total. These DoD programs will assist Colombia and its neighbors to develop counterdrug detection and interdiction capabilities.

U.S. REGIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

Substantial numbers of active duty and reserve personnel from the United States pass through the Caribbean and Latin America every year to participate in combined exercises, nation assistance, counterdrug support, instruction in demining operations, and other engagement activities.

The Department expends significant energy and time in encouraging the increasing acceptance by militaries and security forces (SOUTHCOM) in the region of their appropriate role in a constitutional democracy. These efforts include the promotion of cooperative regional relationships through bilateral working groups, as well as the multilateral Defense Ministerial of the Americas. The Defense Ministerial brings together the defense ministers from the hemisphere's democracies to discuss common concerns. This fosters regional transparency, reduces suspicions, and promotes an appropriate role for the military and security forces in a democratic society.

Transnational threats are particularly troublesome in the Americas. Because illegal drug trafficking and associated criminal activity threaten the United States and its interests in the region, DoD will continue to support other agencies in trying to stop the flow of illegal drugs, both at the source and in transit. In addition, the Department will also encourage and assist other nations committed to counterdrug efforts. DoD will also continue to support other governmental agencies' efforts to control illegal migration bound for U.S. shores.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

U.S. DEFENSE OBJECTIVES

The goals of U.S. defense activities in Sub-Saharan Africa are to promote regional stability and foster democratic governance. The U.S. desires that: African military services adhere to the democratic principle of civilian control of the military; African military units conduct operations and training in a professional manner, respecting internationally-recognized human rights and military conduct standards; African Ministries of Defense design and organize their military forces to correspond with legitimate self-defense requirements and effectively manage resources allocated by civil authorities; and African military organizations have the capability to conduct national self-defense and participate in sub-regional humanitarian relief operations, humanitarian MIA accounting missions, and peace operations.

U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES

To achieve these objectives, the Department of Defense actively engages sub-regional organizations; develops partnerships with key sub-Saharan African states; engages problem states, as appropriate; cooperates and coordinates with allied programs and initiatives; strengthens African strategic leadership; prepares prudently for possible contingencies; and, when necessary, responds decisively. U.S. regional defense resources for sub-Saharan Africa, however, are limited. To manage scarce resources effectively, the Department prioritizes programs and activities in relation to African partners' stability and relative importance to U.S. national interests. Countries receive appropriate resources, activities, or programs that fall in one or more of the following categories: defense reform, military professionalism, conflict resolution and peace operations, technology, and health and environment. Activities and resources include military education and training programs, combined exercises, peace operations training, and humanitarian and civic action programs. In this way, the Department of Defense tailors its activities to support United States security objectives and develop African partnerships where professionalism, self-defense, and respect for civilian control are the norms. In addition, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, launched in 1999, is a critical new element of U.S. engagement in Africa. The Center conducts seminars focused on defense economics, civil-military relations, and national security strategy. All African nations not under sanction are invited to send senior military and civilian representatives.

CONCLUSION

The national defense strategy provides a framework for the United States to protect and promote its national interests in the current and projected security environment. To remain engaged as a global leader, the United States must use all of the elements of national power, including diplomatic, economic, and informational tools. The United States must also continue developing and taking advantage of the unmatched capabilities of U.S. forces to shape the international security environment, respond to the full spectrum of crises, and prepare now to meet the challenges of an uncertain future. The three elements of the strategy—shape, respond, and prepare—and the military missions inherent in them provide the foundation for the Department's programs and activities.