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INTRODUCTION

Thank you Dr. Scanes for the kind introduction, and a special thanks Dr. Radvanyi for your invitation to be with you all today.

Good evening, and of course, anyone who has spent the last 6 years living and working in Hawaii and the Pacific must say - Aloha!

This is my first visit to Mississippi State. I have certainly been to this state many times before, but as you can imagine – based on my nautical heritage – we were always, a little closer to the water. So it is especially good to be here with you to talk about subjects that I believe to be particularly important to our future.

I get asked a lot about how it feels to be retired. In the 12 months since then, I've been to...

- Korea and Japan with former Secretary Bill Perry.
- China with the Governor of Hawaii
- Singapore and Thailand for a week
- Five trips to Washington, D.C.
 - The West Coast doesn't even register
- Today...well, I'm here

Doesn't appear to me I have made a lot of progress in the retirement business! However, one thing that has changed, when you retire as a 4-star Combatant Commander - a lot of things do go away. The car, the boat, the plane and you guessed it—the Speech Writer.

So, today – good or bad – you are listening to me!

I was in Command in the Pacific for almost six years. Between U.S. Pacific Fleet and Pacific Command. With the exception of two years in Bahrain ('96-'98), most of my operational career over 35 years has been in Asia and the Pacific. It is good to see a lot of old friends and partners from the Region with us for this workshop.

(Winston Churchill story)

I started to write a speech exclusively on Terrorism and Maritime but figured over the course of the day you would use all my best lines and ideas – I was right. So, this evening - to set the stage for our further discussions and provide a little context - I thought it would be helpful to talk to what I believe to be six new trends that have emerged over the last 3-5 years and which I think represent the most significant changes—in Asia and the Pacific—they provide the backdrop for the future. And probably most important...a backdrop for how we will collectively deal with Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific Region.

So let me get started. . .

First, when you step back and take stock, it is hard not to be impressed with the Democratization of Asia.

- It wasn't too long ago that my predecessors used to worry about things like military dictatorships and coups as a principle concern.
 - South Korea – just over 12 years ago, was still ruled by the military.
 - Thailand – until 1992, coups were a regular “feature” of the political scene.
 - Indonesia – GEN Suharto ruled for more than 30 years (12 Mar 67 to 21 May 98).

- Today we still have our fair share of concerns, but in a much different and more positive sense.
 - In Korea – President Roh was impeached after a visceral reaction to an “untimely” speech.
 - But the masses spoke—judiciary worked—restored the President—
Democracy in Korea is stronger for it today.
 - In Thailand when I asked my friends who are generals, whether they intend to go into politics when they retire – most look at me like I’m missing the big picture and talk about the business world (I have taken that to be good advice).
 - In Indonesia – the country elected a retired general but it was because he has served effectively in a civilian capacity—and he won in a free and open election of 200M people.
 - The closest thing to the word coup in my tenure was a minor mutiny of a few junior officers in the Philippines who were disgruntled over corruption. Even with the concerns in the Philippines today, I don’t think the mainstream military wants to be in the middle of the political crisis.
- So things have changed dramatically...and for the good.
 - I mentioned Indonesia but it’s worth repeating: Violence free, 200M people, 17,000 islands. They got the ballots out and determined a result in a week; three times.
 - In my country, the people of Florida, should be in awe of this accomplishment.

- In Japan—a 2-Party System has developed. (And PM Koizumi proved again last September that leadership counts and no one is particularly good at predicting political outcomes.)
 - In India—the largest democracy in the world has both gone through nuclear crisis and I believe turned the economic corner.
 - It doesn't seem long ago, India shunned Western investment. That's changed. Visit Bangalore or make a toll-free call to get your computer fixed, and you will understand.
 - In fact, you could argue that any speech about Asia should address the rise of both India and China equally. It would expand this discussion by another 1 billion people.
- But, I think it is important and we need to understand clearly:
- While democracy contributes directly to Regional Security and stability, it doesn't necessarily make relationships or life in the region easier.
 - Foreign Policy and potentially business can take a back seat to domestic issues. And of course, elements of Nationalism pop up, all the time. Take a look at China, Japan, Korea today
- **Bottom Line:** Within the region, as these new democracies mature, our collective effort should be to support the growth of strong institutions within the Government—judicial, economic, political and security—which will foster a stable environment and provide a foundation to deal with terrorism.

A second theme, connected to the first—Modern, moderate Islam flourishes in this region.

- Two immediate examples from my previous point on Democratization are the elections in Malaysia and Indonesia:

- In Malaysia we have a strong leader with exceptional Islamic credentials who has articulated that Islam is consistent with democracy and a progressive social and economic structure.
 - In Indonesia, I worried that in the midst of their election—and in deference to the Islamic parties—the government would back-off going after the terrorists—in this case the Jemah Islamia or JI. That wasn't the case.
 - In the U.S., many of us saw the article in last week's Wall Street Journal on Jenny Wahid, which I think is an accurate portrayal of the country. One that the world needs to see.
 - It is pretty clear when you visit these countries that their citizens are devout but not about to give up their freedoms.
- There are problems to be sure...outside forces are pumping money into schools—that fail to educate—and in some cases breed both terrorism and unrest. Corruption is still an issue. But as we saw today, the countries of South East Asia are working to address this problem. The caveat is the forces of discontent have a full 10-year headstart.

Bottom Line:

We know that Islam is compatible with a modern, progressive world. We witness a wonderful example in South East Asia.

Third, Japan is adopting a world view of security, more appropriate for a global economic power.

- We have witnessed significant change in the past 3 years...really a sea change.

- Japanese Government has passed or implemented:
 - Extensive Legislation. Seven New Laws for Emergency Situations.
 - As we heard today, pumped 100M gallons of fuels to ships in Operation Iraqi Freedom/Operation Enduring Freedom the North Arabian Sea. Deployments previously impossible to support.
 - Deployed 600 troops to Samawah, Iraq—which, by the way, was a source of great pride.
- In my estimation, this change in their security architecture will continue at a very measured pace.
 - Missile Defense will be next—some sort of collective defense arrangement will be worked out—driven of course by North Korea.
 - My sense is this change will be fine. The mission will be Humanitarian Assistance, Peace Keeping, Peace Enforcement, Countering Terrorism.
 - The changes in capability will be modest and defensive. Won't include a power projection force.
 - It should not be threatening to East Asia. But we all recognize that the history card is out there because of Japan's previous exploits in East Asia, and this change has the potential to be both controversial and complex within the region.
- We would all do well to encourage a strict adherence to the facts with respect to adjustments in Japan's Security posture, and we should encourage their participation in regional security efforts. And, it doesn't serve anyone's interest to amplify any level of tension between Japan and China. We should help smooth the peaks and valleys in this relationship.

Fourth: Multilateral approaches to security are becoming more common.

- Remember, this is a region built essentially on bilateral relationships—and those will continue to be an essential and important component.
- But everyone understands the big problems will be dealt with, in almost every scenario—multilaterally—in fact, I can't name an Asia-Pacific regional issue in the past 5 years that hasn't been dealt with in this fashion.
 - Six-party talks dealing with North Korea's Nuclear Weapons are, of course, the most important and immediate example.
 - Tsunami response is the best and most recent example.
 - Initiatives with respect to Maritime Security in the Malacca Strait, such as the "Eye in the Sky" can improve situational awareness, and may be the next success.

Let me spend just a moment on why Tsunami relief was successful because I think the lessons are relevant to our effort on Maritime Terrorism.

- When you look back on the Tsunami relief operation, a number of points are germane:
 - First: We established a set of principles at the outset that would guide our effort.
 - Speed and tempo were essential. If you wait for assessments to be completed, lives are lost.
 - Each Nation is proud and sovereign. They have to remain in charge of the effort within their country. Other parties like the U.S. play a supporting role and help build capacity.
 - This has to be a unified effort. We called the organization a Coordinated Support Force to make it inclusive and encourage participation by organizations not comfortable with a rigid command structure. Coordinate vice compel or command became the thrust of our arrangement.

- Would leverage our previous experience with respect to combined and multi-national operations to great advantage. We had developed Standing Operating Procedures on a multi-national level and now was the time to use them.
- This complex relief effort didn't just happen because we wanted it to...or because we decided to act together quickly—which we did. It was possible because of a set of habitual relationships—really habits of cooperation that had been established over many years.
 - Exercises, exchanges, combined training, and well developed relationships are essential.

These principles apply equally well to dealing with Terrorism in the Maritime Dominion.

The Fifth Trend is, of course, the Rise of China

- When I have toured Asia and the Pacific, you can't help but be impressed with some parts of China's diplomatic and economic strategies.
 - Their investment is seen everywhere.
 - Soccer stadiums and martial arts training in Fiji.
 - Military barracks in Tonga.
 - Gas deals in Indonesia. Energy from Australia.
 - Their diplomats are skilled and energetic. When I attended President Arroyo's inauguration, the most senior representative worldwide was the Chinese Foreign Minister.
 - Their message is—we are benign, benevolent and we ask nothing. The post script is "for now"
 - Much has been said about what is called a "soft power strategy"...it appears to be effective and making headway.
- I do believe China will be a great power at some point. Much more so than the Soviet Union, because China is progressing on all fronts—economically, militarily, and diplomatically.
 - That is not necessarily a bad thing. However, we can't give China a free ride. With new status, comes a new set of responsibilities.
 - Such as adherence to the spirit, intent, and letter of the WTO.

- A positive contribution to Regional issues like the Tsunami in proportion to their capacity to help.
- Legal and Political reform to protect international business partners.
 - To name just a few.
- We all recognize clearly the significant military modernization that is underway. Growth reflecting this great power vision. Fueled by 7-10% economic growth.
 - 250 4th generation fighters.
 - 12 modern diesel & building 2 new classes-nuclear subs (8 more diesel and 3 more nuke subs planned).
 - Sophisticated air defense (Russian).
 - Missiles: at least 500 short-range; unk med.-range; over 100 ICBM.

They have exceeded our expectations in their ability to build and acquire advanced systems.

- That said I don't believe China is looking for adversarial relationship with U.S. or any of us here—they can't afford it.
 - Lots of evidence. I believe China's withdrawal of the offer for Unocal is a relevant example.
 - They are terribly concerned about the potential for internal unrest if they can't expand the "Shanghai miracle" to the other "1 B Chinese".
 - Plus, we all have a number of shared interests in the free movement of energy resources, terrorism, and transnational issues like SARS / AVIAN FLU / AIDS and of course North Korea.
- I said at the outset that democracy doesn't necessarily make things easier. And, of course, that is true when you discuss the RISE OF CHINA in the United States.

You will get a range of views:

 - From those that see economic opportunity and, in fact, increased stability with China's ascendancy as a great power.
 - To those that worry greatly about China's significant military build up and its potential implications.

- I would say that those that have sat in my former chair at PacCom take a relatively balanced view.
 - We look for a cooperative, constructive relationship and some political reform.
 - We realize there isn't a day-to-day level of tension between the U.S. and Chinese militaries – as an individual implied at a recent conference I attended. I lived through the Cold War, at sea, and this ain't it.
 - We see value in a level of military to military engagement. It highlights:
 - quality of our capability
 - quality of our relationships
 - We recognize that China will build a military that they believe appropriate for their view of a great power status. A Blue Water Navy will be a key element of this as China energy demand increases size of Saudi total production. While I don't see this as particularly threatening to the U.S., it bears continuous scrutiny and certainly has regional implications.

Finally, we should think through at this conference how China can play a constructive role in the War on Terrorism.

The Final Trend is the War on Terror

There was no disagreement today.

- We know JI is AQ-affiliated. Responsible for the (2) Bali, Marriott, and Australian Embassy bombings.
 - Of course the problem is much wider than Indonesia. The JI has a presence in Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, and Australia.
 - We also know, terrorists disrupt the legitimate governments of these countries. They very clearly impact their economies. Divert resources that could be used to benefit the people and accelerate development.
- Collectively, we have achieved some considerable success. I won't restate the comments earlier today -

- Many of the terrorists in SEA have been tried and convicted.
- So there are two things we know at this point after dealing with this for:
 1. Can't resolve all sources of instability in a peaceful way. Tom Freidman said – Some people hate us (legitimate nation states) more than they love life.
 2. But we recognize clearly we can't win the war on terror through attrition alone.
- So we need to take a two-pronged approach:
 1. Near term: we have to stop the violence. These nations in this room will take the lead.
 2. Long term: Once again, we have to strengthen institutions and build good governance. This means:
 - Dealing with economic, political, or social grievances and providing mechanisms for their resolution.
 - Dealing effectively with corruption.
 - Training Militaries that operate under political leadership, and respect the rule of law.
 - Real education and opportunity.
 - Along with governments providing basic services.
- *My personal view is when people value their institutions more than they fear the terrorists, peace will prevail, and we'll reach a tipping point in the war against terrorism.*
 - This is true in South East Asia and it is true in Iraq.

Once again, nobody said this was easy or inexpensive, but clearly it is important and I think we all believe within our reach.

And while no nation can unilaterally control all the variables involved in any transnational threat—every nation can contribute—and every nation has a unique capacity and responsibility to help.

Let me thank you each for your personal commitment.

CLOSING

As we talk through our concerns for the future of this vital region, we should keep in mind the words of a fellow named Endicott Peabody who said, “Remember! Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights—then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward...”

Thank you for the invitation to join you today.

I look forward to your questions and insights.