THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY
A FEW CAUTIONARY NOTES

• “Never make predictions, especially about the future.”
  – Casey Stengel, US baseball manager

• “You’ve got to be very careful if you don’t know where you are going, because you might not get there.”
  – Yogi Berra, baseball player

• “Gentlemen: “We are out of money, now we must think…”
  – Winston Churchill
THESIS

• WE ARE ENTERING A NEW GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT CHARACTERIZED BY AUSTERITY, GLOBALIZATION AND UNCERTAINTY

• A DECADE OF COIN WARS HAS SOURED PUBLICS ON WARFARE, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND A NEW LOOK IS UNDERWAY.

• THREATS/CONFLICTS, OLD AND NEW, WILL CONTINUE.

• AUSTERITY MEANS THAT DEMOCRACIES MUST BASE SECURITY POLICY ON CAPABILITIES RATHER THAN THREATS.

• AGILITY, ALLIANCES AND SOUND NATIONAL ECONOMIES MUST BE THE CORNERSTONES OF FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FOR THE LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES.
THE NEW GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

• WHAT HAS CHANGED OVER THE PAST DECADE OR SO

• WHAT HAS REMAINED THE SAME

• CONFLICT CAN BE EXPECTED TO REMAIN ENDEMIC

• AUSTERITY IS HERE TO STAY – CAN’T RUN DEFICITS FOREVER

• NEED FOR ARMED FORCES NOT LIKELY TO GO AWAY
THE NEW GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT
WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST DECADE? - 1

• DRAMATICALLY REDUCED DEFENSE BUDGETS
• PERCEIVED (OR HOPED FOR) END OF “EXISTENTIAL THREATS” AMONG GREAT POWERS, MAYBE...
• FATIGUE AND RACING FOR THE EXITS IN “STABILITY OPERATIONS”
  – DISILLUSIONMENT WITH “COIN”
  • IRAQ
  • AFGHANISTAN
• GLOBALIZATION DEEPER AND STRONGER: A NET PLUS BUT...
  – INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM
  – EXPLOSION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME
  – ILLICIT TRAFFICKING IN PEOPLE, NARCOTICS, ETC
• CRISIS IN THE BRETTON WOODS ECONOMIC SYSTEM
  – SOVEREIGN DEBT CRISES
  – EUROZONE AT GRAVE RISK
  – US DEBT OWNED BY CHINA
  – END OF THE DOLLAR STANDARD AND FINANCIAL STABILITY?
THE NEW GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST DECADE? - 2

• RISE OF CHINA, INDIA AND BRAZIL AS WORLD POWERS
  • CHINESE MILITARY MODERNIZATION AND ASSERTIVENESS
  • INDIA IN POTENTIAL ARMS RACE WITH PAKISTAN
• TURKEY AS A REGIONAL POWER WITH ISLAMIST TENDENCIES
• ARAB SPRING AND ITS AFTERMATH
  • DEEPENING DIVIDE WITH THE WEST?
  • EMERGENCE OF “ELECTED” POLITICAL ISLAM?
• DECLINE IN TRADITIONAL MILITARY POWERS
  • GERMANY/UNITED KINGDOM/FRANCE
• RUSSIA AND EUROPE: A GROWING DEPENDENCY ON ENERGY
• “OVERSTRETCH” IN THE UNITED STATES?
• NEW THREATS (CYBER, CRIME, PROLIFERATION, TRAFFICKING, PIRACY)
THE NEW GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT
WHAT HAS NOT CHANGED IN THE LAST DECADE?

• US REMAINS PREDOMINANT GLOBAL MILITARY POWER
• NATO ALLIANCE STILL KEY TO SECURITY IN EUROPE AND EURASIA
  • EU SECURITY ARM VERY MUCH JUNIOR PARTNER
  • CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO AFGHANISTAN AFTER 2014?
  • COUNTRIES WANT TO JOIN (GEORGIA, ARMENIA, MOLDOVA)
• CONFLICT ZONES PERSIST
  • ISRAEL/PALESTINE
  • GEORGIA/RUSSIA
  • ARMENIA/azerbaijan/nagorno-karabakh
  • SOUTHEAST EUROPE (BiH, Transnistria, Serbia, Kosovo)
  • INDIA/PAKISTAN/KASHMIR
  • AFRICA: SOMALIA/SAHEl/LIBYA, AND UNGOVERNED SPACES
• TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM, NARCOTICS, ORGANIZED CRIME
LEGACY OF WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN
(APPLIES TO ALL OF US)

• WHAT A DIFFERENCE A FEW YEARS MAKE
• 2008 – OPTIMISM
  – “LONG WAR” ON TERROR
  – NATO AND COUNTERINSURGENCY/STABILITY OPERATIONS
  – NATION BUILDING AND DEMOCRACY
  – LARGE COALITION GROUND FORCES TO SURGE AND WIN
• 2012 – PESSIMISM
  – WAR FATIGUE AT HOME
  – DISILLUSIONMENT WITH CORRUPTION AND LOSSES
  – AUSTERITY AND PLUNGING DEFENSE BUDGETS
  – DRONES, STAND-OFF, HIGH TECHNOLOGY VS GROUND FORCES
• US CHANGES COURSE, OTHERS WILL FOLLOW
LEGACY OF WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN
US CASE STUDY

• LESSON LEARNED: DON’T DO IT AGAIN
  – COIN DISCREDITED

• CHANGING NATIONAL PRIORITIES
  – CONCOMITANT CHANGING NATIONAL SECURITY PRIORITIES

• REVISED PRIORITIES AND MISSIONS OF ARMED FORCES
  – POWER PROJECTION BACK IN VOGUE
  – NAVY AND AIR FORCE
  – ARMY AND MARINES
  – ROBOTICS, DRONES, STAND OFF, LONG DISTANCE FIGHTING

• LONG TERM DOMESTIC IMPLICATIONS FOR SECURITY
LEGACY OF WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

US CHANGED NATIONAL PRIORITIES – 2012

• GET DOMESTIC HOUSE IN ORDER (FOCUS INWARD)
• REDUCE BUDGET DEFICIT AND NATIONAL DEBT
  – VIEWED AS A LONG-TERM NATIONAL SECURITY THREAT
  – DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE A MAJOR BILL PAYER
  – RESHAPE AND REDUCE SIZE OF ARMED FORCES, ESPECIALLY ARMY AND USMC
  – AIM FOR A BALANCED BUDGET
  – RAISE TAXES OR CUT SPENDING, OR BOTH?
• RESPONSIBLY END WAR IN AFGHANISTAN
• DEFEAT VIOLENT EXTREMISM
• MEET CHALLENGES OF WMD, TERROR AND CYBER-WARFARE
• “PIVOT” NATIONAL ATTENTION TO ASIA-PACIFIC AND MIDDLE EAST
• MEET CHALLENGE OF “ARAB SPRING’ WHILE DEFENDING ISRAEL
• MAINTAIN PRESENCE IN EUROPE, BUT “ACCEPT RISK”
  – AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA “ECONOMY OF FORCE” AREAS
LEGACY OF WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN
US ROLES OF ARMED FORCES – NEW SECURITY DOCTRINE

• COUNTER TERRORISM AND IRREGULAR WARFARE
• DETER AND DEFEAT AGGRESSION
• PROJECT POWER DESPITE ANTI-ACCESS CHALLENGES
• COUNTER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
• OPERATE EFFECTIVELY IN CYBERSPACE AND SPACE
• MAINTAIN A SAFE, SECURE AND EFFECTIVE NUCLEAR DETERRENT
• DEFEND THE HOMELAND AND SUPPORT TO CIVIL AUTHORITIES
• PROVIDE A STABILIZING PRESENCE
• CONDUCT STABILITY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS
• CONDUCT HUMANITARIAN, DISASTER RELIEF, AND OTHER OPERATIONS
LEGACY OF WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN
LONG TERM DOMESTIC IMPLICATIONS

• NATIONAL FATIGUE AND SKEPTICISM ON USE OF POWER
  – LONGEST WAR IN US HISTORY IS AFGHANISTAN
  – TREMENDOUS INVESTMENT IN “LIVES AND TREASURE”
  – DOUBTFUL THAT STRATEGIC GOALS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED
  – CASUALTIES AND CORRUPTION ARE ALL TOO CLEAR
  – INCREASED FOCUS ON SOCIAL WELFARE AT HOME
  – “IF IT IS TO BE DONE, IT MUST BE DONE QUICKLY”

• PERCEPTION OF RUNNING OUT OF MONEY

• QUESTIONING VALUE OF TRYING TO CHANGE SOCIETIES

• MOST ALLIES FADING FAST
  – THE WORRISOME CASES OF GERMANY, UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE
WHAT HAPPENED TO THE THREAT?
(IS A THREAT BASED MODEL WORKABLE?)

• THE “NEW THREAT LANDSCAPE”, NOT A PRETTY PICTURE
  – THE THREAT ARRAY IN 2012 MORE COMPLEX THAN 2002
  – HOW MUCH DOES IT MATTER?

• WHAT ABOUT CHINA, IRAN, RUSSIA AND POTENTIAL OTHERS?

• WHAT ABOUT THE NEED FOR LARGE CONVENTIONAL FORCES?
  – NATO BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE
  – “SMART DEFENSE”
  – “POOLING AND SHARING”
  – MAKING A VIRTUE OF NECESSITY?

• ARE WE AT RISK OF NOT SEEING THE “THREAT FOREST” FOR THE TREES?
THE SIREN SONG OF AUSTERITY

BEWARE WHAT YOU BUY INTO

• SOVEREIGN DEBT CRISIS, EUROZONE WEAKNESS AND US DEFICIT UNDERLIE THE DRIVE TO CUT DEFENSE – THE PROBLEM IS REAL, BUT...

• RATIONALIZATIONS TO JUSTIFY LOWERING THE GUARD
  – WARS ARE NOT THE SOLUTION, ESPECIALLY EXPEDITIONARY ONES
  – NO EXISTENTIAL THREATS EXIST (FOREVER?)
  – HIGH TECH CAN DO THE JOB MORE CHEAPLY AND CLEANLY
  – DOMESTIC NEEDS ARE MOST IMPORTANT, GUNS VS BUTTER
  – THE FUTURE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IS PREDICTABLE, WE WILL HAVE WARNING TIME IF WE NEED TO RAMP UP AGAIN
  – THE REAL THREATS DON’T HAVE A MILITARY SOLUTION

• HISTORICALLY, DEFENSE CUTS HAVE PROVEN DESTABILIZING AND DANGEROUS

• BEEN THERE, DONE THAT – LET’S GET IT RIGHT THIS TIME
SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

• THAT IS WHAT THIS CONFERENCE IS ALL ABOUT
• IDENTIFY THREATS, VITAL INTERESTS AND CORE VALUES
• FRAME STRATEGIC OPTIONS BASED ON CAPABILITIES IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY, AS WELL AS THREATS
• DETERMINE APPROACHES TO DEFENSE BUDGETS, GIVEN THE ABOVE – KEEP THE FLAME BURNING IN A DARK TIME
• BUT REMEMBER:
  – MISGUIDED OR NOT, AUSTERITY IS HERE TO STAY
  – PUBLICS ARE TIRED AND BOTH ANXIOUS AND COMPLACENT
  – POLITICIANS ARE RARELY STRATEGIC THINKERS, WE MUST BE
  – “WHOLE OF GOVERNMENT” MORE CRITICAL THAN EVER
A POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THINK ABOUT

• ARMED FORCES MUST BE AGILE
• ALLIANCES ARE KEY – NO MORE UNIPOLAR SECURITY WORLD
  – BUT ALLIES MUST BRING GENUINE CAPABILITY TO THE TABLE
  – POOLING AND SHARING HAS LIMITS AS WELL AS BENEFITS
• ABOVE ALL, SOUND NATIONAL ECONOMIES ARE NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES
  – AUSTERITY CANNOT BE AN END IN ITSELF
  – TOUGH DECISIONS AHEAD
  – “WE ARE OUT OF MONEY, NOW WE MUST THINK”
• EFFECTIVE SOFT POWER A TRUE FORCE MULTIPLIER?
P.S. SOME FINAL RANDOM THOUGHTS

• AUSTERITY’S SINISTER TWIN IS THE SOCIAL WELFARE STATE. EXPECT “GUNS AND BUTTER” DEBATE TO COME ROARING BACK.

• GLOBALIZATION IS HERE, BUT A MIXED BLESSING
  – MAY NOT OVERCOME NATIONAL INTERESTS
  – LEADS TO A MULTITUDE OF SECURITY THREATS WE DON’T FULLY UNDERSTAND
  – TRADITIONAL THREATS UNLIKELY TO GO AWAY

• SECURITY ‘BURDEN SHARING’ IS NO LONGER A CATCH PHRASE
  – AMERICAN STRAIN OF ISOLATIONISM/”OVERSTRETCH”
  – “FREE RIDERS” AND THE “PACIFIC GENERATION”

• “PARTNER CAPACITY BUILDING” AND “SOFT POWER” AS IMPORTANT AS TRADITIONAL HARD POWER, BUT NOT SUBSTITUTES?

• CHINA AND RUSSIA, (MAYBE IRAN/OTHERS) WAITING IN THE WINGS
WISDOM OF THE AGES

“If you know the enemy and yourself, you need not fear the results of a hundred battles”.

But

“If ignorant of both your enemy and yourself, you are certain to be in peril”.

-Sun Tzu