

For openers: - Classification & Nonattribution serious. Some of this
will be sensitive,

March 8, 1987 8:51 PM

- I recognize many have know the topic better, but I'll give it to see it & take the questions. Now has course - Dumb (for pilot)
- This will be too broad to be technically precise on many points. Sorry. get me in the Q & A.

NOTE ~~both~~ now at hour of Nellis
- So are you? -

STRATEGY OUTLINE -- FOR 9 MARCH 87

-- REVIEW THE TASK, AS LAID OUT BY DAVE ANDRE. (SLIDES 1-4)

-- INTEND TO TALK PLAIN. PLAIN OPERATORS (NOT TO LEAVE ANYBODY OUT)
NEED TO GET THE PICTURE. MANY MAY BE RUNNING THE SHOW IN 10 TO 15
YEARS.

-- WHY BOTHER? ISN'T ALL IN GOOD ORDER? NOT SO. LOOK WHO CAME TO
LAST SUMMER'S NDU SYMPOSIUM ON STRATEGY: SECDEF, SECSTATE, CJCS,
TOP SENIOR SENATORS, NAT'L SECURITY ADVISOR, ETC. UNPARALLELED.

--RECENT NOTARIETY RESULT OF **FRUSTRATION**.

-- I'LL START THERE, AND HERE'S MY ROADMAP (SLIDE 5)

① -- WHY ALL THE FRUSTRATION OVER NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY???

-- IMPATIENCE

-- PROBLEM RECOGNIZED, MOST RECENTLY IN 1978/9

-- IDENTIFIED AS **SECURITY** PROBLEM, SO SOLUTION IN **DOD**

-- PROPER STEPS TAKEN (LOTS OF \$\$\$)

-- NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES HAVE OCCURED; PROBLEM IS STILL ABOUT THE SAME AS IT WAS.

-- RESULTS IN **DISSATISFACTION** WITH STEPS TAKEN,

IMPULSE TO ACCELERATE PROGRESS

-- TO GET TO THE REAL PROBLEM, NEED TO STEP BACK FROM TREES AND FIND THE EDGE OF THE FORREST.

--SO I'LL GET ON BY SHOWING YOU WHAT I CONSIDER THE TOPIC, THE **REAL** TOPIC. (SLIDE 6. KEEP UP SLIDE 5.)

(2) -- ABOUT NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLANS (READ THE SLIDE) *deal*

-- THESE ARE THE THINGS I BELIEVE TO BE TRUE ABOUT NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLANS:

-- ONLY THE NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLAN COUNTS. IF IT'S ANY GOOD, THEN

-- IT USES ALL THE TOOLS AVAILABLE.

-- IT STAYS IN EFFECT UNTIL THE PROBLEM IS SOLVED

-- IT NEEDS TO BE WORKING ALL THE TIME.

-- ALL THE SEPARATE MASTER PLANS, LIKE MILITARY, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, TRADE, ALLIANCE, DIPLOMATIC, ETC -- ALL ARE REFLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MASTER PLAN.

-- THEREFORE THERE IS NO SEPARATE MASTER PLAN FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE. THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL MASTER PLAN.

-- SAME IS TRUE OF MILITARY.

③ -- SO WHAT'S THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM THAT FORCES US TO HAVE A NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLAN? THE RUSSIANS.

-- WHY? WHO KNOWS. ROSTOW, BRAZELINSKI, ETC

-- EVIDENCE? 50 YEARS ALL WITH SAME THRUST.

-- STABLE LEADERSHIP, SO THAT'S EVIDENCE

-- LYNDON JOHNSON STORY: THE SOVIETS ARE LIKE THE WIDDER BROWN, WHO HAD THAT BIG RANCH.

-- OPERATIVE IDEA WITH SOVIETS IS CONTEST.

-- GOOD FOR THEM IS BAD FOR US, VICE VERSA. GAINS FOR US MUST COME AT THEIR EXPENSE; LOSSES FOR US ARE BY DEFINITION GAINS FOR THEM. SOVIET ARTICLE OF FAITH.

-- ANALYSTS CALL THIS A ZERO-SUM GAME. THAT IS HOW THE SOVIETS SEE THEIR RELATIONS WITH US.

-- WHY SHOULD THIS SOVIET ATTITUDE BE A PROBLEM FOR US? IT IS A PROBLEM BIG TIME FOR THREE REASONS:

-- (1)WE RESIST SEEING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A CONTEST

-- THE U.S. MODEL IS INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS. ALL PARTIES BENEFIT IF WE DO IT RIGHT.

-- WE THINK THE ONLY FAIR CONTESTS AMONG NATIONS IS WAR

-- (2)RESULT ONLY AFTER A LONG, DRAWN-OUT CONTEST.

-- BUT WE DO NOT LIKE LONG CONTESTS. 4 QUARTERS IS ABOUT RIGHT *(on a Sunday afternoon)*

-- (3)THE BASIC PROBLEM WILL NOT GO AWAY. AND UP TILL NOW WE ASSUMED THAT IT WILL. *(Kennan)*

SUMMARIZE: SOVIET HOSTILITY IS A BASIC PROBLEM FOR US BECAUSE IT MAKES OUR NATIONAL WELL-BEING HOSTAGE TO A CONTEST, BECAUSE THE CONTEST WILL BE PLAYED OUT OVER A LONG GAME (UNTIL ITS OVER), AND BECAUSE THE PROBLEM HAS NOT GONE AWAY, LIKE WE THOUGHT IT WOULD. WE DON'T LIKE ANY OF THESE FACTS.

④ -- WHAT ABOUT **OUR** NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLAN?

-- ISOLATIONIST FOR TWO CENTURIES

-- OUT OF CLOSET FOR WW I AND WW II

-- SAW NEED FOR PERMANENT CHANGE POST WW II. UN, NATO, AND MORE. **KENNAN** WROTE **CONTAINMENT** AS **MR. X**.

-- CONCEPT: HOLD BACK THE SOVIETS BY NETWORK OF FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

-- PREVENT SOVIET MISCHIEF. EVENTUALLY THEY'LL MATURE.

-- TODAY: SAME CONCEPT. SEE, FOR EXAMPLE:

-- PRESIDENT'S REPORT ON NATIONAL STRATEGY TO CONGRESS

-- CJCS' STATEMENT TO SENATE AR.SUS.CMTTE (SLIDE 7)

Dool

-- GOOD DESCRIPTION OF 1987 BARRICADES: CONTNMT

-- LITMUS TEST: STILL CONTAINMENT BECAUSE THE NATIONAL PLAN STILL AWAITS SOME OTHER FACTOR TO SOLVE THE BASIC PROBLEM, WHICH IS SOVIET HOSTILITY.

-- REPORT CARD: 40 YEARS OF SPECTACULAR HALF-SUCCESS

-- THE MILITARY PART (DETERRENCE) WORKED. NO US-SOV WAR.

-- TOOTH FAIRY PART DID NOT WORK. KENNAN'S 10 TO 15 YEARS HAS BECOME 40 WITH NO END IN SIGHT. INTERMITTANT, INEFFECTIVE ATTEMPTS BEST WE HAVE MANAGED (TRADE POLICY, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ETC)

-- LOOKS LIKE A LONG SLOG, AND WE'RE NOWHERE YET

-- SO WHAT? SO **CONTAINMENT IS A DEFENSIVE STRATEGY.**

RESTATE: OUR BASIC NATIONAL MASTER GAME PLAN IS DEFENSIVE.

-- EFFECTIVE STATESMEN, FIELD COMMANDERS, SUN TZU^{*}, HARRY SUMMERS, ALL: DEFENSIVE OK FOR TACTICS, NOT FOR STRATEGY. (explain who is Sun Tzu)

-- NAPOLEON: LOGICAL OUTCOME OF A DEFENSIVE STRATEGY IS CAPITULATION.

*.SUN TZU -- who? when?

-- WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE?

-- DEFENSIVE PLAN: SETS UP **REACTIVE** MODE. BEST OUTCOME IS **STALEMATE**. LITTLE TO SUGGEST INITIATIVE. FAVORS **STATUS QUO**. WORKS MAINLY WHEN TESTED BY OPPONENT.

-- OFFENSIVE PLAN: BLUEPRINT FOR **INITIATIVES** TO **CAUSE CHANGE**. ALL PLAYERS (DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, MILITARY) COORDINATE ACTIONS TOWARDS COMMON GOAL TO CHANGE. **WORKS DAY TO DAY**, REGARDLESS OF OPPONENT'S ACTIONS.

-- WHY NOT HAVE AN OFFENSIVE NATIONAL MASTER PLAN?

-- **THIS IS THE NUT OF THE PROBLEM**

-- WE CAN'T STAND TO

-- ISOLATIONIST, STILL; ALTHOUGH CAMOUFLAGED

-- VIOLATES OUR SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL GOLDEN RULE

-- NEIGHBOR BULLY; BIG BRO OK; VODKA NOT

-- PROBLEM NOW WORSE: FOREIGN POLICY NOW IN POLITICAL COOKER,
SINCE EARLY 1970S

-- ISSUE VERY DIFFICULT TO FACE SQUARELY, SO WE SMOKE IT UP

-- IT'S A NATIONAL SECURITY PROBLEM, THEREFORE

-- ISSUED TO STATE, DOD, NSC

-- GIVEN \$\$, ORDERED TO GO FORTH AND FIX IT

-- IRRITATED THAT IT'S NOT FIXED: FRUSTRATION

-- AND ALL THIS ACTIVITY TENDS TO CONFIRM THE **IMPULSE TO
MISTAKE 'MILITARY' FOR 'NATIONAL SECURITY'**

5 -- WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR OUR **MILITARY** MASTER GAME PLAN?

-- DETERRENCE WILL REMAIN BASIC, KEY

-- AND TOUGHER TO DO. SOVIET MILITARY POWER NOW SO BIG
IT HAS POLITICAL IMPACT (STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES).

-- LOTS OF HARASSMENT IN OUR FUTURE

-- THE NATION WANTS THE BENEFITS OF AN OFFENSIVE PLAN

-- BUT WE CAN'T STAND TO HAVE ONE.

-- MOST PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO SEE THE PROBLEM AS **MILITARY**
INSTEAD OF NATIONAL

-- EVIDENT IN NEW BUZZWORD: STRATEGY

-- EXCELLENT EXAMPLE IN PACKARD REPORT (ANNUAL RELOOK)

-- GOOD WORD, NOW USED AS MAGIC INCANTATION. OTHER
EXAMPLES (SLIDE 8)

Dual

-- ALSO, THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE THIRST FOR POSITIVE SOLUTIONS.

-- SUN TZU COMBINES BOTH POSITIVE (OFFENSIVE) AND MILITARY (IN PLACE OF NATIONAL).

-- SEE HIGH REGARD OF ONE WRITER (SLIDE 9)

Deal

-- REVIEW: THE NATION WANTS ANSWERS

-- WE HAVE LITTLE CONCEPT OF NON-MILITARY ANSWERS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY PROBLEMS

-- MILITARY DETERRENCE BUYS TIME, NOT SOLUTIONS

-- REAL SOLUTIONS NOT POLITICALLY SUPPORTABLE.

-- SOUND LIKE TROUBLE? THERE'S MORE ---

⑥ -- ANOTHER PROBLEM FOR US IS DEALING WITH A LONG TERM GAME PLAN.
THERE ARE SOME **COMPLICATIONS**.

-- AGAIN, WHY LONG TERM? IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN
THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM: SOVIET HOSTILITY.

-- NO FAST ANSWERS -- DRIP, DRIP, DRIP, DRIP

-- 2 GENERATIONS ^{Needed} -- 50 YEARS

-- SOVIET ACTIONS NOW HIGHLY POLITICAL (NUC FORCES)

-- WHY IS THIS A PROBLEM?

-- AS ABOVE, FOREIGN POLICY NOW IN POLITICAL COOKER.
POLITICAL DEBATE: **TOUGH TO SET FIRM NATIONAL POLICY.**

-- EBB AND FLOW OF **ELECTIONEERING** WILL IMPACT IN TIME

-- EVEN IF AGREED NOW, NOT SUSTAINABLE IN LONG TERM.
WE'LL SEE SPASM CHANGES IN 2 OR 4 OR 6 OR 8 YEARS.

-- WE HAVE NO INSTITUTIONS ABLE TO KEEP STEADY
POLICY OVER 50 YEARS.

-- PART OF ANY EFFECTIVE NATIONAL GAME PLAN IS **PRIVATE**:
DECEPTION, MISDIRECTION. SUN TZU: ALL WARFARE (NATIONAL SECURITY
CONTEST) IS BASED ON DECEPTION.

-- WILL BE A LONG GAME. TIME FOR OPPONENT TO MAKE
COUNTER MOVE IF HE SEES THE PLAY

-- BOGGLES THE MIND TO IMAGINE AN IMPORTANT PART OF
NATIONAL GAME PLAN STAYING OUT OF WASHINGTON POST FOR 50 YEARS

(7)

-- IS THERE A PONY BURIED UNDERNEATH ALL THAT MANURE? ANY GOOD NEWS AROUND?

-- YES. U.S. HAS POWERFUL NATURAL ADVANTAGE

-- NO DETAIL, BUT I'M IMPRESSED WITH FINDINGS THAT

-- COMPETITIVE STRENGTHS INCLUDE ABSORBING AND REACTING TO NEW INFORMATION. **INTERACTION = WINNER.**

-- WEAKNESSES INCLUDE FILTERING AND DISTRUST OF NEW INFORMATION. **ISOLATION = LOOSER.**

-- STRATEGY IS THE GAME OF INTERACTION AND ISOLATION (CREDIT JOHN BOYD)

-- WOULD BE A POWERFUL FACTOR IN WAR

-- ARE TOOLS AVAILABLE TO USE IN LONG TERM PLAN, IF WE WISH

-- COULD BE THE FACTORS THAT KENNAN COUNTED ON -- THE TOOTH FAIRY PART OF CONTAINMENT

SLIDE 5

ROAD MAP

- WHY THE FRUSTRATION
 - ABOUT MASTER GAME PLANS
 - NATURE OF THE PROBLEM
 - OUR MASTER GAME PLAN
 - MISTAKING "MILITARY" FOR "NATIONAL"
 - THE COMPLICATIONS OF A LONG TERM GAME PLAN
 - MAYBE THERE'S GOOD NEWS (SOME NATURAL ADVANTAGES)
 - SOME MILITARY OBSERVATIONS
 - QUESTIONS

SLIDE SIX

THE REAL TOPIC

THE FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL PURPOSE AND HOW TO ACHIEVE IT

- **FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE: ASSURE NATIONAL WELL-BEING AND PREVENT INTERFERENCE WITH THAT PURPOSE**
- **TO ACHIEVE IT: THE NATION'S MASTER GAME PLAN**

SLIDE SEVEN

CJCS ON MILITARY STRATEGY - A FEW HIGHLIGHTS

NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST

ASSESS THREATS

FORM DEFENSE POLICY

- STABLE DEFENSE THEMES:
 - DETER BETTER THAN FIGHT
 - USE COLLECTIVE SECURITY (COUNT ON ALLIES)
 - DEFEND FROM WELL FORWARD
 - MAINTAIN CENTRAL RESERVES
 - PURSUE ARMS CONTROL
 - DEPEND ON TECHNICAL ADVANTAGE AND FAST RESPONSE

SLIDE SEVEN

CJCS ON MILITARY STRATEGY (A FEW HIGHLIGHTS) (Cont'd)

- IF WE FIGHT SOVIETS, EXPECT MARATHON, NOT WIND SPRINT
- WESTERN EUROPE IS VITAL TO U.S.
 - LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT BEST HANDLED EARLY, WITH NON-MILITARY ACTIONS
 - DELIBERATE WAR PLANNING IS NOT FOR CRISIS RESPONSE
 - IN GENERAL DEFENSE PLANS, ONE GOAL IS TO KEEP NUCLEAR THRESHOLD HIGH AS POSSIBLE
 - REGIONAL PRIORITIES
 - FIGHT SEQUENTIALLY
 - NO CHANCE OF SCALING BACK COMMITMENTS
 - CONCEPTS OF OPERATIONS COMES FROM OPERATIONAL COMMANDER
 - REGIONAL WAR PLANS HAVE MODEST OBJECTIVE
- *NEED: A CONSISTENT AND RATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY GEARED FOR THE LONG RUN*

SLIDE EIGHT

USES OF 'STRATEGY'

- HOW TO FIGHT THEATER CONVENTIONAL BATTLES
 - REGIONAL WAR FIGHTING SCHEME (GRAND TACTICS)
 - SPECIFIC CONTINGENCY CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS (E.G., GRENADA)
 - COMMANDER'S CONCEPT FOR SINGLE EVENT (LIBYA)
 - HOW TO DESIGN AND NEGOTIATE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS
 - HOW TO JUSTIFY FORCE STRUCTURES TO CONGRESS
 - HOW MUCH RISK TO ACCEPT (AS IN PACKARD COMMISSION REPORT)
 - WHAT OUR DECLARATORY POLICY SHOULD BE
 - HOW TO GET FUNDS FROM CONGRESS

- *THE EASIEST CHEAP SHOT IN WASHINGTON:*

"MY OPPONENT HAS NO COHERENT STRATEGY"

SLIDE NINE

CLAVELL - THE ART OF WAR

"SUN TZU DESERVES TO BE READ. I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE *THE ART OF WAR* OBLIGATORY STUDY FOR ALL OUR SERVING OFFICERS AND MEN, AS WELL AS FOR ALL POLITICIANS AND ALL PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT AND ALL HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE FREE WORLD. IF I WERE A COMMANDER IN CHIEF OR PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER, I WOULD GO FURTHER: I WOULD HAVE WRITTEN INTO LAW THAT ALL OFFICERS, *PARTICULARLY ALL GENERALS*, TAKE A YEARLY ORAL AND WRITTEN EXAMINATION ON THESE THIRTEEN CHAPTERS, THE PASSING MARK BEING 95 PERCENT -- ANY GENERAL FAILING TO ACHIEVE A PASS TO BE AUTOMATICALLY AND SUMMARILY DISMISSED WITHOUT APPEAL, AND ALL OTHER OFFICERS TO HAVE AUTOMATIC DEMOTION.

"I BELIEVE, VERY MUCH, THAT SUN TZU'S KNOWLEDGE IS VITAL TO OUR SURVIVAL. IT CAN GIVE US THE PROTECTION WE NEED TO WATCH OUR CHILDREN GROW IN PEACE AND THRIVE."