



PRECISION-GUIDED IDEAS

2002 ANNUAL REPORT



"If there was any doubt about the power of your ideas, one has only to look at the number of Center associates who now people this administration and particularly the Department of Defense—to dispel them."

—SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DONALD H. RUMSFELD

### MISSION OF THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

# To promote peace through American strength

THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY IS DEVOTED to the time-tested philosophy of promoting international peace through American strength.

Founded in 1988, the Center accomplishes that goal as a non-partisan, non-profit organization, by stimulating and informing national and international policy debates.

Speed is the Center's trademark: the rapid preparation and real-time dissemination of actionable information, analyses and policy recommendations. Information technologies turn the Center's staff into a large policy voice, via e-mail distribution, computerized fax, an exciting and information-packed Web site, published articles, television and radio commentaries and strong use of the electronic media.

The Center's principal audiences are the U.S. security policy-making community in the executive branch, from the White House to the Pentagon, State Department, armed forces and other agencies; to Congress; to corresponding organizations in key foreign governments; the news media; the global business and financial community; and the general public.

Active participation of the Center's network of past and present, civilian and military security policy practitioners helps make the mission possible. By drawing on the experience, judgment and insights of these accomplished individuals, the Center maximizes the quality of its inputs into the policy process with an extremely small core staff and great costeffectiveness.



"I applaud the Center for Security Policy for their past achievements and continuing efforts to help shape successful policy for our future....

"We must do everything in our power to see to it that our nation stays the course by supporting the principles of liberty....

"Long after we're gone ... if we succeed in our noble mission, the lamp of freedom will burn brilliantly in the minds and hearts of people everywhere. This will be our legacy, one which will forever endure the passage of time."

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN KEEPER OF THE FLAME, 1995

### **Message from the President**

IN 2002, THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF AT WAR. Today, as during the earlier, Cold War conflict, an organization is needed to promote realism among the policy elites concerning the dangers we face and to expand popular understanding of and support for the steps needed successfully to address those dangers.

In the 1970s, that organization was the Committee on the Present Danger, a non-partisan coalition of influential Americans who challenged the view that détente with the Soviet Union was a sound basis for U.S. security. The Com-

mittee proved instrumental in advancing an alternative approach, rooted in the philosophy of peace through American strength, that many of its members—including Ronald Reagan—subsequently made the hallmark of the Reagan presidency.

The Center for Security Policy is such an organization for our time. The Center prides itself on being loosely modeled on the Committee on the Present Danger—drawing on a formidable network of experienced policy practitioners and other experts to stimulate and inform the national security debate, and recruiting, training and inspiring a new generation to follow in their footsteps.

A lean and agile organizational structure enables the Center to bring to today's debate what we call "precision-guided ideas"—analyses and recommendations that define robust, principled approaches to current and emerging security policy challenges, delivered in near-real time.

In this way, the Center functions in the war of ideas rather like a Special Operations outfit—maneuvering adroitly, exploiting available intelligence and drawing on carefully honed expertise and skills and a willingness to take on seemingly formidable opponents in

order to safeguard and advance American security interests at home and abroad.

We appreciate the opportunity to work closely with those in government who share our commitment to peace through American strength—many of whom are valued colleagues who have served on the Center's National Security Advisory Council. This partnership adds immeasurably to the value of our efforts and will, we are confident, contribute materially to the quality and success of American security policy during the challenging wartime days, months and years ahead.

FRANK J. GAFFNEY, JR. PRESIDENT AND CEO



# Serving the Defense and Security Policy Community

THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY BEGAN IN 1988 as a different sort of organization—unique in its focus, in its method of operation and in the role it plays in the security policymaking community.

The Center focuses on current, and especially breaking, security policy issues. It operates as a clearing house for information and recommendations concerning the defense and foreign policy topics it addresses. With its *Decision Briefs*—short, timely analyses—and other information products averaging one per business day, the Center steadily provides the government, the media, national civic groups and a wide variety of audiences in the policy, military, academic and business communities with insights and advice generally unavailable elsewhere.

Center experts frequently participate in congressional deliberations. For example, in 2002, Center President Frank Gaffney testified before the House Armed Services Committee's Special Oversight Panel on Terrorism concerning the status of America's security relationships in the Middle East; the House International Relations Committee on the national security implications of foreign oil dependency; and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning the recently completed Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions, the historic Treaty of Moscow which did away with the ABM Treaty.

Magnifying the Center's influence is its role as a hub and "back office" of a network of over 100 policy experts and former officials who serve on its National Security Advisory Council. They include 25 former cabinet and sub-cabinet members, leading members of the Senate and House of Representatives and ambassadors.

In addition to the many members of the Center's National Security Advisory Council who now hold senior executive branch positions, a number have served as commissioners, consultants, or key witnesses for:

- The congressionally mandated Rumsfeld Commission on ballistic missile threats;
- —The Deutch Commission, created by Congress to find solutions to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- The House Select Committee on military and security issues concerning China, chaired by Rep. Christopher Cox, himself an Advisory Council member and recipient of the Center's "Keeper of the Flame" award;
- —The Rumsfeld Commission on space;
- —The Tilleli Commission to evaluate intelligence reporting on China; and
- The new congressionally-chartered U.S.-China Security Review Commission, whose July 2002 bipartisan support ratified many of the Center's early warnings about trade and technology transfers to Beijing.



LEFT: December 13, 1991: Years of work bear fruit as President Bush announces that the U.S. will withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Flanking the President: Gen. Richard B. Myers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Secretary of State Colin Powell; and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice.

"CSP was instrumental in developing the arguments against the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Largely ignored or derided at the time, a 1995 CSP memo cowritten by Douglas Feith holding that the United States should withdraw from the ABM treaty has essentially become policy, as have other CSP reports opposing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the International Criminal Court." -THE NATION, 2 SEPTEMBER 2002

### NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISORY COUNCIL MEMBERS TAKE TOP U.S. GOVERNMENT POSTS

**Elliot Abrams**, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs for Democracy, Human Rights and International Operations

Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict

**Devon Gaffney Cross**, member, Defense Policy Board

J.D. Crouch, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy

Mitchell Daniels, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Kenneth deGraffenreid, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Support

Paula Dobriansky, Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs

**Douglas J. Feith**, former Chairman of the Center's Board of Directors, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

**Evan Galbraith**, Secretary of Defense's Representative to Europe

Marlin Hefti, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs

Robert Joseph, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs for Proliferation Strategy, Counterproliferation and Homeland Defense

**Sven Kraemer**, Senior Policy Advisor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

**Keith Payne**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Forces Policy

**Richard Perle**, Chairman of the Defense Policy Board

Robert Reilly, Director, Voice of America

Roger W. Robinson, Jr., Commissioner, U.S.-China Security Review Commission

James Roche, Secretary of the Air Force

William Schneider, Chairman of the Defense Science Board

Wayne Schroeder, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Resource Planning and Management

**Jose Sorzano**, member, Board of Visitors, Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (formerly School of the Americas)

**Michelle Van Cleave**, Assistant to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

**Arthur Waldron**, Commissioner, U.S.-China Security Review Commission

Governor Pete Wilson, Member, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

**Dov Zakheim**, Under Secretary of Defense; Comptroller



### **TEAM SPIRIT**

The Center's former chairman, Douglas J. Feith (left) is now Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, while National Security Advisory Council member J.D. Crouch (right) serves as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.



"Basically this is a family. We have been in the trenches together now well before Frank set up the Center for Security Policy. It's an honor to be back with people that we know, in the Pentagon, are always with us."

DOV ZAKHEIM, UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (COMPTROLLER), SEPTEMBER 5, 2002



### **Media Exposure & Impact**

THE CENTER CONTINUES TO BE JOURNALISTS' go-to source for fast, accurate information and quotable, hard-hitting commentary. Since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the Center for Security Policy has been a preeminent policy presence on television in support of the domestic and international anti-terror campaign. Center officials appeared at least weekly, and usually several times a week or even several times a day, as guest commentators on television, from

the BBC to the CBS Evening News, CNBC, CNN, Fox News, MSNBC and even HBO's "Dennis Miller Live."

In addition, Center experts made hundreds of radio appearances in the past year, including such nationally syndicated shows as those hosted by Rush Limbaugh, Janet Parshalls, Oliver North and Blanquita Cullom.

Gaffney also provides a weekly half-hour review of defense

and foreign policy matters for the nationally syndicated Hugh Hewitt Show and is a frequent commentator on the Bartholomew and Alexander show broadcast from WABC in New York.

In the year following the attacks on America, the Center and its National Security Advisory Council members also authored over 100 articles and essays in newspapers, magazines and on-line journals, and were quoted by many of the Nation's most popular and influential print news organizations. FrontPageMag.com, Insight and National Review Online also frequently publish articles and commentary by Center officers and staff. Gaffney writes a syndicated weekly column that appears in the Washington Times and a fortnightly column for FoxNews.com. He also serves as a member of Investor's Business Daily's "Brain Trust."



### CENTER'S WEB SITE FINDS GLOBAL AUDIENCE

The Center's new, redesigned and upgraded Web site, CenterforSecurityPolicy.org, attracts a growing global audience that includes top policymakers in Washington and abroad. With fresh, tightly-written lead stories tackling a different issue three or more days a week

and links to dozens of news stories and commentaries added daily, the site is an increasingly popular information destination for defense and security experts—often addressing issues well before they are raised in the news media. The Center's daily Web site content is also syndicated online via the Town-Hall.com portal, an electronic news service of the Heritage Foundation.

### **SELECTION OF MEDIA APPEARANCES SINCE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001**

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS:
Aerospace Daily
Agence France Presse
Al-Quds (Palestinian
Authority)
American Prospect
Associated Press
Australian Financial
Review
Baltimore Sun
Boston Globe
Businessline

Chicago Tribune
Christian Science Monitor
CNSNews.com
Columbia Journalism
Review
Detroit Free Press
Deutsche Presse Agentur
El Mercurio [Chile]
The Economist
Esquire
Federal News Service
Forbes

The Guardian
Houston Chronicle
Insight
Investor's Business Daily
Irish Times
Jerusalem Post
Los Angeles Times
Manchester Union-Leader
Moscow News
Moscow Times
National Post [Canada]
National Review

Neue Zürcher Zeitung
New York Times
Nikkei News Service
O Publico (Portugal)
Ottawa Citizen
People's Daily (Communist
China)
Philadelphia Inquirer
Raleigh News & Observer
Rocky Mountain News
St. Petersburg Times
San Francisco Chronicle

Scripps-Howard
Slate.com
Time
Toronto Star
Tulsa World
United Press International
USA Today
Wall Street Journal
Washington Post
Washington Times
Weekly Standard
Wired



TELEVISION AND RADIO:

ABC Radio News Australian Broadcasting Corporation Television BBC Television and Radio CBC

CBS Evening News CNBC "Hardball with Chris Matthews"

CNN "Crossfire," "Greenfield At Large," "Larry King Live," "Lou Dobbs Moneyline," "TalkBack
Live," "CNN International," "CNN Saturday,"
"Wolf Blitzer Reports"
Fox News Channel "Fox
News with Brit Hume,"
"Fox and Friends," "Hannity & Colmes," "The
O'Reilly Factor," "On the
Record with Greta Van
Susteren"
HBO "Dennis Miller Live"

MSNBC "Alan Keyes Is
Making Sense," "America
At War," "The Abrams
Report"
NPR "Diane Rehm Show,"
"Marketplace," "Talk of
the Nation," "To the
Point"
Radio America

**Moscow Television** 

South Korean Television
Voice of America

### **CSP NOW ON FOXNEWS.COM**



FOXNews.com, the popular Website for the FOX News Channel, now features exclusive Center for Security Policy commentary and analysis, with Center President Frank Gaffney's fortnightly column and essays by Center fellows and staff.

### The People at the Center

THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY RELIES heavily on the counsel, intellectual resources and energy of a network of former and present security policy practitioners. In addition to the distinguished members of its Board of Directors, three other entities serve as important comple-

ments to, and force-multipliers for, the Center's small but industrious core staff: the William J. Casey Institute, the Military Committee and the National Security Advisory Council.

### STAFF

Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., President. Gaffney formerly acted as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy during the Reagan Administration, following four years of service as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy. Previously, he was a professional staff member on the Senate Armed Services Committee under the chairmanship of the late Senator John Tower, and a national security legislative aide to the late Senator Henry M. Jackson.

Thor E. Ronay, Executive Vice President. A former senior staff member both in the U.S. Congress and in the Reagan Administration, including serving on the Department of State's Interagency Advisory Group on Terrorism, Ronav has served as a consultant on

regime transition issues for the Department of State/USAID and was Senior Associate of the Program on Transitions to Democracy at the George Washington University.

for Research and Publications. A journalist and author, Waller brings expertise in terrorism, intelligence, the former Soviet Union and the Americas. He has covered wars and political violence in five countries, has written for

J. Michael Waller, Ph.D., Vice President

Insight magazine, Reader's Digest, the Washington Times and the Wall Street Journal, has served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of State member. He is also the Walter and Leonore Annenberg Professor of International Communications at the Institute of World Politics.

and is a former U.S. Senate staff

Brandon D. Wales, Senior Associate. Wales came to the Center in 1997 through its Internship Program and joined the core staff in 1999. He is responsible for foreign policy and defense research and oversees special projects and programs.

Steven C. Baker, Research Associate. Baker assists the President and the Casev Institute Chairman in research and drafting of the Center's policy publications. Prior to joining the Center, he worked for the FBI.

Futhi Xaba, Executive Assistant. Xaba serves as the Executive Assistant to the Center's President as well as the Center's Office Manager. She joined the Center in 2000 after receiving her degree in biology.

Megan Barnett, Administra-

tive Assistant. Barnett joined the Center in 2001 following four years in the U.S. Navy. She provides administrative support to the entire Center staff.

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman

James deGraffenreid President, First Service Networks

Directors

Hon. M. D. B. Carlisle Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, and former Chief of Staff to Senator Thad Cochran

Frank J. Gaffney, Jr. President, Center for Security Policy

Hon. Charles M. Kupperman Vice President, Space and Strategic Missiles Sector, **Lockheed Martin Corporation** 

Hon. Dominic J. Monetta President, Resource Alternatives, Inc.

Hon. Roger W. Robinson, Jr. President, RWR, Inc.

David P. Steinmann Managing Director, American Securities, L.P.

#### MILITARY FELLOWS

Maj. Michael Ouzts USMC was the Center for Security Policy Marine Corps National Fellow from August 2001 to August 2002. Prior to joining the Center for the year, he had just completed a joint tour as a member of the United States Space Command J5 Directorate. He served as an Assistant Operations Officer and Command, Control and Communications Instructor at the Marine Aviation Weapons and Tactics School, as well as Detachment Commander, Air Support Detachment, Republic of the Philippines.

*Maj. Mike Saleh USMC* is the Marine Corps National Fellow for 2002–2003. He was assigned to the Center from a tour at Current Operations Branch, Plans, Policy and Operations Department, Headquarters Marine Corps. His previous



assignments include: Infantry Platoon Commander; Reconnaissance Platoon Commander; Instructor; Commanding Officer of an Infantry Rifle Company; Operations Officer of a Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion; and Executive Officer of an Infantry Battalion. Maj. Saleh participated in Contingency Operations Panama, 1989; Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, 1990–1991; and Operation Stabilize in East Timor, 2000.

#### INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

Personnel is policy, and the Center takes its cadre-building programs seriously. Its popular internship program expanded in 2002, including a formal partnership with the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) providing internship opportunities to individuals interested in careers in national security journalism. In the 2001–2002 academic year, the Center identified and trained new talent with student interns from:

- —Boston University
- —Furman University
- —George Washington University
- —Michigan State University
- —New York University
- —University of California at Berkeley
- —University of California at Davis
- —University of Michigan
- —University of Notre Dame
- —University of Texas
- —Yale University



"The organization is smaller and more focused than most other think-tanks....
This allows more flexibility and personal direction within the internship."
—EVAN McCORMICK, BOSTON UNIVERSITY

"I enjoyed the high-pressure and constantly stimulating environment.... I now have a greater understanding of the importance of hard-line, resolved and fearless policy." —SHEILA CANNON, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

## Jackson and Tower Congressional Fellowships Begin

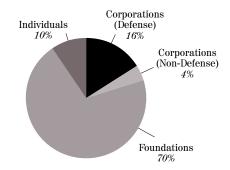
THE CENTER'S PRESTIGIOUS NEW JACKSON AND Tower Congressional Fellowships began in the summer of 2002, with the selection of the first two promising national-security graduates. The fellowships are named in honor of the late Senators Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-Wash.) and John Tower (R-Tex.), whose long and distinguished careers were characterized by an unwavering commitment to the principle of peace through American strength. The senators' decades-long partnership was rooted in and exemplified the sort of bipartisan approach that best assures that the nation has the requisite means and leadership to apply this principle successfully.

The Center is grateful to the Boeing Company for a generous grant that has made possible the appointment of the first recipient of the Center's Henry M. Jackson Fellowship and to the Lockheed Martin Corporation for enabling the selection of the Center's first John Tower Fellow. Their names will be announced upon their graduation in Spring 2003.

After their apprenticeship at the Center during the summer of 2002, the Jackson and Tower Congressional Fellows will gain further, outstanding and hands-on experience in the security policy-making process by interning next summer, respectively, in the offices of Representative Norm Dicks (Democrat of Washington) and Senator Jon Kyl (Republican of Arizona). It is particularly fitting that Messrs. Dicks and Kyl will be helping in the development of such promising members of the next generation of security policy practitioners insofar as these congressional leaders today exemplify the commitment to public service and a robust national security posture for which Senators Jackson and Tower will always be revered.

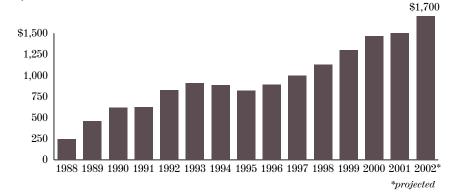
### **Center Revenue**

SOURCES OF REVENUE January 1, 2001–December 31, 2001



### GROWTH OF REVENUE

(in thousands of dollars)



### The William J. Casey Institute

AMERICA'S SECURITY AND PROSPERITY IN THE 21st Century are being increasingly shaped by forces not traditionally recognized as intertwined with national defense. They include: global capital flows; access to and limitations on energy sources; the role of trade in underwriting hostile military buildups; and the capacity of technology transfers to accelerate the threats we face.

The generous support of the family of former Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman and CIA Director William J. Casey, and the vision and industry of

Roger W. Robinson, Jr., enabled the Center in 1996 to create an institute devoted to addressing these and related subjects.

In 2002, the Institute secured greater public awareness and government scrutiny (notably, that of the Securities and Exchange Commission) of the securi-

ty dimensions of the U.S. capital markets and how these venues can be exploited, directly and indirectly, by those working at cross purposes with American security interests. Specifically, the Casey Institute's long-running Capital Markets Transparency Initiative (CMTI) provided intellectual impetus to a provision that Senator Fred Thompson successfully attached to the FY 2003 Intelligence Authorization bill. It directs the Director of Central Intelligence to report to Congress on the presence of weapons proliferators in the U.S. capital markets. The CMTI also stimulated U.S. finan-

cial institutions and rating agencies to take a dim view of participation in or ownership of a 500 million Eurobond offering launched by the Iranian government in July 2002.

As a Commissioner on the U.S.-China Security Review Commission, Robinson also helped include the content of the Casey Institute's disclosure-related initiatives as a leading component of the Commission's agenda over the course of its first year. This effort culminated in day-long hearings held exclusively on this issue on December 6, 2001 and in the Commission's

first annual report, released in July 2002, which devoted a full chapter to the security implications of China's deepening presence in the U.S. capital markets.

Like the Casey Institute's namesake, Roger Robinson brings a wealth of experience in international economic affairs and national security. During the

Reagan Administration he served as Senior Director of International Economic Affairs at the National Security Council, where he worked closely with Bill Casey in formulating the policies that helped hasten the demise of the Soviet Union. Prior to his government service, he was a Vice President in the International Department of the Chase Manhattan Bank with responsibilities for the Bank's loan portfolios in the former Soviet Union, Eastern and Central Europe and Yugoslavia. Assisting him at the Casey Institute are Senior Analyst Adam Pener and Analyst Andrew Davenport.



IN JULY 2002, CASEY INSTITUTE CHAIRMAN ROGER ROBINSON BRIEFED THE DALAI LAMA ON THE WORK OF THE CASEY INSTITUTE AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS.

## Military Committee and National Security Working Group

### ENGAGING THE MILITARY COMMUNITY

One of the main functions of the Center since its founding has been to alert the American people to evolving and increasingly diverse threats to U.S. national security and interests. Regrettably, despite the Center's best efforts, the public and their elected representatives failed until the September 11 attacks on the homeland to appreciate the dangerous implications associated with allowing our military simultaneously to be over-committed, under-resourced and overly downsized.

That was due partly to a sustained failure of leadership over much of the preceding twelve years. A growing majority of Americans also lacks any first-hand connection to or appreciation of the military and its functions. Worse yet, the roughly 40–60 million Americans who do have some direct or indirect tie to the U.S. military

have become less and less engaged and, therefore, less influential in the security policymaking deliberations.

In 2001–2002, the Center for Security Policy redoubled its effort to educate and, where possible, to mobilize the community of

national security-minded Americans by creating a Military Committee comprised of 21 outstanding former leaders of the U.S. armed forces. They have come together under the chairmanship of former Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr., to help put U.S. national security once again on a sound footing—not only in the war against terrorism, but in the defense transformation that is so desperately needed.

### NATIONAL SECURITY WORKING GROUP

Members of the Military Committee created and support an informal National Security Working Group, which meets biweekly in the Center's headquarters. These sessions provide an opportunity for information exchanges, briefings and, where appropriate, joint action involving representatives of various elements of the military community—veterans' and serv-

> ice organizations, think tanks, defense industries and legislative and executive branch officials.

The briefers and speakers at the National Security Working Group in 2001–2002 appear on the next page.



CENTER EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT THOR RONAY AND PRESIDENT FRANK GAFFNEY CONFER WITH WILLIAM J. LUTI, NOW DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

### **MILITARY COMMITTEE MEMBERS**



Gen. Carl E.
Mundy, Jr., USMC
[Ret.], Chairman.
Former Commandant, U.S. Marine
Corps

**Adm. Leon A. "Bud" Edney, USN (Ret.)**, *Vice Chairman.* Former Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic

Vice Adm. Al Burkhalter, Jr., USN (Ret.). Former Director, Intelligence Community Staff

**Gen. J.B. Davis, USAF (Ret.)**. Former Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, NATO

Adm. Bruce DeMars, USN [Ret.]. Former Director, Naval Nuclear Propulsion Vice Adm. Jack Fetterman, USN [Ret.]. Former Chief Naval Education and Training

**Gen. John W. Foss, USA [Ret.]**. Former Commanding General, Training and Doctrine

**Gen. Frederick J. Kroesen, USA (Ret.)**. Former Commander, U.S. Army, Europe

**Gen. Richard L. Lawson, USAF (Ret.)**. Former Deputy Commander-in-Chief, U.S. European Command

**Gen. John M. "Mike" Loh, USAF [Ret.]**. Former Commander of Air Combat Command

**Gen. Gary E. Luck, USA (Ret.)**. Former Commander-in-Chief, UN

### 2001-2002 SPEAKERS AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY WORKING GROUP

- —Pete Aldridge, Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics;
- —Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict (SOLIC);
- Marshall Billingslea, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy;
- John R. Bolton, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security;
- —Stephen Cambone, Principal Under Secretary of Defense for Policy;
- —Vice Admiral Art Cebrowski USN (Ret.), Director, Office of Force Transformation:
- David Chu, Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness;
- —J. D. Crouch, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy;
- —Douglas J. Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy;
- —Brig. Gen. Stephen J. Ferrell USAF, Director, National Security Space Architect;
- —Ambassador Evan Galbraith, Representative of the Secretary of Defense to Europe;
- —Ambassador Robert Joseph, Special Assistant to the President and National Security

- Council Senior Director for Proliferation Strategy;
- —Senator Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.);
- —Burgess Laird, Senior Defense Strategist, Office of the Secretary of Defense;
  - —William J. Luti, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs;
  - —Ambassador Otto Reich, Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs;
  - —Robert Reilly, Director, Voice of America;
  - —Rob Snyder, Executive Director, Missile Defense Agency;
  - John P. Stenbitt, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence;
  - —Brig. Gen. Pete Worden USAF, Director, Office of Strategic Influence (OSI);
- —Stephen Younger, Director, Defense Threat Reduction Agency;
- Christopher Willcox, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs;
- —Dov Zakheim, Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller/Chief Financial Officer).



Command/Combined Forces Command, Korea

**Adm. Wesley McDonald, USN** [**Ret.**]. Former Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic

Adm. Kinnaird McKee, USN (Ret.). Former Director, Naval Nuclear Propulsion **Gen. Richard I. Neal, USMC**[Ret.]. Former Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

**Vice Adm. James Perkins, USN (Ret.)**. Former Deputy Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command

**Gen. John L. Piotrowski, USAF (Ret.)**. Former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Space Command

**Gen. Robert W. RisCassi, USA [Ret.]** Former Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

Adm. Leighton "Snuffy" Smith, USN (Ret.). Former Commander in Chief, U.S. Navy Forces Europe and NATO Allied Forces Southern Europe

**Gen. Donn A. Starry, USA (Ret.)**. Former Commanding General, U.S. Army Readiness Command

**Gen. Gordon Sullivan, USA [Ret.].** Former Chief of Staff, U.S.
Army

Vice Adm. J.D. Williams, USN [Ret.]. Former Deputy Chief of Operations, Naval Warfare

#### TRIUMPH & CHALLENGES: AREAS OF FOCUS & ACHIEVEMENT

# Withdrawal from the ABM Treaty and Deployment of U.S. Missile Defenses

FROM ITS INCEPTION, THE CENTER FOR SECURITY Policy has been a tireless and prolific champion of the need to defend the American people against ballistic missile attack. The *New York Times* in 2001 credited the Center with being "a founder" of the missile defense coalition. Center staff and Advisory Council members have been responsible for an untold number of articles, appearances before congressional committees, press interviews, speeches and interventions at conferences making the case that the emerging threat of such attacks demanded an end to the posture of abject vulnerability dictated by the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

In addition, the longtime chairman of the Center's Board of Directors, Douglas J. Feith—who currently serves as Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, the third-highest-ranking official in the Pentagon—played a vital role in developing under Center's auspices the compelling legal case that the ABM Treaty should no longer be allowed to constrain the United States. The Center has also been a preeminent advocate for the immediate start of deployment of missile defenses at sea, aboard U.S. and allied warships equipped or compatible with the Aegis fleet air defense system.

On June 13, 2002, the cumulative effect of these efforts began to bear fruit: President George W. Bush formally withdrew the United States from

the ABM Treaty—the principal legal and political impediment to the development and deployment of viable missile defenses. No less gratifying has been the subsequent validation of the Center's longstanding—and sometimes lonely—conviction that there would be little, if any significant cost to the United States from taking this action.

Once President Bush made unequivocally clear his determination to proceed, the Russians acquiesced, undercutting possible allied opposition. Even the Democrat-controlled Senate showed itself willing to provide the President with essentially all the funds he has requested for these purposes. For his part, the President made clear his determination not only to pursue missile defenses but to ensure that they are deployed as soon as possible, including, it would appear, at sea.

In 2002, the Center began hosting a Missile Defense Working Group, which meets fortnightly for the purpose of enabling some of Washington's most knowledgeable and influential actors in this field to exchange information, receive briefings and, where appropriate, map strategy on educational and other activities. Leaders of think tanks, information services, industry representatives and government agencies regularly attend these Working Group meetings.



"CSP [the Center for Security Policy] was heavily represented on the late-1990s Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, which was instrumental in keeping the program alive during the Clinton years..."

-THE NATION, SEPTEMBER 2, 2002

Left: The airborne laser, in development, shows promise as a nextgeneration missile defense system.



"As for Frank, I've long held the idea that we ought to campaign that when the first missile defense system is deployed, it should be named after him. I have this image of the Secretary of Defense of the future at a hearing and the senator says, 'Mr. Secretary, what are we going to do about the missile threat from Libya,' and he says, 'Don't worry, they'll never get through the Gaffneys.'"

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER, PULITZER PRIZE-WINNING WASHINGTON POST COLUMNIST, SEPTEMBER 5, 2002



## **Building Bipartisan Consensus on Security Threats from China**

THE CENTER FOR SECURITY policy believes that the global war against terrorists must not be allowed to obscure or divert appropriate high-level attention from abiding and emerging national security dangers from other quarters. Notable among these is the looming problem posed by the Communist government of China.

The Center and members of its Board and its National Security Advisory Council played crucial roles in the develop-

ment of two major government reports issued in July 2002 on Chinese security threats.

The Department of Defense's new annual report on Chinese military power, required by an act of Congress, not only revealed much about Beijing's steadily improving capabilities and intentions. It also revealed, from the first page, the exceedingly poor state of U.S. intelligence collection and analysis on China—and how some American policymakers do not well understand Chinese national goals that adversely affect our own national security.



The congressionally mandated U.S.-China Security Review Commission published the second report. It examined not only Beijing's military posture and its ominous intentions, but the ways in which U.S. trade and economic policies are fueling a rising threat in Asia.

Center for Security Policy Board member Roger W. Robinson and University of Pennsylvania Professor Arthur Waldron, a member of the Center's National Secu-

rity Advisory Council, played vital parts in the development of the Commission's final report. That report, endorsed by all but one member of the Commission's bipartisan board (who happens to be a China trade lobbyist), substantially confirmed the Center's longstanding warnings about China and the dangers inherent in U.S. government and private sector conduct that winds up rewarding the PRC for its offensively oriented military posture and unfair economic practices. Dr. Waldron penned additional views that further strengthened the report's ominous conclusions.

"Both in its public work, and in its persistent behind-thescenes efforts, the Center for Security Policy has done much to encourage greater U.S. awareness and focus regarding the national security implications of China's military intentions and capabilities. These efforts have proven very valuable to a number of members of the U.S. China Security Review Commission, myself among them."

-DR. ARTHUR WALDRON, COMMISSIONER,
U.S.-CHINA SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION

The Chinese Communists have a different view of the Center for Security Policy: "slanderous ... alarmist ... very evil."

-PEOPLE'S DAILY (BEIJING), JULY 26, 2002



### **16 CHARACTERS**

In 1997, the PRC formally codified Deng Xiaoping's "16-Character Policy," which literally means: "Combine the military and civil; combine peace and war; give priority to military products; let the civil support the military."

### Homeland Security: Tracking the Support Structures of the Terrorists

WE GO WHERE FEW DARE TREAD: INTO THE support networks of terrorists operating abroad and inside the United States. The Center's research illuminates a crucial aspect of homeland security: the danger that organizations with a record of support for and/or involvement with terrorists may be providing vital resources, infrastructure and personnel to "fifth column" activities inside the United States.

Of particular concern: the revelation that much of the recruitment, fund-raising and other enabling activities have been conducted under the cover of seemingly legal activities. The Center is breaking new ground in the effort to identify and counteract foreign-funded political, educational and legal action groups that are doing the bidding of global terrorists and their sponsors on American soil. This complex and difficult research and education project concerns not only the al Qaeda networks of Osama bin Laden. It also addresses many other terrorist groups based in or operating from the Middle East, Europe, South Asia, Latin America and elsewhere—groups which maintain financial, materiel, legal, or propaganda support operations designed to defeat U.S. counter-terrorism policy.

Senior government officials in the White House, Pentagon, Justice Department, State Department and other agencies, as well as Congress, law-enforcement and intelligence officials, requested and received more than 60 briefings from Center experts in what has become an ongoing and urgent dialogue concerning the domestic front in the war on terrorism.

# **Emerging Tools in the Art of Statecraft: Information Warfare and 'Netwar'**

HOSTILE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, including terrorist groups, have begun to demonstrate an aptitude for a form of combat that has become known as "netwar." Netwar is a prime example of the sort of "asymmetric warfare" that allows weaker adversaries to attack, possibly with devastating effect, far more formidable but computer-dependent societies like that of 21st Century America. Just as deadly cyber attacks can render U.S. and allied critical infrastructure temporarily or permanently inoperative, netwarriors can deploy the sophisticated exploitation of information technologies and media to cripple, weaken, or destroy our governing and private institutions and our will to fight.

As part of its contribution to the war on terrorism, the Center for Security Policy has been working with senior members of the executive and legislative branches on the concept of netwar, showing how terrorists and their support networks can exploit U.S. bureaucratic and information shortcomings in an attempt to defeat American counterterrorism efforts and launch further attacks on the United States. The Center has also been assembling outside experts to work with senior policymakers to disrupt and counter enemy netwar operations at home and abroad.



"The CSP has now established itself as an influential player in Washington, a policy powerhouse focused on establishing a radical, unilateralist and aggressive new defense doctrine."

\*\*GUARDIAN\* (UNITED KINGDOM), 17 DECEMBER 2001\*\*



### **Key Regional Security Concerns**

SECURITY-SENSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THREE regions—the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and Latin America—receive the Center's close attention.

The Mideast: The Center has long been engaged in the policy debate about how best to protect and promote U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf and Levant in the face of Islamist, Ba'athist and other threats to those interests and America's allies. The attacks of September 11, the intensifying intifada against Israel and the growing threat posed (at the time of this writing) by Saddam Hussein have validated the Center's fundamental approach to the region: Use the full panoply of tools at our disposal to disrupt and, where necessary, to destroy those who would do violence to the United States, its people, interests and allies.

One particularly noteworthy facet of the Center's work in this area was the television advertisement campaign it sponsored in 2002 to promote greater public awareness about the threats posed by such enemies to America's interest in a secure Israel. One ad cited the Palestinian Authority's use of official maps of a "Palestine" encompassing all the territory on which Israel has existed since its founding. A second addressed the shared nature of the dangers posed to Israel and the United States by Islamists bent on the destruction of the values and liberties the two nations hold dear.

Central and South Asia: The outbreak of hostilities in Afghanistan has brought what most Americans considered a backwater, if that, squarely into the policy spotlight. The strategic implications of instability and conflict in that part of the world are reflected in the work begun in the mid-1990s by the Center's William J. Casey Institute as part of its consideration of the oil resources of the Caspian Basin. Center personnel and associates have addressed in print, on television and on radio the evolving situation in Afghanistan, Wahhabi and Iranian intelligence operations, recruitment and other subversive activities in the region, and the

prospects for open warfare between Pakistan and India.

The Center was delighted to be able in 2002 to designate **Richard Fisher**, an internationally renowned expert on the Chinese military and the subcontinent, as its first Adjunct Fellow with responsibility for Asian affairs. Previously he was Director of the Asia Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation.

Hemispheric Security: The Center has taken an active interest as well in increasingly portentous trends in Central and South America. Latin America is back as a locus of major security challenges: the continued hold on power in Venezuela of a rabidly anti-U.S., pro-Axis of Evil regime under Hugo Chavez; the presence of Hezbollah and other terrorist networks in Paraguay and elsewhere; the Colombian government's mounting troubles with narco-terrorist guerillas; economic collapse in Argentina; renewed terrorist attacks and political turmoil in Peru; Castro's progress in soliciting economic life-support for his Cuban Communist regime from American taxpayers in the form of commodity credits and other subsidies; and a crypto-Marxist political revolution in the hemisphere's most populous country, Brazil, a land once full of hope for progress is poised to undergo massive socio-economic upheaval.

Particularly when taken together, these developments will translate into a huge security problem for the United States. The Center nonetheless believes that important opportunities exist for improving the situation in Latin America and has been working to identify them and to secure executive and legislative branch support for taking advantage of such opportunities. In the fall of 2002 the Center readied to launch a series of major conferences on security in this region with the first focusing on policy options toward Colombia and featuring remarks by Assistant Secretary of State for Hemispheric Affairs Otto Reich.

### 2001 Keeper of the Flame Award



### **James Schlesinger**

FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FORMER SECRETARY OF ENERGY FORMER DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE RECIPIENT OF THE 2001 AWARD

### PREVIOUS KEEPERS OF THE FLAME

2000	Floyd Spence, Chairman, House Armed Services Committee	1994	Jon Kyl, U.S. Congressman (now U.S. Senator)
1999	Gen. James L. Jones, Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps	1993	Malcolm S. "Steve" Forbes, ]r., Publisher
1998	Donald H. Rumsfeld, former and	1992	Malcolm Wallop, U.S. Senator
	future Secretary of Defense	1991	Garry Kasparov, World Chess
1997	Christopher Cox, U.S. Congressman		Champion and leading anti-Com-
1996	Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the U.S.		munist
	House of Representatives	1990	Caspar Weinberger, former Secre-
1995	Ronald Reagan, former President		tary of Defense

SINCE 1990, THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY has recognized individuals for devoting their public careers to the defense of the United States and American values around the world.

Those extraordinary individuals are the Keepers of the Flame.

The 2001 Keeper of the Flame ceremony was an especially memorable event. Even though he returned from a grueling four-country tour of Central and South Asia just hours before, Secretary of Defense **Donald H. Rumsfeld** joined another former Pentagon chief and Keeper of the Flame award winner, **Caspar W. Weinberger**, in awarding the elegant Baccarat crystal glass flame trophy to their colleague, former Defense Secretary, **James R. Schlesinger**.

The event proved to be the biggest Keeper of the Flame dinner in the Center's history, held

in a Four Seasons Hotel ballroom packed with defense and security professionals, political leaders and other friends of the Center. They included: Gen. Peter Pace, USMC, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. James L. Jones, USMC, Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps; Gen. John Jumper, Chief of Staff of the Air Force; Senators Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.) and Chuck Robb (D-Virginia); Representative Christopher Cox; Secretary of the Navy Gordon England; former Center for Security Policy Board Chairman Douglas J. Feith, now Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; and the then-head of the Pentagon's Office of Strategic Influence, Brigadier General Simon P. Worden, USAF.

Other guests included Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi of Iran, and Israeli Ambassador David Ivry (who planned the daring 1980 Israeli raid that destroyed Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor).



KEEPERS OF THE FLAME: FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY CASPAR WEINBERGER, 1990; FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER, 2001; MARINE CORPS COMMANDANT GEN. JAMES L. JONES, 1999; SENATOR JON KYL, 1994; AND REP. CHRISTOPHER COX, 1997.

### HOW ESQUIRE MAGAZINE COVERED THE FLAME EVENT



"People are waiting for [Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld].... Waiting in tuxedos and mili-

tary uniforms, like the uniform of the Marine Corps commandant and the uniforms of threestar and four-star generals. Senators and congressmen flit about, and former secretary of defense Jim Schlesinger looms

tall above the crowd with his wild burst of white hair. A group of Marines look like exotic birds, with their red-vested chests and golden stripes down their legs, and there's a gaggle of men in tuxedos with medals hanging off their lapels, yards of medals, acres of medals, enough metal to stop a full-burst of high-velocity machine-gun fire. At the center of the room, Frank

Gaffney, tonight's host and the president of the Center for Security Policy....

"Rummy makes his way to the platform, where he's greeted with a standing ovation.... Behind him, two American flags frame a sign that says PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH. He glances back at the sign, then turns again to the crowd, a sea of familiar faces,

the nerve center of the military-industrial complex.

" 'Frank Gaffney,' he says, 'if there was any doubt about the power of your ideas, one only has to look at the number of Center associates who people this administration.' He pauses, 'I was thinking about calling a staff meeting, but I think I'll wait until tomorrow morning."

# 'Accurate, brilliant, brave, steady, sagacious and true' SECOND ANNUAL 'MIGHTIER PEN' AWARD HONORS CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

PULITZER PRIZE-WINNING COLUMNIST CHARLES Krauthammer received the Center for Security's Second Annual "Mightier Pen" Award for his contribution to the public's appreciation for strong national security policies.

The prolific *Washington Post* writer, whose columns appear in more than 100 newspapers,

is a "national treasure," in the words of Center President Frank Gaffney who presided at the September 2002 award event.

In a letter to the Center, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld saluted Krauthammer, noting, "his keen insight and vivid capacity to communicate complex issues has facilitated public understanding of the importance of a strong national defense and in so doing, contributed to the security of the nation, proving that the pen can, indeed, be mightier than the sword."

Under Secretary of
Defense Dov Zakheim
joined the Center's award
ceremony, along a hundred officials and friends.
"What I think is significant about all of us getting together to honor
'Charlie' as I knew him
when I first met him, and
'Charles' as he's now
known, and to hear Mark
Helprin speak is that
basically this is a family,"
Zakheim said. "We have

been in the trenches together now well before Frank set up the Center for Security Policy."

"When you read what Charles says," added Zakheim, "you have a sense of what is right and what is not." "Charles adds his heavy weight voice, his powerful pen to the side of what is right."

"I think Charles's writings are going to be very instructive for Congress in this very critical period of a few weeks," said **Rep. Christopher Cox**, a Republican leader organizing congres-

sional support for President George W. Bush's planned regime-change in Iraq.

Novelist and Wall Street Journal contributing editor Mark Helprin, the first recipient of the Mightier Pen Award, said, "He's getting the award because—and listen to each one of these adjectives, because they are very accurate—he is brilliant, brave, steady, sagacious and true.... It's an honor to pass on the award."

In a speech that further affirmed how deserved was this tribute, Krauthammer spoke of American leadership in the world. "I want to be clear: Unilateralism does not mean, necessarily, wanting to act alone," he said. "Unilateralism simply means that we do not allow ourselves to be held hostage to the opinions and policies and preferences of others. We do what we have to do."





REP. CHRISTOPHER COX (R. CAL.), UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DOV ZAKHEIM AND COLUMNIST CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER TALK ABOUT REGIME CHANGE AT THE CENTER'S MIGHTIER PEN AWARD EVENT.

"The way to achieve multilateralism is to be prepared to act unilaterally and, in those circumstances, if you are—as we are—the leading country in the world, you will then find coalitions aligning themselves behind you."

### **National Security Advisory Council**

Mark Albrecht, former Executive Secretary of the White House National Space Council.

Morris Amitay, former Foreign Service Officer and legislative assistant in the House of Representatives.

William Ball, former Secretary of the Navy.

Kathleen Bailey, former Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Robert Barker, former Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy.

William Bennett, former Secretary of Education.

J. Stephen Britt, former Deputy General Counsel for Defense Programs at the Department of Energy.

**Charles Brooks**, former legislative assistant to Senator Arlen Specter.

**Beverly Byron**, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Margo D. B. Carlisle, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs.

**Henry Cooper**, former Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

**Christopher Cox**, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Devon Gaffney Cross, President, Donor's Forum on International Affairs

**Brian Dailey**, former Executive Director of the National Space Council.

Midge Decter, former Executive Director, Committee for the Free World.

**Diana Denman**, former Co-Chair, U.S. Peace Corps Advisory Council.

**Stanley Ebner**, former Senior Vice President of Washington Operations for the Boeing Company.

**Andrew Ellis**, former Staff Director, House Armed Services Committee.

**Charles Fairbanks**, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

**Edwin Feulner, Jr.**, President of the Heritage Foundation.

Rand Fishbein, former Legislative Assistant to Senator Daniel Inouye.

Frank Gaffney, Jr., former Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

Paul Goble, former Special Assistant for Soviet Nationalities at the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

**Daniel Gouré**, former Director of the Office of Competitiveness in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

**Douglas Graham**, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Margaret Graham, Consultant at the Washington Institute.

William Graham, former Science Advisor to the President.

**Dorothy (Deecy) Gray**, President of D.C. Stephens, Ltd.

**E.C. Grayson**, former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

James Hackett, former Acting Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Charles Hamilton, former Executive Assistant on Strategic Trade within the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Amoretta Hoeber, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development.

John David Hoppe, former Vice President for Government Relations at the Heritage Foundation. Charles Horner, former Associate Director of the United States Information Agency.

Vice Adm. William Houser, USN (Ret.), former Vice Chief of Naval Operations for Aviation.

**Tim Hutchinson**, Member of the U.S. Senate.

**Kay Bailey Hutchison**, Member of the U.S. Senate.

Henry Hyde, Chairman of the International Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Fred Iklé, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

**James M. Inhofe**, Member of the U.S. Senate.

**Bruce Jackson**, formerly at the Office of Secretary of Defense

**Jamie Jameson**, President of Jameson Associates.

**Clark Judge**, former Speechwriter and Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

Phyllis Kaminsky, former Press Officer for the White House National Security Council

Garry Kasparov, World Chess Champion and President of Kasparov Consultancy.

Alan Keyes, former Ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

**George Keyworth**, former Science Advisor to President Ronald Reagan.

**Jeane Kirkpatrick**, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

**Charles Kupperman**, former Executive Director of the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control.

**Jon Kyl**, Member of the U.S. Senate.

### **National Security Advisory Council**

Christopher Lay, former Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

**John Lehman**, former Secretary of the Navy.

John Lenczowski, former Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council.

Robert Livingston, former Speaker-designate of the U.S. House of Representatives.

James Longley, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

**Carnes Lord**, former Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs.

Jennifer Macdonald, former Minority Staff Director of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade.

Warren Marik, former Case Officer, Central Intelligence Agency.

Taffy Gould McCallum, writer and consultant.

**Tidal McCoy**, former Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

James McCrery, former Defense Intelligence Officer for Strategic Programs.

Adm. Kinnaird McKee, USN (Ret.), former Director of Navy Nuclear Propulsion.

Bruce Merrifield, former Under Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs.

**Philip Merrill**, former Assistant Secretary-General of NATO.

**J. William Middendorf**, former Secretary of the Navy.

Lt. Gen. Thomas Miller, USMC (Ret.), former Deputy Chief of Staff for Aviation, U.S. Marine Corps.

**Dominic Monetta**, President, Resource Alternatives, Inc.

Thomas Moore, former Staff Member on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

**Laurie Mylroie**, former Associate Professor at the U.S. Naval War College.

**Robert Patron**, Chairman of Business Ventures International.

Richard Perle, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

Gen. John Piotrowski, USAF (Ret.), former Commander in Chief of the United States Space Command.

Roger Robinson, Jr., former Senior Director of International Economic Affairs at the National Security Council.

Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny, USA (Ret.), former Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control.

**Albert Santoli**, Author and Legislative Assistant to Representative Rohrabacher.

William Schneider, Jr., former Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology.

**Gen. Bernard Schriever, USAF** (Ret.), former Commander of the U.S. Air Force Systems Command.

**John Shadegg**, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

James Gregory Sherr, Lecturer in International Relations at Lincoln College.

**Bob Smith**, Member of the U.S. Senate.

Carl Smith, former Staff Director, Senate Armed Services Committee.

Owen T. Smith, Visiting Fellow in Economic Policy at the Heritage Foundation.

**Jose Sorzano**, former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

**Howard Teicher**, former Senior Director of Political-Military Affairs at the National Security Council.

**Edward Teller**, former Senior Strategic Defense Advisor to the White House.

William R. Van Cleave, Department Head of Defense & Strategic Studies at Southwest Missouri State University.

**Troy Wade**, former Assistant Secretary of Energy for Defense Programs.

**Arthur Waldron**, former Professor of Strategy and Policy, U.S. Naval War College.

**Malcolm Wallop**, former U.S. Senator from Wyoming.

**James Webb**, former Secretary of the Navy.

**Curt Weldon**, Chairman, Military Readiness Subcommittee, U.S. House of Representatives.

**Faith Whittlesey**, former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland.

**Pete Wilson**, former Governor of the State of California.

**Deborah Wince-Smith**, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Technology Policy.

**Curtin Winsor, Jr.**, former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica.

# Charles M. Lichenstein

1926-2002

HUCK LICHENSTEIN was the rare type of American diplomat who held the national interest above world opinion, and who had no use for niceties in the face of thugs and murderers.

He is best known for his service as Chief Alternate U.S. Representative to the United Nations, the right-hand man to President Ronald Reagan's great U.N. Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick. It was a tough, nasty period in the Cold War. On September 1, 1983, the Soviet Union shot down a Boeing 747 jetliner and killed all 269 people aboard, including a United States Congressman. Moscow lied repeatedly about the incident, calling the jumbo jet a "spy plane." Ambassador Kirkpatrick was out of town, leaving the fearless Ambassador Lichenstein in charge of the American delegation.

He broke custom on the floor of the U.N. Security Council. He told the world the unvarnished truth. The Kremlin, he declared, "is lying openly, brazenly, knowingly. In doing so it is—ironically—showing its true face to the world, the face that is so often hidden behind the peace offensive and the propaganda machine, behind all the talk of brother-hood and human solidarity and international coexistence. It is the face of a ruthless totalitarian state."

His stand, and the cheering support of his president and his countrymen, shocked the Soviets. One communist official questioned whether the U.S. should even host the U.N. "We will put no impediment in your way," Lichenstein lectured with appropriately condescending calm. "The members of the U.S. mission to the United Nations will be down at the dockside, waving you a fond farewell as you sail off into the sunset."

From the Heritage Foundation, where he spent his last years, he wrote and lectured on the U.N., intelligence, counterterrorism and America's role in world affairs. He was one of the few on our side who understood the importance of cadre-building, fighting the war of ideas and de-funding one's political adversaries. He was a longtime member of the Center for Security Policy's National Security Advisory Council. Chuck Lichenstein—scholar, diplomat, friend, patriot—himself sailed into the sunset in August, 2002.





CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY