Chapter 16

ENDING THE COLD WAR

Reagan and Gorbachev met for the last time in New York City in December 1988. By then the two leaders had developed an easy collaboration that both hoped would carry over into the presidency of Reagan's recently elected successor, George H.W. Bush. A former member of Congress, Director of Central Intelligence, ambassador to China, and Reagan's vice president for 8 years, Bush came to the White House with more practical experience in national security affairs than any President since Eisenhower. As part of his agenda while in New York, Gorbachev addressed the UN General Assembly and used the occasion to announce that the Soviet Union would unilaterally reduce its armed forces by half a million men and withdraw 50,000 troops and 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe over the next 2 years. Moscow, Gorbachev insisted, wanted military forces only for defensive purposes and would use them for nothing else. A dramatic, headline-grabbing gesture, Gorbachev's announcement convinced Secretary of State George Shultz that the Cold War was more than drawing to a close. Indeed, Shultz insisted: "It was over."[1]

While Shultz's declaration may have been premature, it aptly captured the prevailing mood. After decades of tension and confrontation, the prospect of establishing a peaceful modus vivendi between East and West was too appealing for anyone, including the Joint Chiefs, to ignore. Practically no one expected the Soviet Union to disappear or its Warsaw Pact allies to lay down their arms. But with Gorbachev continuing to tender the olive branch, the opportunities for normalizing relations, settling differences in a peaceful atmosphere, and creating new partnerships seemed measurably improved.

POLICY IN TRANSITION

Like others in Washington, the Joint Chiefs were hard pressed to draw a fully coherent picture of the future from the rapid changes taking place in East-West relations. Typically cautious, they believed that relaxed tensions with the Soviet Union offered opportunities to improve relations but were reluctant to let down their guard. Their attitude at the outset of the Bush administration remained essentially the same as it had been during the last few years of Reagan's Presidency when the motto had been "Trust but verify." The Bush White House was of a similar persuasion, eager to explore

the settlement of outstanding issues yet leery of taking too much for granted. As the new national security advisor, Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.), recalled: "I was suspicious of Gorbachev's motives and skeptical of his prospects."[2]

Scowcroft's concerns were not unfounded. True, there had been dramatic improvements in East-West relations since Gorbachev's advent and the signing of the 1987 INF Treaty. But since then, progress in the strategic arms reduction talks and parallel negotiations aimed at limiting conventional forces in Europe had been negligible. Gorbachev's pledge to withdraw 50,000 troops from Europe may have sounded like a major concession, but to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other military experts it would do little to alter the overall strategic balance, which remained heavily weighted toward the Warsaw Pact. Despite denials by Gorbachev, reports reaching the West also pointed to a high priority Soviet program to develop a new range of biological weapons.[3] Meanwhile, Moscow continued to pursue policies in other areas that were inimical to U.S. interests. Even as it withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union still poured heavy amounts of assistance into propping up a pro-Communist regime in Kabul. Likewise, it remained a firm ally of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua who, with the help of Cubans and East Germans, continued to export Communist revolution throughout Central America.

Thus, even though the Cold War might have appeared to be over, the Bush administration found itself up against problems that suggested an ongoing, albeit lower-keyed, competition with the Soviet Union. Neither friend nor foe, Moscow fell awkwardly in between. Pointing to the "challenges and uncertainties" that the waning Cold War presented, President Bush decided to launch a comprehensive review of basic U.S. policy (designated NSR 12) shortly after taking office.[4] Among other things, he wanted to know how he should balance policy toward Moscow with the steady decline of support for defense spending, a reflection of expectations in Congress and with the public at large that as East-West relations improved, the United States could reduce the size of its armed forces. Actually, the process of reaping a "peace dividend" was well underway. From consuming a post-Vietnam high of 6.6 percent of the country's GNP in fiscal years 1986 and 1987, national defense had declined to 5.8 percent by the time President Bush entered the Oval Office. When he left in 1993, it would be down to 4.7 percent, the lowest since the end of demobilization immediately following World War II.[5]

Within the Pentagon, a debate quickly developed between the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff over how and where to allocate resources to meet the "challenges and uncertainties" mentioned in the President's directive. OSD wanted to maintain the force structure more or less within its current configuration, with a continuing focus on Europe, while the Joint Staff wanted to strike a balance with other regions of the world. Assuming a low level of threat to Europe

and a reduced force posture in years to come, JCS planners sought to make better use of available resources by shifting from the Cold War strategy of "forward defense," with forces deployed at static points along the Soviet Union's periphery, to a strategy of "forward presence" emphasizing flexibility to move forces around and to insert them as needed in the event of regional contingencies.[6]

As these debates were taking place, events in Eastern Europe were acquiring a dynamic of their own, bringing down one Communist regime after another over the course of 1989 and culminating in the toppling of the infamous Berlin Wall that November. Unable to keep up with the rapid changes sweeping Europe, the Bush administration suspended work on NSR 12 and several other reviews it had requested on the future of U.S.-Soviet relations until things settled down. Rather than relying on recapitulations of past policies, President Bush wanted fresh ideas and new insights.[7] As Colin Powell later remarked, NSR 12 failed to measure up and became "doomed to the dustbin."[8] All the same, not all was lost. Out of the give and take connected with the project at the Pentagon emerged a new National Military Strategy for 1992–1997 (NMS 92-97), which Admiral Crowe, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, submitted to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney and President Bush in late August 1989. Though not as far reaching a change as the Joint Staff had originally intended, the new strategy—described by the Chairman as "forward defense through forward presence"—clearly downplayed prior commitments to Europe and stressed instead the role of force projection and flexible response to deal with regional crises and instability and to preserve worldwide U.S. influence.[9]

POWELL'S IMPACT AS CHAIRMAN

Presentation of the new National Military Strategy was one of Admiral Crowe's last formal functions as Chairman. On October 1, 1989, he relinquished his duties to General Colin L. Powell, USA, the first African-American to become Chairman, and at age 52 the youngest CJCS. A product of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program at City College of New York, Powell had served two tours in Vietnam, earning two purple hearts, and had decided to make the Army his career. A rising star, his military duty for the next two decades alternated between field assignments and high-profile jobs in Washington either at the Pentagon or the White House. During the Reagan years, he served as military assistant to Secretary of Defense Weinberger and as the President's assistant for national security affairs from 1987 to 1989. Promoted to general in April 1989, he served briefly as head of U.S. Army Forces Command (FORSCOM), then a JCS specified command, at Fort McPherson, Georgia, before President Bush named him as Crowe's successor, passing over about a dozen more senior officers.[10]

With Powell's appointment as Chairman, the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act finally came of age. While Crowe had done a faithful job of implementing the law, his tenure had straddled two stools, from the corporate decisionmaking practices that had existed prior to Goldwater-Nichols, to the new era that vested primary authority and responsibility in the CJCS. Embracing an evolution-not-revolution philosophy, Crowe had made changes slowly in order to gain the Service chiefs' cooperation and confidence in the new system. Though he had restructured the Joint Staff to meet Goldwater-Nichols requirements, his alterations were relatively minor and basically involved reshuffling existing offices and personnel. In February 1989, seeing room for improvement, the Director of the Joint Staff, Lieutenant General Hansford T. Johnson, USAF, initiated an in-depth review of Joint Staff functions, looking to reduce Service influence while broadening the scope of Joint Staff participation in DOD affairs. The immediate results, however, were minimal. Overall, the Joint Staff continued to operate much as it had, as a long-range planning and strategic advisory body dominated by inter-Service committees whose officers' primary loyalty remained to their respective Services.[11]

Under Powell the emphasis within the Joint Staff shifted to addressing more current affairs and to providing up-to-date joint assessments to assist the Chairman and the Secretary of Defense in the policy process. Determined to exercise the powers given him under Goldwater-Nichols, Powell siphoned off the best officers from the Services. In so doing he vastly enhanced the stature, influence, and effectiveness of the Joint Staff over the Service staffs and within the interagency system.[12] With representation at practically every level, the Joint Staff was assured "a seat at the table" in every major policy discussion and could assert its prestige and power on a range of issues extending beyond those of the Chairman's personal interest. In sharp contrast to the ponderous methods associated with it in years past, the post-Goldwater-Nichols Joint Staff as Powell redesigned it acquired a reputation for incisive and fast responses. The upshot was a more visible, active, and aggressive Joint Staff with institutionalized influence placing it on a par with OSD, the State Department, the CIA, and other established agencies in the policy process. By the time he returned to civilian life, Powell considered it "the finest military staff anywhere in the world."[13]

Like Crowe, Powell placed high priority on developing effective working relationships with the Service chiefs and his deputy, the Vice Chairman. The serving Vice Chairman when Powell took office was General Robert T. Herres, USAF, who opted for early retirement in 1990. Both he and his successor, Admiral David E. Jeremiah, USN, were able and respected officers. A former astronaut, Herres had been first head of the United States Space Command, while Jeremiah was a former naval task force commander in the Mediterranean and fiscal advisor to the Secretary of the Navy. In theory, they functioned as the Chairman's alter ego. But like all deputies, they operated

in their boss's shadow and performed whatever chores he might assign, more often than not the less glamorous administrative tasks.

The situation with respect to the Service chiefs was more delicate and complicated. With the strength of Goldwater-Nichols behind him, Powell knew that he was under no obligation to seek a corporate consensus before making recommendations. But after friction developed over his handling of the base force plan (see below), he realized that it was preferable to have the chiefs' cooperation and support than their opposition. Taking the lesson to heart, he met with them over 50 times during Operation *Desert Shield/Desert Storm* but held most of the meetings in his private office rather than in the "tank," thereby removing all doubt as to who was in charge. Attempting to establish an air of collegiality, he sought to work with the Service chiefs as a team and often referred to the JCS as the "six brothers." Yet he was also not averse to acting on his own when he deemed it necessary and thought it more important to win the approval of the Secretary of Defense and the President.[14]

According to journalist Rick Atkinson, Powell was "the most politically deft" CJCS since Maxwell Taylor.[15] Having been Weinberger's protégé and Reagan's national security advisor, Powell knew the ins and outs of power as well as anyone and moved easily in the rarified atmosphere of high-level policymaking. Under Bush, he was welcomed immediately into the President's "Core Group" of close friends and advisors.[16] One of the assets he brought with him as Chairman was a personal familiarity with many senior members of the Bush administration, including the President himself. Even though Bush wanted his administration to be distinct and separate, not merely an extension of his predecessor's, there were still many familiar faces from Reagan's presidency. Powell was on a first-name basis with practically all of them. As much as anything, Powell's influence derived from the thoroughgoing sense of professionalism he projected and what President Bush described as the Chairman's "quiet, efficient" manner.[17]

At the Pentagon, Powell's most difficult challenge was to develop a productive partnership with his immediate superior, Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney. A former congressman from Wyoming, Cheney impressed Powell as incisive, smart, and tough. Yet even though the two generally worked well together most of the time, there were stresses and strains in their relationship which, according to one account, left "an intellectual divide and a residue of mistrust" between them that lasted for years.[18] Cheney took a narrow view of the Chairman's advisory role and on more than one occasion rebuked Powell for offering what he regarded as unsolicited political opinions. "I was not the National Security Advisor now," Powell recalled; "I was only supposed to give *military* advice"[19]

Indeed, in dealing not only with Powell but with other senior officers, Cheney insisted on close civilian control and oversight of the military. Shortly after taking

office, he publicly reprimanded Air Force Chief of Staff General Larry D. Welch for "freelancing" to gain a congressional committee's support for the Peacekeeper missile. Later, in September 1990, in part at Powell's instigation, he fired Welch's successor of less than 3 months, General Michael J. Dugan, for "poor judgment" stemming from comments Dugan made to the press about Iraq's recent invasion of Kuwait and how the United States should respond. Aware of the Secretary's sensitivities, Joint Staff action officers became increasingly cautious in their public remarks and learned to double check whatever they were working on with OSD to avoid any appearance of an "end run" around Cheney's authority.[20]

While Powell left his mark as Chairman in many ways, one of his most well-known contributions was the "doctrine" that bore his name concerning the use of military power. Modeled on six "tests" that Secretary of Defense Weinberger had enumerated in 1984, the Powell Doctrine laid out broad guidelines to help shape any decision committing U.S. forces to combat. Weinberger's purpose had been to preempt critics and allay their concerns that the Reagan administration's proactive use of military power might lead, as in Vietnam, to open-ended commitments or "unwinnable" wars.[21] For Powell, the function of the guidelines he developed was more personal. Having witnessed the debacle in Vietnam first-hand, he resolved that the lessons of that war should not be lost. Powell was no pacifist, but his caution in committing U.S. troops to combat often frustrated and irritated his superiors. Some called him the "reluctant warrior." As a professional soldier Powell believed that military force should be applied in careful and deliberate ways, with the full support of Congress and the American public, toward achieving identifiable political objectives, and that once involved in a conflict the United States should use all power at its disposal to bring the campaign to a swift and successful conclusion.[22]

Powell's thoughts on these matters had been evolving for 20 years and came to fruition with his service as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, first in the aftermath of the Panama operation in 1989 and, later, in connection with the liberation of Kuwait. Though the JCS never formally endorsed the Powell Doctrine, parts of it found their way into an updated version of the National Military Strategy issued in 1992. Powell wanted to include a statement that the ability to use "overwhelming force," as during the operations in Panama and Kuwait, was the most effective deterrent in a regional crisis. At the White House, however, the prevailing sentiment was that Powell's prescription went too far. "I was strongly opposed to the Powell doctrine," recalled Scowcroft. "I thought it precluded using force unless we went all out. I thought it was nonsense."[23] At the suggestion of Under Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz, Powell toned down his rhetoric and called instead for the application of "decisive force," a somewhat less explicit concept. Yet as far as Powell was concerned, the fundamental strategic purpose remained the same.[24]

THE BASE FORCE PLAN

One of Powell's most significant contributions as Chairman was his "base force" blueprint for the post-Cold War defense establishment. Although the Joint Chiefs had considerable experience in downsizing after previous wars, they had yet to find a formula that avoided fierce inter-Service rivalry and competition for dwindling resources, accompanied by a precipitous drop-off in the effectiveness of the Armed Forces. Past build-downs had invariably yielded low morale among the Services and a defense establishment of either hollow capabilities, as after World War II and Vietnam, or a seriously unbalanced force structure, as after Korea, that had severely constrained the plausible range of military options in crises. As they looked to the future, Cheney and Powell agreed that the post-Cold War demobilization should be different, and that it should retain the essential elements of a balanced, robust military.[25]

Developing the base force went hand in hand with fashioning a military strategy adapted to the emerging post-Cold War spectrum of threats. While Crowe had begun the process with the submission of NMS 92-97, his assessments still reflected a fairly rigid Cold War outlook, stressing preparations for global and regional conflicts. Powell's first task was to interject greater flexibility into strategic planning. Expecting regional contingencies in Southwest Asia, the Far East, and Latin America to predominate, he downplayed the danger of a global war and made a leap of faith that the Soviet threat would steadily diminish. At the time, there was considerable uncertainty in the Intelligence Community over whether Gorbachev would remain in power and much speculation that sooner or later a conservative reaction would bring his authority and reforms to an end. Indeed, by 1990 there were signs that in response to these pressures, Gorbachev was veering toward a more conservative stance and that the process of reform and restructuring was losing its momentum.[26] Powell assumed, however, that even though Gorbachev might waver from time to time, he would stay the course. Convinced that the Soviet Union was changing for the better, Powell believed that the Gorbachev reforms were practically irreversible and that the net effects would be a progressive weakening of centralized Communist Party authority, a decline in Soviet military power, and eventually the transformation of the Soviet Union into a federation or commonwealth-type state. One clear sign that Soviet power was on the wane was the disestablishment of the Warsaw Pact in the summer of 1991. In light of this and other evidence of diminishing Soviet authority, Powell anticipated a reduced need by the United States for either a large arsenal of expensive strategic weapons for deterrence purposes or costly ground and air forces built around fighting a war of attrition in Europe.[27]

During the early stages of planning the base force, estimated reductions for U.S. forces remained in flux. Projected manpower cutbacks ranged from a low of 10

Figure 16–1.

Comparison of Projected Base Force and Actual Convential Capabilities, FYs 1986–1999

	FY 1986 (Reagan Buildup)	FY 1991 (Actual at End of Cold War)	Projected Base Force by FY 1999
Active Duty Personnel	2.2 million	2 million	1.6 million
Army Active Divisions	18	16	12
Air Force Active Divisions TFWs	24	22	15
Navy Carriers*	13	12	13
Other Navy Combatants	363	307	259
USMC Divisions/Wing Teams	3/3	3/3	3/3

*Total is number of carriers on active duty; does not include one ship normally in service life extension and/or nuclear refueling overhaul and one training carrier.

Source: *1991 Joint Military Net Assessment* (March 1991), chapter 3.

percent envisioned by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, to as much as 25 percent in planning papers generated by the Joint Staff. As it turned out, the JCS figure proved the more accurate.[28] Based on his estimate of future strategic requirements, Powell saw no Service emerging unscathed, though he expected the cutbacks to fall most heavily on the Army and the Air Force. Anticipating strenuous objections from the Services (not to mention the "leaks" to the press that would inevitably follow), Powell avoided discussing these matters in detail with his JCS colleagues prior to briefing the Secretary of the Defense and the President.[29]

By late November, Powell had a green light from the Secretary and the President for further planning and had completed a preliminary round of consultations with his budget and resource advisors, the Service chiefs, and the combatant commanders. By then, the Berlin Wall had fallen and Communism was in open retreat across Eastern Europe. Even the most die-hard skeptics were coming around to the view that the Cold War was over and that the time was rapidly approaching to make corresponding adjustments in the U.S. force posture. Still, there were legitimate differences of opinion among the Service chiefs and the CINCs over where to cut and how far to go.[30] Powell realized that with the power and authority he possessed under Goldwater-Nichols, he had no need to consult with anyone other than the President, the Secretary, and the NSC. But as an experienced military bureaucrat, he

also recognized that without the Service chiefs and the CINCs behind him, he was unlikely to get the cooperation he needed to carry his plan forward.

One of Powell's main concerns as planning progressed was to avoid reductions imposed arbitrarily by either the OMB or Congress. The most serious challenge came from Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, a prominent Democrat and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Focusing his public career on defense matters, Nunn had been instrumental in drafting the Goldwater-Nichols Act and had played a key role in a companion measure (the Nunn-Cohen Act) to bolster special operations forces by mandating the creation of a unified command for that purpose.[31] Rumored to have his eye on a run for the Presidency, Nunn repeatedly accused the Bush administration of being slow to recognize the benefits of the Cold War's demise. Nunn was well aware of the strong sentiment in Congress in favor of cutting defense and sought to turn it to his advantage. Urging fellow Democrats not to act rashly, he laid out an alternative strategic concept for the post-Cold War era which he termed "flexible readiness—high readiness for certain forces and adjustable readiness for others." Elaborating his views in a series of speeches between late 1989 and the spring of 1990, Nunn called for a large-scale pull-back of U.S. troops from Europe, greater reliance on tactical nuclear weapons for deterrence purposes, and increased emphasis on Reserve capabilities.[32]

Toward the end of April 1990, with Nunn nipping at his heels, Chairman Powell confirmed in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington that, in response to the changes taking place in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, the Bush administration was reexamining its long-term military requirements. Shortly thereafter, he told the *Washington Post* that he was looking at reductions in force strength of up to 25 percent over the next 5 years.[33] Predictably, cuts of such magnitude encountered objections from the Service chiefs, who had already agreed to significant reductions as part of the normal budget process. The base force cuts would be on top of that. But through continuous reworking of the figures and augmentations to the force structure here and there, Powell was able to overcome their resistance and produce a broadly acceptable plan.[34]

Accompanied by Secretary Cheney and Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, the Chairman briefed President Bush on June 26, 1990, on the development thus far of the base force plan and the strategic concept behind it. After a lengthy discussion Bush approved the plan and indicated he wanted to highlight it in a public speech. Delayed because of a mix-up between the White House and the Pentagon over who was responsible for drafting the speech, Bush finally unveiled his administration's new defense strategy in an appearance at the Aspen Institute in Colorado on August 2, 1990, the same day Iraqi troops invaded and occupied

Kuwait. Though Bush offered few specifics, he confirmed that cutbacks of 25 percent in conventional forces were on the way by the end of the decade and that under the forward presence concept "regional contingencies" would replace Europe as the focus of future U.S. military planning. He also indicated that sooner or later there would be cutbacks in strategic forces as well, but implied that for the time being the requirements of preserving an "effective deterrent" while negotiating a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with the Soviet Union would take precedence in determining the size and configuration of the strategic arsenal.[35]

While preparations to implement the base force plan were ongoing throughout the fall of 1990 and on into the winter of 1991, the emergency in Kuwait and the Bush administration's decision to mount a military challenge to the Iraqi invasion left JCS planners in the awkward position of overseeing a major buildup in the Middle East even as they were preparing for general reductions in force levels. Budget estimates forwarded to Congress in February 1991 reflected some of these downward adjustments. As more details appeared, the vision grew of a permanent post-Cold War defense establishment of 1.6 million uniformed personnel (down from 2.2 million at the height of the Reagan buildup) organized into an Active-duty Army of 12 divisions, an Air Force of 15 tactical fighter wings, a Navy of 272 combatant vessels (including 13 carriers), and a Marine Corps of 3 division-air wing teams.[36]

For some, especially those reluctant to admit that the Cold War was over, the Gulf War was a clear warning against large defense cuts. But for Chairman Powell, it was a distraction from the unavoidable process of adjusting to a new security environment in which large defense establishments would play a diminishing role. Once the Kuwait emergency was over, Powell expected calls from Congress and the public for a "peace dividend" to intensify. The base force was the most realistic way Powell saw of providing the expected cuts while avoiding the pitfalls of previous demobilizations and preserving a credible long-term defense posture. No one, least of all the Service chiefs, saw it as the ideal solution. But as regional contingencies and humanitarian assistance missions replaced the threat of a large-scale conflict in Europe as the country's top security concerns, it became harder and harder to justify the maintenance of a defense establishment comparable in size and capabilities to that of the past.

Despite the time and energy invested in developing it, the base force concept proved relatively short-lived. Under the planning done by the Chairman and his aides, force structure targets were to be reached between fiscal years 1995 and 1997, with the overall structure firmly in place by FY99 (see figure 16–1). But with the change of administrations in 1993 came pressure to take a fresh look at the country's defense posture and to achieve larger reductions. The result was the Clinton administration's bottom-up review (BUR), something the new President had promised during the campaign.

Resting on a strategic concept similar to that of the base force, the BUR continued to stress the importance of effective capabilities for regional conflicts, but envisioned force cuts of one-third or more and comparable savings in spending based on FY90 levels.[37] A more ambitious agenda than Powell's, the BUR's goals also proved more difficult to achieve without producing shortfalls in capabilities which Joint Staff planners saw as increasing the level of risk in executing the approved military strategy.[38]

OPERATIONS IN PANAMA

As Powell grappled with shaping a new force structure, the kinds of post-Cold War problems he expected Washington to face were already beginning to appear. One was the uneasy situation in Panama, where the United States had enjoyed a military presence and well-established security interests for nearly a century. At the center of the controversy was Panamanian strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega, who came to power following the 1981 death of General Omar Torrijos in a suspicious airplane crash. A career soldier, Noriega had been Torrijos' military intelligence chief and boasted that one of his jobs was to provide liaison between the CIA and Cuban president Fidel Castro.[39] In August 1983, Noriega enhanced his position by promoting himself to general and becoming the de facto head of state. Shortly thereafter, he pressured the legislature into converting the National Guard into the Panama Defense Forces (PDF), over which he alone exercised authority. As his power grew, so did graft, corruption, illegal drug trafficking, and the repression of political opponents.

Throughout Noriega's rise to power, the Joint Chiefs' primary concerns were the security of the Panama Canal and the integrity of the extensive network of U.S. military installations in the former Canal Zone (CZ), where U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM) had its headquarters. While the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty had ended U.S. ownership and control of the canal, the United States and Panama continued to share joint responsibility for its defense until the end of 1999. After that, any further presence of U.S. forces in Panama would be by the agreement of both parties. Economically, there was little to justify continuing the U.S. military presence in Panama. The canal was too narrow to accommodate modern supertankers and other large ships, and by the 1980s its revenues had fallen into a steady decline, much to the consternation of the Panamanian government. But as long as there remained a leftist insurgency in nearby El Salvador and a Soviet and Cuban presence in Nicaragua, the JCS balked at giving up their base of operations. Now was not the time, the chiefs believed, to cut and run.

Despite Noriega's unsavory reputation and brutish behavior, the Joint Chiefs were cautiously confident that they could do business with him. But as the political

climate in Panama continued to deteriorate, they became less and less optimistic. Aware that many in Washington were having second thoughts about backing him, Noriega turned to Libya, Nicaragua, and Cuba for economic and military assistance.[40] In response to PDF harassment of U.S. personnel, the commander of USSOUTHCOM, General Frederick F. Woerner, Jr., USA, became openly critical of Noriega and his regime. Though advised by both Crowe and Powell (who was still at the White House serving as National Security Advisor) to tone down his rhetoric, Woerner persisted in attacking Noriega. Persuaded that Woerner had become a political liability, President Bush named General Maxwell R. Thurman, USA, as his successor. In early July 1989, without consulting Crowe, who was out of town, Secretary of Defense Cheney arranged for Army Chief of Staff General Carl E. Vuono to go to Panama to deliver the news to Woerner that he was to be relieved.[41]

By then, President Bush knew that sooner or later he would have to seek Noriega's removal from power. Approved policy (NSD 17) sanctioned by the National Security Council in July 1989 authorized the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense to develop plans for asserting U.S. treaty rights in Panama and to keep Noriega and his supporters off balance. Authorized operations fell into four categories based on an escalating scale of risks and visibility, all aimed in one way or another at grinding down Noriega's power and authority. Only as a last resort would the United States undertake direct military action to overthrow Noriega's regime.[42] Much of the preparatory work and logistical planning for these operations fell under Powell's aegis while he headed FORSCOM at Fort McPherson, Georgia. Thus, as he made ready to take up new duties as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Powell was already well versed in the plans and preparations that would eventuate in Noriega's downfall.

Rather that resorting to military intervention, the Bush administration would have preferred that the Panamanians take matters into their own hands and remove Noriega themselves. However, there were few people left in Panama by then who were willing to risk defying Noriega's authority. One of the exceptions was a respected Panamanian officer, Major Moisés Giroldi Vega, a senior member of Noriega's security detail who had become disenchanted with the regime. At some point, Giroldi's wife made contact with the CIA and sought American help for her husband in staging a coup to topple Noriega.[43] Giroldi originally scheduled the coup for October 1, 1989, but because of changes in Noriega's schedule he delayed acting until 2 days later. By then, Thurman, the newly arrived SOUTHCOM commander, had become suspicious of the whole affair, as had his superiors in Washington, including General Powell. When at last Giroldi did act, elite PDF units loyal to Noriega promptly intervened to rescue their leader. By that evening they had routed the plotters and Giroldi had been tortured and executed.

In the aftermath of the failed October 3 coup, a reign of terror descended on Panama as Noriega dramatically increased repression of the civilian opposition and carried out a blood-purge of dissident elements in the PDF. Reliable reports estimated that he executed as many as 70 soldiers and arrested 600 more.[44] Heavily criticized for not giving Giroldi more credence and support, the Bush administration began active preparations for toppling Noriega's government under a joint military intervention plan called Blue Spoon. Although Powell as always was uneasy about the use of force and the casualties that were bound to result, he was increasingly convinced that a military solution might be the only viable option for ending Noriega's control. Insisting that the job be done thoroughly, Powell favored the application of overwhelming military power, not only to assure Noriega's downfall but to neutralize his primary source of support—the PDF—and "pull it up by the roots."[45]

Despite preparations to intervene, neither Bush nor Powell was eager for a showdown. Remembering earlier interventions, Bush wanted to avoid a repetition of the failed 1980 Iran hostage rescue mission or a recurrence of the debilitating inter-Service rivalry that had hampered the 1983 Grenada invasion.[46] No less concerned than Bush that the intervention should succeed, Powell paid meticulous attention to the planning process and insisted on numerous rehearsals to make sure U.S. forces were fully trained and prepared. Gaining in complexity, Blue Spoon called for a closely coordinated all-arms attack using around 25,000 troops, supported by four separate combatant commands. In contrast, Noriega had at most 4,000 effective fighters, backed by 8,000 paramilitaries. By mid-December 1989, about half of the U.S. ground troops allocated to the operation were already in-country, with the rest on 72-hour alert at bases in the United States, awaiting airlift. Thurman wanted as much firepower as possible to be in place before action commenced, and toward that end he arranged to have Sheridan light tanks and Apache attack helicopters brought in under the cover of darkness, then concealed them at secure secret locations.[47]

Even with the United States poised to strike, Powell declined to recommend a timetable for launching operations. Preferring to bide his time, he hoped that American economic and political sanctions would nudge Noriega into stepping down without recourse to military action. But as the standoff continued, Noriega's defiance only grew stronger. On December 15, 1989, he delivered a fiery speech to the Panamanian National Assembly, after which the lawmakers adopted a resolution proclaiming a state of war "while [U.S.] aggression lasts." The next evening, members of the PDF shot and killed an American Marine lieutenant riding in a car that ran a roadblock, beat up a U.S. Navy officer who witnessed the incident, and threatened to rape his wife. Convinced that Noriega had "gone over the line," Powell held an emergency meeting with Cheney and Wolfowitz on the morning of Sunday, December 17. All

agreed the time had come to intervene, whereupon Cheney arranged a meeting with the President that afternoon. Remembering the mistake he made with the base plan, Powell wanted to make sure he had the support of the Service chiefs before going to the White House, and later that morning he invited them to his official quarters at Fort Myer, adjacent to the Pentagon. Following an impromptu briefing and a review of the latest intelligence, all agreed that Blue Spoon was a sound plan. The only reservations were those expressed by the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Alfred M. Gray, Jr., who regretted that it did not give the Marines a larger role.[48]

The meeting with the President that afternoon lasted nearly 2 hours and produced no surprises. Besides Powell, Cheney, and President Bush, the only others to attend were Scowcroft, his deputy Robert M. Gates, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, and Marlin Fitzwater, the President's press secretary. Like everyone else, Bush was fed up with Noriega and wanted him removed before he killed or roughed up more Americans, seized hostages, or launched a surprise attack on U.S. installations. According to Baker's recollections, there was very little if any debate over the merits of invading Panama. Instead, discussion focused on the mechanics of the operation, clearing it with congressional leaders, and the myriad diplomatic and logistical details linked to the invasion. Earlier, echoing views they heard repeatedly from Capitol Hill, Baker and others at the State Department had been urging more forceful action against Panama. Now that Powell had come around to their point of view, they felt vindicated and somewhat smug. "After years of reluctance," Baker later wrote, "the Pentagon was ready to fight."[49]

Three days later, during the early hours of December 20, the attack commenced, with Navy special forces, Army Rangers, and Air Force "stealth" fighters spearheading the assault against key strategic installations. Now called *Just Cause*, the operation proceeded in methodical fashion to suppress PDF resistance. Fighting around the *Comandancia*, Noriega's headquarters, was the most intense of all. But by the next day, except for occasional skirmishes, the conflict was over and Guillermo Endara, whose election as president earlier in the year Noriega had nullified, was installed in office. Given the size of the overall effort, U.S. casualties were relatively light: 23 killed and 312 wounded. Panamanian losses were 297 killed, 123 wounded, and 468 detained.[50] Unable to flee the country, Noriega initially hid in a brothel, then took sanctuary in the Papal *Nunciatura* in Panama City. Quickly wearing out his welcome there, he surrendered in early January 1990 and was returned to Miami, Florida, where he was jailed under a 1988 warrant for drug trafficking.

A complex and difficult operation to mount, *Just Cause* was the Joint Chiefs' most all-encompassing joint venture under the new Goldwater-Nichols law to that point. To be sure, there were some complaints that it had been "an Army-run show from start to finish."[51] Others, however, praised it as a model of inter-Service collaboration. "*Just Cause*," said one senior commander afterwards, "was a joint opera-

tion in every sense of the word."[52] Its success stemmed not only from the availability and use of overwhelming force to subdue Noriega and his followers, but also from the meticulous advance planning, streamlined command and control, and improved coordination at all levels—all products to one degree or another of the Goldwater-Nichols legislation. Unlike the haphazard Grenada operation, where the Marines invaded one half of the island and the Army the other with limited coordination between attacking units, the United States went into Panama in a unified effort, using inter-Service task forces to achieve designated objectives. While similar results might been have been achieved under the Joint Chiefs' old corporate decisionmaking system, there doubtless would have been longer debates, less assurance of effective inter-Service cooperation, and in the end higher casualties. As the first real test under Goldwater-Nichols, the new JCS system rose to the challenge.

THE CFE AGREEMENT

Part of the success behind the Panama operation was that the United States was able to carry it out with virtually no worry of interference from the Soviet Union, even while Moscow continued to have strong ties to nearby Cuba and Nicaragua. But as the Cold War drew to a close, the Soviets, heeding Gorbachev's lead, seemed to offer fewer challenges, as if they were no longer in a position to resist. Most striking of all was a more relaxed and flexible Soviet approach toward negotiations. To be sure, the Soviets did not give way easily, nor did their interpretations of accords always match those of the West. But for the first time, they began to show an uncommon interest in harmonizing differences sooner rather than later, a sharp departure from past negotiating practices. For the Joint Chiefs as for others in Washington, it was a novel experience that was in many ways hard to comprehend.

Among the notable accomplishments were those in the field of arms control, which for decades had been the Cold War's most contentious diplomatic battlefield. Even with the Cold War winding down, the JCS remained as uneasy and suspicious of arms control as ever. But over the years they had learned to accommodate themselves and to fit strategy and programs within arms control confines. Building on the momentum of the 1987 INF Treaty, President Reagan hoped to conclude reduction agreements for conventional and strategic forces before leaving office but did not have time to complete his mission. What he bequeathed to his successor was a half-finished agenda: a "mandate," approved jointly by NATO and Warsaw Pact leaders in January 1989, laying out a work plan for achieving limitations on conventional forces in Europe (CFE); and a draft Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty that aimed at a 50 percent cut in offensive strategic arms.

For the incoming Bush administration and for the Joint Chiefs as well, President Reagan had been moving too fast. In surveying the scene, Scowcroft thought Reagan had "rushed to judgment about the direction the Soviet Union was heading" under Gorbachev and had lost his sense of priorities. Instead of paying attention to the "strategic aspects of arms control," Scowcroft believed, Reagan and his advisors became absorbed in trying to promote Gorbachev's success at home and ended up "placing emphasis on reductions as a goal in itself."[53] By and large, the Joint Chiefs agreed. The first order of business was to determine whether progress was feasible in the CFE arena, which was the subject of resumed negotiations in Vienna in March 1989. Previously known as the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks, these negotiations had dragged on inconclusively since 1973, a tribute to both sides' perseverance and latent optimism if nothing else. Energized by Gorbachev's pledge to withdraw 50,000 Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, the CFE talks received a further boost in May 1989, when the Warsaw Pact agreed in principle to accept a NATO proposal calling for equal levels of heavy weapons, a long-standing Western goal. A year and a half later emerged the CFE Treaty, signed in Paris in November 1990 amid growing euphoria over improved East-West relations. By then, popular discontent had swept Communist governments from power throughout Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact seemed to be on its last legs, and Gorbachev had endorsed the need for political pluralism in the Soviet Union.

In light of the sweeping changes taking place in Eastern Europe at the time, the impact of the CFE Treaty was largely symbolic. With or without an agreement, NATO and the Warsaw Pact were disarming posthaste anyway. What the treaty provided were guideposts, coupled with provisions for on-site inspections to make sure that both sides duly complied. Dealing only with military hardware from the Atlantic to the Urals (ATTU), the treaty capped total deployment in the 2 alliances at 40,000 battle tanks, 40,000 artillery pieces, 60,000 armored combat vehicles, 13,600 combat aircraft, and 4,000 attack helicopters.[54] But since NATO's combat holdings were already at or below the treaty's levels in several categories, the JCS expected its restraints to have a limited effect on curbing Western capabilities.[55] To accompany the treaty, there was a joint declaration proclaiming "the end of the era of division and confrontation" which the two sides promised to replace with "new partnerships and . . . the hand of friendship."[56]

While many commentators heaped praise on the CFE Treaty, the Joint Chiefs of Staff reserved judgment. Shortly before the treaty was signed, the Soviets withdrew large amounts of military equipment behind the Urals rather than proceeding with destruction as called for in the agreement. On the day before the signing ceremony, they tabled new data indicating the sudden discovery of three "coastal defense divisions" subordinate to the Soviet Navy. Since the CFE agreement did not cover naval

forces, the Soviets argued that none of the arms assigned to these divisions (5,400 pieces) should count against the allowed Eastern Bloc total.[57] As British historian Jonathan Haslam observed, "The [Soviet] General Staff were digging in their heels."[58] Suspicious of Moscow's intentions, the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave the CFE Treaty a tepid recommendation during testimony before Congress in the summer of 1991. Attempting to put the best face possible on the deal, Chairman Powell called it "a major success story for the Atlantic Alliance" that would "strengthen stability and security in Europe" and help establish "a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces . . . at much, much lower levels." His JCS colleagues, however, offered notably more restrained endorsements. All the same, the treaty represented greater progress toward limiting conventional forces than anything else to that point, and on that basis alone it stood out as a major contribution toward ending the Cold War.[59]

START I AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

With the CFE talks finally bearing fruit, the Bush administration turned its attention to the unfinished Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty. Deeming Reagan's goal of a 50 percent cutback in offensive arms excessive and probably unattainable, the Bush White House, with JCS concurrence, set its sights on lesser objectives.[60] But with the Cold War abating, there was far less political pressure either at home or abroad than in years past to demonstrate progress on controlling strategic arms. Thus, in addressing the problem the Bush administration avoided seeking wholesale changes to what had already been agreed upon and decided to wait until follow-on talks (START II) to launch any major initiatives. At the same time, however, senior Bush administration figures saw a clear link between effectively addressing arms control issues and preserving the U.S. leadership role with its friends and NATO allies. "If we performed competently in arms control," Scowcroft believed, "alliance confidence in our ability to manage the broader relationship would soar."[61]

While working on the base force plan, Powell skirted the issue of reductions in strategic forces on the assumption—confirmed by President Bush in his Aspen Institute speech—that the principal sizing mechanism for the strategic arsenal would be a finished START agreement. Thus, Powell had no choice other than to treat estimates of strategic capabilities as highly tentative. Since reaching a post-Vietnam peak in FY 1985, U.S. spending on strategic forces had fallen steadily, so it stood to reason that the trend would continue for the foreseeable future. Like the cutbacks in conventional forces, Powell expected reductions in strategic forces to level off around the middle of the decade and stabilize by the end. Even before factoring in arms control, he estimated that to stay within projected spending limits, it might be

necessary to eliminate the entire air-breathing leg of the strategic triad including the B–2 stealth bomber, a proposal that drew sharp objections from the Air Force.[62] Bowing to political realities, Powell revised his estimates and came up with projections of a strategic force by the end of the decade comprising 18 Trident missile submarines, 550 ICBMs, and about 250 manned bombers, including 50 B–2s.[63]

The trouble in reaching a START agreement had less to do with overall numbers of delivery vehicles than with the characteristics and performance of weapons, the continuing proliferation of MIRVed systems, and sublimits on air- and sea-launched cruise missiles. These issues had vexed arms controllers and military planners for years and came no closer to permanent resolution in START I than they had during earlier negotiations. To help facilitate progress, President Bush authorized what amounted to two sets of negotiations: the formal talks held in Geneva, and parallel discussions between Secretary of State Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. It was largely through the latter that the START I agreement emerged. In the past, the use of back-channel negotiations to broker deals had been a major source of irritation to the Joint Chiefs. But owing to the changes in lines of authority brought about by Goldwater-Nichols, coupled with the regular and direct access that Powell enjoyed to the Oval Office, there were rarely any serious problems of this sort during the Bush years.

A major difference between the Reagan and Bush administrations was the waning enthusiasm of the latter for the Strategic Defense Initiative and its corresponding effect on gaining Soviet cooperation on reaching an offensive strategic arms agreement. By the time the Bush administration took office, it was increasingly clear that support for SDI in Congress was declining and that, on technical grounds alone, an effective system of strategic defense was still decades away. Under consideration for possible validation were no fewer than six competing technologies.[64] In assessing SDI's long-term prospects, neither Crowe nor Powell saw it playing a significant role in foreseeable American defense plans. Both endorsed continuing research and development but reserved judgment on full-scale production and deployment.[65] Weighing one thing against another, Bush concluded that "a shield so impenetrable" that it would obviate the "need for any kind of other defense" was too expensive and impractical.[66] By deciding to downgrade SDI and turn it back into an R&D program, Bush removed a source of intense friction in Soviet-American relations and made it easier to negotiate a START agreement.[67]

The first big breakthrough in the START negotiations came in February 1990 when, in a sharp turnaround, the Soviets indicated their readiness to accept U.S. loading rules and verification procedures dealing with air- and sea-launched cruise missiles. What prompted the Soviets to drop their previous objections is unclear, though it probably had something to do with Gorbachev's desire for a further

improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations in order to increase Moscow's chances of obtaining economic aid from the West. Whatever the reason, it seemed at the time that a START agreement was near at hand. But by April, when Shevardnadze visited Washington for further discussions, the Soviets had retreated from their earlier position and now demanded new conditions and more restrictions. From the increased presence of senior military officers on the Soviet delegation and their apparent influence, the signs were unmistakable that Gorbachev's strategy of accommodation with the West was under attack at home and that the conservatives were striving to regain a larger voice in Soviet policy. As one observer described it, Secretary of State Baker "swallowed hard" and went back to the bargaining table.[68] By then, keeping Gorbachev in power had become as important to Bush and his advisors as it had been to Reagan, and in some ways it overshadowed the particulars of any agreement. "We in the Bush Administration," Baker recalled, "knew we could not reform the Soviet Union. But we realized nonetheless that we could assist the process."[69]

Still, it took more than a year of further negotiations before a START agreement reached final form. Signed on July 31, 1991, the START I Treaty required the United States and the Soviet Union to cap their strategic warheads at 6,000, with sublimits on various missile types, and to reduce the number of strategic launch vehicles on each side by about one-third, to 1,600 from 2,250 (the limit allowed under SALT II). For the United States, which had fewer delivery vehicles to begin with, the reductions were more like 25 percent, while for the Soviets they were closer to 35 percent overall and more than 50 percent in heavy ICBMs, the mainstay of the Soviet strategic arsenal. Under a separate "political agreement" dealing with long-range nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles, the two sides embraced controls that generally accorded with American preferences. For verification purposes, the treaty relied on on-site inspections, regular exchanges of test data, and national technical means. According to Powell and Cheney, the thrust of the agreement was to move both parties away from land-based ICBMs, which might be used precipitously in a crisis, and to encourage greater reliance on less destabilizing systems such as ballistic missile submarines and "slow flyers" like cruise missiles.[70]

Nearly 10 years in the making, the START I Treaty was a historic achievement—the first offensive strategic arms accord that actually mandated force reductions. But while it was generally applauded in the West, it met with stiffening resistance in Moscow, where the consensus among conservatives was that Gorbachev had gone too far in making concessions. On top of the CFE treaty, the recent collapse of the Warsaw Pact, and Gorbachev's penchant for political and economic reform, the START I agreement was the last straw. In August 1991, while Gorbachev was vacationing in the Crimea, hard-line Communists attempted a coup. Observing events from Washington, Powell was initially alarmed that the plotters might succeed in installing a reactionary

regime. But by the second day, his worries began to subside as evidence appeared that the coup had little or no support from either the KGB or the military rank and file.[71] Rallying behind Boris Yeltsin, head of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation (i.e., Russia's state president), supporters of the regime formed a phalanx to protect the Russian parliament building where Yeltsin had his headquarters. The coup leaders, unable to generate significant popular backing for their cause, soon lost heart and the revolt was over within 4 days. Gorbachev immediately returned to Moscow to claim victory, but from that point on it was Yeltsin's power and authority that were on the rise. By the end of the year, Gorbachev was out of a job, the Soviet Union had dissolved, and a federation of former Soviet states had taken its place.

As the Soviet Union was breaking up, a debate was taking place in Washington between the Pentagon and the White House over how the United States should respond. To show his solidarity with the reformers and to keep the Soviet Union's large arsenal of nuclear weapons from falling into the wrong hands, Bush proposed seeking immediate additional cuts in strategic nuclear arms, a so-called START-plus agreement. Skeptical whether the time was right in view of the unsettled political situation in Eastern Europe, Secretary of Defense Cheney declared such measures to be "premature" and perhaps "imprudent." Meanwhile, Powell and the Joint Chiefs submitted a list of less ambitious suggestions, including a lowering of the alert status of U.S. strategic bombers and the removal of short-range nuclear missiles from surface ships and attack submarines. More discussions followed, culminating in late September 1991 in a televised address by the President outlining his START-plus plan to remove all remaining U.S. short-range nuclear missiles from Europe (those under 500 kilometers which the INF Treaty did not cover), cancel further work on a rail-garrison version of the Peacekeeper missile program, and seek a complete ban on all remaining U.S. and Soviet MIRVed ICBMs.[72]

As part of his initiative, President Bush also announced that the Strategic Air Command (SAC), long the symbol and repository of American nuclear power, would stand down and that a new U.S. Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM) would replace it. This change had been in the making for some time and grew out of the recognition among the Joint Chiefs and the combatant commanders that as Cold War tensions relaxed and the defense budget shrank, there was less justification for a single command devoted exclusively to strategic operations. A key figure in creating the new organization was SAC's last commander in chief, General George Lee Butler, USAF, who as director of strategy and plans (J-5) on the Joint Staff had been instrumental in helping Powell develop the base force plan. Butler believed that SAC suffered from an outdated mission focus that equated "strategic" with "nuclear" operations and that the new command should have a broader vision of its responsibilities combining functions previously

assigned to SAC with similar conventional and nuclear tasks performed by other commands. As usual, there were lengthy debates and considerable competition among the Services for authority and influence within the new organization. After sorting out the various proposals, Powell recommended and President Bush approved a revision to the Unified Command Plan that took effect on June 1, 1992. Now a unified rather than a single-Service "specified" command, as SAC was, USSTRATCOM consolidated elements of the old Strategic Air Command with components drawn from the former Atlantic command, Pacific Command, and U.S. Space Command.[73]

Many people believed that the Cold War began with the advent of the atomic bomb in 1945 and gathered momentum as both sides sought to outdo each other in nuclear weapons. If so, the 1991 START I agreement, more than anything else, marked the end of the Cold War and the onset of a new era in which the United States and the remnants of the Soviet Union began the laborious process of turning back the clock and doing away with their nuclear arsenals. Having been key participants in the buildup, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were now in the forefront of the process of disarming. Testifying in the summer of 1992 in support of the START I agreement, General Powell lauded it as "a critical foundation" for further reductions in strategic arms and, as such, a major step from "a confrontational to a cooperative relationship" between East and West. This time, in sharp contrast to the lukewarm endorsement they had given the CFE Treaty the year before, the Service chiefs enthusiastically praised the START I agreement as being in the country's best interests.[74]

The chiefs' change of attitude doubtless had a lot to do with the collapse of the Soviet Union and, with it, the dissolution of the Soviet armed forces, once one of the most formidable military organizations in history. As it became apparent that the Soviet state would not survive the abortive coup of August 1991, the military also knew its days were numbered. Under a deal reached that December, the leaders of the former Soviet republics—soon to be the Confederation of Independent States (CIS)—agreed to preserve unified command and control of the armed forces insofar as feasible, including the strategic rocket forces. But it was too little too late to keep the old organization intact, and as the year ended, the Soviet armed forces along with the Soviet Union itself formally ceased to exist. A rump establishment, the CIS armed forces continued to function, but with no practical way of exercising authority, it was out of business in a year and a half as Russia, the Ukraine, and the other former Soviet states set up their own ministries of defense.[75]

The downfall of the Soviet Union sealed the end of Cold War. By then, as an ongoing institution, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had seen it all, from the uneasy collaboration between Washington and Moscow in World War II, down through the collapse of cooperation after the war, the dark days of the Korean conflict, the tense moments of the

Cuban Missile Crisis, the agony of Vietnam, and the decades of costly competition in strategic nuclear arms. With these experiences before them, Powell and the Joint Staff had done their best to prepare the U.S. military for the expected transition into the post-Cold War world. But they scarcely imagined the scale and scope of the changes that would actually take place. As the Cold War ended, it ushered in a new era that was in some ways more dangerous and certainly less predictable than the one it replaced.

NOTES

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16 Peter W. Rodman, *Presidential Command* (New York: Knopf, 2009), 181.

17 Bush and Scowcroft, 23.

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19 Powell, *My American Journey*, 464 (emphasis in original).

20 Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 76–80; Powell, *My American Journey*, 404–406, 476–478; Joint Staff Memo for Distribution, April 28, 1989, "Yr Paper—Strategy Review," U, JHO 16-0076.2; R.W. Apple, Jr., "Confrontation in the Gulf: The General's Error," *The New York Times*, September 19, 1990.

21 Caspar Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace* (New York: Warner Books, 1990), 397, 401–402, 433–445.

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23 Scowcroft quoted from an interview in Jon Western, "Warring Ideas: Explaining U.S. Military Intervention in Regional and Civil Conflicts" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, May 2000), 324.

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29 Powell later characterized his failure to brief the Service chiefs prior to briefing the Secretary and the President as a "mistake." See Powell, *My American Journey*, 438–440.

30 Snider, 13–18.

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41 Lawrence A. Yates, *The U.S. Military Intervention in Panama: Origins, Planning, and Crisis Management, June 1987–December 1989* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2008), 223–224; Woodward, 96–97.

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44 Frederick Kempe, *Divorcing the Dictator: America's Bungled Affair with Noriega* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1990), 396.

45 Powell quoted in Cole, *Operation Just Cause,* 14.

46 Cole, *Operation Just Cause,* 29.

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48 Yates, 274–76; Herspring, *The Pentagon and the Presidency*, 307; Woodward, 162–167; Powell, *My American Journey*, 422–423.

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52 LTG Carl W. Stiner, USA, quoted in Cole, *Operation Just Cause,* 71.

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61 Bush and Scowcroft, 40.

62 Jaffe, 23, 39,

63 *1991 Joint Military Net Assessment*, chap. 3, 5–6.

64 Steven L. Rearden, "Congress and the Strategic Defense Initiative, 1983–1989" (Study Prepared for the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, January 31, 1992), chap. 7, U; and Sanford Lakoff and Herbert York, *A Shield in Space? Technology, Politics, and the Strategic Defense Initiative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 116.

65 In his National Military Strategy for 1992–1997, Crowe recommended that the United States "actively pursue a strategic defense program" to determine its "feasibility." Powell concurred in the need for further R&D but endorsed a "smaller and less expensive" program than SDI oriented toward providing protection against limited attacks. See Colin L. Powell, *The National Military Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, January 1992), 6–7.

66 "President's News Conference," January 27, 1989, *Bush Public Papers, 1989*, 26.

67 Beschloss and Talbott, 117–118.

68 Don Oberdorfer, *The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era—The United States and the Soviet Union, 1983–1990* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1991), 407. See also Garthoff, 422–423.

69 Quoted in Gordon S. Barrass, *The Great Cold War: A Journey Through the Hall of Mirrors* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 349–350.

70 U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings: The START Treaty*, 100:2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1992), 122 (hereafter cited as *START Treaty Hearings*).

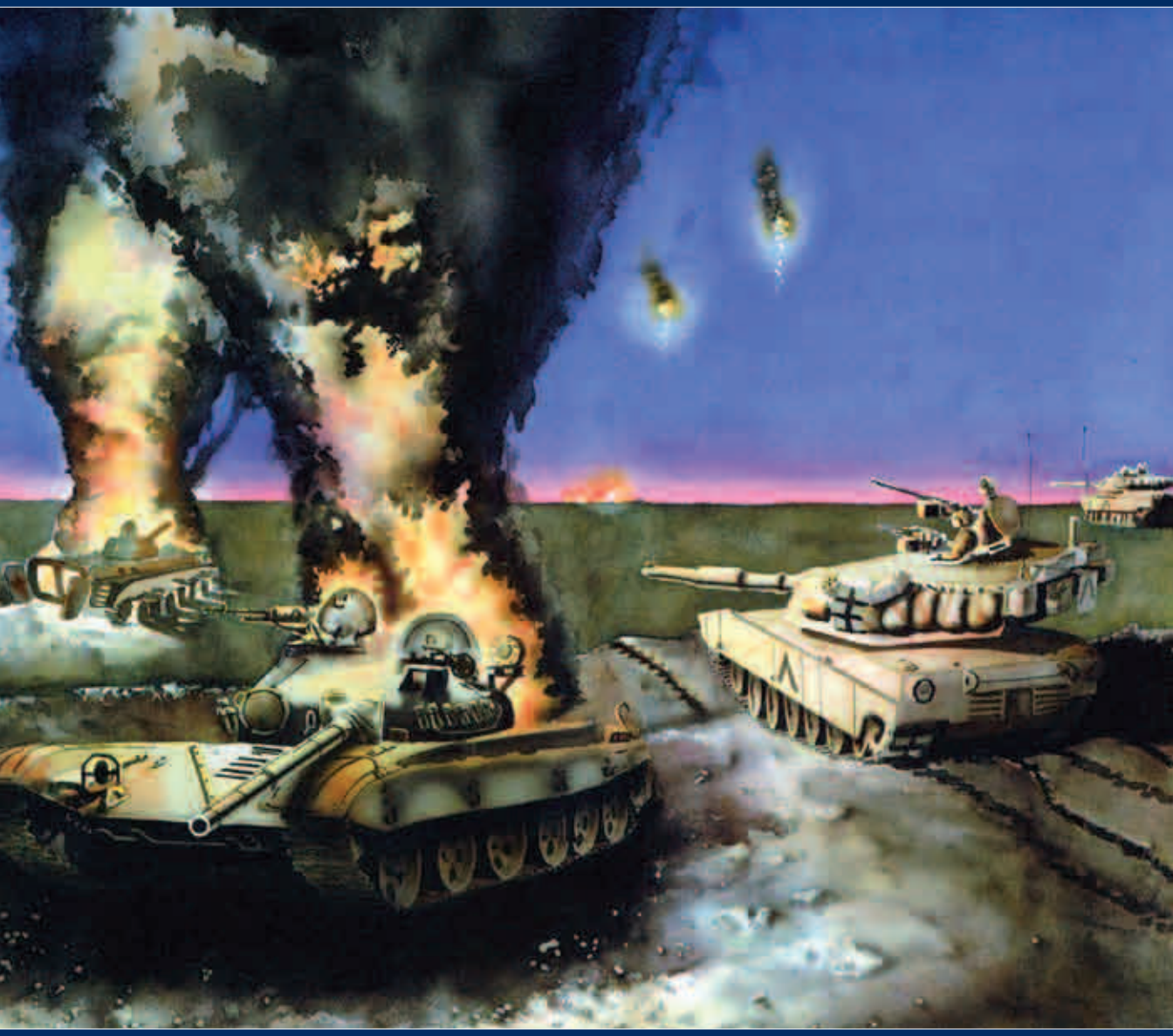
71 Powell, *My American Journey*, 538–539.

72 Beschloss and Talbott, 445–446; Bush and Scowcroft, 541–542; "Address to the Nation on United States Nuclear Weapons," September 27, 1991, *Bush Public Papers, 1991*, 1220–1224.

73 Ronald H. Cole et al., *The History of the Unified Command Plan, 1946–1999* (Washington, DC: Joint History Office, 2003), 92–95.

74 *START Treaty Hearings*, 114, 144–147.

75 William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 370–374.



Night Attack, by Mario Acevedo (Courtesy of the Center of Military History)