

As Delivered

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Amenities:

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is a real pleasure to be here with you today, and an honor to be invited as a guest speaker in the Distinguished Lecture Program.

Someone once praised Abraham Lincoln as a “distinguished orator.” I can really appreciate the humility of his reply to such high praise. He said, “I am not a very sentimental man; and the best sentiment I can think of is, that if you collect the signatures of all persons who are no less distinguished than I, you will have a very undistinguishing mass of names.”

A very humble reply, I’m sure you’ll agree. Though he was perhaps our greatest President, what really distinguished Mr. Lincoln as a man was his sincere humility. We should all be so distinguished!

Though he could not be here today, I’d like to thank the distinguished VADM Paul Gaffney for inviting me to speak with you this morning. And I’d like to thank Ambassador Raphael for hosting my visit with you. Many thanks also to the senior leadership of the schools represented here today for the hard work they do to prepare our nation’s future military leaders for the challenging years ahead.

Introduction:

Last Thursday, Hurricane Lili slammed into the southwestern coast of Louisiana. Lili was classified by the National Hurricane Center as a Category Two storm. The night before, as it seemed to be gathering strength from the warm waters of the Gulf of Mexico, the storm’s strength was estimated as Category Four—a deadly fury of wind and water.

Storms at sea are measured in strength on a scale relative to others that have come and gone. But when they come ashore, storms are often measured in human lives.

Thankfully, Lili’s strength waned as it came ashore. And nobody...nobody was killed. That’s amazing!

Clearly, Lili caused some severe damage to the towns and cities along the coast. And the communities that were in its path will be cleaning up and recovering for quite a

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while. But the storm's strength, in terms of the cost of human lives, was very small, indeed.

That wasn't the case back in 1957, however, when Hurricane Audrey came ashore in the same place. Audrey's massive power devastated New Iberia with a storm surge that swept inland 25 miles. Four hundred people died in that storm.

What was the difference? Forty-five years ago, the people of New Iberia had very little warning of the impending disaster. In contrast, last week, nearly 500,000 people were evacuated well in advance of Lili's potentially deadly arrival. They escaped due to preemptive early warnings by vigilant national, state, and local officials.

There is a lesson there, folks. I'll get back to that thought in just a moment.

Of course, as you might imagine, the Coast Guard provided rescue and assistance services before and after both storms. America's Lifesavers were there to rescue the victims, and to prevent any additional harm wherever possible.

That's the image most Americans have of the Coast Guard. America's Lifesavers. It's an image that we cherish as an organization.

But it's not a complete image. In fact, it is far from complete. There's much more to our service than meets the eye. The events of the past year have proven that beyond any doubt.

The value of the Coast Guard extends well beyond saving lives and responding to disasters. Though we will remain always ready to do that important work, the Coast Guard also provides valuable security to our homeland.

We have been doing that since 1790, when Alexander Hamilton first formed what he called "a system of cutters" to patrol the coast of the United States to protect the fragile economic security of the new republic.

I'd like to spend my time this morning speaking with you about that central role—a role that I believe will prove vital to our nation's future.

#### The Arrival of a Different Storm:

Like a storm without a forecast, the future arrived suddenly, violently, and without warning on a clear day in September of last year.

Previously, we had seen the storm clouds building toward us over the horizon, but nobody thought they would arrive so soon, or with such devastating fury. We were hit full force in New York, Washington, and the countryside of Pennsylvania.

That changed everything with regard to the security of our nation.

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In the past, our view of national security has been projected mainly abroad, rather than within our own borders. However, after the recent attacks on our own cities, we now have good cause to be more concerned about the threats right under our own noses, as well.

Today, we suffer under the constant threat of terrorism as a means of coercion or retaliation, as much of the world already has. That will likely continue for some time in the future.

As a nation that depends so heavily on the oceans and sea-lanes as avenues of our prosperity, we know that whatever action we take against further acts of terrorism must protect our ports and waterways and the ships that use them. They are just as vital to our commerce with the world as airlines and trade centers, and even more vulnerable.

Terrorism, however, is only one of many modern threats that confront us. Migrant and drug smuggling, for example, compound the threat of terrorism, because they contribute to the illicit movement of people, money, and weapons across borders.

These threats have been with us for many years. They have continued to grow in severity each year, and will likely continue into the future.

Profits from these non-nation-state sponsored threats are well documented as significant funding engines for international terrorism.

Common to each of these threats is the potential for an attack against the United States by a state or non-state actor who is either unwilling or unable to confront us directly.

All of these threats bring the problem of national security much closer to home.

Clearly, however, we must never forget that our prosperity also depends in large part on the security of our national interests abroad.

A coherent national security strategy to meet the challenges of the future must address threats beyond our borders that could easily become threats within our borders.

I would urge you, as you study and think about our nation's security, to think in terms of homeland security as an element of a broader national security strategy. The two are intimately linked.

My thesis for you today is simply this: the Coast Guard—with its multiple missions, maritime expertise, military discipline, and the civil law enforcement authority it brings to the table—is a vital instrument of such a national security strategy.

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The Coast Guard retains at its core the vital link between national security and homeland security that is the key to an effective strategy...and I believe that in its own way, it has become the harbinger of the future.

Let me explain what I mean by examining how the Coast Guard is working to meet the emerging challenges of a changing world and what we have come to call the “new normalcy,” both at home and abroad. But first, I’d like to examine more carefully what those challenges are.

#### Homeland Security as an Element of a National Security Strategy:

Last month, President Bush announced a new national security strategy, one based on a doctrine of pre-empting the new threats to our national security, rather than relying exclusively on the Cold War-era doctrines of containment and deterrence.

The doctrine of pre-emption has been hailed as unprecedented in modern world affairs. While not really a new notion, what makes it unprecedented is that pre-emption has now been made a central tenet to our nation’s policy of military intervention.

The strategy says, in part:

“Given the goals of rogue states and terrorists, the United States can no longer solely rely on a reactive posture as we have in the past.”

The President is absolutely right.

What is true abroad is also true here at home. We can no longer afford to rely on a reactive posture to prevent future terrorist attacks on our homeland. We must act first to prevent harm to our people.

The President also recently unveiled the National Homeland Security Strategy, which outlines plans to accomplish three broad objectives: to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States; to reduce America’s vulnerability to terrorism; and to minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur.

It is a sound strategy that depends primarily on preventing future attacks—or pre-empting them, if you will—by sharing information, securing our borders, protecting vital infrastructure, partnering with others at home and abroad, and preparing to respond quickly if necessary.

That sounds a lot like bracing for a coming storm, doesn’t it? That’s why it makes so much sense.

#### The New Department of Homeland Security:

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The President's Homeland Security Strategy addresses required capabilities and points to the way ahead. It also points clearly to the need for changes in the way our government is organized to work.

With his proposal to create a single Department of Homeland Security, the President has taken a sensible step to ensure that we have the ability to implement the maritime security strategy. It is a vital part of the strategy.

From my perspective, it is a necessary change, whose time has come. I believe that the proposed organization will bring unity of effort and unity of command to our efforts to strengthen homeland security, with clear lines of authority to get the job done.

That's the main reason I believe that the Coast Guard is a necessary component of the proposed Department.

Though the Coast Guard is one of our nation's five armed services, we are the only armed service that has full statutory authority to enforce United States law.

Whereas national security is concerned mainly with military power, homeland security is necessarily centered on civil authority—the power to enforce the law.

We need to coordinate the efforts of individual agencies holding that authority to work together in unity, and to meet our combined need for information.

These concerns will be most effectively addressed by the creation of this new department. We have already begun in earnest to work with other agencies to reduce the number of competing or repetitive requirements among us. But we can do more if we are all under the same roof.

You will recall President Lincoln's famous admonition: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

This wasn't just rhetoric from a distinguished orator. When he used the word "house," he wasn't talking about a wood and plaster building. He was talking about human institutions. In Lincoln's language, a family was known as a house. Likewise, a nation is a house. The same is true of its government.

We need the strength of unity where it counts, and we need to get our house in order.

#### The Maritime Homeland Security Strategy:

Threats to our security at home are growing, and they will continue to grow in this new century. Separately and collectively they pose dangers to our sovereignty, our

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economy, our environment, and our safety. All of them have a distinct maritime dimension.

Sustained prosperity at home clearly depends upon our accommodating the global trade that is predicted to double or triple in the next 20 years. Most of that trade will take place through our seaports. So, government needs to be attentive to finding ways to minimize the disruptions and delays caused by federal inspections and other requirements in our seaports. More stuff has to move through faster—so ports need to become more open.

Ensuring maritime security suggests a requirement to tighten down on activity in the ports, however. Government has an obligation to keep illegal immigrants, drugs, weapons, and other contraband from entering and leaving through those same ports whose throughput we want to maximize in the interests of prosperity.

We need a Maritime Security strategy that will enable us to provide security while preserving our prosperity.

The Coast Guard has been at the center of effort to define a maritime security strategy that supports the President's broader homeland security strategy.

There are seven principal elements of that strategy. Let me share them quickly with you.

#### The Principal Elements of the Strategy:

First, we must implement a layered defense of the maritime domain. We are designing a full range of concentric maritime security measures, starting overseas and extending to the shores of the United States.

The goal is to have the effect of pushing our borders out as far as possible, so we can intercept potential threats long before they arrive on the docks.

Second, we will work to maintain an increased level of security operations directed against terrorism. Our maritime operations must reflect the changes brought by the events of last fall by increasing the level of effort against terrorism, without degrading our readiness in other missions.

Third, we will strengthen the security of our ports and reduce their vulnerability.

Fourth, we must create a more comprehensive awareness of threats and activities in the maritime domain. This is really the centerpiece of our strategy. Prior to September 11<sup>th</sup>, our awareness of potential threats to our nation was relatively low. Our preparations regarding serious threats to our homeland were focused mainly on first response capability and consequence management. Obviously, that wasn't enough. We must be more aware—not only to prepare for last year's threat, but next year's, as well.

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Fifth, we plan to further expand the core competencies and re-capitalize vital assets of the Coast Guard. We will re-capitalize our Deepwater forces, continue to deploy Maritime Safety and Security Teams, and expand our Sea Marshal program. These improvements will take several years to achieve, but we are committed to obtaining the needed resources to get the job done.

Sixth, we must prepare our forces to transition easily between homeland security and homeland defense operations. If all else fails, we must be ready to conduct joint military operations to defend our homeland. As one of America's five armed forces, the Coast Guard will stand ready to execute the orders of combatant commanders, extending from the Commander-in-Chief.

Finally, we have set out to organize and sustain a lasting partnership between the public and private sectors, both at home and abroad.

This seven-part maritime border security strategy incorporates the core competencies of the Coast Guard into multi-agency, multi-national, and layered operations to push our maritime borders outward—into and beyond the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone.

It will help to ensure that we can strengthen our maritime security, while allowing the freedom of commerce that is so vital to our economic security.

The Coast Guard's unique qualities as an instrument of national security:

Now that we have carefully examined the challenges before us, let's turn to examine how the Coast Guard is suited to meet those challenges.

We are a maritime nation. We've already discussed how porous our maritime borders can be, especially in comparison to our land and air borders. Ninety-five percent of our trade is shipped by maritime means. Threats can pose as legitimate trading vessels very easily among such a large volume.

Somebody has to engage these vessels one at a time up close and personal. Somebody has to distinguish the suspicious from the obviously innocent. To separate the guilty from the merely suspicious, somebody has to get alongside and put a boarding team aboard, even if the suspect vessels resist or won't stop.

Somebody has to size up each case and dispose of it based on the complex humanitarian, diplomatic, military, geo-political, environmental, and legal issues at stake.

Somebody has to coordinate proposed enforcement actions with other government departments, flag states, law enforcement agencies, and everybody else who has a legitimate interest in the matter. It must all be done according to the rule of law.

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For more than 212 years, that somebody has been the United States Coast Guard.

The Coast Guard offers scalable command and control frameworks suitable for preventing or responding to nearly any military or civil domestic emergency.

Our Captains of the Port have broad and strong legal authority to secure and manage any situation that arises in our ports or on our waterways. This authority gives them the legal basis for ordering or approving just about any movement of shipping within the port. And our Port Security Units give enforcement teeth to that legal authority.

To that foundation, we offer experience in disaster relief and pollution response—experience that has made us the most proficient agency anywhere in conducting emergency operations through the Incident Command Structure. Our Incident Command Structure, which has been adopted by FEMA, is the most effective way of coordinating inter-agency responses to domestic emergencies.

And if one of those emergencies should require DOD involvement, our status as one of the nation's five armed services links us to the others in a joint warfare environment.

The sum of these elements—legal authority, coastal assets, command structure for military and civilian agencies, command and control systems—offers a bridge between the various players who have to get involved within the civilian interagency community and the Department of Defense.

You've seen the effectiveness of the combination of those elements continuously throughout the past year.

#### Coast Guard Contributions to a National Security Strategy Abroad:

Events of the past year have focused our attention clearly on the security of our homeland. It is important to note, however, that Coast Guard contributions to a National Security Strategy extend well beyond the reach of our own borders.

We have been considering the maritime security threats to our homeland. These are symptoms of worldwide instability. Add to that inventory the nuclear capabilities and tensions between India and Pakistan, the eagerness of rogue states like Iraq to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the willingness of other states like Iran and North Korea to export medium-range missile technology, and the uncertain disposal of the former Soviet Union's arsenal.

In this unstable world, international engagement must be used as a primary tool in our national security toolbox, and a number of combatant commanders have recognized the Coast Guard's utility as a unique instrument of our security.

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The idea at work behind the Coast Guard's contribution to international engagement is that if we can help other nations establish the competence to exercise their sovereignty in the maritime environment, they will help increase stability in their regions.

Several of the security threats we've discussed do not arise from hostile nations, but from uncontrolled criminal enterprises. Thus, every nation that develops the will and the means to impose the rule of law over its territorial sea will make our own security challenges a little easier to manage.

The Coast Guard has an active program aimed at helping other countries develop maritime organizations modeled on the U.S. Coast Guard. Through equipment transfers, training visits, joint exercises, bilateral agreements, and opportunities to train at our service schools, we are helping friendly countries to become positive forces for peace and stability.

This is particularly apparent in the Caribbean region, but we have programs all over the world, including the Baltic States and Africa.

#### A Close Relationship with DoD:

We do the important work of international engagement in close cooperation with the Department of Defense. But that's not the only area where such a relationship exists with DoD.

As you may know, in times of war, we have been transferred temporarily to the Department of Defense as part of the Navy. But even in peacetime, we maintain very close ties.

Interaction takes place daily at many levels. And now that Homeland Security has come to the forefront of our national priorities, that interaction has increased at an astonishing pace, especially with the stand-up of Northern Command.

For example, you may be interested to know that General Eberhardt, the Commander of NORTHCOM, has recently named a Coast Guard flag officer to become his Deputy J-3. We now have eight officers billeted on staff there.

We continue to give our utmost attention to many areas of common concern. Just last month, I received from Secretary Rumsfeld a Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments. The subject of the memo was "Legislative Priorities for Fiscal Year 2004." He listed ten major priorities to consider as we seek to strengthen our capabilities through additional legislative authority.

As I read the memo, I was struck by how similar our priorities really are. Many of those listed are the same as the priorities and initiatives that have come from deliberations of our own Leadership Council.

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We share priorities such as transforming the military culture to reward innovation and risk-taking ... improving our approaches to human resource management ... developing new concepts of global engagement ... more clearly defining our roles in homeland security ... and improving interagency integration and processes to reduce response times and increase surge capabilities.

Supporting the Component Commanders:

In our daily interactions with DoD, we provide direct support of Component Commanders' strategies and operations. The Coast Guard has statutory authority to assist the Department in the performance of any activity for which the Coast Guard is especially qualified.

A Memorandum of Agreement is active between the DOD and DOT that specifically calls on the Coast Guard to participate in Component Commanders' engagement strategies. We deploy major cutters to the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Black Sea, and other spots throughout the globe in response to the Component Commanders' requests for support of their engagement plans.

Last year, the CG Cutter *Sherman* deployed to the Persian Gulf in support of maritime intercept operations to enforce UN sanctions against Iraq. Her unique contributions among the naval task force were widely praised.

We can often gain access to nations and ports where a more overt U.S. military presence would not be welcome. There are still a lot of places in this world where the arrival of gray-hulled American ships would either not be permitted or would create anxiety and resentment. Many of these same places welcome Coast Guard cutters with open arms.

We are an armed service of the United States; but our legal authority as a law enforcement and regulatory agency, combined with our international reputation as a humanitarian service, creates unique engagement opportunities.

In a wider sense, the ability of various Component Commanders to capitalize on the Coast Guard's status as a model maritime service for emerging naval services has proven valuable from Albania to Haiti. We have developed a model maritime service code that sets forth the legal authorities that must be in place for a maritime service to be effective.

These peacetime missions offer Component Commanders and ambassadors extensive contacts and inroads to national bureaucracies.

How often do the other U.S Armed Services communicate with the Russian and Cuban Border Guards? We do it every day.

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We also contribute to joint operations. Desert Shield/Desert Storm revealed valuable Coast Guard contributions to port security and logistics flow. In theater, Coast Guard Port Security Units, consisting mostly of Coast Guard Reserve personnel, set up Harbor Defense Commands where materiel was being delivered.

Stateside, we balanced the urgency of loading and moving MARAD and Sealift Command ships against the necessity of maintaining an orderly flow of routine commerce. The Coast Guard provided crucial support at both ends of the logistics pipeline. After Desert Storm, our boarding and inspection expertise have remained in place in theatre to enforce the UN embargo.

Sometimes, Component Commanders use our engagement advantage and our operational capabilities simultaneously. For example, the acceptability of a more benign Coast Guard presence is one of the reasons that Coast Guard vessels were chosen as the lead U.S. ships entering Port Au Prince, Haiti, in Operation Uphold Democracy. Without a Coast Guard cutter at the head of the line, the operation would have looked a lot like a hostile invasion and been received as such.

In fact, if you recall, just one week earlier, the USS *Harlan County* withdrew from her berth in Port-Au-Prince to an anchorage about a mile away, to avoid the violence mounting against the U.S. military presence there. However, having a Coast Guard cutter at the head of the line alleviated anxiety among the Haitian populace, who were well accustomed to Coast Guard port calls. This action gave the operational commander the immediate capability to control the port, mark the channel, and set up the Harbor Defense Command.

#### Complementing the U.S. Navy (National Fleet):

We are actively engaged in complementing the U.S. Navy in other ways, too. Many of you may have heard of the statutory provision for the Coast Guard to operate under the Navy during times of war. But the inter-departmental transfer hasn't happened since World War II, and our complementary support of the Navy is not limited to wartime.

*Joint Vision 2020* predicts a less stable era in the coming decades in which much of our maritime security activity will be concentrated at the low end of the spectrum of conflict. In this environment, the Coast Guard and Navy will have to deploy forces with greater flexibility, adaptability, affordability, and inter-operability.

Accordingly, the Navy and the Coast Guard are planning their future acquisitions in light of a concept we call the National Fleet. Under this concept, both services will maintain their distinctive heritages, capabilities, and identities; but we will make sure that our strengths are complementary.

Of course, the Navy will maintain its highly capable multi-mission surface combatants designed for the full spectrum of naval operations from Peacetime

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Engagement through Major Theater War. The Coast Guard will provide relatively smaller national security cutters, designed for peacetime and crisis-response Coast Guard missions but capable of meeting the requirement for general-purpose, shallow-draft warships.

Our nation doesn't need another Navy. But it can't do without a Coast Guard.

“National Fleet” isn't an inventory of who will procure which assets. It is a process for closer cooperation to synchronize planning, training and procurement to provide the highest level of maritime capabilities for the nation's investment.

It is a way for both services to support national security objectives and our stewardship responsibilities. It is a way to ensure inter-operability and to avoid redundancy.

Conclusion:

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have had adequate warnings of another approaching storm, but it is not a threat of nature. This one is man-made. We have yet to feel the full strength of the gathering storm that threatened us last year.

We don't know exactly where it may strike—if it does. But we must continue to prepare, and we must remain vigilant and ready. Failure is not an option.

The Coast Guard is doing what we can to be ready. I hope you now have a much better idea of what we can do to help our nation get ready. Not just ready to respond, but ready to act first ... to preempt the threats wherever possible.

Our vital role in national security is to be an instrument of our government to conduct international engagement, to support the Component Commanders in theater, and to complement the Navy. We have been doing so for many years.

Our central role in homeland security is to lead the effort to prevent any harm presented by the preeminent threats against our borders.

These two roles are closely linked by our function as a maritime, multi-mission, military service. Maritime security is common to both.

Some people—private citizens, members of Congress and even a few in the Coast Guard itself—consider maritime security as an adjunct mission...another new task added to a growing burden of tasks for the Coast Guard.

It is no burden. It is our sworn duty. And if it is new, then it is news to me. We have been active in the security of our homeland for the past 212 years.

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We plan to continue doing so as long as the flag of our nation remains the standard of freedom around the world.

Thank you. Semper Paratus.