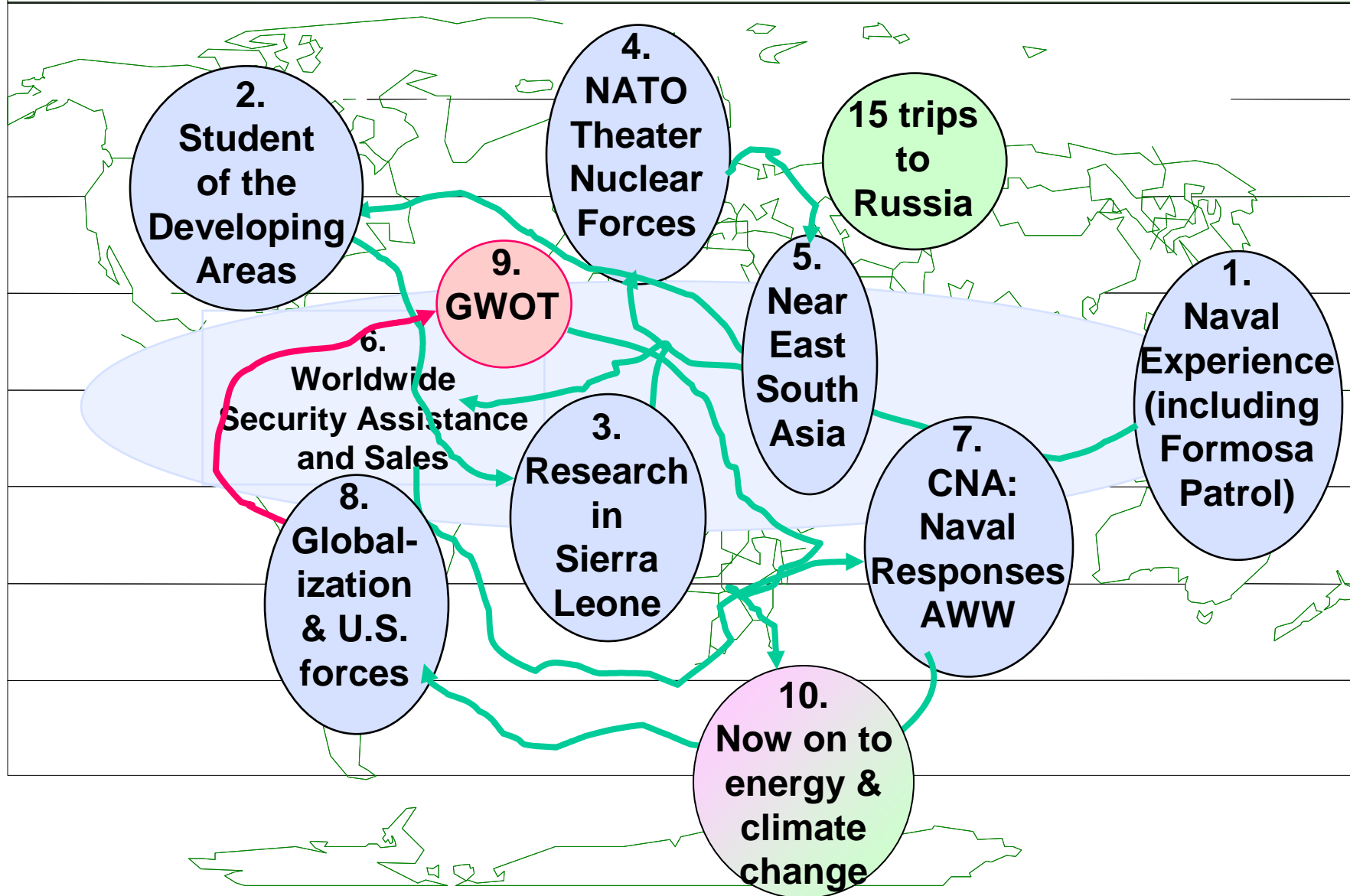
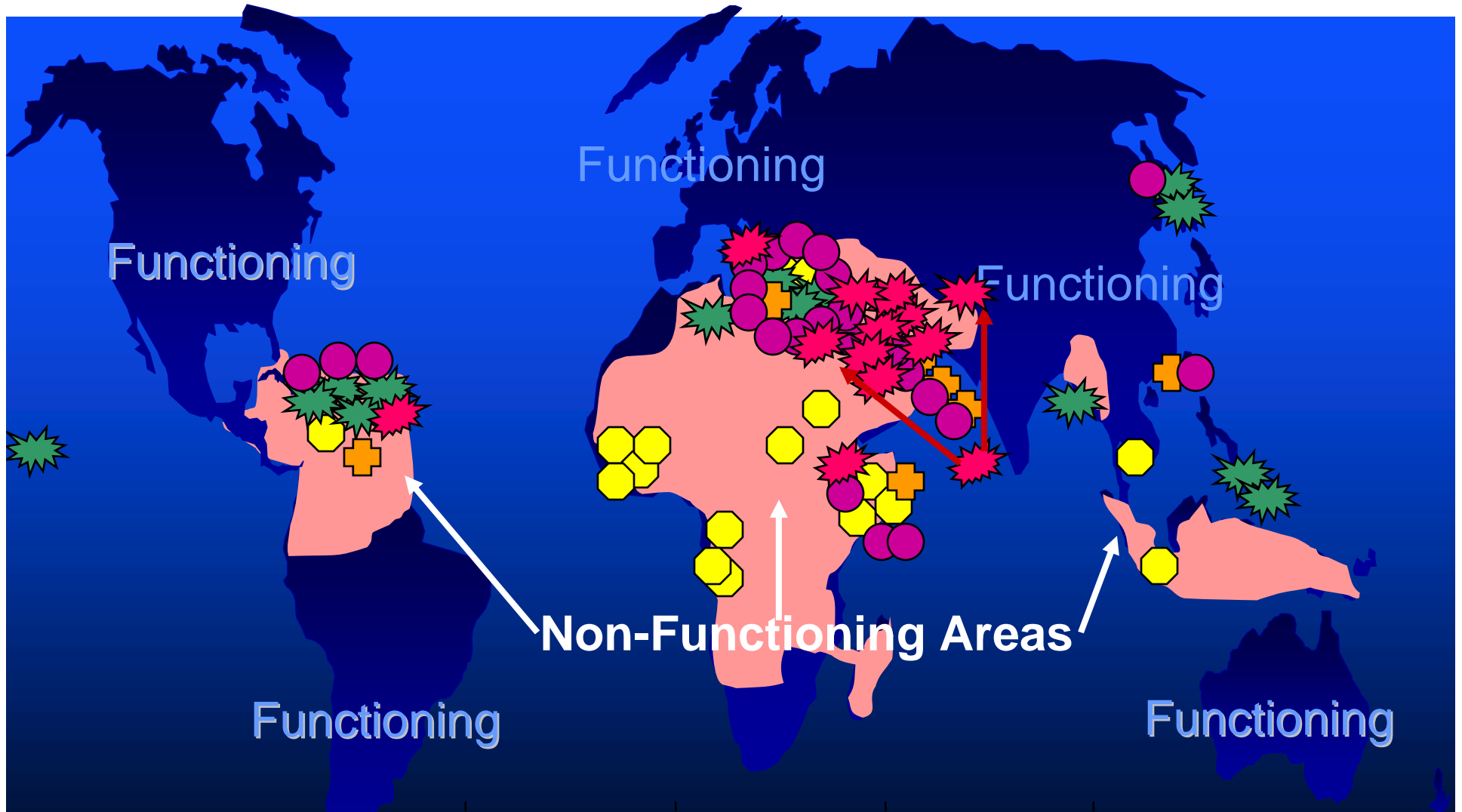


# Gaffney Experience



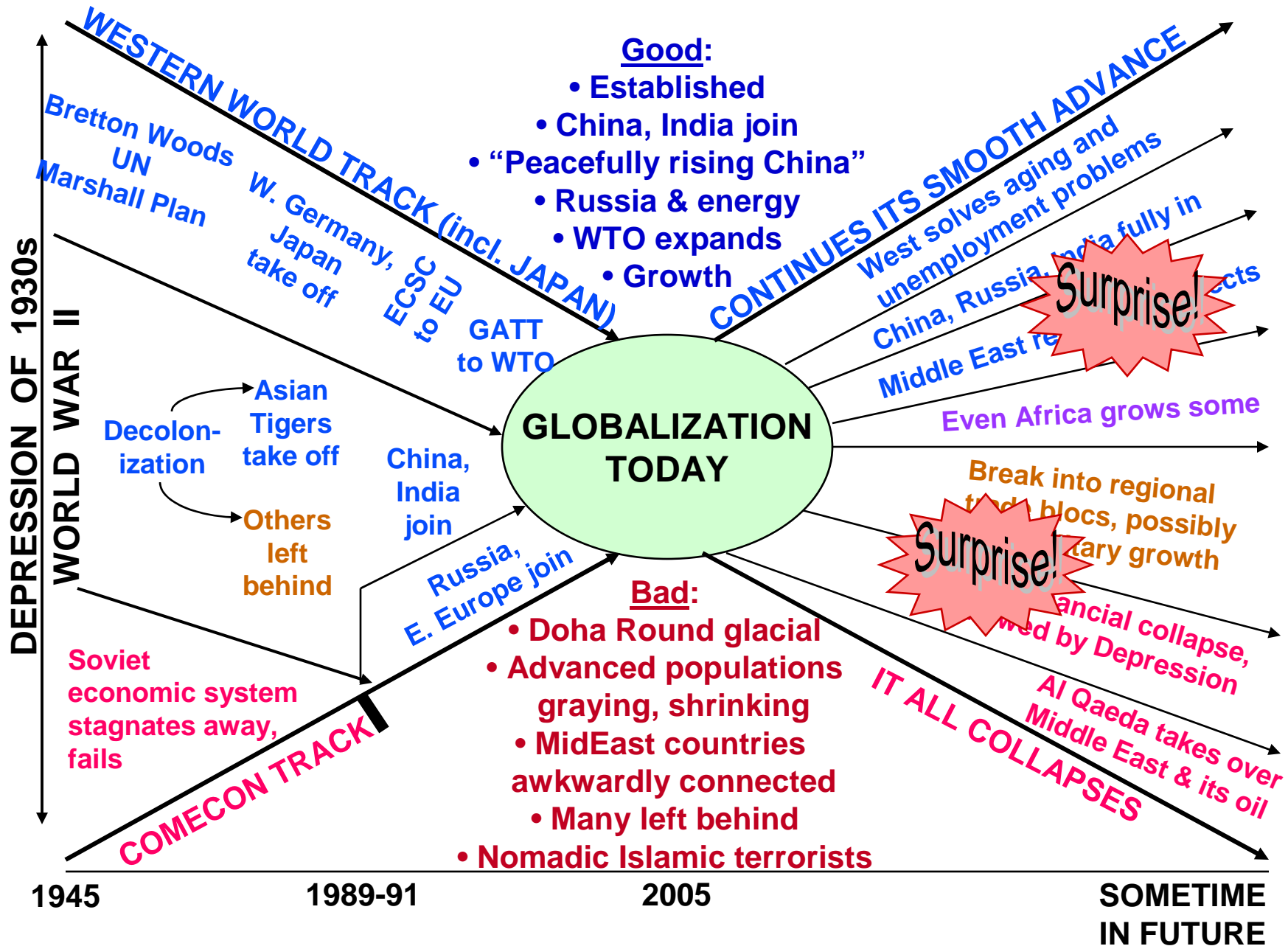
U.S. forces' responses in '90s were at the boundary between the two areas. This is likely to persist in future



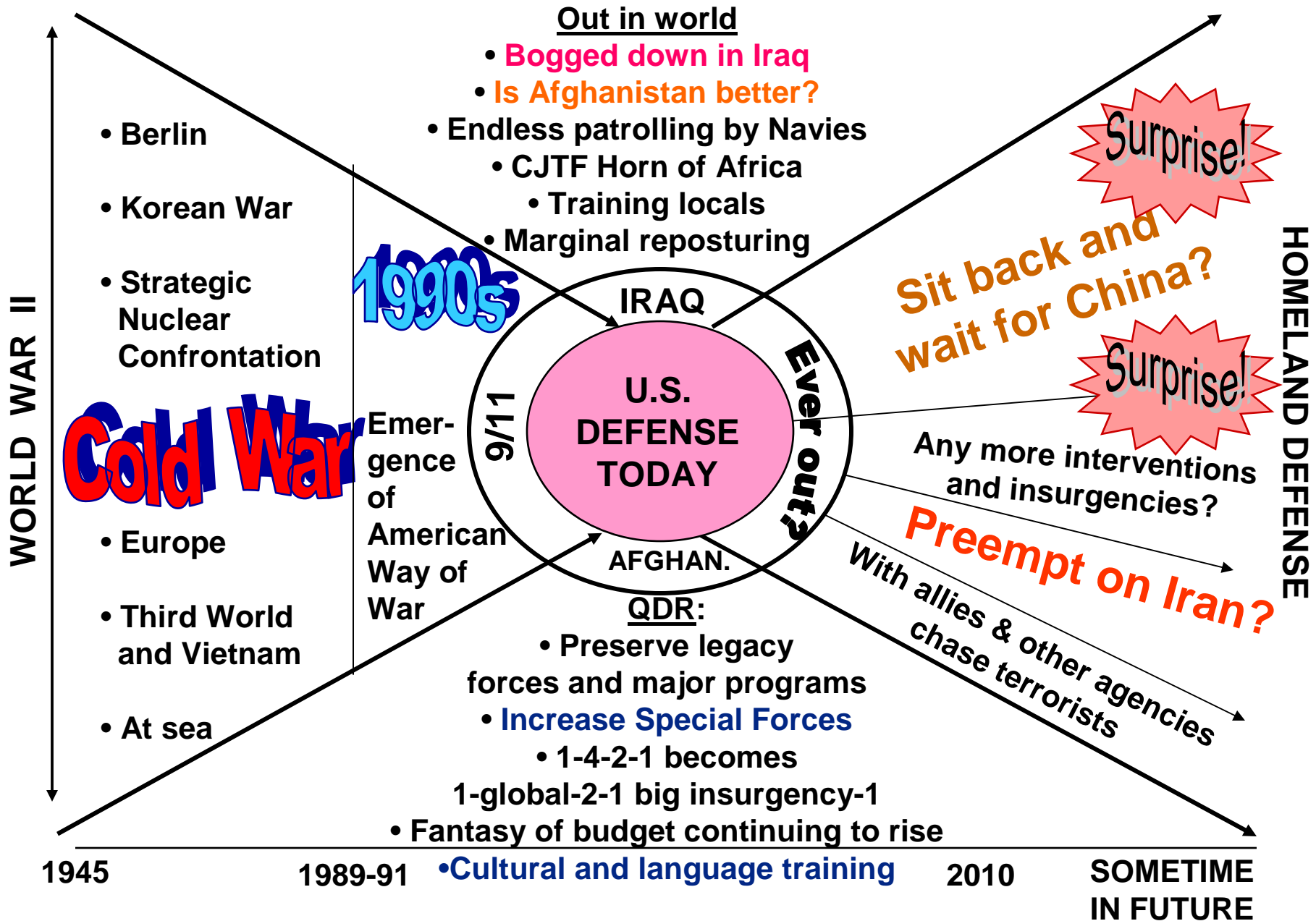
U.S. Naval Forces' Responses to Situations, 1990-1999

- Yellow hexagon: NEOs
- Green starburst: Humanitarian
- Orange cross: Contingent Positioning
- Pink circle: Show of Force
- Red starburst: Combat

# THE EVOLUTION OF GLOBALIZATION

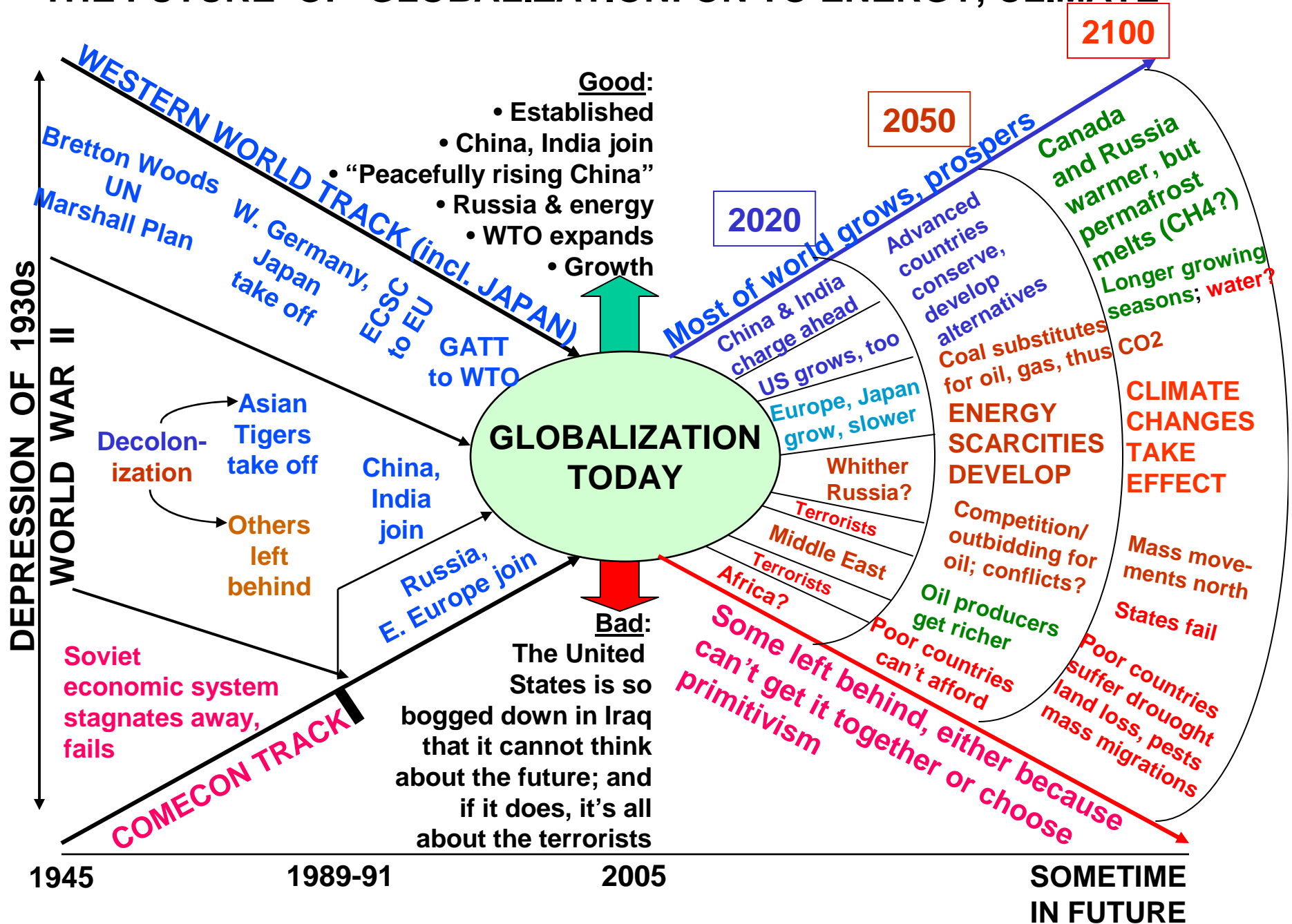


# THE EVOLUTION OF U.S. FORCES' OPERATIONS



But in the meantime  
we don't know when  
the war in Iraq  
will be over, or  
what "over" will look like

# THE FUTURE OF GLOBALIZATION: ON TO ENERGY, CLIMATE



# Economics Folks

Monetary policy - interest rates

What they do at home

Fiscal policy deficit; budget

Worry about China

What they do abroad

MDBs/IMF

Government spending—discretionary & mandatory

APEC

NAFTA

G-7(8)

Trade What they see

barriers

Debt

GATT

Famine

Investment needs & oppors.

**A GREAT GAP BETWEEN THEIR PERSPECTIVES**

Argue for budgets; invoke threats

Deploy

Terrorism

Nuclear proliferation; loose nukes

What they see

China Tech.

Do R&D and other future thinking

Exercise with other countries

Troublemakers

Two-sided confrontations

Fight, sometimes

Resurgent Russia

confrontations

Recruit, train, and promote people

Talk to other countries

What they do abroad

Go on humanitarian operations

Write strategies

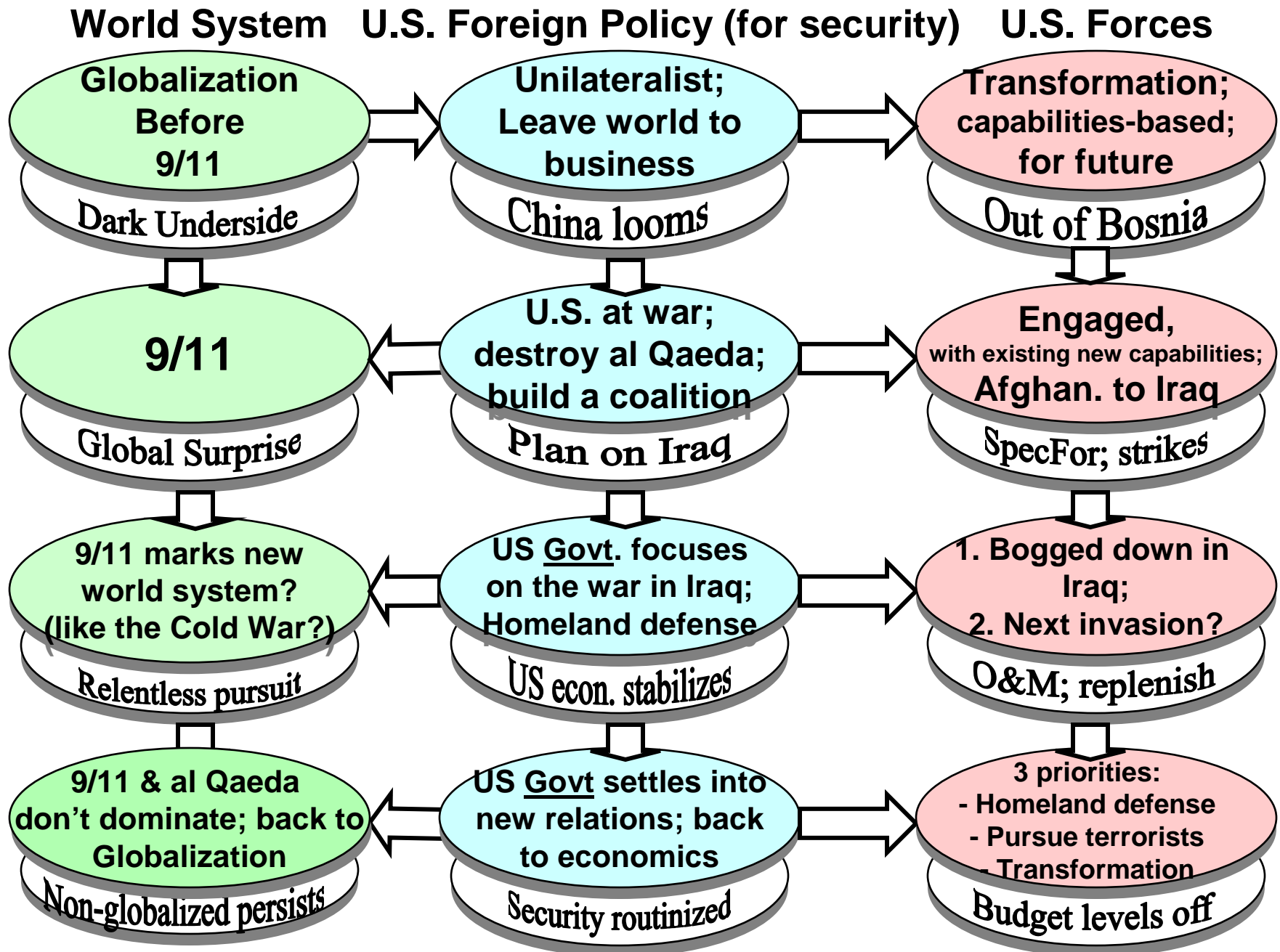
Buy weapons and other equipment

What they do at home

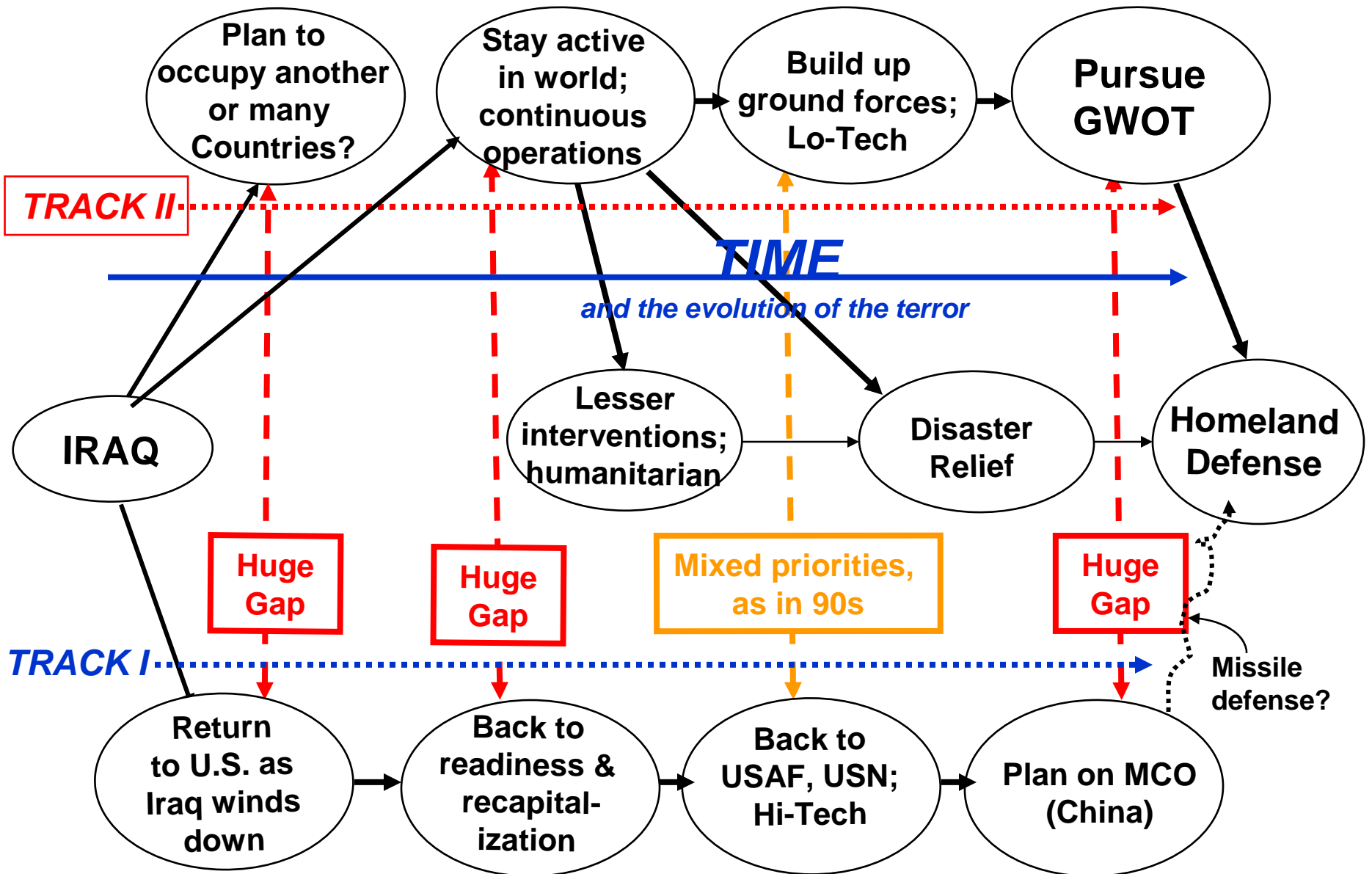
# Security Folks

But in the meantime  
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# FROM GLOBALIZATION TO U.S. FORCES



# DILEMMAS OF DEFENSE, QDR-05 TO QDR-09: FROM IRAQ TO HOMELAND DEFENSE\*



\* Upon the next horrific terror attack in the United States

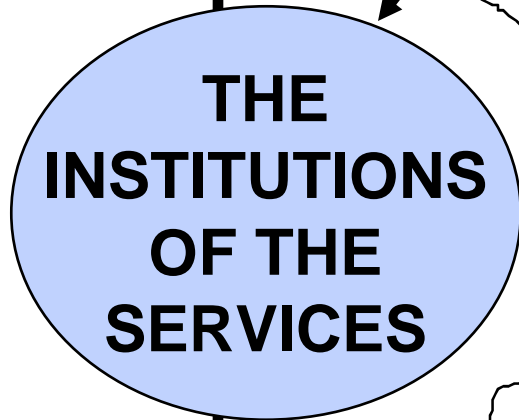
But in the meantime  
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# Real vs. Abstract in Defense Planning for QDR

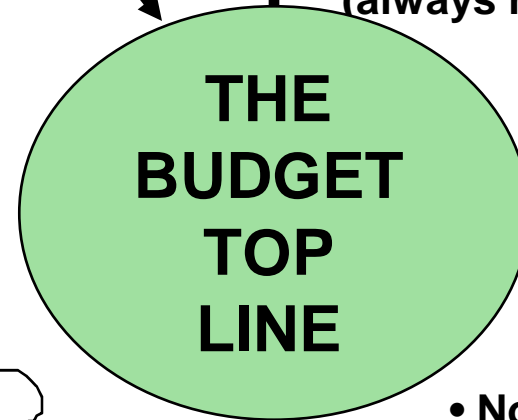
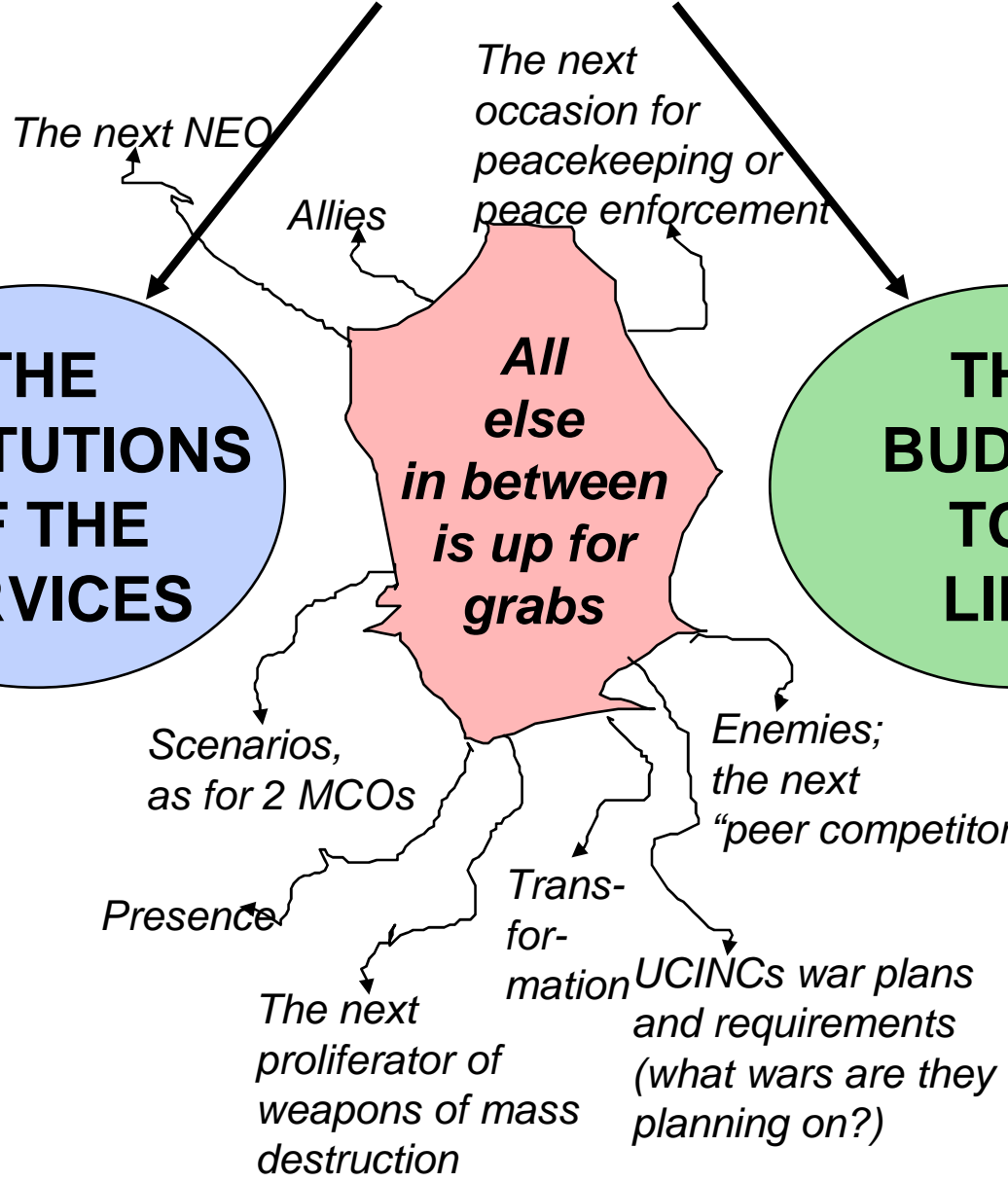
	Force-Building	Operations in The Gap	Operations in The Core
Traditional	<p>Keep ahead of China in tech.</p> <p><i>Real</i> 10/30/30; 4-2-1; imagine a superpower</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Deter Iran attacks in Gulf. Plan invasion of Iran?</p> <p><i>Real</i> Invade a state newly harboring terrorists</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Big battle in Taiwan Strait; big war with NK; invade China?</p> <p><i>Real</i> Continue training in desert (NTC; 29 Palms)</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>
Irregular	<p>Track terrorists &amp; their "technology"</p> <p><i>Real</i> Revisit guerrilla war; nation-bldg.</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Continue in Iraq, Afghan. Raids on terrorists; piracy</p> <p><i>Real</i> Reset ground forces; intervene in Colombia?</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Stop terror bombs in advanced world</p> <p><i>Real</i> Plan on non-state actors using unconventional warfare</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>
Disruptive	<p>Guard against terror hackers, attacks on utilities</p> <p><i>Real</i> Anticipate Chinese space warfare</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Terrorist, Iranian atks on shipping; piracy patrols</p> <p><i>Real</i> Anticipate poor countries with "asymmetric" means</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Terrorists attacking in advanced world</p> <p><i>Real</i> Int'l competitors with breakthru tech caps.</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>
Catastrophic	<p>Control nuke materials; detection</p> <p><i>Real</i> Develop missile defense against all comers</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Keep terrorists broken up; look for rogue transfers</p> <p><i>Real</i> TBMD for deployed forces</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>	<p>Watch for terrorists with lo-tech methods</p> <p><i>Real</i> Watch for Chinese and Russian developments</p> <p><i>Abstract</i></p>

# THE ONLY FIRM BOGIES DEFENSE HAS....

- History
- Continuity
- Careers
- Character



- Operating and maintaining forces owned
- Devising tactics and training to use capabilities
- Figuring out the next system



- Set from outside DOD
- Depends heavily on tolerable deficit (always has)
- Now at mercy of rising deficit and entitlements
- Depends on Administration's priorities for nation and division of Congressional Budget Resolution

But in the meantime  
we don't know when  
the war in Iraq  
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*“It’s a dangerous and uncertain world...”*

-- Any DOD document

*“It was a dark and stormy night”*

**NOT**

-- The motto of the Bull Terrier-London Zeppelin  
for the year 1917 was “It was a dark and stormy night”

*“And it’s a fit night out for neither man nor beast.”*

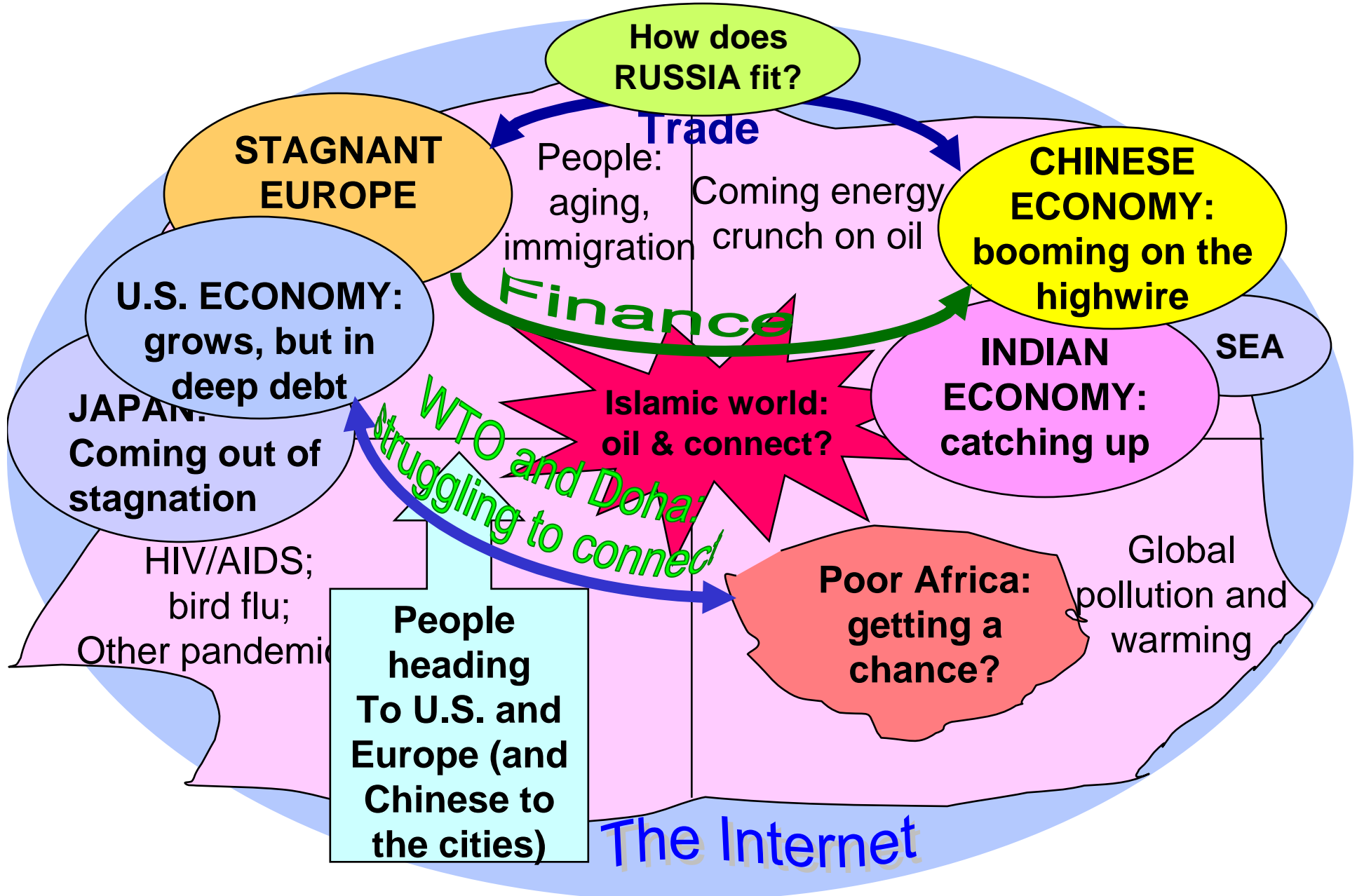
-- W. C. Fields’ frequent line in “The Fatal Glass of Beer”

Backups

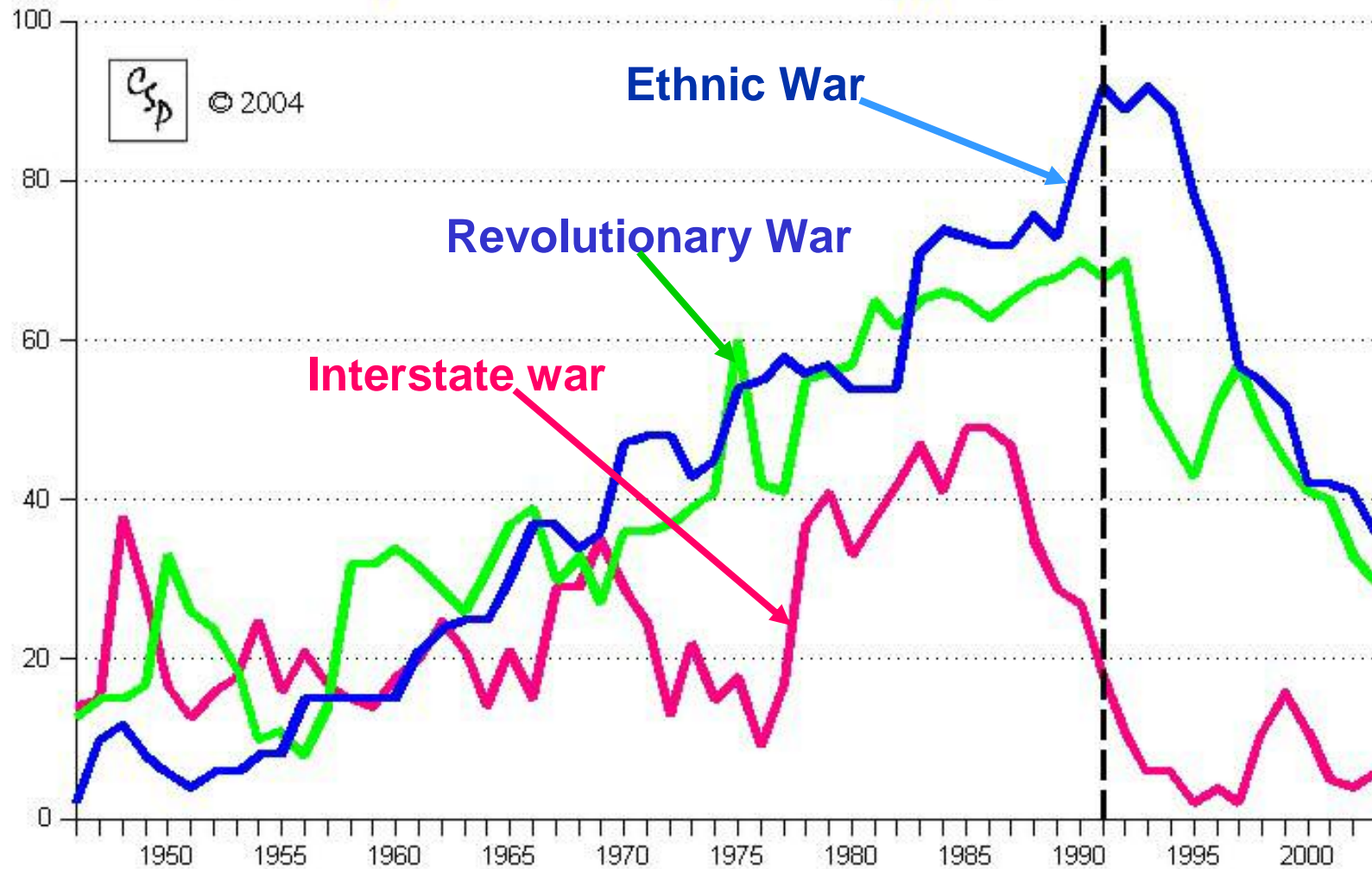
# APPROACH OF THIS PAPER



# EMERGING FROM THE CAVE OF DEFENSE – WHERE DOES GLOBALIZATION REALLY STAND TODAY?



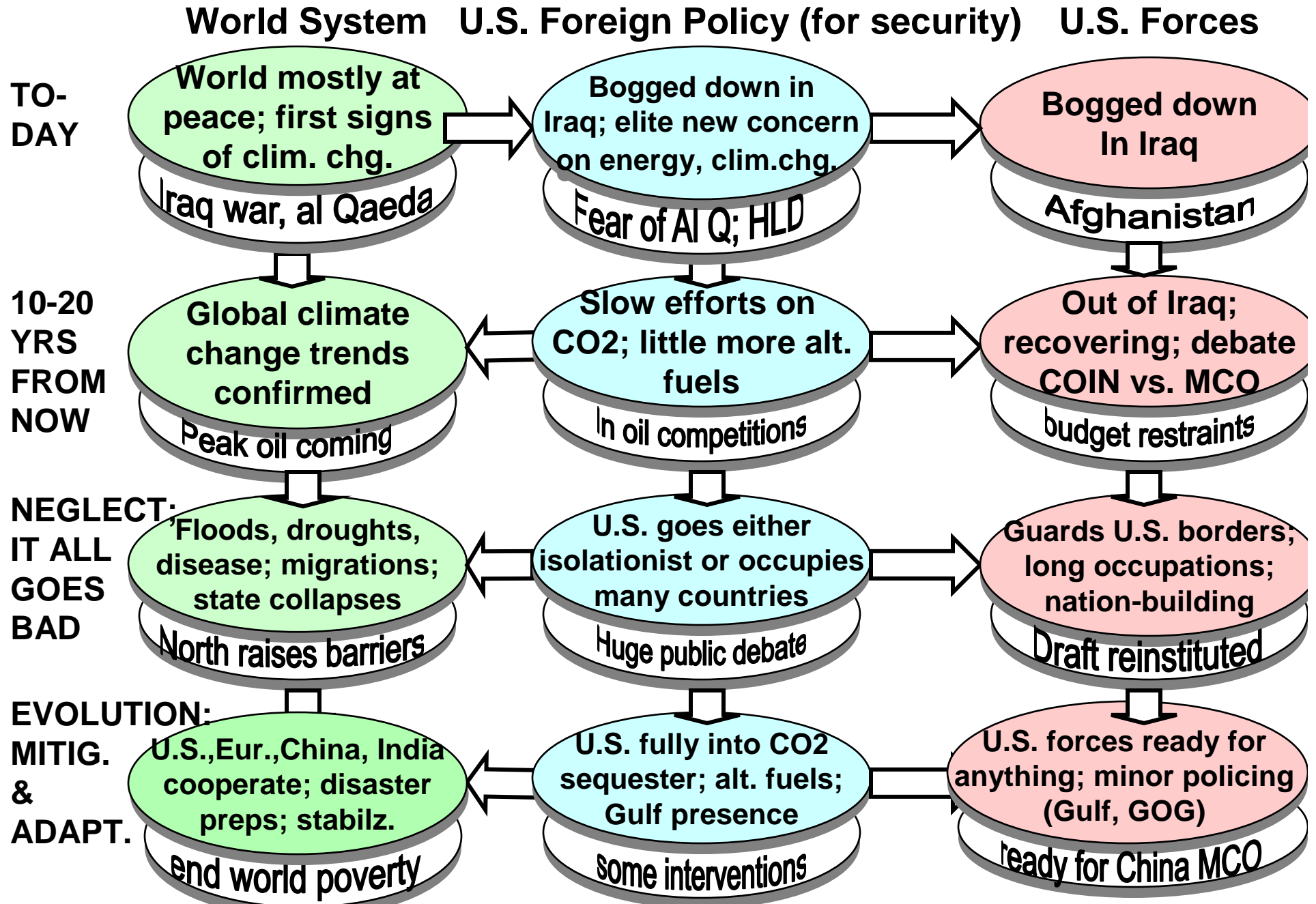
## Trends by Armed Conflict Type, 1946-2003



From *Peace and Conflict 2003*, CICDM, University of Maryland. Curves unchanged in 2005 update.

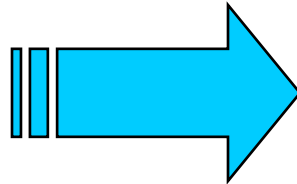


# FROM GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE TO U.S. FORCES



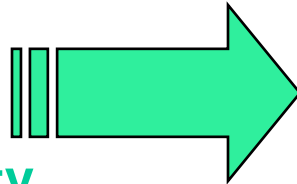
# SOME GLOBALIZATION PATHS AND THEIR SECURITY IMPLICATIONS

Globalization continues smoothly upward (even including Africa as agr. subsidies phased out)



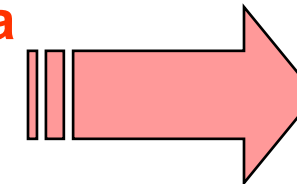
Security needs diminish:  
no state-on-state wars;  
internal conflict down;  
terror dispersed, controlled

Globalization continues, but with glitches (Doha stalled, regional pacts, rising energy & commodity costs, etc.)



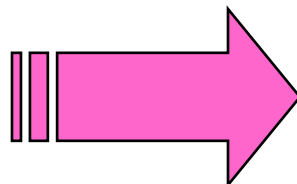
Current world: continued  
ME troubles, frictions  
complicate security coop,  
persistent internal conflicts

Globalization balance shifts to Asia (China, India growth, Europe/Japan stalled, oil suppliers rich)



Frictions over competition for resources, possible arms races, new East Asian security arrangements

Real breakdown of globalization into exclusive trading blocs



New security blocs track with exclusive economic zones

<b>12 "WARS" SHAPING STRATEGY</b>	<b>OLD PARADIGM SHATTERED</b>	<b>SHOCK TO THE SYSTEM</b>	<b>NEW RULE SET THAT EMERGES</b>	<b>WHAT HAPPENS WITH ALLIES</b>	<b>WHAT HAPPENS WITH "THEM"</b>	<b>WHAT FOLLOWS IN DoD</b>
<b>CUBA CRISIS 1962</b>	Brinkmanship Over Berlin	Possibility of Nuclear war	MAD and Triad (which results in nuclear arms race)	U.S. pushes for greater conventional efforts, less reliance on nukes	Push For Strategic Superiority; Lay off Berlin; support 3 <sup>rd</sup> world revolutions	Flexible Response for Europe; Triad, MIRVs
<b>VIETNAM WAR 1961-73</b>	Domino Theory	Fall of Saigon	Vietnam Syndrome; Weinberger/ Powell Doctrine	U.S. returns To Europe	Soviets mount Further Push For Détente	Volunteer force, European Reinforcement; Nixon air doctrine
<b>ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF 1973</b>	Arab militaries incapable	Arab oil embargo	New ways of war; ME peace process; arms sales to Arabs and Iran	U.S. realizes it's alone in MidEast	With Sadat & sales, U.S. splits Arabs, isolates Soviets.	Recognize new weapons & consumption rates
<b>IRANIAN REVOLUTION 1979</b>	Nixon Doctrine of Shah as Defender of Gulf And counter to Arabs	Loss of Shah; Hostages + Desert One	Carter Doctrine: U.S. as guardian of Gulf	U.S. shifts emphasis to Gulf as Soviets stagnate	Soviets get bogged down in Afghanistan	DOD still sees Soviets as growing threat; Swing strategy (Gulf, then Europe)
<b>ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON 1982</b>	U.S. only supplies Israel, not send forces	U.S. casualties while peacekeeping	Goldwater-Nichols, esp. to streamline chain of command	French hit too; others didn't care	Arabs see U.S. bugs out upon casualties	Rise of jointness; UCINC more in charge
<b>TANKER WAR 1987-88</b>	U.S. defends only Saudis	Asymmetrical (feeble, unfair) attacks	U.S. more active role out in Gulf	Recognize U.S. role to protect oil supplies	Iraq thinks U.S. on their side; Iran scared by Vincennes	DOD worries about anti-access and asymmetrical

(continued on next page...)



12 "WARS" SHAPING STRATEGY	OLD PARADIGM SHATTERED	SHOCK TO THE SYSTEM	NEW RULE SET THAT EMERGES	WHAT HAPPENS WITH ALLIES	WHAT HAPPENS WITH "THEM"	WHAT FOLLOWS IN DoD
IRAQI FREEDOM 2003 et seq.	U.S. reactive	U.S. preemptive	Everybody can be preemptive	Alliances disintegrating; U.S. gets only the poor	Go nuclear; go to Iraq to kill Americans	Army saved; do nation- building
<b>The following is still in the shaping process:</b>						
GWOT 2001 – INDEFINITE	Fight states & organized militaries	Ubiquitous, loose enemy; wants WMD	Forget sovereignty; go get 'em	Need intell & financial cooperation	Get looser & more dispersed; Hit Bali, Istanbul, Madrid, etc.	SOF & interagency; less big ops