NEW AMERICAN STRATEGIES FOR SECURITY AND PEACE



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NEW AMERICAN STRATEGIES FOR SECURITY AND PEACE

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The conference brought together a bipartisan group of experts who are concerned with the direction of American foreign policy. The following pages present some of the insights and ideas expressed at the conference. Full transcripts of speeches, video clips, and other conference resources can be found on the Web site: **www.newamericanstrategies.org**

CONTENTS

Conference Overview	1
PANEL 1:	
Is America Safer? The Bush Doctrine and National Security	3
Alliances, International Institutions, and Coalitions of the Willing	4
"Preemption"	6
PANEL 2:	
Beyond Regime Change: Winning the Peace	9
"Nation Building"	10
Non-Military Power	12
PANEL 3:	
A Critical Challenge: Stopping the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction	15
PANEL 4:	
Is America Prepared? Protecting the Homeland	19
PANEL 5:	
America's Instruments of Power: An Agenda of Reform	23

Not all of the conference participants subscribe to every conclusion included in this summary.

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NEW AMERICAN STRATEGIES FOR SECURITY AND PEACE



Patriotic Americans of all political persuasions increasingly are concerned about the current direction of U.S. foreign policy. There is mounting evidence that the present course will weaken rather than strengthen America's own security; reduce rather than increase world stability; and create more hostility toward the United States rather than admiration for our dynamic economy and democratic way of life.

With this in mind, *The American Prospect* magazine, the Center for American Progress, and The Century Foundation convened a conference in Washington, D.C. Many of the country's leading national security experts from both political parties came together to discuss their concerns about the direction of U.S. foreign policy, its adverse effects on the safety of Americans at home and abroad, and alternative policies and approaches that hold greater promise for strengthening our security. This report summarizes the highlights of the conference.

Photo: Conference cochairs (left to right) Robert Kuttner, John Podesta, and Richard C. Leone.



IS AMERICA SAFER?
THE BUSH DOCTRINE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The administration of President George W. Bush has adopted a number of approaches to foreign policy that dramatically depart from a long-standing framework built by presidents from both political parties. This panel focused particularly on current national security strategy with respect to alliances, international institutions, and the consideration of "preemptive" military action.

SPEECH EXCERPT



ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

"Since the tragedy of 9/11, which understandably shook and outraged everyone in this country, we have increasingly embraced at the highest official level what I think can be fairly called a paranoiac view of the world. That view is summarized in a phrase repeatedly used at the highest level, 'he who is not with us is against us.'

I say repeatedly because actually some months ago I did a computer check to see how often it's been used at the very highest level in public statements. The count then quite literally was ninety-nine. So it's a phrase which obviously reflects a deeply felt perception. I strongly suspect the person who uses that phrase doesn't know its historical or intellectual origins. It is a phrase popularized by Lenin when he attacked the Social Democrats on the grounds that they were anti-Bolshevik. Therefore 'he who is not with us is against us' can be handled accordingly. . . . I think it is important to ask ourselves as citizens . . . whether a world power can really provide global leadership on the basis of fear and anxiety. Can it really mobilize support, and particularly the support of friends, when we tell them that if you are not with us you are against us?"

SAMUEL R. BERGER
Chairman of Stonebridge International LLC; National Security Adviser to President Clinton

IVO H. DAALDER
Senior Fellow and Sydney Stein Jr. Chair in International Security at the Brookings Institution; Director for European Affairs on President Clinton's National Security Council staff

CLYDE PRESTOWITZ
Founder and President of the Economic Strategy Institute; trade negotiator and Counselor to the Secretary of Commerce in the Reagan administration

SUSAN E. RICE
Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy and Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution; former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Special Assistant to the President, and Director for International Organizations and Peacekeeping on the National Security Council staff

ROBERT E. RUBIN
Chairman of the Executive Committee and Member of the Office of the Chairman of Citigroup Inc.; Secretary of the Treasury in the Clinton administration

IS AMERICA SAFER?
THE BUSH DOCTRINE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Alliances, International Institutions, and Coalitions of the Willing

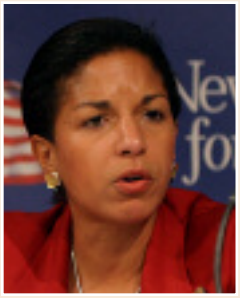
Since the end of World War II, American governments have worked to bring nations together to fight aggression, oppression, terrorism, poverty, and environmental degradation. Built largely through our leadership, those alliances and international institutions, while imperfect, have established a long track record of improving international stability and promoting economic growth. American policies that undercut those institutions run the risk of returning to a world of fragmented rival coalitions and continued conflict. Those concerns have emerged in connection with the war in Iraq, which most of America's long-standing allies opposed, and with our withdrawal from international negotiations intended to address a wide range of security, economic, environmental, and humanitarian challenges.

OBSERVATIONS

- Alliances and security partnerships have successfully dissuaded countries such as Germany, Japan, Turkey, Taiwan, and South Korea from pursuing weapons of mass destruction.

- U.S. diplomacy, buttressed by the international support embodied in the various international arms control regimes, has confronted and reversed proliferation where it has been occurring, as in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, South Africa, Argentina, and Brazil—as well as Iraq in 1993 and North Korea in 1994.

- Samuel R. Berger noted, "We've heard Don Rumsfeld say that the purpose drives the coalition rather than the coalition driving the purpose. But that's fundamentally antithetical to the notion of enduring alliances that help set common threat perceptions and which require constant tending."



"We have followed a consistent pattern of raising expectations and making promises but leaving them unfulfilled, whether we are talking about immigration reform for Mexico, peace keepers for Liberia, or full funding for HIV/AIDS [efforts in Africa]."

SUSAN E. RICE

- Our long-standing participation in alliances and international institutions was a central element of a bipartisan consensus in the United States for engaging with the rest of the world. Abandoning that framework undercuts principles embraced by all previous presidents—Democratic and Republican.

- Partnerships with allies spread the financial costs and physical dangers associated with our international efforts more broadly; perhaps more importantly, they communicate to terrorists, their potential followers, and rogue regimes that their enemy is the world community—not just the United States.

- Our rejection of treaties and institutions—the Kyoto global warming and climate change protocol, the International Criminal Court, the Biological Weapons Convention—diminishes our capacity to influence those efforts while alienating us from other countries that can help us promote our interests. The message: "Your security is your own concern, and your concerns are of no concern to us."

- Crisis-driven "coalitions of the willing" are inherently unstable and insufficient as a basis for building long-term conditions for international peace and prosperity.



A BETTER STRATEGY

- Use our leadership to strengthen, rather than abandon, alliances and international institutions. They expand our influence, rather than constrain our power.

- Develop and sustain partnerships to address the greatest challenges facing the United States—defeating terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, resolving regional conflicts, and fighting poverty and disease—are not unique to us. Our allies share these same challenges and will be just as affected by the outcomes. None of us can be successful without sustained partnerships and deep cooperation in the fields of diplomacy, the economy, intelligence, humanitarian needs, and law enforcement.

- Use our clout to adapt the United Nations to new challenges posed by terrorism and international security threats that emerge within, rather than among, states.

"The cost of unilateralism is enormous not just in terms of international security, not just in terms of lives, but also in terms of economic growth, in terms of treasure, in terms of the soft power that has been the hallmark of American influence in the world."

CLYDE PRESTOWITZ



IS AMERICA SAFER?
THE BUSH DOCTRINE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

"Preemption"

In September 2002, the Bush administration issued its National Security Strategy, which stated that the United States "must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends. . . . To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively." While the use of "preemptive" force—a military strike against a country that has not launched an attack beyond its own borders—has always been a tool in the arsenal available to U.S. presidents, the Bush administration has elevated that option to the level of a doctrine. The doctrine of preemption has since been one of the central points of contention in the debate on U.S. foreign policy.

OBSERVATIONS

- Preemption is a self-defeating strategy: putting countries on notice that we will attack them to prevent the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction gives them every incentive to speed up their efforts to acquire those weapons.

- Preemption increases the incentive among hostile states to initiate military force against their rivals; India's embrace of a preemption doctrine gives its adversary Pakistan a powerful incentive to strike first, and vice versa.

- U.S. espousal of preemption encourages other countries to embrace the same doctrine, adding to international instability.

- Preemption was considered but wisely not used against the Soviet Union in the late 1940s, Cuba in 1962, and China in 1964.



"A long-term fiscal mess will increasingly reduce the ability of the United States government to respond to and deal with the issues that the American people want government to respond to and deal with, including national security."

ROBERT E. RUBIN



A BETTER STRATEGY

- Preemption may be appropriate under some circumstances. But because of its high risks and costs, it should be used with great care and after attempts to use other policy tools have failed.

- New international rules and norms should be developed to define the legitimate use of force to respond to challenges stemming from the internal behavior of states; the UN Charter is confined primarily to addressing breaches of international security between states. The United States should lead the effort to negotiate those rules and norms.

"What is different in this administration is that it has gone further by turning a useful tool of last resort into a guiding doctrine of American foreign policy. It is a radical departure from past practice."

IVO H. DAALDER





BEYOND REGIME CHANGE: WINNING THE PEACE

This panel addressed challenges connected to reducing tensions within and among countries as well as the sources of deep-seated hostility that produce terrorism. Speakers focused on the topics of "nation building" and the uses of non-military power.

SPEECH EXCERPT



SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN (D-DELAWARE)

"We need to correct the imbalance between projecting power and staying power. America's military is obviously second to none in the history of the world. And my guess is it will and must remain that way for a long time to come. But staying power is just as important as projecting power. And on that account, the administration is running an incredibly dangerous deficit.

In Afghanistan, we refused until last month to support the extension of international security forces beyond the capital. The result is that President Karzai is the Mayor of Kabul and not the President of the country. Much of the country is in the hands of warlords. The Taliban is regrouping. Reconstruction is way off track. And Afghanistan is the world's number one producer of opium, the proceeds of which will fund millions of dollars of new terrorist efforts. Last December, I suggested to Condoleezza Rice that things weren't going well in Afghanistan, that the warlords were back in control. And she said, well, there is stability in Afghanistan. The warlords are in control."

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE
Vice Chairman of Perseus; former United States Ambassador to the United Nations and the chief architect of the 1995 Dayton peace agreement

JESSICA STERN
Lecturer in public policy at the JFK School of Government at Harvard; member of President Clinton's National Security Council staff

FLYNT LEVERETT
Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy; formerly a senior analyst of Middle Eastern and South Asian affairs at the CIA

JOSEPH C. WILSON
CEO of JCWilson International Ventures, Corp.; Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council in the Clinton administration

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. NASH, USA (RET.)
The John W. Vessey Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations

GAYLE SMITH
Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council in the Clinton administration

BEYOND REGIME CHANGE:
WINNING THE PEACE

"Nation Building"

During the 2000 presidential campaign, candidate George W. Bush frequently criticized the Clinton administration's efforts to try to foster conditions under which previously war-ravaged countries could regain stability, rebuild, create civil institutions, and establish democracy. For example, he said, "Maybe I'm missing something here. I mean, we're going to have kind of a nation-building corps from America? Absolutely not. It needs to be in our vital interest, the mission needs to be clear, and the exit strategy obvious. I'm not so sure the role of the United States is to go around the world and say this is the way it's got to be. I think the United States must be humble . . . in how we treat nations that are figuring out how to chart their own course." Today in Iraq, however, the United States is learning just how crucial nation building can be.

OBSERVATIONS

~ The United States has a long history of supporting efforts to improve conditions in countries ravaged by war, ethnic conflict, and poverty. While that track record is mixed, the many success stories demonstrate that so-called nation building can work. Those successes include Western Europe under the Marshall plan, Bosnia, and East Timor.

~ After a major initial success in Afghanistan, the administration decided to confine peace-keeping efforts to the capital of Kabul, enabling warlords to regain domination over the rest of the country and allowing the Taliban to regroup.

~ Weak governments are the most important risk factor for enabling terrorist groups to take root and sustain their activities. Those groups often step in when states fail to provide hospitals, schools, after-school programs and so on. They provide their own social welfare efforts, which in turn feed into the military wing of terrorist movements. Dismissal of "nation building" rules out a legitimate strategy for denying terrorists safe havens in those weak states.

~ In Iraq the administration failed to take seriously the enormous challenges that we have confronted after the fall of Baghdad. Joseph C. Wilson discussed the extent to which the administration's inattention to planning for the post-war period—unsurprising in light of its denigration of nation building—has undermined security there. The lack of security has made it enormously difficult to make progress on such activities as restoring basic services, reconstruction, and creating conditions for a viable government.





"You cannot do nation building with a country at war. It's not possible. . . . And it doesn't matter if the majority of the people want stability or the majority of the people oppose what's happening. Until you're at peace, you can't build a nation."

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE



A BETTER STRATEGY

Achieve genuine security first and foremost before declaring victory. As we learned in Vietnam and are experiencing in Iraq, creating a stable new government and carrying out reconstruction efforts will not work in an environment where guerilla warfare is ongoing.

In Iraq, apply lessons learned in Bosnia and elsewhere to give the Iraqis the maximum opportunity to help solve their own problems rather than imposing edicts from on high.

"The Division Commander [in Iraq] told us a story about a cement factory where a large unnamed independent contractor had given a $23 million, one-year estimate to refurbish a cement factory. He couldn't do that, so instead he gave less than $100,000 to Iraqis who had run the place before, and the cement factory is up and running today, creating both cement and jobs."



MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. NASH, USA (RET.)

Involve other nations as much as possible. They have their own experiences in nation building and distinctive areas of expertise that can contribute greatly to the process.

Expand our capacity to conduct nation building by training greater numbers of both military and civilian personnel to conduct activities related to policing, engineering, civil affairs, medical needs, and so forth. Relying primarily on soldiers who are trained for warfare rather than a civilian corps to carry out those nation-building tasks diminishes our effectiveness.

Energetically work to rehabilitate failed or weak states that have proven to be recruiting grounds and safe havens for terrorists, including Afghanistan, Liberia, Sudan, and Pakistan. In the process, compete with the terrorist organizations that are attempting to win local support by serving social and humanitarian needs.

BEYOND REGIME CHANGE:
WINNING THE PEACE

Non-Military Power

The United States is not only the strongest nation in the world from a military standpoint, it also has the largest and most dynamic economy, a long record of diplomatic successes that averted bloodshed, and the proven capacity to lead the international community toward progress in addressing global problems. Many critics have argued that the Bush administration has relied too heavily on the nation's military capabilities, and far less on its other important foreign policy assets.



JOSEPH C. WILSON

OBSERVATIONS

Defining the war on terrorism as an exclusively military struggle neglects the benefits that can arise from helping to address the economic and social priorities of other countries.

Exerting military power beyond where it is necessary risks promoting the sense of humiliation among Muslims that induces individuals to become terrorists or supporters of terrorist movements. Evidence is abundant that the Iraq war has greatly helped Al Qaeda's recruitment efforts, for example.



"Baghdad is a very important city in Islam. Its occupation by U.S. troops and tanks is deeply humiliating. And in the words of a Saudi dissident who has now been quoted extensively in the press, 'It is a gift to Bin Laden and the Al Qaeda movement.'"

JESSICA STERN

Even our most reliable historical allies will not simply fall in line with our dictates. The damage from alienating those long-standing friends is already evident in Iraq, where the United States is bearing the bulk of the cost in terms of lost lives and money. The long-term impact seems certain to be enormous.

As George W. Bush himself said during one of the 2000 presidential debates, "If we are a humble nation they will respect us. If we are arrogant they will react against us." Clyde Prestowitz, who served in President Reagan's administration, agrees with that view but says that the Bush administration has repeatedly demonstrated arrogance rather than humility: "Powerful as we are, in an age of globalization we cannot achieve our own objectives, or maximize our own security, or maximize our own economic growth and welfare without friends, without allies, without people who are willing to cooperate with us."

For diplomacy to be successful, carrots as well as sticks need to be on the table. Telling countries such as Iran and Syria that they will get something they want if they cooperate with us and will feel some kind of pain if they do not is more likely to change their behavior than focusing exclusively on the "or else."

Neglect of our non-military capabilities has resulted in a pattern of broken promises that erodes our moral leadership. Examples include discarded efforts to reform immigration with Mexico, provide peacekeepers to Liberia, and fight HIV/AIDS in Africa.



A BETTER STRATEGY

Recognize that military power is an important tool for enhancing our international and security interests, but one with significant limitations for which many others tools can compensate. We need to strengthen and take advantage of those other tools that have been allowed to corrode the past few years: diplomacy, economic engagement, foreign aid, and energetic, constructive participation in international institutions and negotiations.

Integrate all agencies with foreign policy expertise and capabilities into decision-making processes rather than assigning the Defense Department the dominant role and relegating the State Department and other agencies to the periphery.

Begin the process of repairing our relationships with other nations by working with them to strengthen the United Nations, restore NATO's central role in carrying out relevant military activities, and reengaging constructively in negotiations over improved economic relationships, antiproliferation efforts, global warming, and international criminal law.

Greatly increase our contribution to and involvement in efforts to improve conditions in impoverished countries.



"I was one of the small group of State Department officials called back into the building on the night of September 11th, 2001 to put together the diplomatic strategy for assembling the coalition that would go after Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. . . . But I came out of the administration a little over a year after that deeply convinced that this administration does not have, and indeed is incapable of developing or sustaining, a real strategy for prosecuting the War on Terror or a regional diplomatic strategy for supporting such a war, including putting post-Saddam Iraq on a more constructive path."

FLYNT LEVERETT



A CRITICAL CHALLENGE: STOPPING THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

President Bush has said that one of the most important challenges facing the United States is keeping the worst weapons out of the hands of the worst people. Although much of the administration's efforts have focused on Iraq's alleged WMD capabilities, North Korea's nuclear weapons program has become more active, and the risk posed by terrorist organizations gaining access to nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons remains one of the most dangerous threats to our country. This panel addressed challenges related to preventing proliferation around the globe.

SPEECH EXCERPT



SENATOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (D-NEW YORK)

"In our dealings abroad, we claim to champion the rule of law. Yet, we too often have turned our backs on international agreements. The Kyoto Treaty, for example, which represented an attempt by the international community to address in a meaningful way a real problem—the global problem of climate change and global warming—was short circuited. So were the biological weapons enforcement protocol and the comprehensive test ban treaty. This unwillingness to engage the international community on problems that require international cooperation . . . sends a clear signal to other nations that we may believe in the rule of law in principle if it is our law and we get to interpret it. But that is the antithesis of the rule of law."

WILLIAM J. PERRY
Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor at Stanford University; Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration

ASHTON B. CARTER
Ford Foundation Professor of Science and International Affairs and Co-Director of the Preventive Defense Project; Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy in the Clinton administration

ROSE GOTTEMOELLER
Senior Associate Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; former deputy undersecretary for defense nuclear non-proliferation in the U.S. Department of Energy

AMY E. SMITHSON
Senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies

WENDY R. SHERMAN
Principal, the Albright Group LLC; former Counselor of the Department of State, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on North Korea, and Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs

A CRITICAL CHALLENGE: STOPPING THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

OBSERVATIONS

Aside from the invasion of Iraq, Wendy Sherman noted, the administration has exerted little new energy since 9/11 to control nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons—even though terrorists highly covet those weapons of mass destruction.

Ashton B. Carter pointed out that the 2004 budget request for the Nunn-Lugar program—the initiative aimed primarily at preventing the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons from the former Soviet Union—was $451 million, a paltry increase over the pre-9/11 budget of $443 million. Yet large quantities of dangerous materials from that part of the world remain unsecured or unaccounted for. No comparable program exists to extend the effort beyond the former Soviet Union.

The United States has done little since 9/11 to strengthen and enhance the enforcement provisions of the 1997 international treaty to ban chemical weapons, which are essential to its effectiveness. The bulk of Russia's 40,000-ton poison gas arsenal still awaits destruction in part because the United States has not fulfilled its pledges to help with that task.



AMY E. SMITHSON

The United States actually scuttled an effort to incorporate a monitoring protocol intended to strengthen the enforcement capacity of the 1975 biological and toxic weapons convention. Our alternative was to urge nations to pass legislation to outlaw biological weapons and safeguard certain pathogens. As Amy E. Smithson said, "Recent compilations show that almost 100 nations have passed over 1,000 laws. . . . But it's a sure bet that there are some lemons in the lot. The 'let all countries do as they please' approach is a formula for creating safe havens for terrorists and for nations that wish to violate the biological and toxic weapons convention."

William J. Perry and Ashton B. Carter discussed how, in North Korea, the United States essentially acquiesced in their renewed effort to create nuclear weapons. Our preoccupation with Iraq during this period, arguably a less significant threat to our national security, created an opportunity for North Korea to take a step that previous administrations were determined to deter.

SPEECH EXCERPT



SENATOR CHUCK HAGEL (R-NEBRASKA)

"Alliances are more necessary today than ever before. The great challenges facing America today (defeating terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, resolving regional conflicts such as in the Middle East, and fighting endemic poverty and disease) are not unique to America. Our allies throughout the world share these same challenges and will be just as affected by the outcomes. They will be either our common successes or our common failures. America cannot be successful with any of these challenges, including Iraq and Afghanistan, without sustained partnerships and deep cooperation in the diplomatic, economic, intelligence, humanitarian, and law enforcement fields.

We simply cannot go it alone. The centrality of alliances in multilateral institutions to a successful foreign policy is fundamental. Alliances in multilateral institutions must be understood as expansions of our influence, not as constraints on our power. Alliances must be built on solid foundations to handle both the routine and the urgent challenges of our times. Crisis-driven coalitions of the willing by themselves are not the building blocks for a stable world. We need to think more broadly, more strategically."



A BETTER STRATEGY

- Double resources devoted to Nunn-Lugar while extending its scope beyond the former Soviet Union to other parts of the globe.

- Working with other nations to bolster both the monitoring protocols and the enforcement mechanisms of the treaties governing chemical and biological weapons.

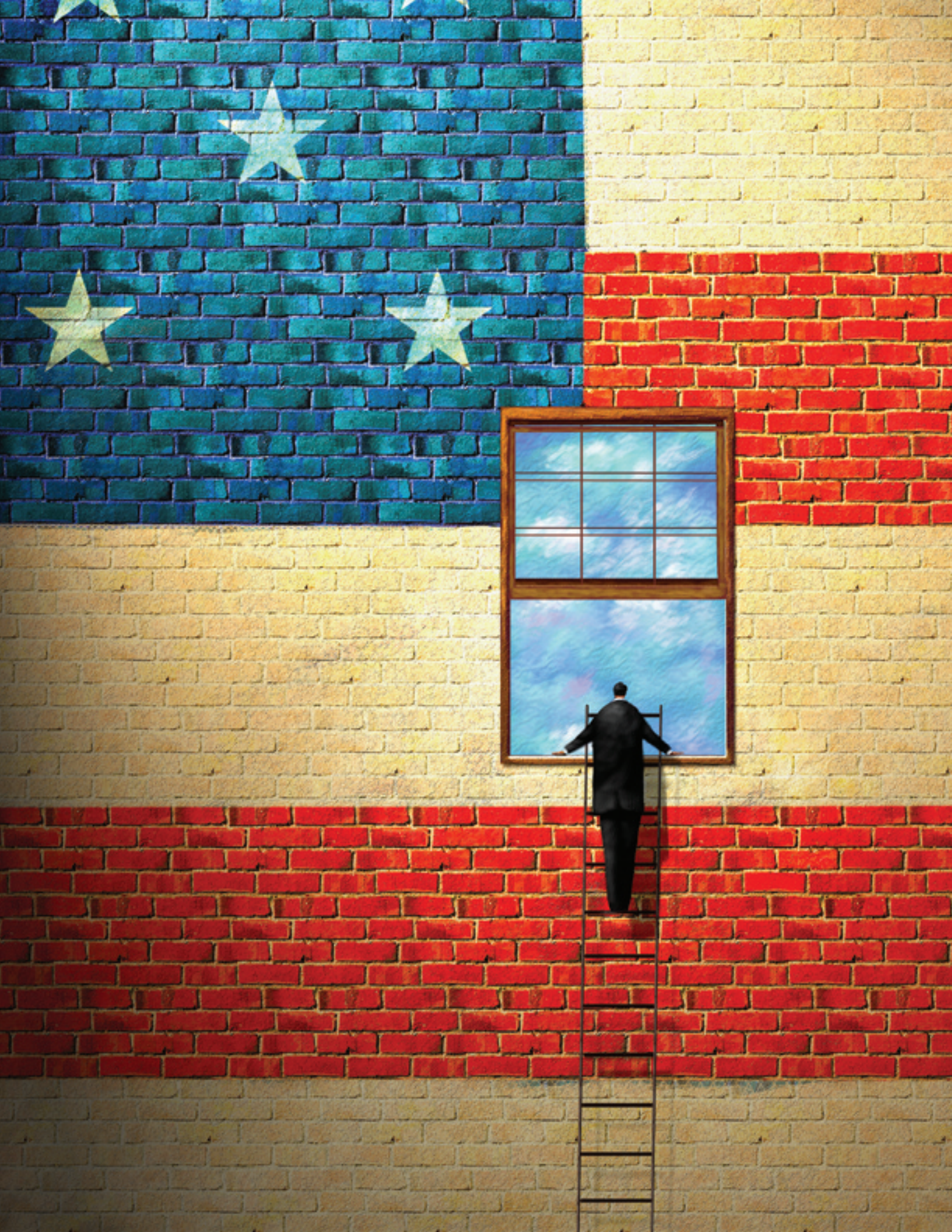
- Coordinate the small, scattered counterproliferation programs within the Department of Defense, which are intended to locate and destroy weapons of mass destruction smuggled through ports, airports, and elsewhere.

- Work with the International Atomic Energy Agency to provide remote sensing equipment to monitor the suspension of the uranium enrichment program in Iran. Also with the IAEA, help Russia develop special containers, locks, and sensors to oversee the flow of nuclear fuel to reactors and the deployment of spent fuel from the reactors.

"But we also need to keep working the problem at its source, where weapons and materials are most abundant and least secure. [The former Soviet Union] is the first line of defense of the United States. In this context I am worried that the Bush administration is undermining its own commitment to reducing the threat. They are engaged in the kind of guerilla warfare wherein behind the scenes they slap constraints and conditions on the cooperation in a way that stops it in its tracks."

ROSE GOTTEMOELLER





IS AMERICA PREPARED?
PROTECTING THE HOMELAND

In March of 2003, the Department of Homeland Security was created in the largest reorganization of federal agencies since the end of World War II. This panel discussed the extent to which that restructuring, in combination with various other federal, state, local, and private sector initiative, may or may not have made the United States less vulnerable to future terrorist attacks.

SPEECH EXCERPT



GOVERNOR MARK R. WARNER (D-VIRGINIA)

"[Improving homeland security] is going to require a new level of cooperation between public-sector players and private-sector players. In many ways, this will require a whole reformulation of the relationship between public sector and private sector. The normal governmental relationship, particularly to those private-sector players that provide our critical infrastructure, is that of regulator and an entity being regulated. Suddenly in the post 9/11 world, we in the public sector are asking you in the private sector to share information with us—information that may put you at a competitive disadvantage.

Now in Virginia we've tried to grapple with this a little bit by passing exemptions to our 'freedom of information' laws so that banks, telecom companies, utility companies can share with us their networks, their information in a way that will not have them be put at a competitive disadvantage. But as we think through this sharing of information it's going to require a whole new formulation of public-private cooperation, because most of our private-sector partners view the government as someone that you actually want to try to restrict information to because of the regulatory environment."

CONGRESSWOMAN JANE HARMAN (D-CALIFORNIA)

COLONEL RANDALL LARSEN, USAF (RET.)
Founder and CEO of Homeland Security Associates, LLC

ED GARZA
Mayor of San Antonio, Texas

MARGARET A. HAMBURG
Vice President for Biological Programs at Nuclear Threat Initiative; former Commissioner of Health for the City of New York

JULIETTE KAYYEM
Senior Fellow and Faculty Affiliate at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government; former director of the Kennedy School's domestic preparedness program

IS AMERICA PREPARED?
PROTECTING THE HOMELAND

OBSERVATIONS

- To date, the administration has produced no national vulnerability and threat assessment. Colonel Randall Larsen said, "In July of 2002, a strategy for homeland security was released by the administration. But even the authors admitted it was not really a strategy. . . . We need a strategy."

- Congresswoman Jane Harman discussed how, due to lack of leadership at the federal level, states and localities are largely groping on their own to come up with ways to improve their preparedness. Most of them report that they have received insufficient funding for upgrades such as improving interoperable communications among "first responders," conducting training in how to respond to different kinds of potential attacks, and strengthening public health capacities.

- The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has long focused on gathering evidence suitable for criminal prosecutions, is ill-suited to serving as the primary domestic agency responsible for preventing terrorism. Most of the significant terrorism-related arrests to date have occurred abroad.

- The administration has been far too secretive and unaccountable for its actions related to domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering. The Congress and the public have had little opportunity to assess independently how effective those efforts have been and whether law enforcement agencies have sufficiently respected civil liberties.



"I've had the opportunity to sit on the National League of Cities task force specifically for homeland security, and whether you're a city representing 2,000 in population or two million there's a common theme. Frustration [with inadequate] funding."

ED GARZA

"There is an urgent need for a true national strategy, one that recognizes our vulnerabilities, identifies both short- and long-term goals, sets priorities, delineates essential roles and responsibilities, the various parts of government as well as the private sector and defines useful measures to assess progress towards our goals. Despite its title, the Administration's national strategy for homeland security offers none of these critical elements."

MARGARET A. HAMBURG



A BETTER STRATEGY

- In consultation with states, localities, and relevant leaders from the private sector, the federal government should urgently develop a roadmap for reducing the nation's many vulnerabilities to terrorist attacks while strengthening our capacity to respond in the event of another attack. Tangible measuring sticks for assessing progress are needed. Based on that roadmap, adequate funding should be provided to achieve those goals without resorting to the partisan politics that too often have been injected into homeland security debates.

- Improved systems for keeping track of visitors to the United States need to be implemented. But unlike many tracking efforts initiated since 9/11, those systems should be developed to encourage compliance among law-abiding individuals. Finding potential terrorists requires that we avoid alienating or intimidating the vastly larger numbers of people who pose no threat.

- An independent agency should be created to evaluate the extent to which the Justice Department and Department of Homeland Security are respecting civil liberties.

"We've so alienated immigrant communities that what we now have is a system where we can't get compliance from the lawful people so as to weed out the unlawful or dangerous people."

JULIETTE KAYYEM





AMERICA'S INSTRUMENTS OF POWER:
AN AGENDA OF REFORM

Both the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq entailed serious failures of America's intelligence capabilities; in contrast, our military has performed brilliantly in Afghanistan and Iraq. Moving forward, however, both our military and intelligence services will require significant reforms to adapt to new challenges posed by the threat of terrorism and our much more extensive commitments of Americans in dangerous environments abroad. This panel explored those challenges.

SPEECH EXCERPT



GENERAL WESLEY K. CLARK

"Operating on three principles—promoting democracy, using our international institutions, using force only as a last resort—helps us pursue a more enlightened American interest. A decade ago, we called it engagement and enlargement. Perhaps we need a new label. But I think the direction is clear. We need to repair our trans-Atlantic relationships. We can work together to resolve our security challenges—the North Korean nuclear program and the nuclear program in Iran. We should turn our combined force toward resolving intractable conflicts in South Asia and the Middle East. We should be offering support for development in Africa and enhancing the battle against disease, while finding a new synthesis between free markets and state intervention in Latin America."

CONGRESSMAN JAMES A. LEACH (R-IOWA)

MICHÈLE A. FLOURNOY
Senior adviser in the CSIS International Security Program; former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy

BERNARD E. TRAINOR,
LIEUTENANT GENERAL, USMC (RET.)
Senior Fellow for National Security Studies at The Council on Foreign Relations and Associate at the Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

JAMES STEINBERG
Vice President and Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution; former Deputy National Security Advisor

RAND BEERS
National Security and Homeland Security Issue Coordinator for the John Kerry for President campaign; former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Combating Terrorism on the National Security Council

AMERICA'S INSTRUMENTS OF POWER:
AN AGENDA OF REFORM



CONGRESSMAN JAMES A. LEACH (R-IOWA)

OBSERVATIONS

Our much more extensive military commitments threaten the sustainability of the all-volunteer force. Examples: some military units that have served in Iraq and rotated out have been told that they can expect to be redeployed back in during the next rotation cycle; the National Guard is already overstretched but has been given new responsibilities related to homeland security; frequently, soldiers in units that are not deployed have been shifted to units in action; and many Army and Air Force forces require five units to support one forward unit.



"We need an entirely new approach which integrates the military and the other elements of national power, and takes into account that we are no longer facing a 20th century type of war. We're in an entirely new situation in which the military will play a part, but it may turn out that it'll be a minor part."

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BERNARD E. TRAINOR, USMC (RET.)

Little has been done to adapt to the heightened need for capabilities related to postwar reconstruction and stability maintenance, including special operations, civil capabilities, and linguists. Some Army artillery brigades in the National Guard have been converted to new military police battalions, but the new demands far exceed the changes that have been implemented.

Much of the money spent on transforming the military by this administration has focused on an accelerated deployment schedule for national missile defense rather than higher priorities that would improve our capacity to fight highly scattered terrorist organizations.

The relationship between the military and the civilian leadership in the Pentagon is at a low point, which threatens the nation's security because military advice based on expertise and experience is often discounted or scorned. Michèle A. Flournoy said, "Many officers have described to me a 'shoot-the-messenger' environment, where your career is on the line if you give counsel that is not consistent with the views of the civilian leadership. . . . That has affected not only morale in the Pentagon, but more importantly has a potentially dangerous impact on decision making. When a Secretary of Defense is deciding about putting American men and women in harm's way, it's critical that he create an environment in which different professional opinions can be voiced and heard—'group think' in this business is a very, very dangerous phenomenon."

With respect to intelligence, both the 9/11 attacks and the Iraq war involved cataclysmic intelligence failures. Yet only minor reforms have been implemented to date and the administration has held no senior intelligence officials publicly accountable for either of those failures. It also has resisted making available to Congress and investigatory committees classified information that would be useful in determining how to prevent those mistakes from recurring.

The structure of the intelligence community remains essentially the same as it was during the Cold War, when we confronted a fundamentally different enemy and set of threats than we face post-9/11. Retaining that outmoded framework runs the strong risk that the intelligence we need to prevent terrorism will not be ascertained, processed, and communicated effectively.

Congressman James A. Leach asked, "Does overwhelming military might protect us from terrorism or, if used unwisely, escalate vulnerability to terrorism?"



A BETTER STRATEGY

To sustain the all-volunteer force, we should reexamine the balance between the active and reserve forces, perhaps moving more of the high-demand units into active duty. We also should rethink the missions of, in particular, the reserves and the National Guard, while enhancing their capacity to conduct activities that are essential to maintaining postwar stability.

We should accelerate the post-9/11 modernization of the military by investing more rapidly in "network-centric" warfare, the next generation of precision munitions, more mobile and lethal ground forces, unmanned systems, and new capabilities related to counter-terrorism and controlling weapons of mass destruction.

We need to restructure the Cold War–era bureaucratic arrangements to facilitate greater cross-fertilization of expertise and streamlined interagency operations so that our military and intelligence components act in concert with our other foreign policy assets. Rand Beers discussed how there needs to be a much more coherent interagency process for planning and executing strategies and operations.

With respect to intelligence, a top-to-bottom reexamination of our existing organization, practices, and strategies, fully informed by the failures of 9/11 and Iraq, should be pursued urgently. Radical changes are needed to erase existing barriers to effective intelligence gathering, analysis, and information sharing. Reforms will require breaking down the pervasive culture of secrecy and taking steps to improve communication not just throughout the federal government, but also with states, regions, localities, and the private sector.



"We need to develop a new architecture and a new way of thinking about our intelligence system that recognizes that lots of people have information to bring to bear. And the people we need to inform and to bring into the analytic questions are much more diffuse. That means we need a much less top-down system, a much more decentralized system, a much greater willingness to share information, a change in the balance between secrecy and sharing so that even though we may have risks by providing information to local police or local fire officials or local public health officials or protectors of critical infrastructure, that it's better to get the information out than to try to keep it to ourselves."

JAMES STEINBERG

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