SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY, EMERGING THREATS
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Christopher Shays, Connecticut
Chairman
Room B-372 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
Tel: 202 225-2548
Fax: 202 225-2382

February 26, 2003

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations

From: Dr. R. Nicholas Palarino, Senior Policy Analyst and
Ms. Mackenzie M. Eaglen, Office of Secretary of Defense Fellow

Subject: Briefing memorandum for the hearing *Combating Terrorism: A Proliferation of Strategies*, scheduled for Monday, March 3, 2003 at 1:00 p.m., Room 2154 Rayburn House Office Building.

PURPOSE OF THE HEARING

The purpose of this hearing is to assess the extent to which US strategies to combat terrorism articulate clear vision statements, goals, and objectives to protect the United States from terrorist acts.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America
The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
The National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism
The National Strategy for Homeland Security
The National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction
The 2002 National Money Laundering Strategy
The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace
The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures

HEARING ISSUES

1. Do the eight strategies fit together to form a cohesive national framework to guide the war against terrorism?

2. How will we know if the strategies are effective?

BACKGROUND

The term strategy refers to the means policymakers choose to attain desired ends. Strategy is a course of action, a plan for achieving specified goals. Although the term is used to describe a plan for applying means to attain ends in any realm of political life, it is also used in military affairs. Strategy could have both broad-ranging and targeted definitions.[1] National strategy or grand strategy is the art and science of developing and employing instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve theater, national, and/or multinational objectives.[2]

---

[1] Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, Strategy, by Charles Kupchan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 884.
[2] Department of Defense, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, Joint Publication 1-02 (Government Printing Office: Washington, DC, January 9, 2003), p. 507.

During the nineteenth century, for example, British grand strategy involved maintaining a "balance of power on the European continent largely through shifting its political alignments with other European countries, while relying on the powerful Royal Navy to protect imperial lines of communication. During the Cold War, US grand strategy was based on the notion of containment: preventing the Soviet Union from gaining control over the main Western industrial centers of the world while restricting the spread of Soviet influence in the Third World.[3]

The Bush Administration's *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (**Web Resource 1**) presents a grand vision of American internationalism, calling for the United States to use its political, economic, and military strength to establish a balance of power that favors human freedom, and defeat the threats posed by terrorists and tyrants.

National military strategy is the art and science of distributing and applying military power to attain national objectives in peace and war.[4] Offensive military strategies involve taking the battle to the adversary with the objective of ending the enemy's fighting capability or compelling the enemy to retreat or surrender. *The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* (**Attachment 1**) and *The National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism* (**Attachment 2**) are offensive strategies.

There are also defensive or deterrent strategies to combat terrorism, which may or may not involve military power. These types of strategies involve denying an adversary its objectives, and interfering, delaying, or preventing hostile action. *The National Strategy for Homeland Security* (**Web Resource 2**), *The National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* (**Web Resource 3**), *The 2002 National Money Laundering Strategy* (**Web Resource 4**), *The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace* (**Web Resource 5**), and *The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures* (**Web Resource 6**) are all defensive and deterrent strategies.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (NSS)

The Bush Administration's *NSS* presents a vision of American internationalism. The stated goal is to make the world a safer and better place by using America's

[3] Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, p. 885.
[4] Department of Defense, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, p. 357.

political, economic, and military influence to establish a balance of power that favors human freedoms and defeat the threat posed by terrorists and tyrants.

The *NSS* has three objectives. The first objective is to defend the peace by opposing and preventing violence by terrorists and outlaw regimes. The *NSS* explains the first duty of government is to defend the country and its citizens. This requires defeating enemies such as terrorists and tyrants, and preventing them from acquiring technologies. To defeat terrorists and tyrants, the NSS emphasizes prevention, preemption, defense and consequence management of terrorism.

The second objective is to preserve the peace by fostering an era of good relations among the world's great powers. The *NSS* explains that the great powers of the world are now on the same side and most of the international community is fighting against a common enemy—terrorists and tyrants. Countries such as Russia and China should be integrated into the West.

Extending the peace by seeking to extend the benefits of freedom and prosperity across the globe is the third *NSS* objective. The *NSS* contends that freedom, democracy, and free enterprise should be extended to every corner of the globe, and will actively promote these principles.

The *NSS* provides a broad framework for strengthening US security and prosperity. It states there is no distinction between terrorists and those who knowingly harbor or provide aid to them. Finally the *NSS* makes the point that America will act against emerging threats before they are fully formed. (**Web Resource 1**)

National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (NSCT)

The *NSCT* outlines the nature of the terrorist threat, the US vision to win the war against terrorism, and provides specific goals and objectives to counter the threat.

Terrorist organizations are depicted as having the same basic composition—terrorists exploit poverty for recruitment, use an international environment that is open and interactive, rely on rogue states to sponsor terrorist activities and develop an organization and leadership to guide the effort.

Terrorists not only exploit people, they exploit their surroundings as well. Terrorists use the open global environment to travel the world. These organizations reach out to other terrorists and work together in funding, sharing

intelligence, training, logistics, planning and executing terrorist attacks. As seen with the attacks of 9/11/01, terrorists also use advanced technologies to their advantage and in the future may use weapons of mass destruction.

The *NSCT* vision states, "The intent of the strategy is to stop terrorist attacks against the United States, its citizens, its interests, and our friends and allies around the world and ultimately, to create an international environment inhospitable to terrorists and all those who support them."

The goals and objectives of the *NSCT* explain how this vision will be attained.

- Goal one is to defeat terrorists and their organizations by identifying, locating and destroying terrorists.

- Goal two denies support and sanctuary to terrorists by ending state sponsorship of terrorists, establishing international standards, strengthening and sustaining the fight against terrorism, interdicting and disrupting material support for terrorists and eliminating terrorist sanctuaries.

- Goal three is to diminish the underlying conditions that terrorists seek to exploit by strengthening weak states and winning the war of ideas.

- Goal four is to defend US citizens' interests at home and abroad by implementing a national strategy for homeland security, attaining domain awareness, protecting US infrastructures, protecting citizens abroad, and insuring integrated incident management capability.

This strategy is designed to complement the *National Security Strategy* by providing additional details specific to combating terrorism, and also supplements the *National Strategy for Homeland Security*. (**Attachment 1**)

National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism (NMSPT)

This classified document provides a long-term framework for the military on how to carry out the campaign against terrorism.[5] The strategy is intended to supplement related counterterrorism strategies developed by other government

[5] The NMSPT should not be confused with *The National Military Strategy*. The *National Military Strategy* is a statutorily mandated plan that provides strategic direction to the armed forces. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is to develop such a plan every 3-5 years. The last *National Military Strategy* was published in 1997.

agencies, such as the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Building upon the *NSS* and the *NSCT*, the plan explains how the US military should confront countries that sponsor terrorism, disrupt and destroy terrorist organizations, and create a global environment hostile to terrorism.

The central themes of the National Military Strategic Plan are three-fold. The first stage is to attack the most immediate threat of al Qaeda while denying this terrorist organization safe haven elsewhere. The second tenet involves organizing for a sustained war against terrorism, including putting pressure on state sponsors. Finally, the military is building a long-term, antiterrorist global environment to discredit terrorism worldwide, to include counter information campaigns and addressing political and economic conditions which foster terrorist activities. (**Attachment 2**)

National Strategy for Homeland Security (NSHS)

The purpose of *NSHS* is to mobilize and organize the continental United States to secure the nation from terrorist attacks. To accomplish this mission, all elements of American society are required to participate—federal, state and local governments, the private sector, and private citizens.

The objectives of homeland security are:

- Prevent terrorist attacks within the United States;
- Reduce American vulnerability to terrorism; and,
- Minimize the damage and recover from attacks if they do occur.

The strategy identifies six critical mission areas:

1. Improve intelligence and warning to prevent surprise attacks and expand intelligence analytical capabilities;
2. Enhance border and transportation security;
3. Improve domestic counterterrorism by enhancing intergovernmental law enforcement and eliminating terrorist financing;
4. Protect critical infrastructure and key assets by coordinating work between federal, state and local governments and the private sector in order to secure cyberspace and national infrastructure;

5. Defend against catastrophic threats to include chemical, biological and radiological weapon attacks; and,
6. Enhance emergency preparedness and response by integrating separate federal response plans and communication among first responders.

The foundations of the homeland security plan are law, science and technology, information sharing and international cooperation. (**Web Resource 2**)

National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction (NSCWMD)

This strategy intends to counter weapons of mass destruction (WMD), to include their use and proliferation. To achieve this vision, the United States will seek to take advantage of new technologies, increase emphasis on intelligence collection and analysis, strengthen alliances and establish new relationships with former adversaries.

The first pillar of the strategy is the counterproliferation to combat WMD use. This will be accomplished through interdiction to prevent the movement of WMD materials. Also, new methods of deterrence will be employed through a strong declaratory policy. Finally, defense and mitigation efforts are given deterrence fails, through detection of WMD assets and preemptive action to destroy them before employed.

The second tenet of the strategy is strengthened nonproliferation. This will include active nonproliferation diplomacy to dissuade states and seekers of WMD and missile programs. New multilateral regimes will be established to strengthen nonproliferation efforts. Nonproliferation and threat reduction cooperation will be increased and controls on nuclear activity will remain a high priority. The U.S. will continue discouraging the global accumulation of separated plutonium and minimize the use of highly enriched uranium.

The final pillar is consequence management to respond to weapons of mass destruction. This calls for an integrated and comprehensive training and planning effort to assist state and local governments in the event of an attack. This aspect is further discussed in the *National Strategy for Homeland Security*.

Critical enabling functions are laid out to synthesize the three strategic tenets. They are improved intelligence collection and analysis, research and development, strengthened international cooperation and targeted strategies against proliferation.

(**Web Resource 3**)

2002 National Money Laundering Strategy

The purpose of the strategy is to deny terrorist groups the ability to finance their actions. This strategy is the first government-wide plan to counter terrorist financing.

Domestically, the document calls for highly trained and experienced criminal investigators to dismantle large money laundering schemes and undertake significant asset forfeiture investigations. The strategy proposes the development of advanced money laundering training courses for federal agents and prosecutors. Internationally, the United States will seek to improve the commitment of partners to eliminate safe havens for money launderers, as well as continue to hone US regulatory efforts.

The document establishes an interagency targeting team to help focus efforts and resources against the most significant money laundering organizations and systems. The plan calls for increased work with international financial institutions to improve and monitor anti-money laundering compliance efforts throughout the world. (**Web Resource 4**)

The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace (NSSC)

This strategy also complements both the *National Security Strategy* and *National Strategy for Homeland Security*. The *NSSC* is not meant to be a static document when complete, but one that will evolve to incorporate a changing environment. Cyberspace is defined as the information technology networks and systems, equipment and software necessary for the nation to operate.

The vision is to secure information systems against deliberate disruption and foster increased national resilience to intrusion. Cyberspace security is individual and communal, where each user of cyberspace plays a role in securing this realm. Information sharing can be fostered through a range of clearinghouses and analysis centers or through a network of operations center.

The goal is to find solutions that both enhance security and protect privacy for home users, large enterprises, critical sectors, the nation, and the global community.

The strategy explains the necessity to conduct continuous risk assessments. Cyberspace is a borderless network with instant messaging, email attachments, and Web services capabilities. Security in cyberspace is meant to be a primary consideration, not an afterthought. The plans calls for federally funded near-term information technology security research and development and grants to universities for the training of professionals. (**Web Resource 5**)

The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures (NSPPCI)

The vision of the plan is to reduce the nation's vulnerability to acts of terrorism by protecting critical infrastructures and key assets from physical attack. This includes securing the infrastructures and assets vital to our national security, governance, public health and safety, economy, and public confidence.

The strategy provides direction to the federal departments and agencies that have a role in critical infrastructure and key asset protection. It also suggests steps that state and local governments, private sector entities, and concerned citizens across America can take to enhance our collective infrastructure and asset security. The goals of the plan include:

- Maintaining the continued reliability, robustness, and resiliency of America's critical infrastructure sectors;

- Ensuring the federal government's ability to perform essential national and homeland security missions and ensuring the general public's health and safety if attacked;

- Establishing state and local government capacities to maintain order and to deliver minimum essential public services;

- Preventing damage to the private sector's capability to ensure the orderly functioning of the economy and the delivery of essential services; and

- Maintaining the public's morale and confidence in our national economic and political institutions.

The plan's objectives are:

- Identifying and assuring the protection of those infrastructures and assets that we deem most critical in terms of national-level public health and safety, governance, economic and national security, and public confidence consequences;

- Providing timely warning and assuring the protection of those infrastructures and assets that face a specific, imminent threat; and

- Assuring the protection of other infrastructures and assets that may become terrorist targets over time by pursuing specific initiatives and enabling a collaborative environment in which federal, state, and local governments and the private sector can better protect the infrastructures and assets they control.

DISCUSSION OF HEARING ISSUES

1. Do the eight strategies fit together to form a cohesive national framework to guide the war against terrorism?

The Clinton administration took the position that several official documents published, when taken as a whole, including Presidential Decision Directives 39, 62, and 63, the Attorney General's *Five-Year Interagency Counterterrorism and Technology Crime Plan*, and the most recent *Annual Report to Congress on Combating Terrorism*, comprised a national strategy.

But many government studies and experts on terrorism argued these documents did not provide a comprehensive national strategy. The Presidential Decision Directives, for the most part, only assigned certain responsibilities to federal entities. The Attorney General's Plan, while useful, fell short of a fully-coordinated strategy, one that includes a high-level statement of national objectives coupled logically to a statement of the means that will be used to achieve these objectives.

In a coherent strategy, program details are analytically derived from the statement of goals. While the Attorney General's Plan contained goals and objectives, it is not apparent there was any enforcement or tracking mechanism to ensure the specific objectives were tied to milestone dates, or other measures to effect full implementation. The Clinton administration documents described plans, the description of a compilation of various programs already under way, and some objectives, but they did not either individually or collectively constitute a comprehensive national strategy.

The Bush Administration overarching document that plans for the defense of the United States is *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. From this document the Bush Administration developed a series of plans. Taken together these plans appear to interrelate and overlap in their visions, goals and objectives.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, *The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, and *The National Strategy for Homeland Security* are top-level strategies that together address US security both overseas and domestically. These strategies serve as the foundation for other subordinate national strategies to combat terrorism and overlap on some issues—such as border security.

The *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism* addresses military operations to combat terrorism overseas. It is, therefore, subsumed under the *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*. Some strategies contain elements related to terrorism and independent elements that do not overlap with other strategies related to terrorism. For an example of the latter, both the *National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace* and the *National Money Laundering Strategy* include some domestic law enforcement elements on criminal groups not associated with terrorism.

While these plans taken together appear to interrelate and overlap in their visions, goals and objectives, it is unclear how to determine if these strategies are effective.

2. How will we know if these strategies are effective?

In 1993, Congress enacted the Government Performance and Results Act (commonly referred to as the Results Act). The legislation was designed to have agencies focus on the performance and results of programs rather than on program

activities and resources. Congress sought to shift federal management and oversight from its preoccupation with program staffing, activity levels, and tasks completed to program results. Congressional reports and administrative guidance indicate that programs developed at the agency level should follow the Results Act's outcome-oriented principles, including the establishment of general goals as well as quantifiable, measurable, outcome-oriented performance goals and related measures.

A primary purpose of these strategic documents is to initiate programs and direct resources towards the goal of combating terrorism. A strategy should contain measures of effectiveness in order to evaluate its success during implementation, otherwise it will be difficult to know if the strategies are effective or not.

For example, *The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace,* and *The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures* have visions, goals and objectives; however, it is unclear if the vision and goals are attainable. As the Results Act points out, quantifiable, outcome-oriented performance goals should be established and written into these plans as a means to determine the effectiveness of the strategy.

For example, *The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace* calls for secure information systems by tasking all people and sectors (individuals, government and the private sector) to participate in cyber security. It further lays out a method to achieve these goals but offers no quantifiable metrics to periodically assess the efficacy of the strategy or if the goals are being achieved.

This lack of measurable follow through is also evident in *The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures*. While the strategy suggests conducting research to develop metrics for determining the adequacy of infrastructure subsystems, it goes no further. There is no measurement for evaluating whether the nation's vulnerability to acts of terrorism against key assets has decreased. Fostering information sharing and international cooperation are also vague goals lacking a way to measure effectiveness.

ATTACHMENTS

1. *The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism.*

2. Eric Schmit, "Threats and Responses: The Military," *New York Times*, January 17, 2003.

Web Resources

1. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* can be found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.

2. *The National Strategy for Homeland Security* can be found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/book.

3. *The National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* can be found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/WMDStrategy.

4. *The 2002 National Money Laundering Strategy* can be found at http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ml.

5. *The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace* can be found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/pcipb.

6. *The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures* can be found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland.

Witnesses

Panel I

Mr. Raymond Decker
Director, Defense Capabilities
and Management Team
US General Accounting Office

Panel II

The Honorable James Gilmore, III
Chairman, Advisory Panel to Assess the
Domestic Response Capabilities for
Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction

Dr. Michael E. O'Hanlon
Senior Fellow
Foreign Policy Studies
The Sydney Stein, Jr. Chair
The Brookings Institution

Dr. Andrew F. Krepinevich
Executive Director
Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

General Wayne A. Downing (USA, Ret.)—Invited
Chair, Combating Terrorism Center
United States Military Academy