

# FOUR QUADRANT CHALLENGE: The Navy and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Security

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# The Challenge

- “to dea[l] with challenges we likely will confront, not just those we are currently best prepared to meet”

**National Defense Strategy 2005, at iii**

# QDR Objective – Shift in Focus

**Provide more options for President, capabilities for CoComs**

## Post-9/11 Security Challenges

### Irregular

Non-state and state actors employing “unconventional” methods to counter stronger state opponents; terrorism insurgency, etc.

### Catastrophic

Terrorist or rogue state employment of WMD or methods producing WMD-like effects against U.S. interests

### Traditional

States employing military forces in well-known forms of military competition and conflict

### Disruptive

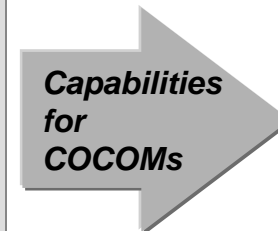
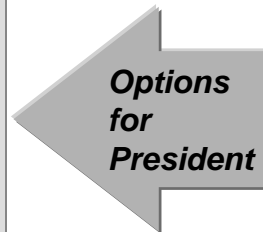
Competitors employing technology or methods that might counter or cancel our current military advantages

VULNERABILITY

Lower

Higher

LIKELIHOOD



## Capability Focus Areas

- Defeat terrorist networks
- Defend homeland in depth
- Prevent acquisition or use of WMD
- Shape choices of countries strategic crossroads  
*(Assure, Dissuade, Deter, Defeat)*

# “America is at war.”

President Bush, National Security Strategy 2006

- THE WARS:
  - Afghanistan
  - Iraq
  - Al Qaeda/terror networks

# Rumsfeld Snowflake

- “Are we winning or losing the Global War on Terror?”
- “Is DoD changing fast enough to deal with the new 21<sup>st</sup> century security environment?”
- “Is our current situation such that ‘the harder we work, the behinder we get.’”

**Oct. 16, 2003**

# The Guidance

- “Experience . . . has underscored the need for a changed defense establishment”

**National Defense Strategy 2005, at 3**

# QDR Priorities

- 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
- “areas of particular concern,” “focus of QDR” (QDR, at p.3)

# Traditional

- “remain important” even though “reduce[d] adversaries’ incentives to compete”
- “most capable opponents may seek to combine truly disruptive capacity with traditional, irregular, or catastrophic forms of warfare”

National Defense Strategy, at pp. 3, 2



# Shape and Hedge

- “Shap[e] the choices of major and emerging powers”
- “Creat[e] prudent hedges”
- “develop capabilities . . .that capitalize on U.S. advantages”
  - Persistent surveillance and long range strike
  - Stealth
  - Operational maneuver/sustainment at strategic distances
  - Air dominance
  - Undersea warfare (QDR, at pp. 30, 31)

# Irregular Warfare Requirement

- “need to reorient our military capabilities to contend with . . . irregular challenges more effectively”
- **National Defense Strategy 2005, at 3**

# Irregular War

- “Irregular challenges come from . . . ‘unconventional’ methods”
- “e.g., terrorism and insurgency . . . intensified . . . [by] rise of extremist ideologies, and the absence of effective governance”
- **National Defense Strategy 2005, at 2, 3**

# Irregular Warfare—Types

- Counter-terror
- Counter-insurgency
- Stability operations
  - Can follow traditional conflict
  - Can be part of counter-insurgency
  - Can follow failed state collapse

# Irregular Wars--Ongoing

- U.S.
  - Iraq
  - Afghanistan
  - Al Qaeda
  - Colombia
  - Kosovo
- Others (examples):
  - Philippines
  - Cote d'Ivoire

# Irregular warfare: Enemy Strategies

- “Irregular opponents often take a long-term approach, attempting to impose prohibitive human, material, financial, and political costs on the United States to compel strategic retreat from a key region or course of action.”

# National Security Strategy: Irregular

- “the strategy . . . [to] defeat . . . and neutralize the insurgency in Iraq . . . requires . . . integrating activity along three broad tracks: Political . . . Security . . . Economic”
- **National Security Strategy 2006, p13**

# National Defense Strategy: Irregular

- “Comprehensive defeat of . . .irregular forces . . . require[s]
  - Operations over long periods
  - Many elements of national power
  - Changes to way we train, equip, and employ forces”
  - **National Defense Strategy 2005, at 14**



# QDR: Irregular

- “Greater emphasis to . . .irregular warfare activities, including long-duration unconventional warfare, counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and military support for stabilization and reconstruction.”

QDR, at p.4

# DoD Directive 3000.05

- “Stability operations are a core U.S. military mission . . . .”
- “They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations . . . .”

# Stability Operations—Short-term

- “Immediate goal . . .to provide . . . local populace with
  - Security
  - Restore essential services, and meet humanitarian needs.”

DoD Dir. 3000.05, sec.4.2

# Stability Operations—Long-term

- “Long-term goal to help develop indigenous capacity” for
  - Essential services
  - Viable market economy
  - Rule of law
  - Democratic institutions,
  - Robust civil society

DoD Dir. 3000.05, sec.4.2

# Stability Operations—DoD Tasks

- U.S. military forces shall be prepared to perform all tasks . . . when civilians cannot . . . include helping:
  - Rebuild security forces, correctional facilities, and judicial systems
  - Revive the private sector, including citizen-driven economic activity and construction infrastructure
  - Develop governmental institutions

DoD Dir. 3000.05, sec.4.3

# *Achieving Unity of Effort*

**The United States, and in particular DoD, cannot win this war alone**

***Success requires integration of all USG capabilities, and greater cooperation with allies and partners***

- ❑ **Expand collective capabilities to plan and conduct stability, security, transition and reconstruction operations**
- ❑ **“Working together with other elements of the U.S. government, allies, and partners (including indigenous actors)” (National Defense Strategy 2005, at 14)**
- ❑ **DIME strategy**



# Winning Irregular War--Methods

- Military **PLUS**
- **Humanitarian**
- **Rule of law**
- **Governmental structures**
- **Economy**
  - Micro
  - Macro
- **Social**
- **Information**

# WMD

- “We will give top priority to dissuading, deterring, and defeating those who seek to harm the United States, especially extremist enemies with weapons of mass destruction.”

National Defense Strategy, at p.6



# WMD Trends

- “Nuclear weapons, sophisticated and/or bio-engineered biological agents, and non-traditional chemical agents . . .within reach of growing number of actors in the coming decades.”
- “nuclear, chemical and biological research efforts are easy to conceal and difficult to detect and monitor”

QDR, at pp.32, 33

# WMD Strategy

- “principal objective . . . Is to prevent hostile states or non-state actors from acquiring WMD”
- “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”

QDR, at p. 33

# WMD Operations

- Deter WMD attacks
- Locate, tag, track WMD materials
- Act when state loses control of WMD especially nuclear
- Detect WMD across all domains
- Help mitigate consequences of WMD attack
- Eliminate WMD materials (QDR, at pp. 33,34)

# Disruptive Challenges

- “revolutionary technology and associated military innovation” that “fundamentally alter long-established concepts of warfare”
- Examples:
  - Biotechnology
  - Cyber-operations
  - Space
  - Directed energy weapons

(National Defense Strategy, at p.3)

# Fundamental Problem

- U.S. has had benefit of all technological advance
  - Advances largely “Western” since Renaissance
- New centers of capabilities now exist and are increasing in capacity
- Question: will U.S. get benefit of advances from new centers?

# Navy Challenges

- CNO: “I am convinced that if we don’t take a look around at how we are being utilized by this nation today, and how we may be utilized in the future, we run the risk of not being ready when we are called upon, or not being called upon even if we think we’re ready.”

ADM Mullen, 10 Jan, 2006, to Surface Navy Association Symposium

# CNO Strategic Concepts

- “sea power as a notion has become far too narrowly defined”
- “world is a very small place and, particularly in the maritime domain, is getting smaller every day”
- “need to get a better handle on requirements, how we determine them, probably more important, how we control them”

ADM Mullen, 10 Jan, 2006, to Surface Navy Association Symposium

# CNO: Traditional

- “invest in blue water capabilities”
- “ready for major combat operations against any strategic competitor”
- CHALLENGES:
  - “future is about capabilities, not just platforms”
  - “global requirements”
  - “make requirements reasonable”
  - “keep them affordable”

ADM Mullen, 10 Jan, 2006, to Surface Navy Association Symposium



# Traditional: Concerns

- “challenges we likely will confront, not just those we are currently best prepared to meet” (Nat’l Defense Strategy)
  - Balance: “win the big ones and the small ones” (ADM Mullen)
  - Adversary capabilities:
    - Anti-ship cruise missiles
    - Diesel submarines
    - Anti-access: Mining

# CNO: Irregular Warfare

- “in the course of . . . trips at sea and ashore . . . the vast majority [of Sailors] were involved in operations I would consider green or brown water in nature.” (ADM Mullen, 10 Jan, 2006, to Surface Navy Association Symposium)
- “We are a . . . Navy at war . . . providing deck space to launch strikes in Afghanistan, continuing to support ground operations in Iraq, patrolling the seas to interdict terrorists, or shaping the maritime domain through swift humanitarian action” (CNO 2006 Guidance, at p.1)

# Navy: Illustrative Irregular Actions

- Iraq: medical and construction support
- MIO: identify/intercept terrorists or WMD
  - Proliferation Security Initiative
- SOF: Seals
- Maritime domain awareness
  - Including joint with Coast Guard
- Port security: support Coast Guard

# Irregular: Military Requirements

- “require the capabilities to
  - identify, locate, track, and engage individual enemies and their networks. . . .
  - particularly intelligence, surveillance, and communications.
- “need to train units for sustained stability operations. . . .
  - developing ways to strengthen . . . language and civil-military affairs capabilities”

**National Defense Strategy 2005**

# Navy—Innovative Methods

- Navy Expeditionary Combat Command
  - Construction, logistics, EOD, force protection
- Riverine
  - 3 squadrons
- JTF Horn of Africa
- Haditha Dam defense
- Sailors on ground
  - Iraq/Afghanistan—4000 (planned 7000)
  - CENTCOM AOR—10000 (planned 12000)
- Expand Foreign Area expertise; develop cross-cultural skills

# Irregular: Humanitarian

- “By alleviating suffering and dealing with crisis in their early stages, U.S. forces help prevent disorder from spiraling into wider conflict or crisis.” (QDR, at p. 12)
- Navy:
  - Tsunami
  - Pakistan earthquake

# Irregular: Rule of Law

- During Operation JOINT GUARD in Kosovo. . . , KFOR forces, in conjunction with the UN, served as the civil police force
- The US forces assigned only military police to these duties.
- Army doctrine: forces may assist in establishing a workable judicial system with judge advocate general (JAG) and CA support. (Army FM 3-07, at 4-26 (2003))
- NAVY: could be part of the Rule of Law effort in stability operations

# Irregular: Governmental Structures

- Critical . . . tasks . . . may have to be performed by the military or with substantial military cooperation (Army FM3-07, at 4-18)
- Immediate relief
- Help create sustainable infrastructure.
  - services, facilities, administrative posts or sectors of the economy;
  - refugees; displaced persons;
  - local, regional, and national civil authorities.
- Navy: has on ground capacity to support governmental institutions



# Irregular: Economy

- Key issues:
  - Jobs, infrastructure, control of resources
- Military generally supporting
  - Use military assets sparingly when civilian assets are more appropriate
    - Example: Military assets may be able to repair a road quickly BUT providing work to unemployed civilians may be a better solution.

# Irregular: Information—Strategic Communications

- Strategic communications
  - Strengthen both consent and the legitimacy of the operation through the fundamental of transparency.
  - Influence the behavior of people to work toward reconciliation and rebuilding.
  - Influence groups of people to change attitudes and behavior.
  - All sides understand the potential of information and will attempt its exploitation.
- Navy: CNO 2006 Guidance—“Establish Strategic Communications as a core enabling capability”

# Irregular: Information--ICT

- Information Communications Technology
  - Enhance “knowledgeable intervention”
  - Establish collaboration among actors
  - Develop effective host government capabilities
- Planning plus tools
- Host nation ICT business plan
- NAVY: strong ICT capacity

# Irregular--Concerns

- Partnerships
  - Building an effective “1000 ship Navy”
- Sea basing (traditional and irregular)
  - Traditional: logistics and attack base
  - Irregular: information and infrastructure base; attack and logistics support base
- Intelligence
  - Very difficult in irregular security environment; Navy needs to be part of joint effort

# WMD: National Strategy for Maritime Security

- “WMD issues are of the greatest concern since the maritime domain is the likely venue by which WMD will be brought into the United States.” (p.4)
- “The basis for effective prevention measures . . . is awareness and threat knowledge. . . . Without effective awareness of activities within the maritime domain, critical opportunities for prevention or an early response can be lost.” (p.9)
- “To maximize domain awareness, the United States will leverage its global maritime intelligence capability” (p.16)

# CNO: WMD

- “To better fight the Global War on Terror and prevent piracy and the trafficking of weapons of mass destruction, humans, and narcotics we will need faster, multi-mission ships, and the right mix of helicopters, small boats, and combat capabilities.” (CNO HASC Testimony, 1 Mar 06)
- “I seek partnerships . . . developing much deeper . . . the one we share with the Coast Guard . . . to enhance security of our ports, coastal approaches, rivers, and waterways—the entire maritime domain.” (ADM Mullen, 10 Jan, 2006, to Surface Navy Association Symposium)

# WMD: QDR--Needed Capabilities

- Navy relevant
  - Interdiction
  - Persistent surveillance over wide areas
  - Detection of fissile materials at stand-off range
  - Capability to locate, tag, track
  - Special operations forces to locate/secure

(QDR, at p.35)
- Questions: what is the right mix (CNO question)? How “distributed” must force be for maritime domain awareness/control? How to leverage partnerships?

# Disruptive

- The Navy, along with the other Services, does research and development in numerous arenas.
- BUT: Fundamental Question
  - Is there a national security requirement to take specific steps to ensure United States technology primacy?



# Sea Power Redefined

- Sea power is being redefined to meet the requirements of 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
- Important steps have been taken but innovative strategic and operational actions are still required

# Backup Slides

# Irregular War--Players

- U.S.
- “Coalition”—other countries
- International organizations
- NGOs
- **Host Nation**
  
- **Plus the Bad Guys (an adaptive negative environment)**

# USG Organization

- NSC Staff
- DoD
- State/AID
- Other agencies
- Congress
  - Funding
  - Limitations

# DoD Organization

- OSD/JStaff
  - Policy
- COCOMs--Region
- JFCOM
- SOCOM
- Service Roles
  - Army/Marine Corps
  - Navy/Air Force

# State/AID

- Authority: NSPD 44
- Organizations:
  - CRS
  - AID
  - Embassies
  - Regional/functional bureaus

# Resources

- Military
  - Operations—irregular oriented
  - R&D and acquisition---still traditional oriented
  - USD(ATL) tasked to develop programs for stability operations, including rapid acquisition/fielding
- Non-military
  - State/AID: large budgets inc. supplementals
  - International organizations—e.g., World Bank
  - Others—EU, UK, Japan

# Table 4. U.S. Aid to Afghanistan, FY2005

- **From the FY2005 Regular Appropriations (P.L. 108-447 (in millions)**
- ESF to assist Afghan governing
- Institutions-\$225
- FMF to train and equip the ANA- \$400
- Assistance to benefit women and girls- \$50
- Agriculture, private sector investment- \$300  
environment, primary education,  
reproductive health,  
and democracybuilding
- Reforestation- \$2
- Child and maternal health- \$6
- Afghan Independent Human Rights- \$2  
Commission
- **Total from this law \$985**
  
- **From First FY2005 Supplemental (P.L. 108-287)**
- FMF for training and equipping the ANA- **\$500**  
(and the Iraqi security forces)
  
- **From Second FY2005 Supplemental (P.L. 109-13)**
- DoD funds to train and equip Afghan- \$1,285  
security forces
- DoD counter-narcotics operations- \$242
- ESF for reconstruction and democracy- \$1,086  
and governance (including alternative  
livelihoods)
- INL counter-narcotics- \$260
- INL Afghan police training- \$360
- Karzi protection (NADR funds)- \$17.1
- Commanders' Emergency Response  
Program (CERP), mostly for counternarcotics- \$34
- DEA operations in Afghanistan- \$7.7
- Operations of U.S. Embassy Kabul- \$60
- **Total from this law- \$3,351**
  
- **Total from all FY2005 laws \$4,336**  
(plus ANA portion of \$500 million  
for ANA and Iraqi forces)



# Afghanistan Funding—FY2006 and beyond

- **FY2006.** The conference report on H.R. 3057 appropriates **\$931.4 million**,
  - \$43 million for child survival and health;
  - \$430 million to train and equip the ANA;
  - \$260 million for State Department police training and counter-narcotics;
  - \$18 million for Karzai protection;
  - \$18 million for peacekeeping operations; and
  - \$150 million for “other.”
- **Beyond FY2006.** On December 2, 2005, United States pledged to provide Afghanistan with **\$5.5 billion in aid over the next five years**.
  - education, health care, and economic and democratic development.
  - not clear whether the purported figures include funding for the ANA, the national police, counter-narcotics, and other security-related programs.

# WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS

Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
• Government Institutions, Civil Society, Rule of Law & Media	99	288	387
• Health, Education, Employment Creation	1,880	5,310	7,190
• Infrastructure	5,836	18,368	24,204
• Agriculture and Water Resources	1,230	1,797	3,027
• Private Sector Development	176	601	777
• Mine Action	80	154	234
• Total	9,301	26,518	35,819

# C.P.A.-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT

• Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
• Security and Police		5,000 -	5,000
• Oil	2,000	6,000	8,000
• Culture	140	800	940
• Environment	500	3,000	3,500
• Human rights	200	600	800
• Foreign Affairs	100	100	200
• Religious Affairs	100	200	300
• Science and Technology	100	300	400
• Youth and Sport	100	200	300
• Total of CPA estimates		8,240	11,200

# United States Reconstruction Programs--Iraq.

- Apr. 2003--\$2.48 billion Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF) (FY2003 Supp.)
- Nov.2003-- \$18.4 billion for the IRRF.(FY2004 Supp.)
- May 2005--\$5.7 billion—new Iraqi Security Forces Fund--training and equipping (FY2005 Supp.)

# Iraq—Funds Usage

- Of the nearly \$29 billion in appropriated funds from all accounts directed at reconstruction purposes
- 40%: infrastructure projects — roads, sanitation, electric power, oil production, etc.
- 38%: train and equip Iraqi security forces.
- 22%: expert advice to the Iraqi government, establish business centers, rehabilitate schools and health clinics, provide school books and vaccinations, etc.
- \$21 billion Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund
  - \$17.7 billion had been obligated
  - \$12.5 billion spent by end-December 2005.

# Afghanistan Lessons

- Long term
- Security – still major issue
  - “south had witnessed a negative and deadly trend”
  - “continuing and intensifying violence and threats against local officials, religious leaders and schools  
UN report (Jan. 2006)
  - U.S. staying; NATO engaging—approx 30,000
  - Training key function
- Economic –ongoing rebuilding
  - Afghan Compact—multinational plan to 2010
    - “Pluses”: infrastructure—roads, telecomm; cities; schools
    - “Minuses”: opium/poppies vs. “desired” rural economy

# Iraq Lessons

- Long-term
- Security major issue
  - U.S. forces: approx 135,000; others 20,000
  - Iraqi trained: mil plus security: approx 250,000
- Economy
  - Electricity just at prewar
  - Water below prewar
  - Unemployment 25-40%
  - Phones increase 8x
  - Car increase 2x

# Opportunities/Requirements

- Stability operations: long-term, expensive
- Multiple needs: military, humanitarian, rule of law, government, economic, social, information
- Industry capabilities—7 conceptual areas
  - Counter-insurgency—military skills
  - Stability operations--Civilian tasks DoD will assist
  - Stability operations--Civilian tasks other entities undertake
  - Host nation country tasks
    - Military
    - Civilian
  - Training host nation
  - Coordination/systems approach
  - Interoperability



# Functional Capacities

- Logistics;
  - Communications;
  - Training and education;
  - Technology development
  - Infrastructure
  - Information technology
  - Military requirements (see next chart)
- 
- Functional capacity can be for U.S., coalition (inc. international organizations), and host nation

# Irregular warfare--Historical

## **An American way of war**

- Revolutionary War--hybrid
- Indian Wars
- Philippines
- Latin America
- Vietnam—hybrid
- Somalia
- Bosnia
- Kosovo—Phase 4
- Afghanistan
- Iraq—Phase 4

# INSURGENCY INDICATORS

	2004	2005
• <b>Insurgent attacks (total)</b>	<b>26,496</b>	<b>34,131</b>
• <b>Car bombs</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>873</b>
• <b>Suicide car bombs</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>411</b>
• <b>Roadside bombs</b>	<b>5,607</b>	<b>10,953</b>
• <b>US Soldiers Killed</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>846</b>
• <b>US Soldiers Wounded</b>	<b>7989</b>	<b>5939</b>

# Reorienting capabilities and forces: **Defeating Terrorist Networks**

## **DoD Capabilities**

- ❑ Human intelligence; language and cultural awareness
- ❑ Persistent surveillance; fusion of time-sensitive intelligence with operations
- ❑ Capabilities to locate, tag and track terrorists in all domains, and prompt global strike to rapidly attack fleeting enemy targets
- ❑ SOF to conduct direct action, foreign internal defense, counterterrorist operations and unconventional warfare
- ❑ Multipurpose forces to train, equip, and advise indigenous forces; conduct irregular warfare; and support security, stability, transition, and reconstruction (SSTR) operations
- ❑ Riverine warfare capabilities
- ❑ Authorities to develop the capacity of nations to participate effectively in disrupting and defeating terrorist networks

