

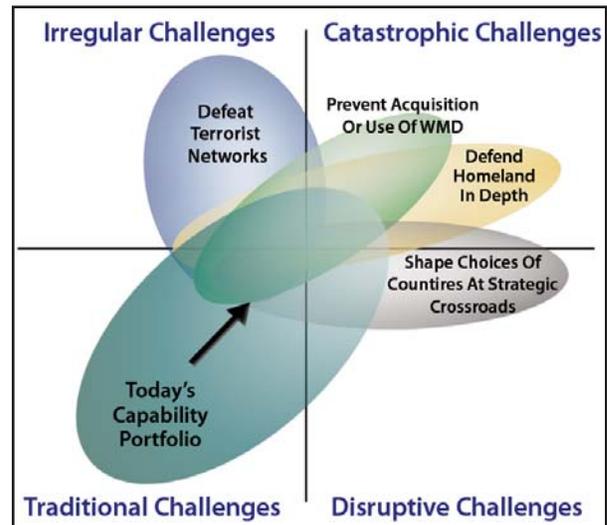
OPERATIONALIZING THE STRATEGY

The *National Defense Strategy*, published in March 2005, provides the strategic foundation of the QDR. The strategy acknowledges that although the U.S. military maintains considerable advantages in traditional forms of warfare, this realm is not the only, or even the most likely, one in which adversaries will challenge the United States during the period immediately ahead. Enemies are more likely to pose asymmetric threats, including irregular, catastrophic and disruptive challenges. Some, such as non-state actors, will choose irregular warfare – including terrorism, insurgency or guerrilla warfare – in an attempt to break our will through protracted conflict. Some states, and some non-state actors, will pursue WMD to intimidate others or murder hundreds of thousands of people. Finally, some states may seek capabilities designed to disrupt or negate traditional U.S. military advantages.

To operationalize the *National Defense Strategy*, the Department's senior civilian and military leaders identified four priority areas for examination during the QDR:

- Defeating terrorist networks.
- Defending the homeland in depth.
- Shaping the choices of countries at strategic crossroads.
- Preventing hostile states and non-state actors from acquiring or using WMD.

These inter-related areas illustrated the types of capabilities and forces needed to address the challenges described in the *National Defense Strategy*. They helped the Department to assess that strategy and review its force planning construct.



As the diagram shows, the Department is shifting its portfolio of capabilities to address irregular, catastrophic and disruptive challenges while sustaining capabilities to address traditional challenges.

Although these focus areas do not encompass the full range of military activities the Department may have to conduct, senior leaders identified them as among the most pressing problems the Department must address. All of them have both near-term and long-term implications. In all four areas, there are immediate measures that can be put in place to reduce near-term risks while other measures are being developed to increase the range of options available in the future. Strengthening capabilities in these areas will also improve the versatility of the force to perform a wider range of military operations than today.

Senior leaders considered the nature of each problem, identified desired objectives in each area



and developed approaches for achieving those objectives. The focus areas helped to identify the capabilities that are needed to continue the reorientation of the joint force over time. These changes will not occur all at once, but will be part of a process of continuous change.

Common to all of the focus areas is the imperative to work with other government agencies, allies and partners and, where appropriate, to help them increase their capacities and capabilities and the ability to work together. In all cases, the four focus areas require the application of multiple elements of national power and close cooperation with international allies and partners. The Department cannot solve these problems alone. The QDR proposes, therefore, that the United States strengthen existing alliances and develop new partnerships to address common threats. Through these partnerships, the Department can assist others in developing the wherewithal to protect their own populations and police their own territories, as well as to project and sustain forces to promote collective security.



Photo by Sergeant Jeremy Clawson, U.S. Army.

An Army reservist with the Herat Provisional Reconstruction Team visits children at a local orphanage. Working on Provincial Reconstruction Teams alongside personnel from the U.S. State Department, NATO and other allies, U.S. forces are bringing a sense of normalcy to remote areas of Afghanistan.

This chapter outlines each of the four focus areas. It then describes the refinement of the Department's force planning construct to better align the shape and size of U.S. forces to address these new challenges and to conduct the full range of military operations.

Defeating Terrorist Networks

The rise of global non-state terrorist networks is one of the defining characteristics of the last decade. The enemies we face are not traditional conventional military forces, but rather distributed multi-national and multi-ethnic networks of terrorists. These networks seek to break the will of nations that have joined the fight alongside the United States by attacking their populations. Terrorist networks use intimidation, propaganda and indiscriminate violence in an attempt to subjugate the Muslim world under a radical theocratic tyranny. These networks also aim to exhaust the will of the United States and its allies and partners, including those in the Muslim world, to oppose them. Terrorist networks seek ever deadlier means, including nuclear and biological weapons, to commit mass murder.

“The jihad movement must adopt its plan on the basis of controlling a piece of land in the heart of the Islamic world on which it could establish and protect the state of Islam and launch its battle to restore the rational caliphate based on the traditions of the prophet.”
- Ayman al-Zawahiri, 2001

For the past several decades, al Qaida and its associated movements have focused their efforts on their “near enemy”: moderate governments



throughout the greater Middle East. In the 1990s, they shifted toward attacking their “far enemy”: the United States and other western powers – in an attempt to change the character of the conflict, galvanize pan-Islamic support, bleed the United States (as the Mujahideen had done to the Soviet Union in Afghanistan during the 1980s), and weaken Western support for Middle Eastern governments. They use terrorist attacks to perturb the international community and trigger actions that could strengthen their position and move them closer toward their objectives.

Such terrorist networks oppose globalization and the expansion of freedom it brings. Paradoxically, they use the very instruments of globalization – the unfettered flow of information and ideas, goods and services, capital, people and technology – as their preferred means of attack. They target symbols of modernity like skyscrapers with civilian jetliners used as missiles. They exploit the Internet as a cyber-sanctuary, which enables the transfer of funds and the cross-training of geographically isolated cells. They use cell phones and text messaging to order attacks and detonate car bombs. They send pre-recorded video messages to sympathetic media outlets to distribute their propaganda “free of charge” and to spread their ideology of hate. They encourage terrorist “startup franchises” around the world that conduct attacks in copy-cat fashion. They depend on 24/7 news cycles for the publicity they seek to attract new recruits. They plan to attack targets from safe-houses half a world away. They seek weapons of mass destruction from transnational proliferation networks.

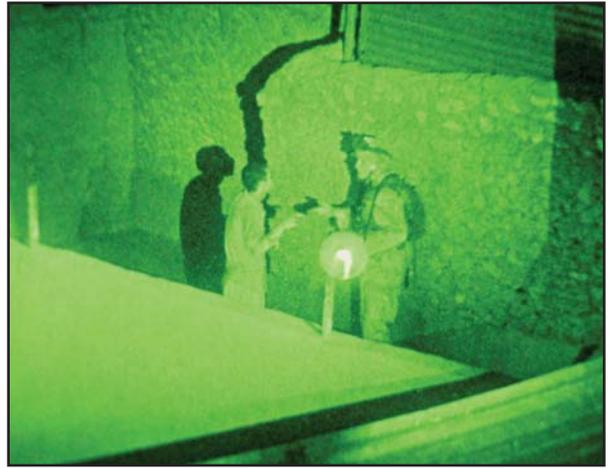


Photo by Staff Sergeant Kevin Wastler, U.S. Army.

A U.S. soldier questions an Iraqi man on a rooftop during a nighttime raid at the location of a known terrorist in Mosul, Iraq. Apprehending terrorists is vital for security and stability in Iraq.

Currently, Iraq and Afghanistan are crucial battlegrounds in this war, but the struggle extends far beyond their borders and may well be fought in dozens of other countries simultaneously and for many years to come. Al Qaida and its associated movements operate in more than 80 countries. They have conducted attacks around the world – in New York, Washington, D.C., Jakarta, Bali, Istanbul, Madrid, London, Islamabad, New Delhi, Moscow, Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam, Casablanca, Tunis, Riyadh, Sharm el-Sheikh, and Amman – killing ordinary people of all faiths and ethnicities alike. They exploit poorly governed areas of the world, taking sanctuary where states lack the capacity or the will to police themselves. State sponsors such as Iran and Syria provide yet another form of safe haven. Increasingly, in many states in the developing world, terrorist networks pose a greater threat than external threats.

Victory will come when the enemy’s extremist ideologies are discredited in the eyes of their host populations and tacit supporters, becoming unfashionable, and following other discredited



creeds, such as Communism and Nazism, into oblivion. This requires the creation of a global environment inhospitable to terrorism. It requires legitimate governments with the capacity to police themselves and to deny terrorists the sanctuary and the resources they need to survive. It also will require support for the establishment of effective representative civil societies around the world, since the appeal of freedom is the best long-term counter to the ideology of the extremists. The ultimate aim is that terrorist networks will no longer have the ability or support to strike globally and catastrophically, and their ability to strike regionally will be outweighed by the capacity and resolve of local governments to defeat them.

Just as these enemies cannot defeat the United States militarily, they cannot be defeated solely through military force. The United States, its allies and partners, will not win this long war in a great battle of annihilation. Victory can only be achieved through the patient accumulation of quiet successes and the orchestration of all elements of national and international power. U.S. military forces are contributing and will continue to contribute to wider government and international efforts to defend the homeland, attack and disrupt terrorist networks, and counter ideological support for terrorism over time. But broad cooperation, across the entire U.S. Government, society, and with NATO, other allies, and partners is essential.

This war is both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas—a fight against terrorist networks and against their murderous ideology. The Department

of Defense fully supports efforts to counter the ideology of terrorism, although most of the U.S. Government's capabilities for this activity reside in other U.S. Government agencies and in the private sector. It is important, however, that the Department continues to improve its ability to understand and engage with key audiences. The Department will work closely with interagency partners to integrate strategic communication into U.S. national security policy planning and operations. The battle of ideas ultimately will be won by enabling moderate Muslim leadership to prevail in their struggle against the violent extremists.

The United States, its allies and partners must maintain the offensive by relentlessly finding, attacking and disrupting terrorist networks worldwide. They must increase global pressure on terrorist networks by denying them sanctuary in both the physical and information domains. They will continue to survey, infiltrate and attack the enemy's global networks and to perturb those networks. Such efforts will yield actionable intelligence that can be operationally exploited with follow-on actions combining military and non-military measures directed against the visible parts of the enemy's network as a means to reach what is hidden. There is, however, no "one size fits all" approach, no "silver bullet." To achieve global effects across countries, regions and groups, the United States must localize and defeat terrorist extremist cells with approaches that are tailored to local conditions and differentiated worldwide. Doing so will help to disaggregate the global network and sever transnational links.



Photo by Technical Sergeant David D. Underwood, Jr., U.S. Air Force.



A Senegalese squad practices maneuvers during small unit training exercises which are part of the Trans - Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI), the U.S. Government's long-term interagency plan to combat terrorism in northern Africa.

Long-duration, complex operations involving the U.S. military, other government agencies and international partners will be waged simultaneously in multiple countries around the world, relying on a combination of direct (visible) and indirect (clandestine) approaches. Above all, they will require persistent surveillance and vastly better intelligence to locate enemy capabilities and personnel. They will also require global mobility, rapid strike, sustained unconventional warfare, foreign internal defense, counterterrorism, and counterinsurgency capabilities. Maintaining a long-term, low-visibility presence in many areas of the world where U.S. forces do not traditionally operate will be required. Building and leveraging partner capacity will also be an absolutely essential part of this approach, and the employment of surrogates will be a necessary method for achieving many goals. Working indirectly with and through others, and thereby denying popular support to the enemy, will help to transform the character of the conflict. In many cases, U.S. partners will have greater local knowledge and legitimacy with their own people

and can thereby more effectively fight terrorist networks. Setting security conditions for the expansion of civil society and the rule of law is a related element of this approach.

"In the absence of...popular support, the mujahed movement would be crushed in the shadows..."
— Ayman al-Zawahiri, July 2005

Consistent with this approach, defeating terrorist networks highlights the need for the following types of capabilities:

- Human intelligence to discern the intentions of the enemy.
- Persistent surveillance to find and precisely target enemy capabilities in denied areas.
- Capabilities to locate, tag and track terrorists in all domains, including cyberspace.
- Special operations forces to conduct direct action, foreign internal defense, counterterrorist operations and unconventional warfare.
- Multipurpose forces to train, equip, and advise indigenous forces; deploy and engage with partner nations; conduct irregular warfare; and support security, stability, transition, and reconstruction operations.
- Capabilities and organizations to help fuse intelligence and operations to speed action based on time-sensitive intelligence.
- Language and cultural awareness to facilitate the expansion of partner capacity.
- Non-lethal capabilities.



- Urban warfare capabilities.
- Prompt global strike to attack fleeting enemy targets rapidly.
- Riverine warfare capabilities to improve the ability of U.S. forces to work with the security forces of partner countries to deny terrorist groups the use of waterways.
- The ability to communicate U.S. actions effectively to multiple audiences, while rapidly countering enemy agitation and propaganda.
- Joint coordination, procedures, systems and, when necessary, command and control to plan and conduct complex interagency operations.
- Broad, flexible authorities to enable the United States to rapidly develop the capacity of nations to participate effectively in disrupting and defeating terrorist networks.

Defending the Homeland in Depth

Throughout much of its history, the United States enjoyed a geographic position of strategic insularity. The oceans and uncontested borders permitted rapid economic growth and allowed the United States to spend little at home to defend against foreign threats. The advent of long-range bombers and missiles, nuclear weapons, and more recently of terrorist groups with global reach, fundamentally changed the relationship between U.S. geography and security. Geographic insularity no longer confers security for the country.

Globalization enables many positive developments such as the free movement of capital, goods and services, information, people and technology, but it is also accelerating the transmission of disease, the transfer of advanced weapons, the spread of extremist ideologies, the movement of terrorists and the vulnerability of major economic segments. The U.S. populace, territory and infrastructure, as well as its assets in space, may be increasingly vulnerable to these and a variety of other threats, including weapons of mass destruction, missile and other air threats, and electronic or cyber-attacks.

Globalization also empowers small groups and individuals. Nation-states no longer have a monopoly over the catastrophic use of violence. Today, small teams or even single individuals can weaponize chemical, biological and even crude radiological or nuclear devices and use them to murder hundreds of thousands of people. Loosely organized and with few assets of their own to protect, non-state enemies are considerably more difficult than nation-states to deter through traditional military means. Non-state enemies could attempt to attack a wide range of targets including government facilities; commercial and financial systems; cultural and historical landmarks; food, water, and power supplies; and information, transport, and energy networks. They will employ unconventional means to penetrate homeland defenses and exploit the very nature of western societies – their openness – to attack their citizens, economic institutions, physical infrastructure and social fabric.



“The need [is] to inflict the maximum casualties against the opponent, for this is the language understood by the west, no matter how much time and effort such operations take.”
 – Ayman al-Zawahiri, 2001.

The threat to the U.S. homeland, however, is broader than that posed by terrorists. Hostile states could also attack the United States using WMD delivered by missiles or by less familiar means such as commercial shipping or general aviation. They could attack surreptitiously through surrogates. Some hostile states are pursuing advanced weapons of mass destruction, including genetically engineered biological warfare agents that can overcome today’s defenses. There is also a danger that the WMD capabilities of some states could fall into the hands of, or be given to, terrorists who could use them to attack the United States.

As set forth in the Defense Department’s *National Maritime Security Policy* and in the *Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support*, the Department’s strategic goal for homeland defense is to secure the United States from direct attack. To achieve this goal, the Department will work as part of an interagency effort, with the Department of Homeland Security and other Federal, state and local agencies, to address threats to the U.S. homeland. The Department will maintain a deterrent posture to persuade potential aggressors that their objectives in attacking would be denied and that any attack on U.S. territory, people, critical infrastructure (including through cyberspace) or forces could result in an overwhelming response. U.S. forces

must be capable of defeating threats at a distance and of swiftly mitigating the consequences of an attack. Capabilities to mitigate attacks on the U.S. homeland may also play a role in responding to natural disasters, as the response to Hurricane Katrina demonstrated. Over time, the goal is that the capacity of other agencies and state and local governments to respond to domestic incidents will be sufficient to perform their assigned responsibilities with minimal reliance on U.S. military support. To that end, the Department will develop concepts of operations to leverage its strengths in areas such as planning, training and command and control, in support of its interagency homeland security partners.



Photo by Airman Jeremy L. Grisham, U.S. Air Force.

A National Guard multi-purpose utility truck fords Hurricane Katrina floodwaters to bring supplies to victims in downtown New Orleans, Louisiana.

Protecting the U.S. homeland requires an active and layered defense strategy. The strategy emphasizes partnerships with neighboring states and allies, as well as with other Federal, state and local agencies. The Department’s *Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support* identifies three different roles it plays: leading Department-specific assigned missions; supporting other agencies; and helping to enable partners.



Lead. At the direction of the President or the Secretary of Defense, the Department of Defense executes military missions that dissuade, deter or defeat external attacks upon the United States, its population, and its defense critical infrastructure.

The Department plays an important role in identifying and characterizing threats at the earliest possible time so that, where possible, they can be prevented, disrupted, interdicted, or otherwise defeated. In the air domain, the Department has primary responsibility for defending U.S. airspace and protecting the nation's air approaches. In the maritime approaches, the Department works alongside the Department of Homeland Security to integrate U.S. maritime defense – optimizing the mutually supporting capabilities of the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Coast Guard. Forward deployed naval assets work with other agencies to identify, track, and intercept threats before they threaten the United States. The Department remains prepared to reinforce the defense of the land approaches to the United States if directed by the President.

Through its deterrent force posture and capabilities, the Department seeks to convince adversaries that they cannot achieve their objectives through attacks on the U.S. homeland, and that any attack will prompt a swift response. U.S. forces are prepared to: intercept and defeat threats against U.S. territory, within U.S. territorial waters and airspace, and at a distance from the homeland; protect against and mitigate the consequences of any attack; and / or conduct military operations in response to any attack. The

Department has begun deploying interceptors to protect the U.S. homeland from ballistic missile attack. It is taking steps to ensure it can continue to perform its assigned duties during or after an attack. It ensures the nation's ability to respond to an attack by protecting its forces and the defense-critical infrastructure necessary to project power and sustain operations.

Support. At the direction of the President or Secretary of Defense, the Department supports civil authorities for designated law enforcement and / or other activities and as part of a comprehensive national response to prevent and protect against terrorist incidents or to recover from an attack or a disaster. As discussed, the Department's substantial humanitarian contributions to relief efforts in the aftermaths of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita fall into this category. In the future, should other catastrophes overwhelm civilian capacity, the Department may be called upon to respond rapidly with additional resources as part of an overall U.S. Government effort. In order to respond effectively to future catastrophic events, the Department will provide U.S. NORTHCOM with authority to stage forces and equipment domestically prior to potential incidents when possible. The Department will also seek to eliminate current legislative ceilings on pre-event spending.

Enable. The Department seeks to improve the homeland defense and consequence management capabilities of its national and international partners and to improve the Department's capabilities by sharing information, expertise and technology as appropriate across military



and civilian boundaries. The Department does this by leveraging its comparative advantages in planning, training, command and control and exercising and by developing trust and confidence through shared training and exercises. Successful homeland defense requires standardizing operational concepts, developing compatible technology solutions and coordinating planning. Toward that end, the Department will work with the Department of Homeland Security and with state and local governments to improve homeland security capabilities and cooperation. Working together will improve interagency planning and scenario development and enhance interoperability through experimentation, testing and training exercises.

Overall, consistent with the *National Maritime Security Policy* and the *Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support*, defending the homeland in depth and mitigating the consequences of attacks highlight the need for the following types of capabilities:

- Joint command and control for homeland defense and civil support missions, including communications and command and control systems that are interoperable with other agencies and state and local governments.
- Air and maritime domain awareness capabilities to provide increased situational awareness and shared information on potential threats through rapid collection, fusion and analysis.
- Capabilities to manage the consequences of major catastrophic events.



Photo by Photographer's Mate 3rd Class Jay C. Pugh, U.S. Navy.

U.S. Navy Search and Rescue personnel retrieve an evacuee victim of Hurricane Katrina from a rooftop in New Orleans, Louisiana. The Navy's involvement in the humanitarian assistance operations is led by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), in conjunction with the Department of Defense.

- Broad spectrum medical countermeasures to defend against genetically engineered or naturally mutating pathogens for which there are no current defenses.
- Tailored deterrence, including prompt global strike capabilities to defend and respond in an overwhelming manner against WMD attacks, and air and missile defenses, as well as other defensive measures, to deter attacks by demonstrating the ability to deny an adversary's objectives.
- New or expanded authorities to improve access to Guard and reserve forces for use in the event of a man-made or natural disaster.

Shaping the Choices of Countries at Strategic Crossroads

The choices that major and emerging powers make will affect the future strategic position and freedom of action of the United States, its allies and partners. The United States will attempt to



shape these choices in ways that foster cooperation and mutual security interests. At the same time, the United States, its allies and partners must also hedge against the possibility that a major or emerging power could choose a hostile path in the future. The pursuit of exclusionary or coercive policies and the development of high-end military capabilities that target U.S. or coalition forces are of particular concern.

Beyond Europe and the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East, Central Asia and Latin America are in flux and represent new geo-strategic crossroads. The United States will seek to shape not only the choices of countries in those regions, but choices of countries outside them that have interests or ambitions within them.

Many countries in the Middle East find themselves at strategic crossroads. Democracy is emerging in Iraq, giving political voice to people who suffered for decades under a ruthless tyranny. Freedom is also taking root in Lebanon. Libya has decided to give up its nuclear program. Many countries in the region are acting in partnership with the United States to combat terrorist networks. Although positive developments have been made, the region remains volatile. Many states continue to face internal security threats. The pursuit of weapons of mass destruction by Iran is a destabilizing factor in the region. Terrorist networks remain active in many states and could threaten regional energy supplies in an attempt to cripple the global economy.

The countries of Central Asia have emerged from decades of Communist rule, but some countries

still have a long way to go toward adopting basic political liberties and free markets. States in the region face the threat of Islamist terrorist extremism. The energy resources of the region offer both an opportunity for economic development, as well as a danger that outside powers may seek to gain influence over those resources.

In Latin America, there has been steady progress toward political and economic development over the past several decades. Still, slow economic growth, weak democratic institutions and continuing stark economic inequality have led to a resurgence of populist authoritarian political movements in some countries, such as Venezuela. These movements threaten the gains achieved and are a source of political and economic instability.

Beyond these regions, the choices of major and emerging powers, including India, Russia and China, will be key factors in determining the international security environment of the 21st century.

India is emerging as a great power and a key strategic partner. On July 18, 2005 the President and Indian Prime Minister declared their resolve to transform the U.S.-India relationship into a global partnership that will provide leadership in areas of mutual concern and interest. Shared values as long-standing, multi-ethnic democracies provide the foundation for continued and increased strategic cooperation and represent an important opportunity for our two countries.

Russia remains a country in transition. It is



unlikely to pose a military threat to the United States or its allies on the same scale or intensity as the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Where possible, the United States will cooperate with Russia on shared interests such as countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, and countering the trafficking of narcotics. The United States remains concerned about the erosion of democracy in Russia, the curtailment of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and freedom of the press, the centralization of political power and limits on economic freedom. Internationally, the United States welcomes Russia as a constructive partner but views with increasing concern its sales of disruptive weapons technologies abroad and actions that compromise the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of other states.

Of the major and emerging powers, China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could over time offset traditional U.S. military advantages absent U.S. counter strategies. U.S. policy remains focused on encouraging China to play a constructive, peaceful role in the Asia-Pacific region and to serve as a partner in addressing common security challenges, including terrorism, proliferation, narcotics and piracy. U.S. policy seeks to encourage China to choose a path of peaceful economic growth and political liberalization, rather than military threat and intimidation. The United States' goal is for China to continue as an economic partner and emerge as a responsible stakeholder and force for good in the world.



DoD Photo.

A Tomahawk Land Attack Missile is launched from the USS Florida during Giant Shadow, a U.S. Navy experimental exercise. The USS Florida is one of four nuclear ballistic missile submarines being converted to conventional-warhead guided missile submarines. After conversion, the submarines will be able to launch Tomahawk Missiles, Unmanned Underwater and Aerial Vehicles and Special Forces personnel and equipment.

China continues to invest heavily in its military, particularly in its strategic arsenal and capabilities designed to improve its ability to project power beyond its borders. Since 1996, China has increased its defense spending by more than 10% in real terms in every year except 2003. Secrecy, moreover, envelops most aspects of Chinese security affairs. The outside world has little knowledge of Chinese motivations and decision-making or of key capabilities supporting its military modernization. The United States encourages China to take actions to make its intentions clear and clarify its military plans.

Chinese military modernization has accelerated since the mid-to-late 1990s in response to central leadership demands to develop military options against Taiwan scenarios. The pace and scope of China's military build-up already puts regional military balances at risk. China is likely to continue making large investments in high-end, asymmetric military capabilities, emphasizing electronic and cyber-warfare; counter-space



operations; ballistic and cruise missiles; advanced integrated air defense systems; next generation torpedoes; advanced submarines; strategic nuclear strike from modern, sophisticated land- and sea-based systems; and theater unmanned aerial vehicles for employment by the Chinese military and for global export. These capabilities, the vast distances of the Asian theater, China's continental depth, and the challenge of en route and in-theater U.S. basing place a premium on forces capable of sustained operations at great distances into denied areas.

The United States will work to ensure that all major and emerging powers are integrated as constructive actors and stakeholders into the international system. It will also seek to ensure that no foreign power can dictate the terms of regional or global security. It will attempt to dissuade any military competitor from developing disruptive or other capabilities that could enable regional hegemony or hostile action against the United States or other friendly countries, and it will seek to deter aggression or coercion. Should deterrence fail, the United States would deny a hostile power its strategic and operational objectives.

Shaping the choices of major and emerging powers requires a balanced approach, one that seeks cooperation but also creates prudent hedges against the possibility that cooperative approaches by themselves may fail to preclude future conflict. A successful hedging strategy requires improving the capacity of partner states and reducing their vulnerabilities. In this regard, the United States will work to achieve greater integration

of defensive systems among its international partners in ways that would complicate any adversary's efforts to decouple them. The United States will work with allies and partners to integrate intelligence sensors, communication networks, information systems, missile defenses, undersea warfare and counter-mine warfare capabilities. It will seek to strengthen partner nations' capabilities to defend themselves and withstand attack, including against ambiguous coercive threats.



Photo by Master Sergeant Val Genipis, U.S. Air Force.

An F-15 Eagle pilot assigned as an exchange officer to Nyutabaru Air Base, Japan (right) discusses tactics with a Japan Air Self Defense Force F-15 pilot (left) before a mission. The U.S. alliance with Japan is important to the stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

To dissuade major and emerging powers from developing capabilities that could threaten regional stability, to deter conflict, and to defeat aggression should deterrence fail, the United States is further diversifying its basing posture. Based on the Department's Global Defense Posture Review, the United States will continue to adapt its global posture to promote constructive bilateral relations, mitigate anti-access threats and offset potential political coercion designed to limit U.S. access to any region. The United States will develop capabilities that would present any adversary with complex and multidimensional challenges and complicate its offensive planning



efforts. These include the pursuit of investments that capitalize on enduring U.S. advantages in key strategic and operational areas, such as persistent surveillance and long-range strike, stealth, operational maneuver and sustainment of air, sea and ground forces at strategic distances, air dominance and undersea warfare. These capabilities should preserve U.S. freedom of action and provide future Presidents with an expanded set of options to address all of the QDR focus areas and a wide range of potential future contingencies. The aim is to possess sufficient capability to convince any potential adversary that it cannot prevail in a conflict and that engaging in conflict entails substantial strategic risks beyond military defeat.

Consistent with this approach, shaping the choices of countries at strategic crossroads highlights the need for the following types of capabilities:

- Security cooperation and engagement activities including joint training exercises, senior staff talks, and officer and foreign internal



Photo by Master Sergeant John E. Kennedy, U.S. Air Force.

U.S. Air National Guard personnel familiarize their Polish counterparts with aspects of the F-16 Fighting Falcon during the U.S. European Command exercise Sentry White Falcon 2005. In 2006, the Polish Air Force will begin receiving delivery of 48 F-16 Fighting Falcons they purchased to begin replacing their Soviet-made MiG fighters as the country modernizes its military to NATO standards.

defense training to increase understanding, strengthen allies and partners, and accurately communicate U.S. objectives and intent. This will require both new authorities and 21st century mechanisms for the interagency process.

- Considerably improved language and cultural awareness to develop a greater understanding of emerging powers and how they may approach strategic choices.
- Persistent surveillance, including systems that can penetrate and loiter in denied or contested areas.
- The capability to deploy rapidly, assemble, command, project, reconstitute, and re-employ joint combat power from all domains to facilitate assured access.
- Prompt and high-volume global strike to deter aggression or coercion, and if deterrence fails, to provide a broader range of conventional response options to the President. This will require broader authorities from the Congress.
- Secure broadband communications into denied or contested areas to support penetrating surveillance and strike systems.
- Integrated defenses against short-, intermediate-, and intercontinental-range ballistic and cruise missile systems.
- Air dominance capabilities to defeat advanced threats.
- Undersea warfare capabilities to exploit stealth



and enhance deterrence.

- Capabilities to shape and defend cyberspace.
- Joint command and control capabilities that are survivable in the face of WMD-, electronic-, or cyber-attacks.

Preventing the Acquisition or Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction

During the Cold War, the main challenge facing the United States was deterring the former Soviet Union from using weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against the United States and its allies. Today, the United States faces a greater danger from an expanding number of hostile regimes and terrorist groups that seek to acquire and use WMD. These actors may not respond to traditional tools and concepts of deterrence.

A number of potentially hostile states possess or seek weapons of mass destruction. For these states, WMD – particularly nuclear weapons – provide the means to assert regional hegemony and intimidate others. They may brandish nuclear, chemical and biological weapons to ensure regime survival, deny the United States access to critical areas, or deter others from taking action against them. Even when they do not pose a direct military threat to the United States, these states may threaten the United States or its allies indirectly by transferring weapons or expertise to terrorists. North Korea has pursued nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and has developed and sold weapons, including long-range missiles, to other states of concern.

Iran's pursuit of nuclear capabilities, support for terrorism, and threatening statements about regional neighbors raise similar concerns about its intentions. Iran is rapidly developing long-range delivery systems and a full nuclear fuel cycle that would enable it to produce nuclear weapons.

“Israel must be wiped off the map. And God willing, with the force of God behind it, we shall soon experience a world without the United States and Zionism.”
Iranian President Ahmadinejad, October 2005

In the event of a conflict, WMD-armed states could use their weapons against the United States or its allies preemptively, during conflict or to slow follow-on stabilization efforts. In some cases, states could have hundreds of suspect facilities and storage sites that would need to be secured, searched and remediated following the end of combat. Such operations could overwhelm stabilization efforts.

Several other WMD-armed states, although not necessarily hostile to the United States, could face the possibility of internal instability and loss of control over their weapons. The lack of effective governance in many parts of the world contributes to the WMD danger, providing opportunities for terrorist organizations to acquire or harbor WMD. The prospect that a nuclear-capable state may lose control of some of its weapons to terrorists is one of the greatest dangers the United States and its allies face.

Technological trends heighten the threat. Nuclear weapons, sophisticated and/or bio-engineered biological agents, and non-traditional



chemical agents – once the sole purview of large, complex state weapons programs – will be within reach of a growing number of actors in the coming decades. Technological advances and widely distributed technical information are making ever more dangerous weapons easier to produce. At the same time, expanded reliance on sophisticated electronic technologies by the United States, its allies and partners increases their vulnerability to the destructive effects of electromagnetic pulse (EMP) – the energy burst given off during a nuclear weapon explosion. The effect of a nuclear blast could be catastrophic to both military forces and the civilian population.

It is extremely difficult to collect reliable intelligence on WMD programs and activities, which are closely guarded secrets. The prevalence of dual-use technologies and legitimate civilian applications means nuclear, chemical and biological research efforts are easy to conceal and difficult to detect and monitor. Based on the demonstrated ease with which uncooperative states and non-state actors can conceal WMD programs and related activities, the United States, its allies and partners must expect further intelligence gaps and surprises.

It is in this environment that terrorists – including Osama bin Laden and his associates – seek to acquire these catastrophic weapons and technologies, preying on vulnerable governments, ungoverned territories and susceptible individuals. They benefit from determined proliferators and criminal enterprises that seek to traffic in catastrophic technologies and that continue to aid and abet them.

Posted Monday, January 11, 1999

TIME Reporter: “The U.S. says you are trying to acquire chemical and nuclear weapons.”

Osama bin Laden: “Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired these weapons, then I thank God for enabling me to do so. And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty. It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims.”

The principal objective of the United States is to prevent hostile states or non-state actors from acquiring WMD. This involves diplomatic and economic measures, but it can also involve active measures and the use of military force to deny access to materials, interdict transfers, and disrupt production programs. For example, in October 2003, German and Italian authorities, acting under the framework of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and based on information provided by the United States, stopped a shipment of advanced centrifuge parts bound for Libya’s nuclear program. Two months after confronting Libyan officials with this new evidence of an active and illegal nuclear program, Libya voluntarily agreed to end its WMD and long-range missile programs. Yet despite such successes, additional states and some terrorist organizations may nevertheless acquire WMD in the coming years.

To address such threats, the United States must be prepared to deter attacks; locate, tag and track WMD materials; act in cases where a state that possesses WMD loses control of its weapons, especially nuclear devices; detect WMD across



all domains; sustain operations even while under WMD attack; help mitigate the consequences of WMD attacks at home or overseas; and eliminate WMD materials in peacetime, during combat, and after conflicts. National efforts to counter the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction must incorporate both preventive and responsive dimensions.

Preventive Dimension: The United States seeks to build and expand global partnerships aimed at preventing proliferation; stopping WMD-related trafficking; helping friendly governments improve controls over existing weapons, materials and expertise; and discrediting weapons of mass destruction as instruments of national power. Improving the ability to detect, identify, locate, tag and track key WMD assets and development infrastructure in hostile or denied areas and to interdict WMD, their delivery systems, and related materials in transit are essential to this approach. In addition, the United States must improve its ability to identify and penetrate criminal networks bent on profiting from the proliferation of such dangerous weapons and

expertise. Multinational efforts such as PSI provide a model to expand global cooperation to prevent proliferation.

Responsive Dimension: If prevention efforts fail, the United States must be prepared to respond. An effective response requires that the United States use all elements of national power, working with like-minded nations, to locate, secure, and destroy WMD. The United States will use peaceful and cooperative means whenever possible, but will employ force when necessary. This will require growing emphasis on WMD elimination operations that locate, characterize, secure, disable and/or destroy a state or non-state actor's WMD capabilities and programs in a hostile or uncertain environment. The Military Departments will organize, train and equip joint forces for this increasingly important mission.

There are two particularly difficult operational and technical challenges associated with WMD elimination: detecting fissile material and rendering safe nuclear, chemical and biological devices. This requires the ability to locate, tag and track fissile materials rapidly, including in denied areas, and to deploy specialized teams trained to render safe nuclear weapons quickly anywhere in the world.

Finally, if a WMD attack cannot be prevented, the Department must be prepared to respond to requests to help mitigate the effects of the attack at the earliest opportunity, initiate or support ongoing consequence management efforts, and actively support local, state, Federal and allied and partner authorities. To ensure that its responses

Photo by Photographer's Mate 2nd Class Aaron Peterson, U.S. Navy.



U.S. and Pakistani sailors prepare to conduct boardings in a simulated maritime interdiction operation. In 2003, international cooperation led to the interdiction of a shipment of centrifuge parts to Libya. This action, combined with Pakistani arrests of A.Q. Khan network affiliates, helped to successfully shut down the sophisticated black market network.

to the new WMD threat are considered both credible and legitimate, the United States will work closely with its partners, allies, and other members of the international community.

Consistent with this approach, preventing state or non-state actors from acquiring or using WMD highlights the need for the following types of capabilities:

- Special operations forces to locate, characterize and secure WMD.
- Capabilities to locate, tag and track WMD, their delivery systems and related materials, including the means to move such items.
- Capabilities to detect fissile materials such as nuclear devices at stand-off ranges.
- Interdiction capabilities to stop air, maritime, and ground shipments of WMD, their delivery systems and related materials.
- Persistent surveillance over wide areas to locate WMD capabilities or hostile forces.
- Human intelligence, language skills and cultural awareness to understand better the intentions and motivations of potential adversaries and to speed recovery efforts.
- Capabilities and specialized teams to render safe and secure WMD.
- Non-lethal weapons to secure WMD sites so that materials cannot be removed.
- Joint command and control tailored for the WMD elimination mission.

- The capability to deploy, sustain, protect, support and re-deploy special operations forces in hostile environments.
- The capability to shield critical and vulnerable systems and technologies from the catastrophic effects of EMP.



Photo by Staff Sergeant Quinton T. Burris, U.S. Air Force.

A U.S. Navy Hospital Corpsman (left) and Department of Defense Civilian Equipment Specialist (right) discuss assembling a Chemical Biological Protective Shelter during a training session at Camp Coyote, Kuwait. The Department leverages expertise in all elements of the Total Force to conduct operations.

Refining the Department's Force Planning Construct for Wartime

The four focus areas informed the Department's review of the guidance for sizing and shaping the U.S. Armed Forces. This guidance is commonly referred to as the Department's Force Planning Construct. Such guidance informs the analysis that provides a guide to determine both the appropriate size of the force (capacity), as well as the types of capabilities (forces and equipment) needed across a range of scenarios.



The 2001 QDR led the Department to direct the military to organize, train and equip sufficient forces to defend the U.S. homeland; operate in and from four forward regions; “swiftly defeat” adversaries in two overlapping military campaigns while preserving for the President the option to “win decisively” one of those campaigns; and conduct a limited number of lesser military and humanitarian contingencies.

During this QDR, senior leaders confirmed the importance of the main elements of that Force Planning Construct: maintaining the ability to defend the U.S. homeland; continuing to operate in and from forward areas; and above all, the importance of maintaining capabilities and forces to wage multiple campaigns in an overlapping time frame – for which there may be little or no warning of attack. This latter capability in particular remains a strong deterrent against opportunistic aggression or attempted coercion. At the same time, lessons learned from recent operations suggest the need for some refinement of the construct to take better account of wartime demands:

- The Department’s homeland defense responsibilities should be more clearly distinguished from the responsibilities of other agencies.
- U.S. forces must continue to operate in forward areas, but operational demands over the past four years demonstrate the need to operate around the globe and not only in and from the four regions called out in the 2001 QDR (Europe, the Middle East, the Asian Littoral, and Northeast Asia).

- In the post-September 11 world, irregular warfare has emerged as the dominant form of warfare confronting the United States, its allies and its partners; accordingly, guidance must account for distributed, long-duration operations, including unconventional warfare, foreign internal defense, counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and stabilization and reconstruction operations.
- For the foreseeable future, steady-state operations, including operations as part of a long war against terrorist networks, and associated rotation base and sustainment requirements, will be the main determinant for sizing U.S. forces.
- Consistent with the QDR’s emphasis on prevention, guidance must place greater emphasis on forces and capabilities needed for deterrence and other peacetime shaping activities.
- Finally, operational end-states defined in terms of “swiftly defeating” or “winning decisively” against adversaries may be less useful for some types of operations U.S. forces may be directed to conduct, such as supporting civil authorities to manage the consequences of catastrophic, mass casualty events at home, or conducting a long-duration, irregular warfare campaign against enemies employing asymmetric tactics.

Based on these considerations, the Department has refined its Force Planning Construct, dividing its activities into three objective areas: Homeland Defense, War on Terror / Irregular (Asymmetric) Warfare and Conventional Campaigns. In



Photo by Photographer's Mate 2nd Class R.J. StratChko, U.S. Navy.



Photo by Technical Sergeant Andy Dunaway, U.S. Air Force.



Photo by Master Sergeant Val Gempis, U.S. Air Force.



U.S. military forces are deployed around the globe conducting operations in accordance with the Force Planning Construct refined for wartime. The amphibious assault ship USS Iwo Jima sits pierside in New Orleans, Louisiana, in support of Hurricane Katrina humanitarian assistance operations. U.S. Army soldiers and U.S. Marines look for weapons caches and insurgents near the Syrian border in Iraq. A B-2 Spirit bomber soars during a deployment to Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, as part of a rotation that has provided U.S. Pacific Command a continuous bomber presence in the Asia-Pacific region. (photos top to bottom)

all cases, the Department should increase its capabilities to conduct operations against enemies who employ asymmetric approaches. This refined Force Planning Construct for wartime describes the relative level of effort the Department should devote to each of the three objective areas. In

each area, it accounts both for activities that the Department conducts continuously (steady-state) as well as those it conducts episodically (surge). In addition to normal force generation, sustainment and training activities, this wartime force planning construct calls for U.S. forces to be able to:

Defend the Homeland

- Steady-state – detect, deter, and if necessary, defeat external threats to the U.S. homeland, and enable partners to contribute to U.S. national security. Examples of such activities include: routine homeland security training and exercises with other Federal agencies and state and local governments; strategic deterrence; routine maritime operations conducted with the U.S. Coast Guard; North American air defense, including air sovereignty operations; missile defense; and readiness to provide support to civil authorities for consequence management events.
- Surge – contribute to the nation's response to and management of the consequences of WMD attacks or a catastrophic event, such as Hurricane Katrina, and also to raise the level of defense responsiveness in all domains (e.g., air, land, maritime, space and cyberspace) if directed.

Prevail in the War on Terror and Conduct Irregular Operations

- Steady-state – deter and defend against external transnational terrorist attacks, enable partners through integrated security

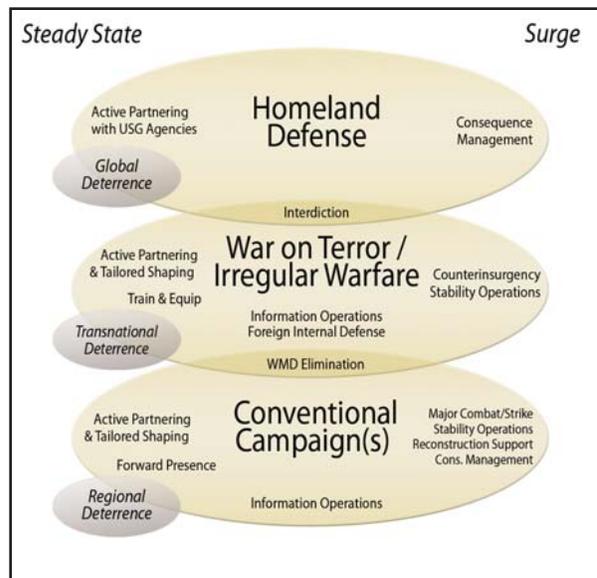


cooperation programs, and conduct multiple, globally distributed irregular operations of varying duration. Employ general purpose forces continuously to interact with allies, build partner capability, conduct long-duration counter insurgency operations and deter aggressors through forward presence.

- Surge – conduct a large-scale, potentially long-duration irregular warfare campaign including counterinsurgency and security, stability, transition and reconstruction operations. An example of an irregular surge campaign would be the current level of effort associated with operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Conduct and Win Conventional Campaigns

- Steady-state – deter inter-state coercion or aggression through forward deployed forces, enable partners through theater security cooperation, and conduct presence missions. These activities include day-to-day presence missions, military-to-military exchanges, combined exercises, security cooperation activities and normal increases in readiness during the seasonal exercises of potential adversaries.
- Surge – wage two nearly simultaneous conventional campaigns (or one conventional campaign if already engaged in a large-scale, long-duration irregular campaign), while selectively reinforcing deterrence against opportunistic acts of aggression. Be prepared in one of the two campaigns to remove a hostile regime, destroy its military capacity and set conditions for the transition to, or for the restoration of, civil society.



This refined force planning construct for wartime will be used in lieu of the force planning guidance published in the March 2005 *National Defense Strategy*. The Department will use this construct as the basis for future analysis of needed capabilities and forces.

In conducting follow-on analyses and assessments to determine more fully the implications of this guidance, U.S. operational and force planning will consider a somewhat higher level of contributions from international allies and partners, as well as other Federal agencies, in surge operations ranging from homeland defense to irregular warfare and conventional campaigns. This assumption is consistent with the increased level of security cooperation and other activities to enable partners as required by the refined Force Planning Construct. The construct also acknowledges that policy decisions, such as mobilization policies and war aims, may change over time and have implications for the shape and size of U.S. forces. Finally, as part of a process of continuous reassessment and improvement,

this wartime construct will be further developed over time to differentiate among the Military Departments as to how they should best size and shape their unique force structures, for use by the Combatant Commanders, since all parts of the construct do not apply equally to all capability portfolios.

