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*Organized by:*

The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis  
International Security Studies Program of  
The Fletcher School, Tufts University

*with the cosponsorship of:*

U.S. Strategic Command  
The National Nuclear Security Administration of  
The Department of Energy  
The Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy)  
The Defense Threat Reduction Agency



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December 14-15, 2005  
Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

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## FINAL AGENDA

### DAY ONE – DECEMBER 14, 2005

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6:45 – 8:15 AM

Conference Registration and Informal Reception

8:15 – 8:30 AM

Conference Welcome and Introduction

**Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.**, President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies, The Fletcher School, Tufts University

**The Hon. Linton F. Brooks**, Under Secretary of Nuclear Security and Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration, U.S. Department of Energy

**Major General Richard Y. Newton III, USAF**, Director, Plans and Policy (J5), U.S. Strategic Command

**Dr. James Tegnella**, Director, Defense Threat Reduction Agency

8:30 – 9:15 AM

Opening Keynote Address

*Deterrence and Dissuasion in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

**The Hon. Ryan Henry**, Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

9:15 – 10:15 AM

Session 1

*The Post-9/11 World and the New Triad*

The purpose of this session is to discuss the new security setting with a focus on the new and older threats for which deterrence and dissuasion are needed. How can we deter multiple adversaries in various plausible contingencies? Among the issues to be addressed will be how the New Triad will support the National Security Strategy, including the relationship between preemption and deterrence.

Moderator

**Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.**

Issue areas for presentations

- An Integrated Deterrence Strategy  
**Mr. Brian Green**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Forces Policy, International Security Policy, U.S. Department of Defense
- Asymmetric Threats to the U.S. and its Allies, including Cyber Warfare and EMP  
**Dr. William R. Graham**, Chairman of the Commission to Assess the Threat to the United States from Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) Attack and former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, National Security Research, Inc.

10:15 – 10:30 AM – Break

10:30 AM – 12:00 PM

Session 2

*Operational Planning for the New Triad*

A recurrent theme in this conference is the need to understand the requirements for deterrence and dissuasion, assurance and defense. In order to do this it will be essential to address the operational aspects of each element of the New Triad. This session is designed to consider the fundamental question of how several of the elements of the New Triad – nuclear systems, non-nuclear forces, active and passive defenses – relate to each other. What should be the role of nuclear forces relative to non-nuclear capabilities and missile defense? This panel is intended to help spell out conceptually the role of nuclear capabilities and their relationship to non-nuclear forces in the twenty-first-century national security setting.

Moderator

**Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis**, Executive Vice President, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

Issue areas for presentations

- Respective Roles of Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Forces as Instruments of Deterrence and Dissuasion  
**Dr. Keith B. Payne**, President, National Institute for Public Policy, and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Forces Policy
- Operational Requirements for a New Mix of Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Strategic Forces  
**Dr. William Schneider, Jr.**, President, International Planning Services, Inc.; Chairman, Defense Science Board, U.S. Department of Defense
- The Offense-Defense Mix: Missile Defense Requirements for the New Triad  
**Ambassador Henry Cooper**, Chairman, High Frontier; former Director, Strategic Defense Initiative Organization; and former Chief Negotiator, Geneva Defense and Space Talks (Reagan Administration)
- Integrating Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Weapons into Planning Future Strategic Forces  
**Major General Richard Y. Newton III, USAF**
- The New Triad and its Assumptions: A Critique  
**The Hon. R. James Woolsey**, Vice President, Booz Allen Hamilton; co-chairman, Committee on the Present Danger, and former Director of the CIA

12:15 – 1:45 PM

Luncheon and Address

**The Hon. Stephen A. Cambone**, Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence

2:00 – 3:45 PM

Session 3

*Perspectives on Nuclear/Non-Nuclear Requirements for Regional Contingencies*

The need for integrated strategic thinking about nuclear and non-nuclear components of deterrence is not new. In the final decade of the Cold War, the 1980s, we faced an analogous dilemma in NATO: how to sustain deterrence in Europe with a nuclear posture that was considered to be less than credible and a conventional force that was widely regarded as inadequate. Once again innovative thinking is needed if we are to operationalize the New Triad based on today's requirements in regions of greatest importance to the United States and where we face new and continuing challenges. Just as FOFA, designed to link nuclear and non-nuclear capabilities, took place in a regional (NATO-European) context, new concepts will become clearer and more concrete to the extent that they can be developed with an understanding of specific twenty-first-century regional settings such as the Asia-Pacific area and the Middle East. Given the diversity and complexity of regions and actors, there is no one-size-fits-all solution.

Moderator

**Dr. James Tegnella**

Issue areas for presentations

- Lessons for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century from Cold War Deterrence  
**Dr. Fred Iklé**, Distinguished Scholar, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
- Thinking about Regional Deterrence  
**The Hon. Paula A. DeSutter**, Assistant Secretary for Verification and Compliance, U.S. Department of State
- Missile Defense: Deterring and Dissuading Regional WMD Adversaries  
**Lieutenant General Henry "Trey" Obering III, USAF**, Director, Missile Defense Agency
- Nuclear/Non-Nuclear Forces and Deterring Escalation in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Crises  
**The Hon. Ronald F. Lehman II**, Director, Center for Global Security Research, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

3:45 – 4:00 PM – Break

4:00 – 6:00 PM

Session 4

*Nonproliferation/Counterproliferation: Does the New Triad Strengthen or Weaken Nonproliferation?*

The sometimes contentious issue of the impact of U.S. nuclear programs on proliferation is addressed in this session. Nuclear critics often assert that U.S. reductions leading to eventual abolition will discourage others from developing nuclear capabilities. However, there is no established or clearly demonstrated linkage between U.S. nuclear disarmament and stemming global proliferation. The contrary position holds that credible deterrence that extends to allies and coalition partners may be essential as part of a U.S. strategy that dissuades some states from acquiring their own nuclear weapons. In this perspective, dissuasion and assurance are integral to non/counterproliferation. According to this logic, certain states might be more tempted to acquire nuclear weapons if the United States dismantled its nuclear arsenal. This session is structured to provide contrasting perspectives on these issues.

Issue areas for presentations

- U.S. Nuclear Weapons' Replacement/Modernization: Catalyst or Impediment to Proliferation
- Low Collateral Damage vs. Nuclear Use Threshold: Is There a Relationship?
- Missile Defense and Non/Counterproliferation Strategies
- The Role and Limits of the NPT in Non/Counterproliferation

Moderator

**Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.**

Panelists have been invited to emphasize any or all of the above topics

**Dr. Barry M. Blechman**, Founder, President, and CEO, DFI International, and Member, Defense Policy Board

**Dr. Ashton B. Carter**, Ford Foundation Professor of Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

**Mr. Frank Miller**, Vice President, The Cohen Group, and former Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control, National Security Council

**Ms. Elaine Bunn**, Director, Future Strategic Concepts Program, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University

**Mr. Henry Sokolski**, Executive Director, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

6:00 – 7:00 PM

Reception

7:00 – 9:00 PM

Dinner and Address

**The Hon. J.D. Crouch II**, Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor

## **DAY TWO – DECEMBER 15, 2005**

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8:00 – 9:00 AM

Conference Registration and Informal Reception

9:00 – 10:00 AM

Opening Address

*Nonkinetic Weapons in the New Triad: Integrating Kinetic and Non-Kinetic Capabilities*

**General James E. Cartwright, USMC**, Commander, U.S. Strategic Command

10:00 – 10:15 AM – Break

10:15 AM – 12:30 PM

Session 5

*Nuclear Weapons and the New Triad*

Building on the previous discussion, this session will address specifically the role of nuclear weapons in light of emerging WMD threats and what kind of nuclear capability will be needed by the United States in the decades ahead. Our focus will be a discussion of what is and should be the role of nuclear weapons as an integrated and integral component of U.S. military capabilities. If the New Triad is to be effectively implemented in the coming years, a new and broadly based national consensus is needed on the place of nuclear forces in U.S. national security policy. Next, the goal of this session is to help identify what types of nuclear weapons are needed in light of future national security requirements and roles for nuclear weapons in relation to non-nuclear elements of the New Triad.

Moderator

**Dr. Charles M. Perry**, Vice President and Director of Studies, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

Issue areas for presentations

- U.S. Nuclear Weaponry Stockpile Issues

**Dr. John S. Foster, Jr.**, Consultant, Northrop Grumman Space Technology, and former Director, Defense Research and Engineering, U.S. Department of Defense

- New Nuclear Weapons for Deterrence

**Vice Admiral Robert R. Monroe, USN (Ret.)**, former Director, Defense Nuclear Agency, and Member, Nuclear Strategy Forum

- Priorities for Stockpile and Infrastructure Transformation

**The Hon. Linton F. Brooks**

- Stockpile Planning

**Mr. Steve Henry**, Deputy Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Nuclear Matters)

12:30 PM – 1:45 PM

Luncheon

2:00 – 4:00 PM

Session 6

*Hedging Against Uncertainty: Developing a Long-Term Strategy for Innovation, Modernization, and Transformation for the Science-Technology, Industry Base*

This final session is devoted to an examination of the third leg of the New Triad. Having considered the role and types of nuclear and non-nuclear forces, together with active and passive defenses, including missile defense, we turn finally to the R&D and defense technology-industrial infrastructure that will be needed in the years ahead. Coupled with scheduled reductions in strategic nuclear forces in coming years under the Moscow Treaty, the NPR and the New Triad concept present fundamental challenges as the United States simultaneously reduces its nuclear arsenal dramatically and retains the supporting industrial base and expertise necessary to ensure the long-term reliability (and indeed availability) of U.S. nuclear systems. Similarly, the United States will need to address defense industrial base issues directly related to the non-nuclear components of the New Triad, an issue area that becomes even more urgent as we place reduced emphasis on nuclear weapons in the New Triad. This panel will include representatives from government as well as industry.

Moderator

**Dr. Dale Klein**, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Defense Programs

Issue areas for presentations

- Responsive Infrastructure and Reassurance/Dissuasion  
**Dr. John Harvey**, Director, Policy Planning Staff of the National Nuclear Security Administration, U.S. Department of Energy
- Providing Responsive Infrastructure for Updating and Maintaining the Nuclear Stockpile  
**Admiral Henry G. Chiles, Jr., USN (Ret.)**, former Commander, U.S. Strategic Command
- Transformation and the New Triad: Industry Perspectives on Current, Projected, and Other Essential Requirements  
**Mr. Steven Cortese**, Vice President of Programs and Budgets, Lockheed Martin Corporation – Washington Operations, and former Chief of Staff, Senate Appropriations Committee  
**Major General Frank Moore, USAF (Ret.)**, Sector Vice President & General Manager, Missile Defense Division, Northrop Grumman Mission Systems
- Personnel Requirements: The Science/Technology Base and Other Expertise to Meet Future New Triad Needs  
**Dr. Robert B. Barker**, former Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy

4:00 PM – 4:15 PM

Closing Remarks

**Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.**