

"I look forward to a future in which our country will match its military strength with our moral restraint, its wealth with our wisdom, its power with our purpose."

John F. Kennedy

"Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have."

Ronald Reagan

"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself - nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

" . . . national security could not be measured in terms of military strength alone. The relationship, for example, between military and economic strength is intimate and indivisible. What America needed, I felt, was a fully adequate military establishment headed by men of sufficient breadth of view to recognize and sustain appropriate relationships among the moral, intellectual, economic, and military facets of our strength."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Mission	2
Message from the Board	4
Terrorism	6
Energy	8
Climate Change	10
Nuclear Proliferation.	12
Building a New America Arsenal	14
Conclusion	16

“...TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS
FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.”

© 2008 American Security Project

American Security Project

Mission

The American Security Project is organized around the belief that honest public discussion of national security requires a better-informed citizenry—one that understands the dangers and opportunities of the twenty-first century and the spectrum of available policy responses.

Security is a fundamental responsibility of government. In the new millennium, however, U.S. national security policy has not kept pace with rapidly changing threats to American interests. Globalization has quickened, but the United States has not built alliances or institutions to protect and advance American security. Terrorists have expanded their reach and lethality, but the moral authority of the United States is at an all-time low. Changes in the Earth's climate are more evident every day, but the United States has failed to act, alone or with allies, to avoid disaster.

America needs a new national security vision for this new era and a dialogue at home that is as robust as it is realistic. Yet the quality of our discussion on national security has been diminished. Fear has trumped conversation. Artificial differences have been created and real differences have been left unexamined. The character of our national dialogue has grown increasingly shrill while the need for honest discussion has grown more urgent.

Only by developing real analysis and thoughtful answers can a genuine foreign policy consensus be rebuilt for a dangerous and decisive age. Only then will America again marshal all her resources—military, diplomatic, economic, and moral—to meet the challenges of a complex world.

America needs a new
national security vision
for this new era and a
dialogue at home that is
as robust as it is realistic.

Board of Directors



The Honorable
Gary Hart
*ASP President
and Chairman*



The Honorable
Richard L.
Armitage
*Armitage
International*



Lael Brainard
*Brookings
Institution*



Brigadier General
Stephen A.
Cheney, USMC
(Ret.)
*Marine Military
Academy*



Lieutenant
General Daniel
Christman,
USA (Ret.)
*United States
Chamber of
Commerce*



Gregory B. Craig
*Williams &
Connolly LLP*



Nelson W.
Cunningham
*Kissinger McLarty
Associates*



Kenneth M.
Duberstein
*The Duberstein
Group*



Vice Admiral Lee
Gunn, USN (Ret.)
*The CNA
Corporation*



The Honorable
Chuck Hagel
*United States
Senate*



Lieutenant General
Claudia Kennedy,
USA (Ret.)
*Population Action
International*



The Honorable
John Kerry
*United States
Senate*



General Lester L.
Lyles, USAF (Ret.)
The Lyles Group



The Honorable
George Mitchell
*DLA Piper,
Rudnick, Gray,
Cary*



Susan E. Rice
*Brookings
Institution*



The Honorable
Warren B.
Rudman
*Stonebridge-
International LLC*



David Thorne
*Adviser
Investment
Management, Inc.*



General Anthony
Zinni, USMC
(Ret.)
*DynCorp,
International*

James M. Ludes
Executive Director

Message from the Board

A New American Arsenal

We live in a complex world. Great wealth blesses many, while abject poverty curses many more. Political progress and freedom thrive on every continent, yet too many of the world's people live in fear and oppression while violent minorities seek to deny the value of modern achievements. We have made incredible advances in science and agriculture, yet the health and welfare of people around the world are threatened by disease while changes in the earth's climate threaten where and how we live. Peace prevails among the great powers, yet experts say there is a significant chance of nuclear attack in the next decade. American power is unsurpassed, but anti-Americanism abroad is rampant.

These disconnects are the fault lines of future conflict. They are the threats and challenges we must meet in the twenty-first century to keep America secure—just as surely as we met the challenges of fascism and communism in decades past. And like those historic challenges, these are not threats any one nation can successfully confront alone.

We believe, quite simply, that America is strongest when we lead other nations in pursuit of common objectives and toward our common security.

Americans must transform the way we pursue our national security. Gone are the days when strength

could be measured by the number of battleships or bombers in a nation's arsenal. Few of the challenges facing the United States today are best addressed by our armed forces alone. For all of our military might, we could not stop 19 homicidal men armed with box cutters on one September morning. Nor can our military alone, despite its massive power, win a "war on terror," free America from its dependence on foreign energy supplies, halt the consequences of climate change, stop the spread of nuclear arms, or improve the stability of governments around the world.

We compound these very real challenges abroad with a partisanship at home that weakens America. Our nation's strength is divided by a political dialogue that is polarized and distorted. We do not debate alternatives, we yell in shrill voices until the country's attention shifts. Honest debate is the lifeblood of American democracy and it is nearly extinct.

This century will demand more from us than partisan bickering. It will demand a new understanding of security, a robust and meaningful national consensus, and a new commitment to the coordinated use of the strength of our arms, the force of our diplomacy, the might of our economy, and the power of our ideals. Together, these are the instruments of the New American Arsenal that will best protect our security and our freedoms in the twenty-first century.

We the undersigned have come together because we believe there is ample ground for bipartisan cooperation on issues of national security. We recognize that international conflict and competition have changed, and in this new era strength alone is not enough. The United States must also be wise enough to work with friends and partners, anticipate crises before they happen, and build capacity in friendly governments to help them meet common challenges. We understand the continuing vital role of the U.S. military in protecting our nation's security, but we also know the value and effectiveness of the other instruments of national power. Who we talk to, who we trade with, who we help, and who we isolate have profound effects on America's security.

In the pages that follow we have identified four grave challenges confronting the United States of America. We describe them and their linkages in plain language and outline broad strategies for dealing with each. Finally, we describe a New American Arsenal that uses every instrument of American power: our economy, our trade, our diplomacy, our military, our intelligence, and the creativity of the American people.

The United States can and should remain the leader of efforts to thwart threats to collective security and to deal with the broader issues of terrorism, energy security, climate change, and nuclear proliferation.

But to lead, we must have followers: friends, allies, and robust international institutions that share our point of view and our concerns—not because this approach worked in the Cold War, but because it is the only thing that will work today.

Our objective, then, is a revolution in national security policy. We urge America’s policymakers to abandon fully and finally the Cold War paradigm of military-based confrontation with a single, monolithic opponent. We urge the public to dig deeper in understanding the nature of conflict and international competition today.

And we urge all Americans to transcend the post-9/11 belief that the challenges facing our country are simply a matter of deciding how to seek righteous vengeance for the terrible events of that day.

The Declaration of Independence reminds us of the responsibility of a people “to provide new Guards for their future security.” Those “new Guards” today are found in the strength of friends and allies, the expansion of the American arsenal beyond the Department of Defense, and the unwavering protection of values and principles that have made America a beacon to the rest of world.

The Declaration of Independence reminds us of the responsibility of a people to “provide new Guards for their future security.”



Gary Hart, Chair



Richard Armitage




LTG Daniel Christman, USA (Ret.)



Kenneth M. Duberstein



Chuck Hagel



John F. Kerry



George Mitchell



David Thorne



BG Stephen Cheney, USMC (Ret.)



Nelson W. Cunningham



VADM Lee F. Gunn, USN (Ret.)



LTG Claudia Kennedy, USA (Ret.)



GEN Lester Lyles, USAF (Ret.)



Warren B. Rudman



GEN Anthony Zinni, USMC (Ret.)

Terrorism

Terrorism associated with the violent jihadist movement remains a clear and present danger to the United States.



West to compromise its own institutions and fundamental values; and

- ★ the adoption of counter-productive policies in the West that undermine our moral authority.

An often stated objective of jihadist leaders is to eject Western influence and forces from Muslim lands. Some seek to reestablish a caliphate—a state ruled by religious principles and dictates. Still others claim to be acting purely in self-defense.

The center of gravity in this struggle is the population of the Islamic world who agree with many of the grievances enunciated by extremists, particularly those associated with America's intervention in the Muslim world.

The capability and desire of violent jihadists to attack the United States remains as high as it was prior to the attacks of September 11, 2001.

The violent jihadist movement thrives on the Internet. Its online presence is robust and sophisticated. It uses the Internet to propagandize, recruit, inspire, intimidate, and educate its operatives and would-be operatives.

Violent jihadist organizations cannot be deterred, and are not amenable to any reasonable political accommodation. They will continue to rely on terrorism and propaganda to undermine governments sympathetic to the West, gain recruits, and strike symbolic and economic targets in the West and the Muslim world.

Key Findings:

The violent jihadist threat stems from a combination of:

- ★ hostility to the West, and the United States in particular, as well as to modern Muslim societies;
- ★ the desire of jihadist terrorists to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear and biological weapons;
- ★ the appeal of jihadism among Muslim populations that may jeopardize moderate governments in strategic regions;
- ★ the ability of terrorists to create spectacular carnage which creates an imperative for action by the West—action which may actually expand the conflict unnecessarily or lead the United States or the



A Comprehensive Counterterrorism Strategy

A comprehensive counterterrorism strategy requires the coordinated use of military, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies to capture or kill terrorist leaders and cells. But terrorism will not be stopped by the use of armed force alone. It also requires the coordinated use of all the tools in America's arsenal: development assistance, trade and investment opportunities and health and education programs to raise economic prospects, public diplomacy to undermine jihadist ideology, and specialized training of allied security forces in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. Over the longer term, the United States should seek to diversify its sources of energy.

The United States should build new alliances and international frameworks to fight extremists.

We should work to combine multi-national intelligence, law enforcement, and paramilitary services to attack terrorist networks by:

- ★ integrating communications systems and databases among law enforcement and public safety agencies; and
- ★ conducting coordinated operations of our special forces.

We should collaborate in the creation of a sustainable international legal framework to combat terrorist movements, including a consensus about:

- ★ the legal status of captured terrorists; and
- ★ the obligations of states to combat extremists on their own soil as well as a reciprocal set of rights for the international community if states fail to live up to their obligations.

Most importantly, we should work with our allies to ensure that weapons of mass destruction do not fall into the hands of terrorists.



The United States should counter and undermine jihadist ideology in a more effective battle for hearts and minds in the Islamic world.

Traditional public diplomacy should be improved and enhanced by:

- ★ supporting economic development, trade and investment opportunities, and expanded health and education programs that can help provide sustainable opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in the Muslim world, including the expanded use of microfinance to direct development dollars directly to individuals;
- ★ encouraging greater inclusion of women, as well as democratization from within, as a means of national achievement;
- ★ continuing to press for open political and economic institutions in oppressive but friendly regimes, but carefully distancing ourselves from such regimes in the absence of progress;
- ★ limiting actions that confirm jihadist propaganda of self-defense against external aggression;

- ★ developing relationships with credible individuals and institutions in the Muslim world to convey America's values while accepting that this dialogue may be significantly critical of the United States;

- ★ expanding people-to-people contacts between the West and the East; and

- ★ creating a new U.S. Information Agency.

The United States should invest in alternative energy to begin to diversify energy sources for itself and its allies.



Energy

Energy dependence weakens our national security and entangles the United States in unstable regions of the world while forcing us to compromise values in exchange for the transfer of our wealth for a commodity that contributes to climate change.



Key Findings:

Petroleum is a global commodity. Disruptions in supply in one place affect the global market. No nation can achieve “energy security” on its own.

The United States imports more than 60 percent of the petroleum it uses each day, the vast majority of which is used in transportation.

Demand for petroleum will continue to grow over the next 20 years due to rapidly developing economies, particularly in Asia, which are expected to account for 80 percent of increased global demand for petroleum.

- ★ Oil consumption in developing Asian nations will double over the next 25 years from 15 to 32 million barrels per day.
- ★ Chinese consumption will grow from 5.0 million barrels per day to 12.8 million barrels per day.

- ★ India’s will rise from 2.1 million barrels to 5.3 million barrels per day.

Yet developing economies such as China and India are excluded from the International Energy Association which manages shocks to energy demands among industrialized states.

Oil reserves are scattered across unstable regions of the world. Dependence on these reserves puts the United States at risk of being drawn into conflicts in these regions, particularly in the Persian Gulf, and exposes the U.S. economy to “oil shocks.”

U.S. forces are increasingly involved in operations to protect petroleum or petroleum-related assets, even beyond the Middle East, from Colombia, to the Republic of Georgia, in Africa, and over vast seas from the Indian Ocean through the South China Sea to the western Pacific Ocean.

Dependence on unstable sources of energy compromises U.S. values. The economic need for cheap, plentiful oil has led the United States to ignore the abuses of oil-rich regimes and made us more vulnerable to terrorism. As global demand for petroleum increases, and global reserves dwindle, the stage *may* be set for a resumption of great power rivalry.

Dependence on foreign oil transfers America’s wealth to unstable countries. If oil stays at \$80 per barrel, on average, for the next 25 years, the cost to the United States will be more than \$9 trillion.



Countering America's Energy Dependence

The United States must transform its dependence on foreign energy supplies into a system of global energy interdependence as an interim step toward a comprehensive strategy for energy security.

From Dependence to Interdependence: An Interim Position

The United States should strengthen the international concert of oil importing nations by encouraging the International Energy Association to admit China and India to its ranks.

Doing so will bring them fully into the club of petroleum importing nations, better integrate their economies in the global oil market, and discourage mercantile policies that would lead to great power competition for specific energy supplies.

The United States should diversify its energy supplies by:

- ★ encouraging investment and environmentally responsible development of new oil and natural gas fields around the world, including in the United States;
- ★ investing in and increasing incentives for renewable energy, particularly biomass, wind, solar, and nuclear energy; and
- ★ expanding its domestic capacity to refine crude oil.



Long-Term Energy Security

The United States should double its annual investment in research and development of alternative energy, including hydrogen, clean coal, and renewables.

We should also invest in new, safe, nuclear energy plants.

And the United States should use its tax code, regulatory power, and annual investment in government services to improve energy efficiency. Specifically, it should:

- ★ use tax incentives to encourage greater energy efficiency in buildings and the use of renewable energy supplies;
- ★ increase U.S. fuel economy standards and provide assistance to industry to meet these standards;
- ★ harness the vehicle fleets and building infrastructures of the U.S. government to prime the market for clean, renewable, and energy efficient products;

- ★ wean transportation from unstable oil and toward domestic sources of energy, such as electricity, with investment in plug-in hybrid technology; and
- ★ leverage the research and technology development of the Department of Defense to lessen its dependence on petroleum and thereby transform the way America—and its military—uses energy.

The United States should develop a state-of-the-art energy infrastructure, including:

- ★ a “smart-grid” to manage the distribution of electricity in the United States more efficiently;
- ★ means to distribute bio-fuels and hydrogen as alternative fuels; and
- ★ new commercialized energy technologies that can be shared with the world, helping to counter global climate change and creating American jobs.



Climate Change

Changes to the Earth's climate pose a threat to humanity on an epic scale. Climate change, unabated, has the potential to alter the earth's topography; turn currently productive farmland into arid wastelands; expand the areas of the globe affected by tropical diseases; and displace hundreds of millions of people globally due to rising sea levels or extreme water shortages. It is difficult to overestimate the potential impact of climate change on this country's national security posture.

Key Findings:

Climate change is real and human activities are contributing to it. The build-up of carbon dioxide in the Earth's atmosphere is warming the planet.

Senior retired military officers organized by the Center for Naval Analyses have concluded that, "Climate change can act as a threat multiplier for instability in some of the most volatile regions of the world, and it presents significant national security challenges for the United States."

The consequences of climate change are found around the world and could lead to massive flows of climate refugees, the weakening and failure of states, and armed conflict. In South Asia, fresh water supplies for more than one billion human beings are jeopardized due to the melting of Himalayan glaciers. In North America, agriculture could be disrupted by increases in temperatures and shifting weather patterns that limit rainfall. Globally, major urban centers may be threatened by increases in ocean levels.

Water is already an increasingly threatened commodity in areas of the United States as aquifers across the American West drop lower and lower every year, in part due to shifting weather patterns, but also due to population growth, agricultural irrigation, and development.



Malaria and other tropical diseases are stretching their geographic boundaries and outbreaks are increasing in frequency as the planet warms and weather patterns change.

If climate change occurs as predicted, the consequences may be catastrophic to our national institutions, our freedoms, and our way of life.

The consequences of climate change require action by the United States and the international community to stem the warming of the planet, and to manage the consequences.



Meeting the Challenge of Climate Change

To meet the challenge posed by climate change, the United States must harness its diplomatic, economic, and even military might. It must provide leadership to achieve the international collaboration and cooperation necessary to set policy, execute plans, and share resources.

The United States should actively lead the negotiation of an enforceable international framework to reverse global warming that is compatible with continued economic development. It should include:

- ★ variable carbon targets for developing world nations based on their current level of development;
- ★ technology development and deployment initiatives to high-carbon emitting countries of the developing world; and
- ★ trade agreements that enhance climate stewardship as well as environmental standards.

The United States should lead by example by adopting rigorous climate policies and investing in clean energy. Specifically, we should:

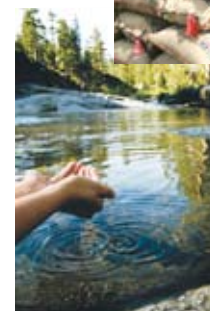
- ★ lead a global research and development effort, including international joint-ventures, to discover and implement technological solutions to greenhouse gas emissions;

- ★ encourage American industries and universities to develop new technologies that will protect the climate and create jobs;
- ★ increase federal investment in research and development of alternative energy supplies;
- ★ embrace safe nuclear power as a means of meeting domestic energy needs; and
- ★ demonstrate to the world that economic development and responsible stewardship of the climate are compatible.

The U.S. should begin now to prepare for the consequences associated with predicted climate change, and:

- ★ invest in capabilities within the U.S. government, including the Department of Defense as necessary, to manage the humanitarian crises that may accompany climate change in this century, including flows of “climate refugees” that may overwhelm local governments and threaten critical U.S. interests;
- ★ expand global malarial eradication and public health programs;

- ★ negotiate an agreement with Canada and Mexico to govern the use of fresh water in North America; and
- ★ lead the world in developing conflict resolution mechanisms to mediate between climate change’s winners and losers.



Nuclear Proliferation

The spread of nuclear weapons threatens the United States directly, destabilizes the international system, and increases the risk of theft or diversion of nuclear weapons to extremists and terrorists.

Key Findings:

The nuclear proliferation threat stems from a variety of factors, including:

- ★ the relatively low technological barriers to acquisition of nuclear weapons capabilities;
- ★ the risk of theft or diversion of nuclear weapons or materials;
- ★ the perception that nuclear weapons confer great power status on those who possess them; and
- ★ the widely held belief that nuclear weapons are a necessity for any country wanting to challenge the United States.

Recent years have seen successes and failures on the issue of proliferation. Libya, after years of careful negotiation, abandoned its nuclear weapons program. North Korea, despite having tested a device in 2006, has taken tentative steps toward dismantling its nuclear program. Success in both instances was the result of sustained diplomatic engagement, backed by pressure.

In contrast, Iran continues to drag its feet on achieving full compliance with its obligations under the non-proliferation treaty and UN mandates. Pakistan and India have emerged from sanctions for their nuclear tests in the 1990s largely unscathed, with India now on the verge of beginning nuclear trade with the United States.

The private network of Pakistani nuclear scientist A.Q. Khan revealed the dangerous potential of nuclear black-markets beyond state control, including the possible sharing of nuclear know-how with terrorist organizations.

Terrorist organizations pursue nuclear weapons as a means of increasing their destructive capacity and their ability to threaten and attack the West. If terrorists come to possess nuclear weapons, they should be expected to use them.

Terrorists are more likely to buy or steal a completed nuclear device than to develop their own weapon from scratch.



Meeting the Challenge of Proliferation

To counter the threat posed by nuclear proliferation, the United States should take the lead in creating a new international consensus opposed to nuclear proliferation that can mount meaningful economic, political, and even military sanctions to deter and dissuade would-be proliferators.

The United States must strengthen existing international frameworks, such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We should reaffirm our commitment to eventual nuclear disarmament and take meaningful and measurable steps to demonstrate that commitment by:

- ★ restating U.S. national policy against the first use of nuclear arms including use of such weapons against non-nuclear states;
- ★ creating a repository of nuclear fuel administered by the International Atomic Energy Agency to control the nuclear fuel cycle;
- ★ using diplomacy to clarify the duties of governments to prevent proliferation and the responsibilities of the international community to act when non-proliferation fails; and



- ★ expanding the use of technology to “fingerprint” nuclear materials as a means of holding states accountable for theft or diversion from their facilities.

The United States should also act to change the calculation states make of cost and benefit in their pursuit of nuclear arms.

We should aggressively and wisely use diplomacy to impose economic and political penalties on would-be proliferators, while providing trade and other economic assistance to safe stewards of nuclear technology and those who forego nuclear development. Finally, the U.S. should continue to reserve the ultimate right to use force, alone when necessary but with allies when possible, to keep nuclear weapons away from dangerous regimes and terrorist groups.

The United States must prevent terrorist organizations from acquiring and using nuclear weapons.

The importance of this priority can hardly be overstated. The United States should take the lead in efforts to:

- ★ complete cooperative threat reduction programs to prevent terrorists from stealing or otherwise acquiring complete weapons, weapons components, or know-how;
- ★ develop capabilities in the U.S. and allied militaries to locate, secure, and render-safe nuclear devices, whether they be hidden in cargo vessels at sea, in a major city, or in a foreign country racked by political upheaval;
- ★ offer assistance to other nuclear states, including those outside the NPT, to improve the security of their arsenals; and
- ★ secure ports in the United States and abroad to protect against the transit of nuclear materials.



Building a New American

Security in the twenty-first century requires a New American Arsenal that harnesses all of the tools at America's disposal. In some cases, that will require a fundamental retooling of U.S. government policies and institutions to focus on our security needs.

The following specific recommendations illustrate the wide range of reforms needed to bring U.S. policies into line with the security challenges of this century.

Economic Instruments

America's *economic strength* is the foundation of its power. Fiscal policies at home must generate sufficient revenues to permit robust action when needed while fiscal discipline is essential to limit our need to borrow from our allies

and potential competitors abroad. America needs to invest in its infrastructure so that its economy remains competitive. The

United States should also invest in research, in new technologies, in experimentation, in innovative equipment, and most of all in the human mind. Specifically, the federal government should double its investment in basic science and technology research.

Trade and global investment are among the most influential instruments of American power. Free trade benefits the United States directly by increasing demand for U.S. products and accelerating global economic development. As trade

enables other states to gain economic strength, they become more heavily invested in the international system, are less likely to risk war, and have greater incentive to invest in the competitiveness of their own people. Reciprocally fair trade—and the specific features of trade agreements—can pry open closed societies to ideas of democracy and labor and environmental responsibility, as well as encourage international cooperation on other issues.

Diplomacy

In a globalized world where public attitudes are more important than ever, the United States requires a *modern U.S. Information Agency* to maximize its ability to inform international audiences about common dangers and the value of common responses.

The American *diplomatic corps* should be reorganized to meet challenges with regional and global origins. Assistant Secretaries of State and the U.S. military's Combatant Commanders should be provided



with common regional boundaries to better integrate all the instruments of American power.

In order to play a larger role in supporting American national security, the State Department will need additional resources to develop planning and surge capabilities. The size of the Foreign Service should be expanded by 20 percent with new Foreign Service Officers assigned to planning and educational billets in order to provide a pool of trained officers ready for crises and changing international circumstances. Diplomats and U.S. ambassadors, whether formal or informal, are critical to America's understanding of the world and the world's understanding of us. The United States must invest and reward a Foreign Service fully immersed in foreign countries and cultures. Language skills, as well as cultural and historical understanding, are critical in the twenty-first century.

U.S. *foreign assistance* has a critical role to play in advancing U.S. national security objectives. Aid must be directed toward objective, measurable goals that truly increase foreign country capacities rather than merely reward friendly governments.

All of America's instruments of power should be better integrated with friends and allies around the world, including the United Nations. New international structures, organizations, and partnerships may be needed for the United States to



Arsenal

build strong and stable coalitions of common interest working toward common twenty-first century objectives.

Defense

The *U.S. military* should be prepared to lead coalitions across the spectrum of conflict, from humanitarian missions to counterterrorism and even in the event of major regional war. Preparedness in the twenty-first century will require ground, air, sea, and space forces capable of defending and preserving peace, whether in strategic regions, sea lanes, or communication lanes in Earth's orbit. It will also require



less tangible qualities, like stealth, speed, range, precision, agility, lethality, linguistics, strategic mobility, interoperability, superior intelligence, cultural awareness, and the overall will and ability to prevail.

As information grids play an increasingly critical role in the global economy, they will become more likely targets for disruption by states and terrorist organizations. The United States should take the lead in developing principles and institutions to protect "*freedom of cyberspace*,"

a twenty-first century cousin of "freedom of the seas." To protect this freedom, the United States should develop:

- ★ Cyber Special Forces under the auspices of the Department of Defense to develop plans and, when necessary, to conduct offensive and defensive operations in cyberspace against hostile governments and terrorist organizations;
- ★ robust intelligence and surveillance, under a legal framework, of threats to, transiting, and originating in cyberspace;
- ★ a strategic approach to arms control in cyberspace; and
- ★ improved congressional oversight of security in cyberspace.

Intelligence

In a world where threats to U.S. security may arise from other states, terrorist organizations, or changes in the Earth's climate, the United States requires an intelligence community that is properly organized with meaningful central leadership and budget authority. That also means that intelligence should be free of political influence, and that the U.S. should continue to partner with other nations to develop effective human intelligence sources.



Homeland

Given the danger to the American homeland from terrorists and catastrophic weather events, the United States needs a Department of Homeland Security that respects the U.S. Constitution and U.S. persons, is professionally led, focused on securing priority vulnerabilities, supported by other vital government agencies of defense and intelligence, and integrated with the considerable capabilities of the National Guard whose primary mission should be homeland defense.

Additional reforms of American bureaucracies to improve *inter-agency coordination* will be necessary to meet the complex challenges of the twenty-first century.



Conclusion

We look to the world and mark the urgent threats and challenges facing the United States. But we also note the new opportunities for cooperation that spring from these threats and challenges. And we know, from lives spent at the fore of our nation's engagement with the world, that to meet the threats and to seize the opportunities, America must be engaged, America must be strong, and America must be wise enough to work with others in pursuit of our common security. The idea that we can "go it alone" as the "world's only superpower" is a vestige of the immediate post-Cold War era that must be firmly rejected across political and ideological lines.

Today the United States faces extremism and terrorism, energy dependence, proliferation, climate change, failed and failing states, the rise of ethnic nationalism, religious fundamentalism, tribalism, the potential for pandemics, mass migrations, and the rise of new economic powers. Bearing the burden of meeting these challenges alone would be crushing. But we are not alone.

In times of challenge and trial, America has responded with acts of creation intended to build a better world—and by enticing others to help us build it.

The security of the United States is inseparable from the security of others. Our nation's task, then, is to lead the organization of global security networks to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. Working with others, we can create partnerships and institutions that better protect U.S. interests and address the common concerns of humanity.

Security is increasingly gained through international collaboration and decreasingly through unilateral action. Military force is increasingly just one part of the solution to our problems. Diplomacy, trade, and foreign assistance can weave societies closer together while addressing immediate needs. Accordingly, this national security strategy is predicated on the coordinated use of all of America's assets in world affairs.

Security today requires a further step: the collaboration and *integration* of institutions among allies, whether law enforcement, public health, environmental protection, or defense. Working with others is not always easy, and it may not seem efficient. But it is the only way to meet threats that know no borders, lurk in cyberspace, or plan their attacks in secretive cells.

Finally, we must remember that the United States is a republic whose founders rooted its Constitution in eternal truths about human dignity. These truths concerning liberty, justice, and rights permeate the American character and hold us, in the eyes of the world, to account. They hold us, and we hold ourselves, to a higher standard of conduct both at home and abroad than most if not all of history's great powers. When

we choose to lower our standards to conform to the less principled behavior of others, we betray our heritage and damage the very thing we seek to protect.

In times of challenge and trial, America has responded with acts of creation intended to build a better world—and by enticing others to help us build it. It is the challenge of our time too. We should seek nothing less than to spread a message of hope combined with strength, creating coalitions and strengthening institutions so they work for the twenty-first century. It requires a vision of leadership and cooperation designed to create a world where nations no longer fear, terrorists are no longer popular, incomes are rising, governments are responsive and effective, and religious and ethnic hatred has abated. This would be a more prosperous and cooperative world where we address the threats to human security—poverty, disease, government failure, and ignorance.

And in the end, this would be a world where wars are rare, the tragic failure of all else; where American interests are protected not just by Americans in uniform, but by the established rules of the international system; where alliances are forged in common interest and purpose; and order is preserved not merely by the strength of arms, but by the will of sovereign nations who understand our common destiny.

This isn't a simple view of the challenges and dangers we face. But it reflects the world as it actually is, and recognizes that to keep America safe, we must make the world better—and lead others in this cause.



American Security Project

1401 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 810
Washington, DC 20005

202.347.4267 ■ www.americansecurityproject.org