

38th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy
Air, Space, and Cyberspace Power in the 21st Century
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Introductory/Welcoming Remarks

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Welcome to the 38th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy. This is the latest in the series of conferences organized over many years by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis with the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, together with an official sponsor – one of the military services or a major command. In each of these IFPA-Fletcher conferences our primary goal is the identification and discussion of timely national security issues. This year we are focusing on the role of air, space, and cyberspace power in the unfolding security setting and U.S. national security strategy. It is obvious that no vision of 21st-century U.S. national security can be complete without air and space as well as cyberspace.

Please permit me a basic lesson in geography as we think about the basic themes of this conference. The surface of the globe consists entirely of land and the seas. Before the advent of airpower, all armed conflicts were fought on land by land forces or at sea by maritime forces. Since the Earth in its entirety – land and sea – is surrounded by airspace, only air and space afford the fullest and most rapid mobility with truly global range – capable of operating above any part of the Earth's surface – land or sea – unconstrained by the barriers of the seas or land, by narrow straits or high mountains. Only airpower can move unfettered by geography.

It was only with the coming of manned flight and then the space age that such global reach and rapid mobility became fully possible. No nation has succeeded more fully than the United States in incorporating such a vision, together with a supporting aerospace strategy, into its military

capabilities. As so many here today can personally attest, airpower led us out of the Cold War and into the success of Desert Storm. Airpower proved indispensable in Kosovo and again in Iraq and now in Afghanistan. Airpower stands guard as we meet today's homeland security challenges. Airpower is vital to humanitarian operations as we now see so vividly in Haiti.

As Alexander P. de Seversky, one of the great strategists of airpower in its formative years, pointed out in a seminal article in the August 1955 issue of *Air Force Magazine*: "Airpower is the ability of a nation to assert its will via the air medium. Freedom of air navigation when maintained by one side through successful, sustained combat is known as air superiority." It is this basic principle that has informed our vision of airpower for more than half a century. How this fundamental tenet is adapted to 21st-century challenges is the focus of this conference.

With these goals in mind, we have designed this conference to provide first an overview of the 21st-century security setting with a focus on the broad spectrum of threats against which aerospace power must be developed from the high to the low end, from peer competitors to irregular warfare. We then address dissuasion and deterrence requirements, which differ dramatically today from the Cold War era, encompassing nuclear and conventional components as well as states and non-state actors. Next in our afternoon sessions today we examine operational-level issues such as force structure and modernization priorities across the spectrum of contingencies. Then we will consider the challenges of balancing capabilities with modernization priorities and devising a necessary acquisition strategy in light of such challenges as maintaining critical skills and addressing budgetary shortfalls and operating within a shrinking R&D community and technological/industrial base.

Tomorrow we will turn our attention to international perspectives and the role of U.S. allies and coalition partners as we and they work to leverage our respective capabilities and to maximize resulting synergisms. Then we will have an opportunity to benefit from regional and combatant command perspectives on the issues that frame this conference. This conference presents an unusual opportunity to all of us to break free of our intellectual blinders, isolation, and possible groupthink to explore new ideas and to connect the dots outside the box. I say this because all of

us are hostage to our experience, education, and mindset – sometimes mistaking the trees for the forest.

For each of the sessions, as you will see, we have brought together a broad range of expertise – from the civilian and military communities, from the government and private sector, from the United States and abroad. We have much to learn from each other as we address the many agenda topics and hear not only from speakers and discussion in each session and those who will be our keynote speakers today and tomorrow. In this audience we also have a vast array of expertise, knowledge, and experience from which we expect to benefit as well.

For this year's conference we are pleased to have as our official cosponsor the Chief of Staff of the Air Force's Strategic Studies Group and the support of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency. Both have made indispensable contributions to this conference by their sponsorship and support and by their active participation and encouragement throughout the planning and organizational stages and process.

On behalf of IFPA and the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School, I welcome you to what promises to be a lively, timely, and important conference with outstanding speakers. We will be preparing a report and other outputs whose purpose will be to contribute to 21st-century air, space, and cyberspace strategy and therefore to give added impact to the various topics on the agenda.

I now have the honor to welcome General Norton A. Schwartz for his opening keynote address, "The United States is an Aerospace Nation: Challenges and Opportunities." General Schwartz became Chief of Staff of the Air Force in August 2008. He is a command pilot and, prior to becoming Chief of Staff, had many assignments, including service as Commander, U.S. Transportation Command; Director, the Joint Staff; Commander, Alaska Command; and Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Special Operations command. He is a 1973 graduate of the Air Force Academy and earned an MBA from Central Michigan University. He has spoken at previous IFPA-Fletcher Conferences in this series.