



MISSION OF THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

To promote world peace through American strength

The Center for Security Policy has, since its founding in 1988, operated as a non-profit, non-partisan organization committed to the time-tested philosophy of promoting international peace through American strength. It accomplishes this goal by stimulating and informing national and international policy debates, in particular, those involving regional, defense, economic, financial and technology developments that bear upon the security of the United States.

The Center specializes in the rapid preparation and real-time dissemination of information, analyses and policy recommendations via e-mail distribution; computerized fax; its exciting, redesigned Web site; published articles; and the electronic media. The principal audience for such materials is the U.S. security policy-making community (the executive and legislative branches, the armed forces and appropriate independent agencies), corresponding organizations in key foreign governments, the press (domestic and international), the global business and financial community and interested individuals in the public at large.

The Center is aided immeasurably in the performance of its mission thanks to the active participation of a sizeable network of past and present, civilian and military security policy practitioners. By drawing on the experience, judgment and insights of these accomplished individuals, the Center is able to maximize the quality of its inputs into the policy-making process. This structure also permits the Center to operate with an extremely small core staff and great cost-effectiveness.



"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

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

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

Elliott 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

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

Evan Galbraith, Secretary of Defense's Representative to Europe

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

Richard Perle, Chairman of the Defense Policy Board

Robert Reilly, Director, Voice of America

Message from the President



At this writing, the Center for Security Policy is undergoing an exciting transition.

Loosely modeled after the legendary Committee on the Present Danger – a non-partisan coalition of prominent Americans who in the 1970s challenged the view that détente with the Soviet Union was a viable basis for American security – the Center has been a forceful, and often lonely, voice of reason and realism in recent years.

Like the Committee on the Present Danger, too, the Center helped preserve a sense of identity and community among like-minded security policy practitioners, awaiting a day when many of them would be called upon to serve once again in government. That occurred in the Reagan Administration in which many members of the Center held senior posts.

Happily, that day has now arrived for the Center for Security Policy and its associates, as well.

An early member of the Center's Board of Advisors, Richard Cheney, is now Vice President of the United States. President Bush appointed a distinguished recipient of the Center's Keeper of the Flame Award, Donald Rumsfeld, to be his Secretary of Defense. And Secretary Rumsfeld and his counterparts elsewhere in the government have invited an extraordinary number of members of the Center's National Security Advisory Council and others of the Center's colleagues to serve in top positions in the U.S. government. Many are listed on the sidebars at left and right.

With the return of such highly qualified, skilled and principled men and women to high office in the U.S. government, the Center for Security Policy looks forward to playing a new and, we hope, even more influential role in the years ahead. To be sure, the Center will remain a source for ideas, information and recommendations associated with promoting the policies of peace through strength. The presence in government of so many of those who broadly share the Center's commitment to this philosophy – and who have, over the years, helped us in advancing it – should, however, enable the Center to direct less energy towards the inside-the-Beltway debate and more to educating and engaging the American people and friends of freedom around the world.



The need for such an initiative, of course, has become both glaringly apparent and intensely urgent in the wake of the 11 September 2001 attacks and the war on global terrorism they precipitated. Accordingly, we intend to redouble our efforts in Washington, across the United States and internationally.

In this connection, we are beginning some dramatic changes in our products and the means by which they are made available – notably, via a vastly more useful and user-friendly new Web site (www.CenterforSecurityPolicy.org). We believe that the cumulative effect of these efforts, together with improved governance in Washington, will greatly improve the prospects that the United States will continue to enjoy the fruits of peace and prosperity made possible, in no small part, by its vigilance and strength.

Frank J. Gaffney, Jr. President and CEO 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

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



"Through the years, the Center for Security Policy has helped ensure a vigorous national security debate and, in so doing, has strengthened our national security, with energy, persistence and patriotism."

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DONALD RUMSFELD, MARCH 4, 2001



Center President Frank Gaffney (middle) and Peter Rodman (left), now Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, confer with Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph Biden.

Serving the Defense & Security Policy Community

The Center for Security Policy began in 1988 as a different sort of organization – in its *focus*, in its *method of operations* and the *role it plays* in the security policy-making community.

It isn't just a "think tank" – it's an agile, durable and highly effective "main battle tank" in the war of ideas on national security.

The Center focuses exclusively on current, particularly breaking, security policy issues, operating as a clearing house for information and recommendations concerning the security policy topics it addresses. With its *Decision Briefs* – short, timely analyses – and other products averaging one per business day, the Center steadily provides the executive branch, the Congress, 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.

Magnifying the Center's influence is its role as a hub and "back office" of a network of over 120 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. The Center and its Council members frequently provide testimony and are cited in the *Congressional Record* with a frequency often greater than that of other organizations of much larger size.

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.

Media Exposure and Impact

The Center for Security Policy's up-to-date, accurate information and hard-hitting commentary make it a go-to source for the national and international media practically every single day.

Policymakers are never without the Center's informative *Decision Briefs*, *National Security Alerts*, *Casey Perspectives* and *Security Forums*, distributed by fax and e-mail almost every business day to thousands of individuals shaping opinions and decisions in government, the private sector and the news media.

In 2000–2001, the Center and its National Security Advisory Council members published over a hundred articles and essays in newspapers and magazines, and were cited more than 300 times in places like the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and *Washington Times*, *USA Today*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Financial Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist* and *Commentary*, *Time* magazine, Fox News and CNN.

Center experts reach and inform the grassroots on literally hundreds of radio talk show appearances across America and around the world, from Rush Limbaugh, Michael Reagan, Janet Parshalls, Armstrong Williams, Jane Chastain and Oliver North to CBS, the BBC and National Public Radio.

In addition, Center President Frank Gaffney is a featured guest on the nationally syndicated Hugh Hewitt Show. He writes a weekly column in the *Washington Times* and a monthly one for *Defense News*; is a contributing editor of National Review Online, and is a member of the Brain Trust of *Investor's Business Daily*.

The Center has put new information technology to work to leverage its resources and those of others. Gaffney's weekly *Washington Times* column is distributed on the Internet via WorldNetDaily.com, JewishWorldReview.com, CNSNews.com, Townhall.com and *Insight* magazine's on-line edition, Insightmag.com.

The Center's new, supercharged Web site hosts original material and more, aggregating the Web's best national security and defense information in one central portal. Visit us at www.CenterforSecurityPolicy.org.



In print, online, on air: Frank Gaffney makes a guest appearance on Fox News' "The O'Reilly Factor"





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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 complements 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. Mr. 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, Mr. Ronay 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.

J. Michael Waller, Ph.D., Vice President for Research and Publications. A journalist and author, Dr. 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 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 and is a former U.S. Senate staff member.

Brandon D. Wales, Senior Associate. Mr. 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. Mr. Baker assists the President and the Casey Institute Chairman in research and drafting of the Center's policy publications. Prior to joining the Center, he worked for the FBI.

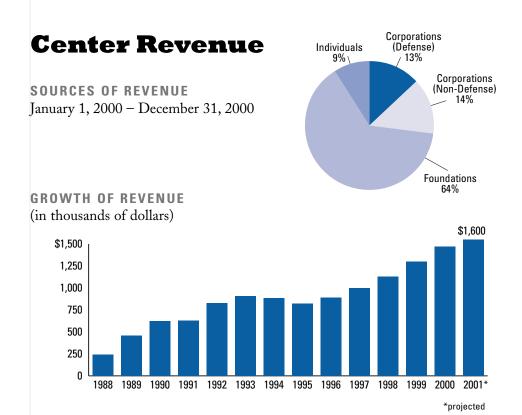
Futhi Xaba. Ms. Xaba joined the Center in 2000 after receiving her degree in biology and working in a number of microbiology laboratories. She provides administrative support to the entire Center staff.

MILITARY FELLOWS

Lt. Thomas A. Braden USN, is a helicopter anti-submarine pilot. A 1991 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, Lt. Braden previously interned at the Federal Emergency Management Agency, where he worked on Consequence Management Policy relating to weapons of mass destruction. After his tour at the Center, he will return to Helicopter Anti-Submarine Light Squadron 43 for his Department Head tour flying the SH-60B Seahawk helicopter. (Lt. Braden is pictured on the cockpit of his Seahawk at right.)

Maj. Michael Ouzts USMC, has just completed a joint tour as a member of the United States Space Command J5 Directorate. He has also recently 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. Michael Reilly USMC, previously served as a military fellow on the staff of the Chairman of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Congressman Jerry Lewis. His previous assignments include a tour at Headquarters, Marine Corps; Aide-de-Camp to the Deputy Commanding General of III MEF; Platoon Commander, 3rd Air Delivery Platoon, Platoon Commander 5th Force Reconnaissance Company and Logistics Officer 3rd Surveillance, Intelligence, Reconnaissance Group.





INTERNSHIP PROGRAM: CADRE BUILDING

The Center places great importance in its internship program, to identify talent and build cadre for service in the national security community. Our interns in 2000 and 2001 came from:

American University
Claremont McKenna College
Duke University
George Washington University
Georgetown University
Harvard University
New York University
Princeton University
Southwest Missouri State
University
Stanford University
University of Michigan
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Yale University

"Working at the Center was a truly valuable experience. While other Washington interns were making copies and filing, I was gaining a deeper understanding of defense issues."

BRINKLEY TAPPAN 2000 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA INTERN



Mrs. Sophia Casey, widow of CIA
Director William J. Casey and a generous benefactor to the Center for Security Policy's William J. Casey Institute, confers with Institute Chairman Roger Robinson. Mrs. Casey passed away in 2000. A memorial appears on the back cover of this report.

"The assault on PetroChina, which will likely have a tremendous impact on the investment banking business, is spearheaded by Roger W. Robinson, Jr., and the William J. Casey Institute."

PRUDENTIAL SECURITIES POTOMAC PERSPECTIVE, MARCH 22, 2000

"The William J. Casey Institute . . . last year led a successful campaign to discourage investors from an initial public offering by Petro-China, the Chinese oil company active in Tibet and Sudan."

FINANCIAL TIMES

The William J. Casey Institute

EXPLORING THE NEXUS BETWEEN GLOBAL FINANCIAL, ENERGY, TRADE & TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENTS AND U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

In the 21st century, America's security and prosperity are increasingly likely to be defined by forces not traditionally seen 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.

Thanks to the generosity 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., the Center was able in 1996 to create an institute devoted to addressing these and related subjects. In the intervening years, the Casey Institute, under Mr. Robinson's chairmanship, has done path-breaking work educating policy-makers and the public about the often complex interactions of economic and national security interests.

Some of the Casey Institute's most noteworthy accomplishments have been its internationally recognized efforts to illuminate the unfettered access of "global bad actors" to U.S. capital markets. As the direct result of Casey Institute initiatives, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) has adopted disclosure guidelines that will now enable American investors to understand better whether they are being asked, directly or indirectly, to underwrite terrorist enterprises or other activities inimical to America's fundamental values or security interests. (See details about the Institute's Capital Markets Transparency Initiative on page 15.)

The September 11 attack on America resulted in a Presidential Executive Order designed to "starve the terrorists of funding" – and presumably, their state sponsors as well. The President also authorized the Treasury Secretary to penalize non-cooperative foreign banks and financial institutions in the war on terrorism by freezing their U.S.-based assets and/or denying them access to the U.S. financial and capital markets, thereby validating the Casey Institute's Transparency Initiative.

The Casey Institute employs the Center for Security Policy's proven formula of blast faxing and mass e-mailing its *Perspectives*, *Forums* and *Press Releases* to thousands of policymakers and opinion leaders in the U.S. and abroad.

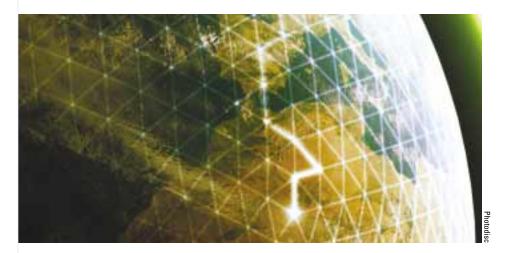
In 2000 and 2001, the Institute issued over 70 publications and some 100 analyses, distributing them to current and former policy practitioners, media representatives, non-governmental organizations, foreign governments and others. Among those citing the Casey Institute's material: the Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, Bloomberg, the Far Eastern Economic Review, Investor's Business Daily and The Economist.

STAFF

Roger W. Robinson, Jr., Chairman. 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, Mr. Robinson 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.

Adam M. Pener has served as Senior Analyst of the William J. Casey Institute of the Center for Security Policy since 1997. A specialist in the political and security dimensions of the global debt and equity markets, he holds a B.A. from Haverford College and an M.A. from the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University.

Andrew Davenport joined the Casey Institute in January of 2001 as an analyst. He graduated from Indiana University in 2000 with a degree in Business Economics and Public Policy and International Studies and is currently pursuing a master's degree in Security Policy Studies from the George Washington University.



"The lines between traditional financial risk considerations and U.S. foreign policy/national security concerns have been blurred, says Roger Robinson, chairman of the Casey Institute of the Center for Security Policy and an adviser in the Reagan administration."

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, JUNE 21, 2001



Senator Fred Thompson (R-Tenn.), who chaired a committee to study Communist China's threats to U.S. national security, addresses a Center for Security Policy event.

"For five years now, the Casey Institute has sought to alert policy-makers to the growing challenge represented by 'bad actors' raising funds in the U.S. debt-and-equities market."

INSIGHT ON THE NEWS

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 Command/Combined Forces Command, Korea

CSP Military Committee

ENGAGING THE MILITARY COMMUNITY

Since its founding, the Center has worked to alert the American people to the increased and diversified threats emerging to U.S. national security and interests. The public and their elected representatives failed until recently to appreciate the dangerous implications associated with allowing our military simultaneously to be over-committed, under-resourced and overly downsized.

This has been due partly to a sustained failure of leadership over much of the past decade. Worse, a growing majority of Americans 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 dependent relationship to the U.S. military have become less and less engaged and, therefore, less influential in the policy-making deliberations.

The Center for Security Policy developed a mechanism to educate and mobilize the military-related constituency to help renew a commitment to putting U.S. national security once again on a sound footing.

In 1999, the Center created the CSP Military Committee under the chairmanship of former Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr., USMC (Ret.). The Committee's membership consists of 21 highly regarded retired four- and three-star flag officers. With this kind of military firepower, the Center has acquired an effective new means of engaging the military community – and those attentive to its views – as catalysts for renewing America's defense capabilities and adopting more sensible security policies to guide their use.

Members of the CSP Military Committee created and support an informal National Security Working Group which meets biweekly in the Center's head-quarters. This meeting provides an occasion for information exchanges, briefings and, where appropriate, common action involving representatives of various elements of the military community – veterans and service organizations, think tanks, defense industries and executive and legislative branch officials. Senior U.S. government leaders who have made presentations to the Working Group include: Under Secretaries of Defense Pete Aldridge, David Chu, Douglas Feith and Dov Zakheim; and Senator Jon Kyl.

THE WAY AHEAD FOR THE V-22 TILTROTOR: HIGH-LEVEL ROUNDTABLE

Should the Marine Corps' innovative V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft be fixed and put to use? That was the subject of a high-level Center for Security Policy



V-22 Tiltrotor

roundtable discussion in May 2001. Participatants at the event, hosted at the Reserve Officers Association headquarters, included Gen. James Jones, Commandant of the Marine Corps; Lt. Gen. Dan Petrosky, Chief of Staff of the U.S. European Command; Gen. Charles Holland, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force Special Operations Command; Terry Stinson, CEO of Bell Helicopter

Textron, Inc.; **Pat Finnernan**, Vice President for Navy-Marine Programs at Boeing Aircraft and Missiles; and **Dennis Eckenrod**, a Chief Pilot with American Airlines. **Representative Curt Weldon**, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee panel on Readiness led the discussion of the Osprey's future prospects in Congress.

SPACE POWER: WHAT ARE THE STAKES, WHAT WILL IT TAKE?

Anticipating the results of a congressionally-mandated Commission on National Security Space Management and Organization headed in 2000 by Donald Rumsfeld, the Center held a major roundtable on the requirements the U.S. will need to devote to space power, and exactly what is at stake for the nation. The event brought together more than 80 past and present senior military officers, government officials, industry leaders, lawmakers and journalists. Lead discussants included James Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense and Energy, and former CIA Director; Senator Robert C. Smith; Maj. Gen. Brian Arnold, USAF, a senior Air Force official responsible for space and nuclear deterrence; Ambassador Henry Cooper, former Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization; and General Charles Horner,



James Schlesinger

USAF (Ret.), former Commander of the U.S. Space Command and a member of the Rumsfeld Commission. Sentiment among the participants was that the U.S. could no longer afford to ignore the growing capability of potential adversaries to exploit the vulnerability arising from the dependence of both the civilian economy and the military on total access to and use of outer space. The Center issued a 19-page summary of the discussion, available on our Web site at CenterforSecurityPolicy.org.

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



General Carl Mundy, USMC (Ret.), Chairman of the Center for Security Policy Military Committee





WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

"one of the country's leading champions of missile defense"

NATIONAL JOURNAL, SEPTEMBER 8, 2001

"Frank Gaffney Jr., the president of the Center for Security policy . . . a founder of the [pro-missile defense] coalition."

NEW YORK TIMES, AUGUST 6, 2001

"a highly efficient boiler room operation"

FOREIGN POLICY IN FOCUS

"a small, extremely effective missile defense advocacy organization"

WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE

Five Areas of Focus and Achievement

The Center for Security policy in recent years has made particular contributions to the policy debate in five areas: Missile defense; Capital markets transparency; the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; the "Four Percent Solution" for military readiness; and rogue regimes and terrorism.

1. MISSILE DEFENSE

"THE *DE FACTO* NERVE CENTER" OF THE MISSILE DEFENSE MOVEMENT

One of our critics calls us "the *de facto* nerve center" of the pro-missile defense movement. The *National Journal* calls us "one of the country's leading champions of missile defense." Here's what we did over the past couple of years to earn that reputation:

Congress. The Center organized and convened five meetings with a bipartisan National Security "Tiger Team" in the U.S. House of Representatives to equip Members of Congress and their leadership to address the missile defense issue effectively, both in Washington and in their home districts.

Joint Chiefs. During missile defense's darkest days, the Center held six meetings with members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, individually and collectively, to discuss the urgent need to deploy effective, flexible and affordable missile defenses. Among other things, these conversations contributed to the previous Chief of Naval Operations' decision to adopt a more pro-active and public role in supporting sea-based missile defense options.

U.S. Allies. To help build support abroad for missile defense, the Center met with allied officials and influential foreign nationals to build greater awareness of and support for U.S. deployments of missile defenses – notably, the Navy's "Aegis Option" – capable of defending not only the American people at home, but also their forces and allies overseas. The Center sponsored meetings abroad, contributed to articles and books for allied consumption and supported efforts to bring work by the Heritage Foundation, High Frontier and other likeminded U.S. groups, as well as that of the Center itself, to influential foreign audiences.

The Media. The Center's Military Committee held press luncheons on missile defense and other national security issues for leading national journalists. Guests included reporters from *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, U.S.

Naval Institute's Proceedings magazine, the PBS NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Inside the Pentagon, Business Week, Congressional Quarterly, the Wall Street Journal and National Journal.

Public Education. "The choir needs music." That's what President Reagan said about getting out the message. The Center has played a leading role in keeping like-minded membership and other organizations and state and local community leaders apprized of developments in the missile defense area. This has involved participation in events outside of Washington organized by the Heritage Foundation, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, the Center of the American Experiment, the Navy League, the Claremont Institute and the Institute of the North that were credited with educating key constituencies across America.

2. CAPITAL MARKETS TRANSPARENCY INITIATIVE

A NON-DISRUPTIVE, MARKET-ORIENTED APPROACH TO NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

Our potential adversaries have been using Americans' investment dollars to threaten our national security. For some time, this stealthy new menace – the penetration of the American debt and equity markets by the wrong sorts of foreign governments and enterprises – was occurring without scrutiny. Until, that is, the Center's William J. Casey Institute pioneered its Capital Markets Transparency Initiative.

The Initiative formulates policy ideas; builds broad, bipartisan coalitions; and educates policy makers and the public. With solid results:

- In 2000, it aroused public awareness of the nefarious activities of Communist China's premier state-owned oil company, resulting in a reduction of more than \$7 billion in the proceeds of its IPO.
- Its work helped derail Russia's state-controlled Gazprom monopoly from issuing a \$3 billion bond offering in the U.S.;
- It helped dissuade China from bringing to the American market a \$1–2 billion sovereign bond offering;
- It provided much of the intellectual firepower behind the disclosure and capital markets sanctions provisions of the Sudan Peace Act of 2001;
- In the Initiative's most important achievement to date, it persuaded the Securities and Exchange Commission that security-related "bad actors" represent a material risk to American investors.

"In terms of missile defense ... the case is more strong today than it was on September 10th that ... the ABM Treaty is outdated, antiquated and useless."

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH OCTOBER 11, 2001

"Roger W. Robinson, Jr., a former international banker who organized the self-styled 'PetroChina Coalition,' said its next campaign would be aimed at blocking China from floating another sovereign-risk bond in the U.S. market ... Mr. Robinson said U.S. purchasers of these bonds could legitimately ask whether their money might be used to develop ballistic missiles or other projects inimical to U.S. interests."

WALL STREET JOURNAL, JUNE 29, 2000



lliant Studios/Photod

"As always, you were a tireless advocate of a principled brand of foreign policy, that does not rely on arms control agreements ... to safeguard our nation's security. The numerous columns and Decision Briefs that you wrote were a great help in educating Senators and foreign policy specialists on the disadvantages of the [Comprehensive Test Ban] Treaty. Thanks again for your unique contribution to the effort to defeat the treaty."

SENATOR JON KYL (R-ARIZONA) OCTOBER 19, 1999

"By late 1994, Frank Gaffney and his small but prolific Center for Security Policy were beginning to gear up in opposition to the CWC [Chemical Weapons Convention], attacking the treaty as unverifiable, inadequate and expensive.... Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, working closely with sympathetic Senate staffers and utilizing a powerful network of contacts and a fax machine, was largely responsible for derailing the first serious attempt at ratification in the fall of 1996...."

REBECCA K. C. HERSMAN, FRIENDS AND FOES: HOW CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT REALLY MAKE FOREIGN POLICY (BROOKINGS INSTITUTION PRESS, 2000)

On May 8, 2001, Acting SEC Chairman Laura Unger sent Representative Frank Wolf a letter formalizing the SEC's determination that a company's operations in countries under U.S. sanctions represent new material risk factors in the markets, and that the SEC would take steps to ensure that investors know of operations in such countries.

The SEC also stated that the prospect of U.S. sanctions, as well as governmental and non-governmental activism in the markets in the areas of national security, human rights and religious freedom could also meet the "threshold of materiality" and require disclosure to investors.

The Initiative advances a *non-disruptive*, *market-oriented approach* to strengthening disclosure and transparency requirements for foreign entrants into our capital markets so as to give due weight to legitimate national security and other emerging financial concerns that can depress the value of foreign securities.

3. THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY

OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIRST SENATE REJECTION OF A MAJOR ARMS CONTROL TREATY

The Senate made arms control history in 1999 when an actual majority – far more than the 34 votes required under the Constitution – voted down the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) – the first-ever formal Senate rejection of a major arms control treaty.

The Center's efforts to analyze and to inform the American people and their elected representatives about the CTBT's shortcomings. It built on its previous work in opposition to the 1992 Chemical Weapons Convention.

Our foes, like the leftist *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, lamented that much of what was in the Senate briefing books "was no doubt supplied or recommended by the Center for Security Policy."

They were right. Our friends, like Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, the Keeper of the Flame awardee who led the fight against the CTBT, thanked us for our "unique contribution to the effort to defeat the treaty."

From its founding, the Center has counseled that periodic, realistic and underground nuclear testing is indispensable to the maintenance of a safe, reliable and effective U.S. nuclear deterrent. In scores of published analyses over the past thirteen years, the Center has argued against, first, the

negotiation and then U.S. ratification of a CTBT that would prohibit all such testing, especially one like that signed by President Clinton in 1996 – a treaty whose prohibition on others' testing could not be verified or enforced.

4. MILITARY READINESS PROJECT

TO INFORM POLICY MAKERS ABOUT THE NATION'S READINESS CRISIS — AND TO PROPOSE SOLUTIONS

Launched in August 2000, the Military Readiness Project is aimed at educating and informing policy-makers and the public about the state of readiness of the nation's armed forces and what is needed to ensure that the United States is adequately defended. As outlined in its *Decision Brief*, "The Four Percent Solution," the Center believes that an expenditure of four percent of the Gross National Product is hardly an excessive burden – indeed it is the bare minimum needed – to rebuild the nation's dangerously deteriorated defenses. This compares to the Cold War average of seven percent.

The situation requires daily monitoring. To this end, a section of the Center's Web site – CenterforSecurityPolicy.org – has been dedicated to providing regularly updated and archived data about military readiness issues. In addition, the Readiness page features a weekly news digest of quotable quotes on readiness by experts and opinion-makers, a breakdown of statistics on the increasingly hollow U.S. military, testimony on readiness from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and links to other readiness resources. The Project also contributes to many of the *Decision Briefs, National Security Alerts, Security Forums* and other Center materials.



Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith, the former Center for Security Policy board chairman who played a pivotal role in the Senate's decision to reject the CTBT, at a Center event with Pulitzer Prize-winning Washington Post columnist Charles Krauthammer.

"Senatorial concerns [about CTBT] are fueled by a steady barrage of faxes, mail and visits from . . . advocates such as Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy. He writes in one of his numerous Decision Briefs against what he calls, 'a prescription for the further, complete "denuclearization" of the United States.'"

JOSEPH CIRINCIONE, CARNEGIE ENDOW-MENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SPEECH IN BONN, GERMANY



Navy Office of Information

>> President Bush and Defense
Secretary Rumsfeld survey the
wreckage at the Pentagon after the
11 September 2001 terrorist attack.
Since it was founded, the Center for
Security Policy has advocated eliminating regimes that support terrorism.



5. ROGUE REGIMES & TERRORISM PROJECT

Emerging terrorist threats to the United States and its allies and interests have been one of the Center's main concerns since it was founded.

In particular, the Center has played a leading role in educating the American public and its

leaders on the important security considerations the U.S. faces in the Middle East – including the necessity for effective policies towards Iraq, Iran, Syria and Libya, and the need for realism about the so-called Arab-Israeli "peace process."

We saw the terrorist threat to the United States and pushed for strong action – from the beginning – to deal with the problem at the source:

- Give no quarter to terrorists and their state sponsors; deny them territory, political legitimacy and physical and financial resources;
- Support U.S. friends and allies notably Israel, Turkey and India and maintain a strong and forward-deployed U.S. military presence;
- Recognize the failure of a decade of "containment" and pursue instead a policy of regime change to deal with Saddam Hussein;
- Remove extremist threats and specifically, Osama bin Laden before they could position themselves to wreak terrorist violence on the American homeland;
- Deploy missile and other defenses as insurance policies.

In 2000 and early 2001, Center's Rogue Regimes and Terrorism Project:

- Produced more than three dozen policy papers dealing with various aspects of Middle East security especially with regard to terrorism and weapons of mass destruction;
- Made countless media appearances and produced scores of op-ed articles with critical analyses and constructive suggestions about the urgent need to abandon policies built on delusions about the peaceableness and reliability of despots, in favor of the regional application of policies of peace through strength.



Ending rogue regimes: Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, a longtime friend of the Center, speaks at our 2001 "Mightier Pen Award" event.

Keeper of the Flame Award

1999 RECIPIENT General James L. Jones, USMC

Commandant, US Marine Corps

2000 RECIPIENT Representative Floyd Spence

Chairman, House Armed Services Committee

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.

In 1999 and 2000, the Center honored **Gen. James L. Jones, USMC**, Commandant of the Marine Corps; and **Representative Floyd D. Spence**, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, respectively.

The annual Keeper of the Flame award is bestowed before packed crowds of defense and security professionals, political leaders and other friends of the Center.

Former Secretary of the Navy James H. Webb, Jr. introduced Gen. Jones, and Senator John Kyl and Representative Floyd Spence presented him with the 1999 Keeper of the Flame award. Center for Security Policy Board Chairman Douglas J. Feith, now Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, made concluding remarks. Admiral Jay Johnson, Chief of Naval Operations; Senator Chuck Robb, Democrat of Virginia, Representatives Christopher Cox and Tillie Fowler, Republicans of California and Florida, respectively, and former Representative Gerald Solomon were among the other attendees honoring Gen. Jones. Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner and House Armed Services Committee Ranking Minority Member Jack Murtha co-chaired the event.

The next year, General Jones returned the favor by presenting the Flame award to Representative Floyd D. Spence, then Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. Among the hundreds of people at the dinner in Representative Spence's honor were former and future **Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld**; **Gen. Michael E. Ryan**, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force; **Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr., USMC (Ret.)**, former Commandant of the Marine Corps and currently the Chairman of the Center for Security Policy's Military Committee; and **Adm. Frank L. "Skip" Bowman, USN**, Director of Naval Nuclear Propulsion.



Keepers of the Flame: General James L. Jones, Commandant of the Marine Corps, received the Center for Security Policy's 1999 Flame award. House Armed Services Committee Chairman Floyd D. Spence (right) was the 2000 Keeper of the Flame. He passed away in August, 2001.

PREVIOUS KEEPERS OF THE FLAME

998	Donald H. Rumsfeld, former and
	future Secretary of Defense

1997 **Christopher Cox**, U.S. Congressman

1996 **Newt Gingrich**, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

1995 **Ronald Reagan**, former President of the United States

1994 **Jon Kyl**, U.S. Congressman

1993 Malcom S. "Steve" Forbes, Jr., Publisher

1992 Malcolm Wallop, U.S. Senator

1991 **Garry Kasparov**, World Chess Champion and anti-Communist resister

1990 **Caspar Weinberger**, former Secretary of Defense



Mark Helprin, recipient of the 2001 Mightier Pen award.

First Annual "Mightier Pen" Award Honors Mark Helprin

"The cardinal issue of American national security is not China, is not Russia, is not weapons of mass destruction, is not missile defense, or terrorism, readiness, unit cohesion, or anything else of that sort. Rather, that the general consensus in regard to defense since Pearl Harbor – that 'doing too much is better than doing too little' – has been destroyed."

So stated novelist and essayist Mark Helprin upon receiving the Center's first annual Mightier Pen award, in recognition of his enormous contribution to the public's appreciation of national security and defense needs. Helprin's writings appear in *Commentary, Forbes, National Review*, the *New Yorker*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. Deputy Defense Secretary **Paul Wolfowitz** officiated at the April 2001 event and presented Helprin with the award.

Guests at the award luncheon included: **Dean McGrath**, Deputy Chief of Staff to Vice President Cheney; the Director of the Office of Net Assessment, **Andrew Marshall**; former Under Secretary of State **William Schneider**, now Chairman of the Defense Science Board; former Assistant Secretary of Defense **Richard Perle**, now Chairman of the Defense Policy Board; former National Security Advisor **Robert McFarlane**; Pentagon Spokesman **Rear Admiral Craig Quigley**; **Captain William Luti**, **USN**, Military Assistant to the Vice President, and now Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern Affairs; *Washington Post* columnist **Charles Krauthammer**; *U.S. News and World Report* editor **Michael Barone**; Center for Security Policy Military Committee Members, **Admiral Bruce DeMars**, **USN** (**Ret.**), **General Frederick Kroesen**, **USA** (**Ret.**), **Admiral Wesley McDonald**, **USN** (**Ret.**) and **Vice Admiral J.D. Williams**, **USN** (**Ret.**); and Center sponsor **Poju Zabludowicz**.

USS Ronald Reagan and the Peace Through Strength Legacy

President George W. Bush joined Reagan veterans attending the March 2001 dedication of the Navy's latest Nimitz-class aircraft carrier, the USS *Ronald Reagan*. Not far from the shipyard, the Center for Security Policy sponsored a tribute to President Reagan's legacy with the participation of some of those who helped craft it. They included former National Security Adviser William J. Clark, former Secretary of Energy John Herrington, former Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, and former Attorney General Edwin Meese. Representative Christopher Cox, himself a former Reagan White House official, joined in discussing how the Reagan security policy endures with the Bush-Cheney administration.

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 Hutchinson, 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.

Sven Kraemer, former Senior Director of Arms Control Policy, National Security Council.

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

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

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.

Charles M. Lichenstein, former alternate U.S. Representative to the United Nations and Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations 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, former Special Assistant to the President.

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.

Keith Payne, President of the National Institute for Public Policy.

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

Michael Pillsbury, former Assistant Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning.

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

Robert Reilly, former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

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.

Sophia Casey

on 4 October 2000, the Center for Security Policy family, among innumerable others, lost a dear friend, a generous patron and an abiding inspiration with the passing of Sophia Casey. While Mrs. Casey was widely known as the beloved widow of William J. Casey, President Reagan's Director of Central Intelligence, she had an enormous impact in her own right on those whose lives she touched.

Thanks to her leadership and that of her daughter, Bernadette Casey Smith and her husband, Professor Owen Smith, the Center for Security Policy was privileged to become the home of the William J. Casey Institute. From its founding, Mrs. Casey and her family have been driving forces behind the success of the organization they created as a living legacy for Bill Casey.

In fact, Sophia's active participation in virtually every major event convened by the Center was invariably the highlight of the program, especially as the physical challenges that afflicted her late in her life made such contributions ever more a test of her extraordinary fortitude and personal courage. While she is deeply missed, Sophia Casey joins her husband in living on in the memories and work of the Casey Institute and the Center for Security Policy.



CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY