Department of the Air Force
GLOBAL PRESENCE
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GLOBAL PRESENCE

Foreword

Americans have witnessed momentous changes during the past several years-changes few anticipated would occur as quickly as they did. In turn, America's Air Force changed.

In 1991, we took tough steps to design a credible fighting force for today and for the future. Now, we stand on the threshold of our next major challenge: reconceptualizing strategy.

With the Cold War solidly behind us, we must examine the emerging international security environment and how we play in it. The preparation of this *Global Presence* paper is a first step in meeting this challenge.

The white paper proposes a new logic for America's *presence* strategy. It expands traditional conceptions of military *presence* to include not only the "physical" merits of air, land, and sea forces, but also the "virtual" advantage obtained with space forces and information-based capabilities. It also acknowledges the vital role of technological innovation in the strategy formulation process.

With *Global Presence* we have a unique opportunity to reconsider presence in light of new security, technology, and budget considerations. Indeed, these new considerations compel a fresh strategic approach to this common core mission.

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Introduction

As America approaches the next century, we face both an uncertain world and a promising future. Our challenge, as a Service and as a nation, is to sustain that promise and secure the future.

In the years to come, America's military will continue to play a pivotal role. That role will be a stabilizing one, founded on the shared principles and traditions of all the Services. Increased cooperation is the cornerstone for success.

The primary responsibility of America's military is to deter potential adversaries or fight and win wars decisively. To improve the way we do business, we must reconsider this core responsibility in terms of how America's military forces actually project power.

At the foundation of this approach is *power projection*. Power projection is a means to influence actors or affect situations or events in America's national interest. It has two components: *warfighting* and *presence*. *Warfighting* is the direct use of military force to compel an adversary. *Presence* is the posturing of military capability, including nonbelligerent applications, and/or the leveraging of information to deter or compel an actor or affect a situation. A sound national military strategy depends on coherent *warfighting* and *presence* strategies.

Changes in the international security environment, advances in technology, and reductions in America's military force structure require a fresh consideration of America's *presence* strategy.

This document provides a reconceptualization of *presence*. It expands traditional notions of *presence* to correspond with the emerging international security picture and to match current and future applications.

Global Presence: A New Approach

America's approach to evolving national security concerns has changed over the years to meet the needs of a shifting geopolitical environment.

During the Cold War, America's vital national interests seemed to be more easily defined. Our nation faced a monolithic threat to its national security and our political and military leaders were able to contain and counter that threat with effective strategies for ensuring America's security. *Forward defense* was a key component of our containment strategy and amounted to what today is called *presence*.
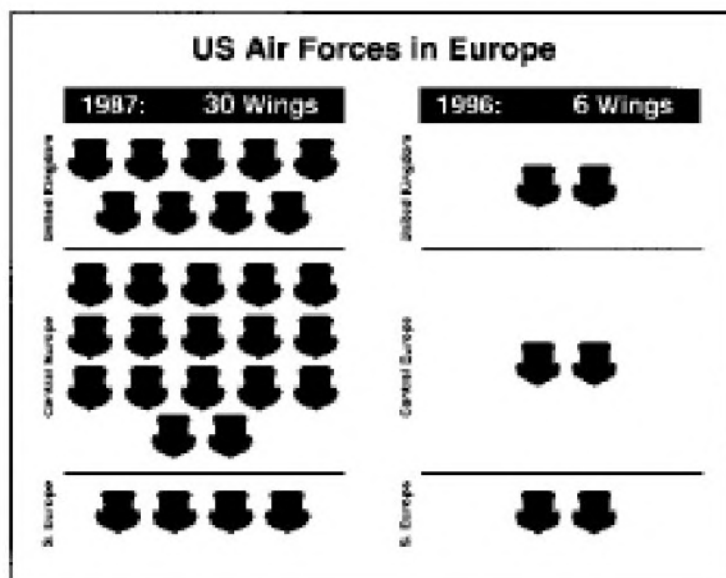
The thrust of *forward defense* was to deter potential aggressors, and if that failed, to engage those aggressors' forces close to their borders, halting and repelling the aggression. As such, *presence* equated to and was assured by bi-polar alliances, heavy overseas troop commitments, frequent political and military-to-military interaction with America's allies, and the continual courting of "on-the-fence" nations. In short, part of America's Cold War strategy was "being there." It was a strategy most Americans understood.

As the 1980s ended and the Cold War subsided, the basis for the traditional definition of *presence* began to dissolve. America moved from the Cold War's bi-polar arrangement toward what was perceived to be a new, less threatening political environment. As *forward defense* lost its rationale, *forward presence* and

overseas presence emerged. The goal of each was to assure America's allies of our nation's continued commitment to their security while responding to the reality of the decreasing threat to America's national existence.

Today, the global international system has become a more diverse panorama of political, military, and economic concerns confronting the United States. Consequently, it is more difficult to achieve consensus on what Americans consider "vital" national interests. Despite this, America's military forces are involved in more operations of greater duration than at any time in the past 20 years; and, these operations have been conducted with 25 percent of the total force and 40 percent fewer forward deployed forces than the Services possessed in 1989.
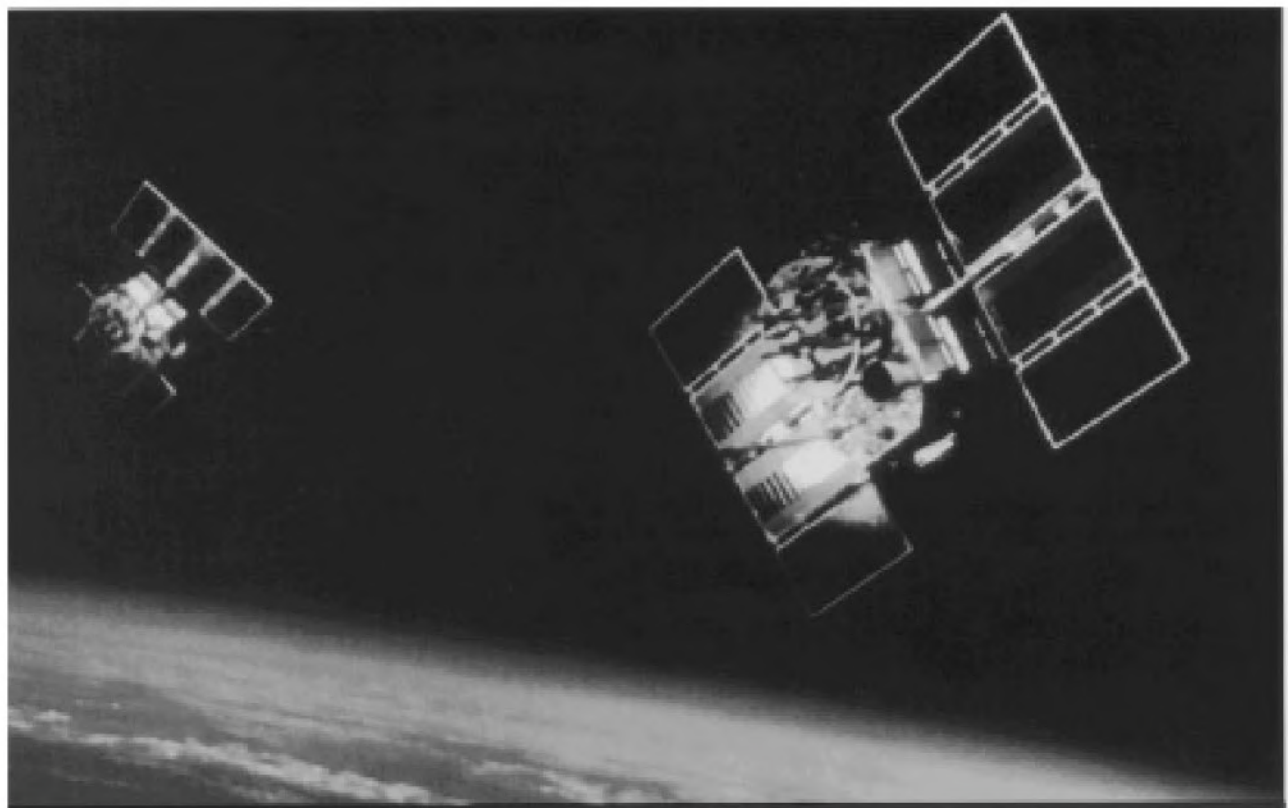

In the face of increasing demands on U.S. military forces, smaller force structures, and shrinking defense budgets, we can no longer afford to physically deploy forces in every region of concern.

Concurrent with changes in the international security environment are significant advances in technology, most notably information technologies. The ability to create, disseminate, access, and manipulate information for one's own ends and to control information available to competitors or adversaries produces a

potential for decisive advantage. Much as the introduction of the airplane moved us into the three-dimensional battlefield, information technologies lead us to consider the potential of operations in a four-dimensional, virtual battlespace. This battlespace is not defined in terms of traditional, centralized, geopolitical boundaries, but in terms of a decentralized, global web of networks. As a result, we must examine new methods of characterizing the threat - including the use of technology-based analysis - and determine appropriate responses.

To use an analogy, during the Cold War, America was like a cop permanently guarding the door of every bank around the globe. Changes in the security environment coupled with technological improvements and force reductions altered America's need to continue in this role. Hence, America replaced "the cop on the beat" with "video monitoring and alarm systems" linked to joint military capabilities that can be brought to bear wherever and whenever necessary. This monitoring and alarm network consists of space-based and air-breathing platform

sensors and other information-gathering systems. In most instances, information, combined with forces that can rapidly respond with the right mix of capabilities, can achieve U.S. goals. On occasion, information alone may be enough to attain U.S. objectives. Of course, in some regions of the world a physical presence is imperative; however, there may be circumstances when such a presence is counterproductive. In instances where a physical presence is not preferred, information capabilities provide America the option to visit the "bank" as often as it wishes to check the integrity of the system.

In an environment influenced by so many variables, how should America best pursue the continuing need for presence? One way is through Global Presence.

Global Presence expands the definition of presence to include the advantages of physical and virtual means. *Global Presence* considers the full range of potential activities from the physical interaction of military forces to the virtual interaction achieved with America's information based capabilities.

Fundamentals of Global Presence

Three tenets are key to moving beyond traditional conceptions of *presence*:

- All military forces can exert *presence*;

- Forces have unique attributes that affect the scope and quality of the *presence* they exert and complement each other when appropriately applied; and

- Technological advances are enhancing the contributions of military forces to *presence* missions.

All Military Forces Can Exert Presence

The suitability of forces to exert *presence* is conditional. The task is to match the right combination of capabilities to achieve the desired objective. For forces to exert *presence*, the actors we wish to influence must understand that we:

- Have national interests involved;

- Have the political will to support or defend those interests;

- Can monitor and assess their actions accordingly; and

- Have sufficient force to achieve our objectives.

Without fulfilling these four conditions, military forces are not likely to influence an actor.

U.S. efforts to persuade Israel not to respond to Iraqi Scud attacks during the Persian Gulf War can help illustrate these conditions. America's objective was to

preserve the political and military coalition opposing Iraq. To accomplish this objective, the U.S. had to satisfy the four conditions mentioned above.

First, to ensure Israel understood and appreciated American interests, which included Israeli security, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State and Under Secretary of Defense for Policy delivered personal assurances from the President of the United States to the Israeli Prime Minister. Thereafter, the Department of Defense established a secure communication link with the Israeli Ministry of Defense to enable immediate and frequent contact between U.S. and Israeli officials.

Second, to ensure Israel understood America intended to support those interests, the President ordered the immediate transfer of two Patriot air defense missile batteries to Israel and the training of Israeli crews for their operation.

Third, to assure Israel that America could monitor and assess activities throughout the region, the U.S. provided near-real-time warning of Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Israel. Near-real-time warning offered the Israeli populace as much as five minutes to take shelter before missile impact.

Fourth, to assure the Israeli leadership that America had sufficient force to achieve its objectives, the President offered four additional Patriot batteries to be

operated by U.S. troops. Likewise, U.S. Central Command devoted a substantial amount of its air, space, and special operations assets to combat the Scud threat.

In this instance, America succeeded by ensuring U.S. objectives were clearly understood, by demonstrating U.S. commitment to Israel's security, and by coordinating a common response to the crisis. Space-based assets aided this response and were part of the process that included all four conditions for exerting *presence*. These four conditions are enduring requirements, guiding America's political and military leaders when considering *presence* operations. Because every operation is fundamentally different, political and military leaders should choose forces with the attributes each case warrants.

Military Forces Emphasize Different Attributes

America's military forces emphasize different attributes based on the medium in which they operate. These attributes magnify a theater commander's ability to exert *presence* in accordance with the *principles of war*. They also enable theater commanders to develop alternative joint force packages. These attributes include:

- Responsiveness-the ability to arrive quickly where needed;

- Persistence-the ability to maintain or adjust operational tempos over an extended period of time;

- Flexibility (versatility)-the ability to configure forces for a particular set of conditions

- Survivability-the ability to limit risks when employing forces; and

- Economy-the ability to efficiently allocate resources required to deploy and employ capabilities.

Employing the proper alternative joint force package depends on numerous factors, beginning with   an assessment of national security objectives. An example of this can be drawn from the situation   in Kuwait in 1994.

The possibility of a resurgent Iraqi threat poses a serious danger to the region's stability and America's interests in the Persian Gulf. This required more than just a physical presence, it required a *Global Presence*, combined with diplomatic initiatives, to contain Iraqi adventurism. When Iraq mobilized a significant ground force near Kuwait's border, the U.S. quickly responded with Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR. On short notice, air and ground forces deployed from the U.S. to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to deter incursions into these territories. Likewise, naval forces moved from the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean into the Persian Gulf. Space forces and other information-based capabilities enabled air, ground, and

naval force operations and provided American, coalition, and other world leaders a window through which they could monitor, assess, and, with a variety of means, attempt to manipulate behaviors. Concurrently, global media coverage of America's military mobilization and deployment presented Saddam Hussein and the world with an unmistakable statement of U.S. intentions and resolve. In this case, U.S. efforts capitalized upon the complementary attributes of air, ground, sea, and space forces to successfully secure U.S. objectives. In the future, when demonstrating similar resolve, our nation's leaders will benefit from forces increasingly influenced by technological innovations.

Technological Innovations Enhance U.S. Ability to Exert Presence

Technological advances enhance the role of all military forces in exerting *presence*. Improvements in three specific areas enable forces to influence with less political and military risk:

- *Situational Awareness*: Advances in information-based technologies allow military forces to monitor and assess most global conditions rapidly and efficiently;

- *Strategic Agility*: Improvements in transport technologies enable rapid responses with a variety of military forces to distant locations; and

- *Lethality*: Enhancements in weapon system technologies make it possible to achieve desired effects more quickly and at less cost.

Situational awareness results from advances in information-based technologies that allow military forces to monitor and assess global conditions rapidly and efficiently. This is more than hitching a ride on the information highway. Political and military leaders have come to depend upon advances in space-based and air-breathing platform sensors and other information-based systems deployed around the globe. These forces are an increasingly vital component of national policy implementation. For example, these capabilities were critically important during 1994, when determining and executing appropriate responses to events in Korea, Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti.

Situational awareness gives America the ability to anticipate crises and prepare appropriate responses to them. Improvements in space-based and airbreathing platform sensors and information-based systems in the coming years will steadily increase the *situational awareness* of military leaders and military forces at all echelons. Today, *situational awareness* improves our ability to generate military options before crises erupt. Once the use of military capabilities is necessary, the full range of recent technological advances comes into play.

Improvements in transport technologies enable the United States to respond rapidly to national security concerns anywhere in the world with a variety of military capabilities. This is *strategic agility*. With *strategic agility*, U.S. military forces can operate unconstrained by geographic barriers and can

reach 100 percent of the world's population. We gain *strategic agility* with such national assets as our air mobility fleet, that is, our airlift and air refueling forces. When these assets are combined with Army Civil Affairs units, for instance, air mobility becomes a means for demonstrating U.S. benevolence. When combined with the 82d Airborne, air mobility becomes a means for demonstrating U.S. resolve.

Strategic agility also gives us the ability to anchor forces in one location and rapidly swing them, if needed, to other locations. This enables military forces, far removed from any target, to deliver aid or combat capabilities within minutes or hours of a national decision to act.

Enhancements in weapon systems and related technologies make it possible to achieve desired effects more quickly and at less cost. For example, *Gulf War Air Power Survey* analysis revealed precision munitions were 12 times more effective than non-precision munitions.[1] As a result, air forces minimized their exposure to enemy defenses and experienced significantly fewer aircraft losses. At the same time, the use of precision weapons significantly decreased collateral damage. When combined with the advantages of stealth technologies, precision munitions

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[1] *Gulf War Air Power Survey*, Vol 11. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993, pages 352-353.

become even more potent. Consequently, increased *lethality* enables America to maintain a credible deterrent threat with a reduced force structure.

The synergistic benefits achieved when combining situational awareness and strategic agility with lethality allow America to consider a wide range of military responses to worldwide circumstances. These capabilities, inherent in our warfighting forces (forces that possess the attributes of responsiveness, persistence, flexibility, survivability, and economy) form the cornerstone of Global Presence.

Presence Is a Team Effort

America's military Services have always fought as a team. *GoldwaterNichols* legislation codified jointness and recent historical trends have reinforced this concept. Today, few would dispute the efficacy of joint *warfighting*, which DESERT STORM clearly validated.

Like *warfighting, presence* is a team effort. Just as theater commanders define their *warfighting* requirements, they have the responsibility to determine *presence* requirements as well. As such, they must retain access to the military means that enable them to obtain the balance of forces and capabilities needed to exert *presence*. *Global Presence* facilitates that process.

Global Presence acknowledges that all military capabilities contribute to presence with physical and virtual means.

Summary

Whether forces operate globally or from forward areas, they operate as a team. Together, they offer America's leadership a mechanism for modulating responses to global, regional, or local situations to achieve national objectives while controlling risk. Global Presence acknowledges this interdependency. It reconceptualizes presence to correspond with the emerging international security picture and expands presence to match current and future applications.

Today, America's military forces are more mobile, more lethal, and more omnipresent than ever before. These features enhance traditional conceptions of military presence by allowing theater commanders to employ the advantages of all military options, forces, and capabilities.

As we peer into the future, we should view Global Presence as one route the Services can take to achieve our country's ever evolving national security objectives. We in the military possess the means, physical and virtual, to provide America continuous awareness of world events and a force capable of projecting military power worldwide, in minutes or hours, with little or no warning. In so doing, we accomplish our responsibility to our civilian leadership and the American people to deter potential adversaries or fight and win wars decisively.