

CSF

Current Strategy Forum

American Grand Strategy and Seapower:
Challenges and Choices



CONFERENCE PRECEPTS

This year marks the 65th annual Current Strategy Forum (CSF) at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. The first CSF was held on May 9, 1949 under the title “Round Table Talks.” This event offered an opportunity for the nation’s public servants, scholars, and senior military officers to join the College faculty and students to discuss the future strategy of the United States. Over the years, CSF has expanded to include a cross section of America’s civilian and military leadership to encourage a wide-ranging debate on national and international security. This year, participants will meet to examine the theme:

American Grand Strategy and Sea Power: Challenges and Choices

The United States entered the 21st Century as the world’s most influential and powerful nation, both in economic and military power. This leading position rested on a dynamic economy and command of the maritime commons. The world has seen dramatic change in the first fourteen years of the new millennia; however, the U.S. now faces security challenges different than those of the recent past. These challenges pose troubling problems for American decision makers in managing change in the global system. Also troubling is the question of whether the American economy can support an agile force that will keep pace with the changing international security environment.

Now is the time for fresh thinking about overall policy and strategy. It is necessary to challenge our assumptions, deeply ingrained from our past experience, and undertake a strategic assessment of the future. We need a better understanding of trends in the global economy, the geopolitical landscape, and in new technologies that pose potential challenges in the years ahead for the United States. We need to understand the role sea power will play in achieving our country’s future objectives and explore what the implications may be for the Navy and nation. To face the critical choices ahead of us, the country needs a strategy to guide its actions.

The 65th CSF will explore the following critical issues affecting our nation’s future security and wellbeing:

- ♦ American Grand Strategy
- ♦ Economics and National Security
- ♦ National Military Strategy and Maritime Strategy
- ♦ Technology Update and the Implications for the Future of Warfare
- ♦ Roles and Missions of U.S. Naval Forces

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PROGRAM OF EVENTS

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 2014 (Civilian–business attire/Military–summer white or service equivalent)

7:30 a.m. Guest Registration

8:30 Administrative Remarks

8:35 Welcome and Introduction

- ♦ Rear Admiral Walter E. “Ted” Carter, Jr., U.S. Navy
- ♦ Rear Admiral James G. Foggo III, U.S. Navy

8:40 Address by the Chief of Naval Operations

Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert, U.S. Navy

9:30 Break

9:45 Keynote Address

Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, King’s College London

10:30 Panel 1 – On Strategy

- ♦ Dr. Hal Brands, Duke University
 - ♦ Dr. Aaron L. Friedberg, Princeton University
 - ♦ Dr. John H. Maurer, U.S. Naval War College
- Moderator: Dr. Michael F. Pavković, U.S. Naval War College

12:00 p.m. Lunch Break

1:30 Keynote Address

Mr. Robert D. Kaplan, Stratfor

2:30 Break

2:45 Panel 2 – Future Challenges

- ♦ Dr. Paul Bracken, Yale University
 - ♦ Dr. Andrea J. Dew, U.S. Naval War College
 - ♦ Dr. Emily Goldman, U.S. Cyber Command
- Moderator: Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken, U.S. Naval War College

4:15 Adjourn Day One

Separately, N3/N5 feedback session

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 2014 (Civilian–business attire/Military–summer white or service equivalent)

8:30 a.m. Keynote Address

Dr. Peter W. Singer, Brookings Institution

9:30 Break/Move to seminar locations

10:00 Seminars

Separately, Strategic Enterprise Group (SEG) and N3/N5 Focus Group meetings

11:30 Lunch Break

1:00 p.m. Keynote Address

Professor Geoffrey Till, King's College London

2:00 Break

2:15 Panel 3 – Sea Power and Maritime Strategy

- ♦ Vice Admiral John P. Currier, U.S. Coast Guard
 - ♦ Mr. Frank Hoffman, National Defense University
 - ♦ Vice Admiral John G. Morgan, Jr., U.S. Navy (Ret.)
 - ♦ Dr. Kori N. Schake, Stanford University
- Moderator: Mr. Peter Swartz, Center for Naval Analyses

3:45 Concluding Remarks

- ♦ Rear Admiral Walter E. “Ted” Carter, Jr., U.S. Navy
- ♦ Rear Admiral James G. Foggo III, U.S. Navy

4:00 Adjourn

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS



ADMIRAL JONATHAN W. GREENERT, U.S. NAVY

Adm. Jonathan W. Greenert is a native of Butler, Pa. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1975 and completed studies in nuclear power for service as a submarine officer.

His career as a submariner includes assignments aboard USS *Flying Fish* (SSN 673), USS *Tautog* (SSN 639), Submarine NR-1 and USS *Michigan* (SSBN 727 - Gold Crew), culminating in command of USS *Honolulu* (SSN 718) from March 1991 to July 1993.

Subsequent fleet command assignments include Commander, Submarine Squadron 11; Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Marianas; Commander, U.S. 7th Fleet (August 2004 to September 2006); and, Commander, U.S. Fleet Forces Command (September 2007 to July 2009).

Greenert has served in various fleet support and financial management positions, including deputy chief of Naval Operations for Integration of Capabilities and Resources (N8); deputy commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet; chief of staff, U.S. 7th Fleet; head, Navy Programming Branch and director, Operations Division Navy Comptroller. Most recently he served as 36th vice chief of naval operations (August 2009 to August 2011).

He is a recipient of various personal and campaign awards including the Distinguished Service Medal (6 awards), Defense Superior Service Medal and Legion of Merit (4 awards). In 1992 he was awarded the Vice Admiral Stockdale Award for inspirational leadership. He considers those awards earned throughout his career associated with unit performance to be most satisfying and representative of naval service.

Greenert became the 30th Chief of Naval Operations Sep. 23, 2011.

ASSISTANT DEPUTY CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS FOR OPERATIONS, PLANS, AND STRATEGY



REAR ADMIRAL JAMES G. FOGGO III, U.S. NAVY

Foggo is a 1981 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and a native of Virginia. He is also an Olmsted Scholar and Moreau Scholar, earned a master's degree in Public Administration at Harvard University, and a Diplome d'Etudes Approfondies in Defense and Strategic Studies from the University of Strasbourg, France.

His sea duties include tours aboard USS Sea Devil (SSN 664), USS Mariano G. Vallejo (SSBN 658) and USS Narwhal (SSN 671). He commanded the attack submarine, USS Oklahoma City (SSN 723) in 1998, which was awarded the Submarine Squadron Eight Battle Efficiency award and the Commander Fleet Forces Command Admiral Arleigh Burke Fleet Trophy for being the most improved ship in the Atlantic Fleet. Foggo completed his major command tour of Submarine Squadron Six in 2007.

Ashore, he has served as Special Assistant in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology; Senior Member of the Atlantic Fleet Nuclear Propulsion Examining Board at Commander Fleet Forces Command; Executive Assistant to the Director of Naval Nuclear Propulsion (NAVSEA 08); Division Chief, Joint Staff (J5) for Western Europe and the Balkans; Director, Strategic Actions Group (SAG), OPNAV N3/N5 where he was responsible for publication of the Tri-Service Maritime Strategy released in the fall of 2007; Executive Assistant to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Executive Officer to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and Commander, United States European Command.

In Naples, Italy, he served as Commander, Submarine Group Eight; Commander, Submarines, Allied Naval Forces South; Deputy Commander, U.S. 6th Fleet, and Director of Operations, Intelligence (N3), U.S. Naval Forces Europe-Africa. During this period, he served as the Operations Officer (J-3) for Joint Task Force Odyssey Dawn (Libya). Additionally Foggo was a NATO CTF Commander in Joint Task Force Unified Protector (Libya).

Foggo's awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, NATO Meritorious Service Medal and various unit and service awards. In addition, he was awarded the 1995 Admiral Charles A. Lockwood Award for Submarine Professional Excellence and the State of Oklahoma Distinguished Service award by The Adjutant General. In 2006, he was awarded the Chevalier de l'Ordre National de Merit  by the French government for his role in improving Franco-American relations. Foggo is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE LEADERSHIP



REAR ADMIRAL WALTER E. "TED" CARTER, JR., U.S. NAVY

Rear Admiral Walter E. "Ted" Carter, Jr., became the 54th President of the U.S. Naval War College on 2 July 2013. A native of Burrillville, R.I., he graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1981, was designated a Naval Flight Officer in 1982, and graduated from the Navy Fighter Weapons School, Top Gun, in 1985.

His career as an aviator includes sea assignments in Fighter Squadron VF-161 on board USS Midway (CV 41), in VF-21 "Freelancers" on board USS Independence (CV 62), and in Carrier Air Wing Five (CVW 5). He commanded the VF-14 "Tophatters," and served as Executive Officer of USS Harry S. Truman (CVN 75), culminating in command of USS Camden (AOE 2) and USS Carl Vinson (CVN 70). His subsequent Fleet-command assignment was Commander of the Enterprise Carrier Strike Group (CSG 12).

Shore assignments include Instructor duty in VF-124 "Gunslingers"; Chief of Staff for Fighter Wing Pacific; Executive Assistant to the Deputy Commander, U.S. Central Command; Chief of Staff for Joint Warfighting Center, U.S. Joint Forces Command; and Commander, Joint Enabling Capabilities Command where he also served as lead for the Transition Planning Team during the disestablishment of U.S. Joint Forces Command. He was most recently charged with leading Task Force RESILIENT as Director, 21st Century Sailor Office (N17).

Carter is the recipient of various personal awards, including the Defense Superior Service Medal (two awards), Legion of Merit (three awards), Distinguished Flying Cross with Combat V, Bronze Star, Air Medal (two with Combat V and five strike/flight), and Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal (two with Combat V). He was awarded the Vice Admiral James Bond Stockdale Leadership award and the U.S. Navy League's John Paul Jones Award for Inspirational Leadership. Carter was also appointed an Honorary Master Chief by the Master Chief Petty Officer of the Navy.

He has accumulated 6,150 flight hours in F-4, F-14, and F-18 aircraft and has made 2,016 carrier-arrested landings, the record among all active and retired U.S. Naval Aviation designators. He has also flown 125 combat missions in support of Joint Operations.



AMBASSADOR (RET.) MARY ANN PETERS

Ambassador Mary Ann Peters became the fourth provost of the U.S. Naval War College on September 18, 2008. Previously, she was dean of academics of the College of International and Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch – Partenkirchen, Germany. Prior to becoming the dean of the college, Ambassador Peters served as associate director for international liaison at the Marshall Center.

Ambassador Peters spent more than 30 years as a career diplomat with the U.S. Department of State. From 2000 to 2003, Ambassador Peters served as the U.S. Ambassador to Bangladesh, leading the mission's efforts in support of the war on terrorism and other key U.S. foreign policy goals. She received a Presidential Meritorious Service Award in 2003 for her work in Bangladesh. Prior to her posting in Dhaka, Ambassador Peters was the deputy chief of mission at the United States Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, responsible for the management of the embassy and supervision of the six U.S. consulates general in Canada. From 1995 to 1997, Ambassador Peters served in the White House as Director for European and Canadian Affairs at the National Security Council. Among other portfolios in this position, Ambassador Peters worked on the diplomatic and security aspects of the search for peace in Northern Ireland. From 1993 to 1994, Ambassador Peters served as deputy assistant secretary of state with oversight responsibility for U.S. relations with 19 Western European countries and Canada. In this capacity she acted as the U.S. chair of the U.S. – Canada military coordination body, the Permanent Joint Board on Defense.

A senior diplomat, fluent in six foreign languages, Ambassador Peters has also served in Sofia, Bulgaria, as deputy chief of mission; in Moscow as economic counselor; and in Mandalay, Burma as principal officer. From

1988 to 1990, Ambassador Peters was the deputy director of the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh Affairs in the State Department. She began her career as a vice-consul in Frankfurt in 1975.

Ambassador Peters holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Santa Clara University and a Master's in International Studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Her formal education also included courses at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris.

Ambassador Peters is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Women in International Security.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

(in order of appearance)



SIR LAWRENCE FREEDMAN

Sir Lawrence Freedman has been Professor of War Studies at King's College London since 1982. He became head of the School of Social Science and Public Policy at King's in 2000 and was appointed Vice-Principal in 2003.

He was educated at Whitley Bay Grammar School and the Universities of Manchester, York and Oxford. Before joining King's he held research appointments at Nuffield College Oxford, IISS and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He was appointed Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign in 1997.

Professor Freedman has written extensively on nuclear strategy and the cold war, as well as commenting regularly on contemporary security issues. Among his books are *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* (2000), *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (3rd edition 2004), *Deterrence* (2005), the two volume *Official History of the Falklands Campaign* (second edition 2007) and an Adelphi Paper on The Transformation in Strategic Affairs (2004). *A Choice of Enemies: America confronts the Middle East*, won the 2009 Lionel Gelber Prize and Duke of Westminster Medal for Military Literature. His most recent book is *Strategy: A History* (2013).

He is married to Professor Judith Freedman and has a son, Sam, and a daughter, Ruth.



ROBERT D. KAPLAN

Robert D. Kaplan is the author of *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and The Battle Against Fate*, published by Random House in 2012, with the paperback released in 2013. In 2011 and 2012, Kaplan was chosen by Foreign Policy magazine as among the world's "Top 100 Global Thinkers."

He is Chief Geopolitical Analyst for Stratfor, a private intelligence firm. He is a non-resident senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington, D.C., and has been a foreign correspondent for *The Atlantic* for over a quarter-century.

In 2009, he was appointed by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, which advises the Secretary on key issues. Kaplan served on the board through 2011. From 2006 to 2008, he was the Class of 1960 Distinguished Visiting Professor in National Security at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Kaplan is the best-selling author of fifteen books on international affairs and travel, translated into many languages. In the 1980s, Kaplan was the first American writer to warn in print about a future war in the Balkans. *Balkan Ghosts* was chosen by *The New York Times Book Review* as one of the "best books" of 1993. *The Arabists*, *The Ends of the Earth*, *An Empire Wilderness*, *Eastward to Tartary*, and *Warrior Politics* were all chosen by *The New York Times* as "notable" books of the year. *An Empire Wilderness* was chosen by *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times* as one of the best books of 1998. *The Wall Street Journal* named *The Arabists* as one of the best five books written about America's historical involvement in the Middle East.

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman calls Kaplan among the four "most widely read" authors defining the post-Cold War (along with Johns Hopkins Professor Francis Fukuyama, Yale Professor Paul Kennedy, and the late Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington). Kaplan's article, "The Coming Anarchy," in the February, 1994 *Atlantic Monthly*, about how population rises, urbanization, and resource depletion is undermining governments, was hotly debated in foreign-language translations around the world. So was his December, 1997 *Atlantic* cover story, "Was Democracy Just A Moment?" That piece argued that the democracy now spreading around the world would not necessarily lead to more stability. According to *U. S. News & World Report*, "President Clinton was so impressed with Kaplan, he ordered an interagency study of these issues, and it agreed with Kaplan's conclusions."

In 2004, Kaplan was given the Distinguished Alumni Award by the University of Connecticut. In 2009, he was given the Benjamin Franklin Public Service Award by the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Robert D. Kaplan was born June 23, 1952 in New York City. He graduated in 1973 from the University of Connecticut, where he was the features editor of the *Connecticut Daily Campus*. In 1973 and 1974 he traveled throughout Communist Eastern Europe and in parts of the Near East. From 1974 to 1975 he was a reporter for the *Rutland Daily Herald* in Vermont. In 1975 he left the United States to travel throughout the Arab and Mediterranean worlds, beginning a period of 16 years living overseas. He served a year in the Israel Defense Forces and lived for nine years in Greece and Portugal. He has been married to Maria Cabral since 1983. They live in the Berkshires in western Massachusetts. They have one son, Michael, who is married and works for an investment bank in Boston.



PETER W. SINGER

Peter Warren Singer is Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at the Brookings Institution. He is the youngest scholar named Senior Fellow in Brookings's 95-year history. He is the founder of NeoLuddite, a technology advisory and services firm, and the author of multiple award-winning books.

Considered one of the world's leading experts on changes in 21st century warfare, he was the founding Director of the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at the Brookings Institution. He has been named by the Smithsonian Institution-National Portrait Gallery as one of the 100 leading innovators in the nation, by Defense News as one of the 100 most influential people in defense issues, and by Foreign Policy Magazine to their Top 100 Global Thinkers List, of the people whose ideas most influenced the world that year. His books include *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, *Children at War*, *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century*, and *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*, the latter two which are on the CNO's Navy Professional Reading list.

In his personal capacity, Singer served as coordinator of the Obama-08 campaign's defense policy task force and is a contributing editor at *Popular Science* magazine. He is a member of the US State Department's Advisory Committee on International Communications and Information Policy. He has worked as a consultant for the US military, Defense Intelligence Agency, and FBI, as well as advised a wide-range of entertainment programs, including for Warner Brothers, Dreamworks, Universal, HBO, and the video game series *Call of Duty*, the best-selling entertainment project in history.



GEOFFREY TILL

Geoffrey Till is the Emeritus Professor of Maritime Studies of King's College London and Chairman of the Corbett Centre for Maritime Policy Studies. Formerly Dean of Academic Studies at the UK Command and Staff College, in 2007 he became a Senior Research Fellow at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, and in 2008 the inaugural Sir Howard Kippenberger Visiting Chair in Strategic Studies at the Victoria University of Wellington. Since 2009, he has been Visiting Professor in the Maritime Security Programme at the RSIS.

In addition to many articles and chapters on various aspects of maritime strategy and policy defence, he is the author of a number of books. His most recent are *The Development of British Naval Thinking* published by Routledge in 2006, a volume edited with Emrys Chew and Joshua Ho, *Globalization and Defence in Asia* [Routledge, 2008], *Korean Maritime Strategy: Issues and Challenges* [Seoul: KIMS, 2011] (with Yoon Sukjoon), *Sea Power and the Asia-Pacific: The Triumph of Neptune* [Routledge, 2012] (with Patrick S Bratton), *Naval Development in Asia: An Arms Race in the Making?* [Routledge for the IISS, 2012], and, most recently *Understanding Victory: Naval Operations from Trafalgar to the Falklands* [ABC Clio, 2014]. His works have been translated into twelve languages, and he regularly speaks at staff colleges and academic institutions around the world.

PANEL 1 – ON STRATEGY



HAL BRANDS

Hal Brands joined the faculty at Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy in July 2010. He is a historian whose research focuses on U.S. foreign policy and grand strategy, Cold War history, Latin American security and diplomacy, and other strategic and military issues. He previously worked at the Institute for Defense Analyses outside of Washington, D.C., and has served as a member of the RAND Corporation Grand Strategy Advisory Board. At Duke, he is an affiliate of the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy and serves on the Executive Board of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies.

Brands is the author of *From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World* (University Press of Kentucky, 2008). His second book, *Latin America's Cold War* (Harvard University Press, September 2010), was adapted from his dissertation, which won the John Addison Porter Prize for Best Dissertation in the Humanities at Yale University and the Mary and Arthur Wright Prize for Best Dissertation in Non-U.S. or European History at Yale. His most recent book is *What Good is Grand Strategy?* (Cornell University Press, 2014).

Brands earned a PhD, MA and MPhil. in History from Yale University. He received a BA in History and Political Science from Stanford University.



AARON L. FRIEDBERG

Aaron L. Friedberg is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he has taught since 1987, and co-director of the Woodrow Wilson School's Center for International Security Studies. He is also a non-resident senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States and a Senior Advisor to the National Bureau of Asian Research.

Friedberg is the author of *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905* and *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy*, both published by Princeton University Press, and co-editor (with Richard Ellings) of three volumes in the National Bureau of Asian Research's annual "Strategic Asia" series. His third book, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, was published in 2011 by W.W. Norton and has been translated into Japanese, Chinese and Korean. His most recent monograph, *Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over U.S. Military Strategy in Asia* will be published in May as part of the International Institute for Strategic Studies' Adelphi Paper series.

Friedberg's articles and essays have appeared in a number of publications, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Commentary*, *The National Interest*, *The American Interest*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Foreign Affairs*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Survival*, and *International Security*.

In 2001-2002 Friedberg was selected as the first occupant of the Henry A. Kissinger Chair at the Library of Congress. He has been a research fellow at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, the Norwegian Nobel Institute, the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. Dr. Friedberg served from June 2003 to June 2005 as Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs in the office of the Vice President. After leaving government he was appointed to the Defense Policy Board and the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion.

Friedberg received his AB in 1978 and his PhD in 1986, both from Harvard University. He is a member of the editorial boards of *Joint Forces Quarterly* and *The Journal of Strategic Studies* and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations.



JOHN H. MAURER

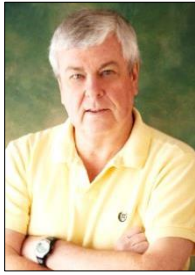
Professor John H. Maurer is the Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy and served as the Chair of the Strategy and Policy Department. He is a graduate of Yale University and holds an M.A.L.D. and Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Before joining the faculty of the Naval War College, he served as executive editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, and held the position of senior research fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He served on the Secretary of the Navy's advisory committee on naval history. He holds positions of Senior Scholar at the Foreign Policy Research Institute and on the Editorial Board of *Orbis*, the Academic Board of Advisers of the Churchill Centre, and Associate Editor of *Diplomacy and Statecraft*. In addition, he is the author or editor of books examining the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, naval arms control between the two world wars, and a study about Winston Churchill's views on British foreign policy and grand strategy. His current research includes work on Winston Churchill and Great Britain's decline as a world power. At the Naval War College, he teaches a popular elective course on Churchill and grand strategy. He has received both the U.S. Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award.



MICHAEL F. PAVKOVIĆ

Professor Michael F. Pavković currently serves as Chair of the Strategy and Policy Department and the Vice Admiral William Ledyard Rodgers Professor in Naval History at the College. He received his B.A. in History and Classics from the Pennsylvania State University and his Ph.D. in history from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Before joining the Naval War College, he served as an associate professor of history at Hawai'i Pacific University, where he also coordinated the programs in Diplomacy and Military Studies. He has presented papers at national and international conferences and has also published a number of articles, book chapters, and reviews on topics relating to ancient, early modern, and Napoleonic military history. He is co-author of *What is Military History?* (Polity Press, 2nd edition, 2013). He is currently completing a book on sea power in the ancient world. He has held summer fellowships at West Point in Military History and at Harvard University's Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies.

PANEL 2 – FUTURE CHALLENGES



PAUL BRACKEN

Professor Bracken is professor of management and political science at Yale University. He is the author *The Second Nuclear Age*, *Managing Strategic Surprise*, *Fire in the East*, *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces* and other books and articles.

At Yale, Bracken designed the MBA core course on *Problem Framing*, which has received global recognition. Bracken also teaches The Global Corporation, which examines the multinational corporation's strategy under global competition; and Strategy, Technology, a large lecture course. In *Princeton Review* listed Bracken in their book "The Best 300

Professors" in the United States.

Professor Bracken often leads business war games for companies and governments facing complex new environments. He has led games on the future of the European asset management industry, US financial services regulation, and strategies of technological competition with China. He serves on the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel, and the Board of Advisers of the US Naval War College. His undergraduate degree is from Columbia University, in engineering, and he has a Ph.D. from Yale University in operations research.



ANDREA J. DEW

Dr. Andrea J. Dew is Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG) and an Associate Professor of Strategy and Policy at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI. Dr. Dew holds a Ph.D. and Master's Degree in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Her BA (Hons.) in History is from Southampton University in the United Kingdom.

Professor Dew has studied advanced Japanese at the Kyoto Japanese Language School. She has also served as a Research Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science in International Affairs at Harvard University, and Senior Counter-Terrorism Fellow at the Jebson Center for Counter Terrorism Studies at the Fletcher School, Tufts University.

Dr. Dew is the co-author of a book on armed groups, *Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (Columbia University Press, 2009: <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-12982-4/>) and co-editor of *Deep Currents and Rising Tides: The Indian Ocean and International Security* (Georgetown University Press, 2013: <http://press.georgetown.edu/book/georgetown/deep-currents-and-rising-tides>).

In addition to teaching strategy to senior military and civilian students, Dr. Dew co-directs the annual Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups Symposium at the Naval War College and has edited multiple case studies on the topic. She also conducts workshops on how to understand armed groups and successful strategies for countering them for Naval Special Warfare, Special Forces, U.S. Marine Special Operations Forces Command, Joint Special Operations University, and the National Defense Intelligence College. Her most recent articles and book chapters focus on the 2008 Mumbai attacks and the use of the maritime environment by pirates, insurgents, and terrorists.



EMILY GOLDMAN

Dr. Emily Goldman is a member of the USCYBERCOM Combined Action Group (CAG). She joined NSA/US Cyber Command after serving as Deputy Director for Interagency Coordination, Office of Communication at U.S. Central Command from April 2008-August 2011. From January 2007-April 2008 she was Strategic Communication Advisor in the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism U.S. Department of State with responsibilities for strategic communication, countering violent extremism and long-term strategy development. From January 2007-September 2007, she was Associate Director, Support to Public Diplomacy, US Department of Defense with responsibility for strategic communication planning with a focus on Asia-Pacific and Afghanistan, and countering violent extremism. She received her PhD in Political Science

from Stanford University and joined the faculty of the University of California Davis in 1989 where she was Associate Professor of Political Science until 2008. She has authored books and articles on U.S. strategic, military, and arms control policy; strategic adaptation in peacetime; military innovation; revolution in military affairs; organizational change; and defense resource allocation. Her book, *Power in Uncertain Times: Strategy in the Fog of Peace*, examines grand strategy and military planning when threats are unclear and was published by Stanford University Press in 2011. She has been the recipient of awards from the MacArthur, Olin, Pew and Smith Richardson Foundations, U.S. Institute of Peace; and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She was also Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow at the US Naval War College. At USCYBERCOM, she launched the Cyber Analogies Project in 2012 to assist US Cyber Command in identifying and developing analogies to the cyber domain that could be used to stimulate discourse on cyber issues and improve our understanding of the cyber environment. *Cyber Analogies*, co-edited with John Arquilla, was published as a Technical Report by the Department of Defense Information Operations Center for Research at the Naval Postgraduate School in 2014.



THOMAS G. MAHNKEN

Thomas G. Mahnken serves as the Jerome E. Levy Chair of Economic Geography and National Security at the U.S. Naval War College and as a Visiting Scholar at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Dr. Mahnken served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006-2009. In that capacity, he was responsible for the Department's major strategic planning functions, including the preparation of guidance for war plans and the development of the defense planning scenarios. He was the primary author of the 2008 *National Defense Strategy* and contributing author of the 2006 *Quadrennial Defense Review*. He spearheaded the Secretary of Defense's Minerva Research Initiative, which will provide \$100 million in grants to universities to conduct basic research in the social sciences, and led an interagency effort to establish, for the first time in five decades, a National Security Council-run interagency policy planning body.

Prior to joining the Defense Department, he served as a Professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. From 2004 to 2006 he was a Visiting Fellow at the Merrill Center at SAIS. During the 2003-04 academic year he served as the Acting Director of the SAIS Strategic Studies Program. His areas of primary expertise are strategy, intelligence, and special operations forces.

Dr. Mahnken is the author of *Competitive Strategies for the 21st Century* (Stanford University Press, 2012), *Secrecy and Strategem: Understanding Chinese Strategic Culture* (Lowy Institute, 2011), *Technology and the American Way of War Since 1945* (Columbia University Press, 2008), *Uncovering Ways of War: U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Military Innovation, 1918-1941* (Cornell University Press, 2002), and (with James R. FitzSimonds) of *The Limits of Transformation: Officer Attitudes toward the Revolution in Military Affairs* (Naval War College Press, 2003). He is editor (with Thomas A. Keaney) of *U.S. Military Operations In Iraq: Planning, Combat, and Occupation* (Routledge, 2007), (with Joseph A. Maiolo) of *Strategic Studies: A Reader* (Routledge, 2007), (with Emily O. Goldman) of *The Information Revolution in Military Affairs in Asia* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) and (with Richard K. Betts) of *Paradoxes of Strategic Intelligence: Essays in Honor of Michael I. Handel* (Frank Cass, 2003). He has appeared on Fox News, CNN, BBC, and CBC, among other networks. He is editor of *The Journal of Strategic Studies*.

Dr. Mahnken earned his master's degree and doctorate in international affairs from SAIS and was a National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. He was a *summa cum laude* graduate of the University of Southern California with bachelor's degrees in history and international relations (with highest honors) and a certificate in defense and strategic studies.

In 2009, Dr. Mahnken received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service.

PANEL 3 – SEA POWER AND MARITIME STRATEGY



JOHN P. CURRIER

VADM John P. Currier was the 28th Vice Commandant of the United States Coast Guard. He assumed the position on May 18, 2012 and was relieved on May 20, 2014. He will retire after 36 years of service on July 1, 2014.

VADM Currier hails from Westbrook, Maine, and was commissioned from Officers Candidate School in 1976. He was designated a Naval Aviator in 1977. An alumnus of the University of Southern Maine, he holds a Masters in Business from Embry-Riddle University. He is a 1996 graduate of the U.S. Air Force Air War College and holds Level III Acquisition Program Manager certification.

During his career, VADM Currier stood the watch at six Coast Guard Air Stations. He was designated an Aeronautical Engineer in 1982. Other assignments have included Deputy Program Manager (Engineering) for the Coast Guard and Navy HH-60H/J joint helicopter acquisition at the Naval Air Systems Command, and Chief of SAR Operations & Director of Auxiliary for the Ninth Coast Guard District. VADM Currier served as Commanding Officer of Air Stations Detroit and Miami, then the world's busiest air-sea search and rescue unit. Subsequently he was assigned as Pacific Area Chief of Operations, then Area Chief of Staff.

Promoted to Flag rank in 2005, VADM Currier served as Assistant Commandant for Acquisition at Headquarters, then as Commander of the Thirteenth District in the Pacific Northwest. He assumed the duties of the Coast Guard's Chief of Staff in 2009, later transitioning that position to the Service's first Deputy Commandant for Mission Support.

VADM Currier's awards include the Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Distinguished Flying Cross, Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal, Commendation Medal, A Medal and others.

VADM Currier is a veteran aviator with over 6000 flight hours in Coast Guard and Navy fixed and rowing aircraft. He is currently the Ancient Albatross, or the longest serving Coast Guard Aviator on active duty. His professional recognition includes the Harmon International Aviation Trophy, the Alaska Air Command SAR Pilot of the Year Award, American Helicopter Society, Fredrick L. Feinberg Award and the Naval Helicopter Association SAR Aircrew of the Year, all awarded for rescue operations.



FRANK HOFFMAN

Mr. Hoffman came to the Institute for National Strategic Studies INSS in June 2011, and was initially Director of NDU Press. Prior to that, he was appointed to the Senior Executive Service and was Deputy Director, Office of Program Appraisal in the Department of the Navy (Aug. 2009- June 2011).

Mr. Hoffman was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1978. From 1978-1983, after graduating both the Basic School and Infantry Officer Course, he served in a variety of line and staff positions in the Second and Third Marine Divisions. He was a Company Commander and Head Tactics Instructor at the School of Infantry at Camp Lejeune in 1980-1982.

From 1983 to 1986, he was assigned to Headquarters Marine Corps and served as a Resource Analyst. He transferred to civilian service, continuing at HQMC until 1991 as a defense analyst. From 1991-1998, he served at the Marine Corps Combat Development Command at Quantico VA as a national security analyst. He represented the Marine Corps on the Defense Science Board and the Commission on Roles and Missions in 1995. Mr. Hoffman was then the Special Assistant to the Commanding General for national security affairs and the Director of the Marine Strategic Studies Group for two years. In 1999 Frank was appointed by the Secretary of Defense to the staff of the U.S. National Security Commission for the 21st Century where he developed the commission's recommendations for the Department of Homeland Security that it proposed.

He served as a Research Fellow at the Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities at the Marine Warfighting Lab from 2001 to 2008. He was responsible for conducting assessments on future threats. He

worked with Joint Forces Command, Allied Command Transformation, and British, Australian and Israeli partners on alternative futures and wargames and experimentation activities. While at Quantico, Mr. Hoffman conducted studies on future threats, developed Service and Joint concepts, and was a member of Strategic Vision Group which wrote the *Marine Corps' Vision and Strategy 2025*. He was also a chapter author for the Army/Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine, FM 3-24.

He served on the 2004 Defense Science Board for Post-Conflict Stability Operations and lectured extensively at PME institutions in Japan, Taiwan, Austria, Denmark, Israel and the United Kingdom. He has authored a book (*Decisive Force; The New American Way of War*, 1996), ten book chapters, and 100 essays and articles in foreign policy and academic journals.

Mr. Hoffman graduated from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania (BS, Econ., 1978) and holds graduate degrees from George Mason University (MEd, 1992) and the Naval War College, (M.A., Security Studies, 1994) with highest distinction. He is a candidate for a doctorate in the War Studies Department at King's College London.



JOHN G. MORGAN, JR.

With an economics degree from the University of Virginia, John entered the U.S. Navy in 1972 and for the next 36 years was steeped in the practical side of planning, executing, and leading success. On Sept. 11, 2001, John was commanding 10,000 men and women of the USS Enterprise carrier battle group, just then exiting the Strait of Hormuz. Upon getting word of the second plane hitting the World Trade Center he immediately turned the group—on his own authority—to be first in the theater of operations against al Qaeda and the Taliban. For his leadership in combat, John was awarded the Bronze Star.

Admiral Morgan capped his naval career as a key advisor to Mike Mullen, then Chief of Naval Operations and, starting in 2007, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. In that capacity he directed the creation of “A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Sea Power.” Two years in the making, this global strategy is now in effect and reflects the input of national and international leaders in business, military, civic organizations, and think tanks, and is aimed at protecting vital interests in an increasingly interconnected and changing world.

Across his military service, John acquired skills and experience directly applicable to the private sector. He played a pivotal role as the acquisition strategist for the complex technical systems that are now used to defend the U.S. against ballistic missiles. As a deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John constantly dealt with risk and reward calculations in selecting the next generation of military equipment and systems. In the Navy, John is credited with elevating the role strategy plays in making smart investments. A rare distinction was bestowed upon John when he was chosen to be the first Commanding Officer of the lead ship of a class of warships that is now considered to be the most successful ship building program in the Navy's history. Early in his career, the Admiral chose to specialize in military intelligence and continues to hold an active Top Secret clearance.

In August 2012, John became the Chairman and CEO of Nobles Worldwide, a manufacturing company that produces medium caliber weapon components supplied to the U.S. military and our key allies. He lectures at the Wake Forest University Business School. John and Jo Anna live in Winston-Salem, NC, where Jo serves on the Wake Forest University Hospital Cancer Center Board of Advisors.



KORI N. SCHAKE

Kori Schake is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

During the 2008 presidential election, she was senior policy adviser to the McCain-Palin campaign, responsible for policy development and outreach in the areas of foreign and defense policy.

From 2007 to 2008 she was the deputy director for policy planning in the state department. In addition to staff management, she worked on resourcing and organizational effectiveness issues, including a study of what it would take to “transform” the state department so as to enable integrated political, economic, and military strategies.

During President Bush's first term, she was the director for Defense Strategy and Requirements on the National Security Council. She was responsible for interagency coordination for long-term defense planning and coalition maintenance issues. Projects Schake contributed to include conceptualizing and budgeting for continued transformation of defense practices; the most significant realignment of US military forces and bases around the world since 1950; creating NATO's Allied Command Transformation and the NATO Response Force; and recruiting and retaining coalition partners for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

She has held the Distinguished Chair of International Security Studies at West Point, and also served in the faculties of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs, and the National Defense University. She is on the boards of the journal *Orbis* and the Centre for European Reform and blogs for Foreign Policy's Shadow Government.

Her publications include *State of Disrepair: Fixing the Culture and Practices of the State Department* (Hoover Institution Press, 2012), *Managing American Hegemony: Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance* (Hoover Institution Press, 2009), “Choices for the Quadrennial Defense Review” (*Orbis*, 2009), “Dealing with a Nuclear Iran” (*Policy Review*, 2007), and “Jurassic Pork” (*New York Times*, 2006). She coauthored “How America Should Lead” (*Policy Review*, 2002), and coedited *The Berlin Wall Crisis: Perspectives on Cold War Alliances* (2002), and “Building a European Defense Capability” (*Survival*, 1999).

From 1990 to 1996, she worked in Pentagon staff jobs, first in the Joint Staff's Strategy and Policy Directorate (J-5) and then in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

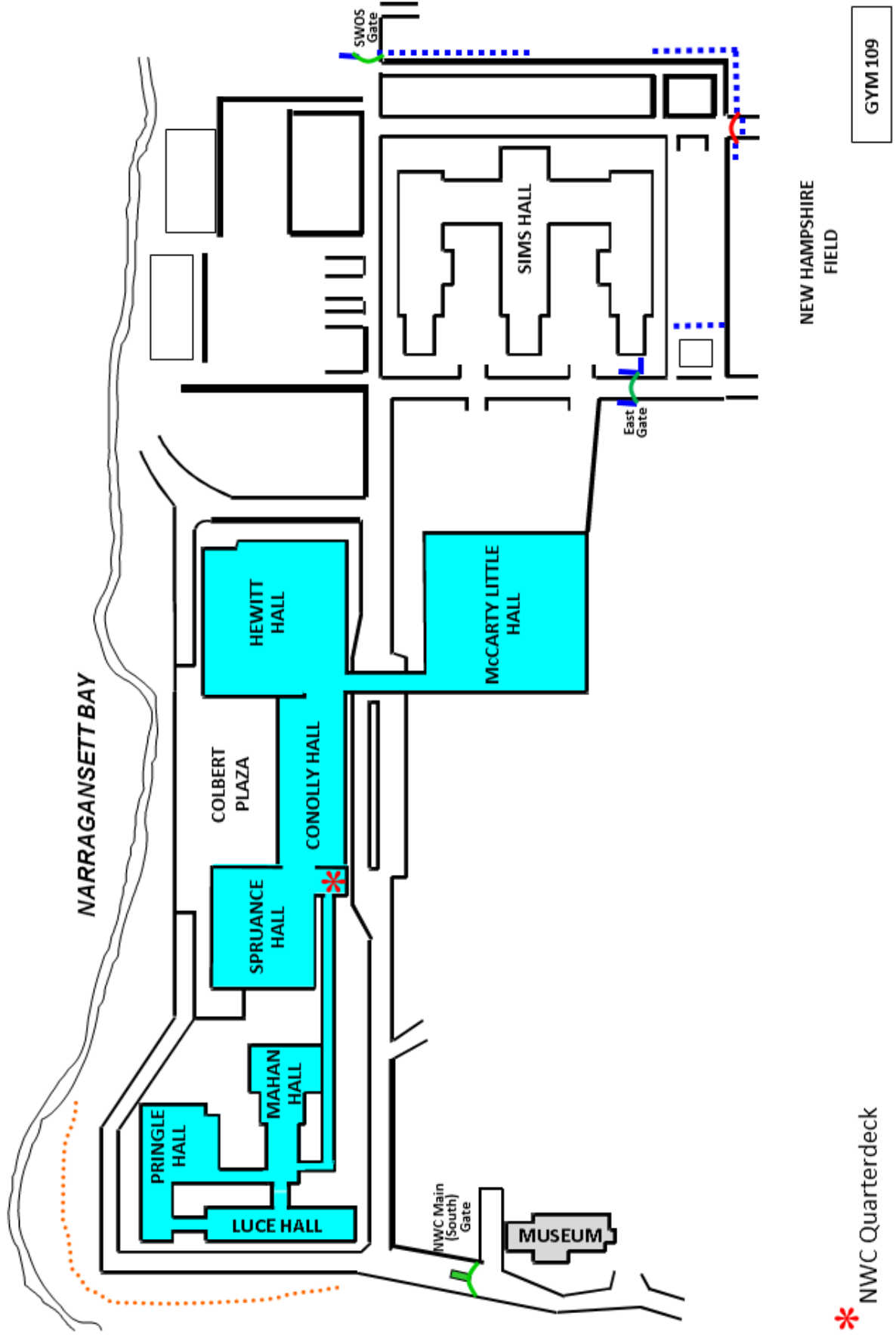


PETER SWARTZ

Peter Swartz is a Principal Research Scientist in the Strategic Studies Division of the Center for Naval Analyses, the Navy's Federally-Funded Research and Development Center (FFRDC), where he has worked since 1993. Earlier he was a career naval officer, including two tours as an advisor in-country during the Vietnam War serving under Admiral E. R. Zumwalt, two tours in Europe, and six Washington assignments. He retired as a captain and Special Assistant to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell. He contributed in various capacities to many of the Navy's capstone strategy documents over

the past four decades, most significantly as a principle drafter of the Maritime Strategy of the 1980s, serving for part of that time under Secretary of the Navy John Lehman. He holds degrees in International Relations from Brown University, the Johns Hopkins University Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, and Columbia University. His most recent work has centered around analyzing and promoting modern Navy strategic thinking and mentoring new generations of naval strategic thinkers.

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