

Maritime Strategy: Maintaining America's Enduring Strategic Advantage

Current Strategy Forum

June 8-9, 2021

(All times Eastern U.S. and Canada)

This year marks the 70th Current Strategy Forum (CSF) at the Naval War College in Newport. The first CSF was held on 9 May 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, the 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's theme is "Maritime Strategy: Maintaining America's Enduring Strategic Advantage."

The Interim National Security Strategic Guidance recently released by the White House calls for the United States to strengthen our country's enduring advantages to prevail in strategic competitions with China or any other nation. Throughout our Nation's history, in peace and in war, a strong Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard have conferred important strategic advantages on the United States in the competitive realm of international relations. The Maritime Services have long served to protect the American people, to promote their wellbeing, to preserve their liberties, and to provide a sure foundation for world order.

The liberal world order established by the United States and its international partners after the Second World War is now challenged by a powerful strategic competitor in China. Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III in his "Message to the Force" has highlighted that the "Department will prioritize China as our number one pacing challenge and develop the right operational concepts, capabilities, and plans to bolster deterrence and maintain our competitive advantage." The competition with China will require that the United States work with a global network of coalition partners who share Washington's security concerns about how the growing ambitions of China's rulers will play out on the world stage.

In addition to the accelerating competition with China, the United States confronts advanced and persistent threats from Russia, Iran, and North Korea. The strategic challenges posed by these state actors further complicate our country's ability to protect allies and international partners in vitally important regions of the globe. Nor can the United States ignore the continued danger posed by violent extremist non-state actors.

To meet the multiple security challenges confronting the United States in the years ahead, our Maritime Services published "Advantage at Sea" – a Tri-Service Maritime Strategy – that presents an "Integrated All-Domain Naval Power" approach to compete, deter, and if necessary defeat aggressors. This year's CSF will offer a better understanding of the international security environment in this era of increasing strategic competition and explore the Maritime Services' strategy to achieve national objectives.

AGENDA

TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 2021

Administrative Announcements 8:30 a.m.

8:35 Welcome and Introduction Rear Admiral Shoshana S. Chatfield, U.S. Navy, President, U.S Naval War College

8:40 Panel 1: Strategic Competition – Insights from History

Strategic competition involving major powers is not a new phenomenon. Thucydides, in his famous history of the Peloponnesian War, maintained that honor, fear, and material gain are what motivate leaders and peoples to compete in the international arena. Another classic text, the Sun Tzu from ancient China provides strategic guidance for how to gain competitive advantage in struggles for power. What accounts for success and what leads to failure in high-stakes strategic competitions? This panel of distinguished scholars offers insights from the history of past competitions involving the rise and fall of great powers for understanding today's international strategic environment and the future security challenges confronting the United States.

Moderator	John H. Maurer, U.S. Naval War College
Panelists	Hal Brands, Johns Hopkins University
	Paul Kennedy, Yale University
	Kori Schake, American Enterprise Institute

10:00 Break

10:10	Keynote
	Admiral Michael Gilday, U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations

11:00 Break 11:10 Kevnote

General David H. Berger, U.S Marine Corps, Commandant of the Marine Corps

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/EDNESDAY,	JUNE 9, 2021 DAY 2	
8:30 a.m.	Keynote Admiral Karl L. Schultz, U.S. Coast Guard, Commandant of the Coast Guard	
9:30	Keynote Elizabeth Economy, Hoover Institution	
10:30	Break	
10:45	Panel 2: Prevailing with Integrated All-Domain Naval Power	
	This panel is intended to inform our students of the challenges they will face, explore the implications of the growing challenge posed by China and the persistent threats from Russia, Iran, and North Korea, and bring new and valuable perspectives on the strategic ways and means to defend America's interest around the globe.	
	Moderator Andrea J. Dew, U.S. Naval War College	

Panelists Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr. Solarium LLC

Michèle Flournoy, WestExec Advisors

Toshi Yoshihara, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

ABOUT OUR SPEAKERS – DAY 1

(In Order of Appearance)



REAR ADMIRAL SHOSHANA S. CHATFIELD is the fifty-seventh President of the U.S. Naval War College and a career naval helicopter pilot. A native of Garden Grove, California, she graduated from Boston University in 1987 with a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and French Language and Literature. She received her commission through the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps in 1988 and earned her wings of gold in 1989. Chatfield was awarded the Navy's Political/Military Scholarship and attended the Kennedy School of Government, receiving a Master of Public Administration from Harvard University in 1997. In 2009, the University of San Diego conferred upon her a doctorate of education in leadership studies. Operationally, she flew the SH-3, CH-46D and MH-60S and deployed in helicopter detachments to the Western Pacific and Arabian

Gulf supporting carrier strike group and amphibious ready group operations. Ashore, she participated in the Joint Staff/OSD Internship Program, augmenting the Joint Staff, Plans and Policy (J-5) Directorate, Central & Eastern European Branch and served as assistant professor of political science at the United States Air Force Academy from 2001–2004. Chatfield commanded at the squadron and type wing level and additionally commanded a joint provincial reconstruction team in Farah Province, Afghanistan. Most recently, Chatfield commanded Joint Region Marianas from January 2017 to August 2019.

PANEL 1 STRATEGIC COMPETITION – INSIGHTS FROM HISTORY



JOHN H. MAURER serves as the Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy. He also holds the title of Distinguished University Professor. He is a graduate of Yale College and holds a MALD and PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is the author or editor of books examining the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, great-power naval competitions and arms control between the two world wars, a study on Winston Churchill and British grand strategy, and a forthcoming book of the origins of the Second World War in Asia. As Chairman of the Strategy and Policy Department, he led a transformation of the College's strategy courses. He teaches in the advanced strategy program and an elective course on Winston Churchill and the history of the two

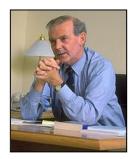
world wars. Before coming to the College, he held the positions of research fellow and executive editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs* at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He served on the Secretary of the Navy's special advisory committee on naval history. In recognition of his contribution to professional military education, he has received the U.S. Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award.



HAL BRANDS is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He is also a columnist for *Bloomberg Opinion*. He is the author or editor of several books, including *American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump* (2018), *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order* (2016), *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (2014), *Latin America's Cold War* (2010), *From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World* (2008), *The Power of the Past: History and Statecraft* (co-edited with Jeremi Suri, 2015), and *The Last Card: Inside George W. Bush's Decision to Surge in Iraq* (co-edited with Jeffrey Engel, Timothy Sayle, and William Inboden, 2019). His newest books are *The Lessons of Tragedy: Statecraft and World Order*, co-authored with Charles Edel, and *COVID-19 and World*

Order, co-edited with Francis Gavin.

Hal served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Strategic Planning from 2015 to 2016. He has also served as lead writer for the Commission on the National Defense Strategy for the United States, and consulted with a range of government offices and agencies in the intelligence and national security communities.



PAUL KENNEDY, the J. Richardson Dilworth Professor of History, Director of International Security Studies at Yale, and Distinguished Fellow of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, coordinates the ISS programs funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation. He is internationally known for his writings and commentaries on global political, economic, and strategic issues.

Born in June 1945 in the northern English town of Wallsend, Northumberland, he obtained his BA at Newcastle University and his DPhil at the University of Oxford. He is a former Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton University, and of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn. He holds many honorary degrees, and is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was made

Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 2000 for services to History and elected a Fellow of the British Academy in June 2003.

He is the author or editor of nineteen books, including *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, The War Plans of the Great Powers, The Realities Behind Diplomacy,* and *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*. His best-known work is *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, which provoked an intense debate on its publication in 1988 and has been translated into over twenty languages.

In 1991, he edited a collection entitled *Grand Strategies in War and Peace*. He helped draft the Ford Foundationsponsored report issued in 1995, *The United Nations in Its Second Half-Century*, which was prepared for the fiftieth anniversary of the UN. His 2006 book *The Parliament of Men* contemplates the past and future of the United Nations. Prof. Kennedy's most recent book *Engineers of Victory*, history through the eyes of problem-solvers during the Second World War, was published in 2013. He is currently writing a book about seapower and global transformations during World War Two.



KORI SCHAKE is the director of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

Before joining AEI, Dr. Schake was the deputy director-general of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. She has had a distinguished career in government, working at the US State Department, the US Department of Defense, and the National Security Council at the White House. She has also taught at Stanford, West Point, Johns Hopkins University's School of al Studies. National Defense University and the University of Maryland

Advanced International Studies, National Defense University, and the University of Maryland.

Dr. Schake is the author of five books, among them *America vs the West: Can the Liberal World Order Be Preserved?* (Penguin Random House Australia, Lowy Institute, 2018); *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony* (Harvard University Press, 2017); *State of Disrepair: Fixing the Culture and Practices of the State Department* (Hoover Institution Press, 2012); and *Managing American Hegemony: Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance* (Hoover Institution Press, 2009).

She is also the coeditor, along with former Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis, of *Warriors & Citizens: American Views of Our Military* (Hoover Institution Press, 2016).

Dr. Schake has been widely published in policy journals and the popular press, including in *CNN.com*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Politico*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*. She is a contributing writer at *The Atlantic* and *War on the Rocks*.

Dr. Schake has a PhD and MA in government and politics from the University of Maryland, as well as an MPM from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy. Her BA in international relations is from Stanford University.

KEYNOTE



ADMIRAL MICHAEL GILDAY is the son of a Navy Sailor. A surface warfare officer, he is a native of Lowell, Massachusetts and a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. He holds master's degrees from the Harvard Kennedy School and the National War College.

At sea, he deployed with USS Chandler (DDG 996), USS Princeton (CG 59), and USS Gettysburg (CG 64). He commanded destroyers USS Higgins (DDG 76) and USS Benfold (DDG 65) and subsequently, commanded Destroyer Squadron 7, serving as sea combat commander for the Ronald Reagan Carrier Strike Group.

As a flag officer, he served as commander Carrier Strike Group 8 embarked aboard USS Dwight D.

Eisenhower (CVN 69), and as commander, U.S. Fleet Cyber Command and U.S 10th Fleet. His staff assignments include the Bureau of Naval Personnel; staff of the Chief of Naval Operations, and staff of the Vice Chief of Naval Operations. Joint assignments include executive assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and naval aide to the President.

As a flag officer, he served in joint positions as director of operations for NATO's Joint Force Command Lisbon; as chief of staff for Naval Striking and Support Forces NATO; director of operations, J3, for U.S. Cyber Command; and as director of operations, J3, for the Joint Staff. He recently served as director, Joint Staff.

He has served on teams that have been recognized with numerous awards and is the recipient of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal (four awards), Legion of Merit (three awards), Bronze Star, Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal with Combat "V," and the Combat Action Ribbon.

Gilday began serving as the 32nd Chief of Naval Operations August 22, 2019.

KEYNOTE



GENERAL DAVID H. BERGER assumed the duties of Commandant of the Marine Corps on July 11, 2019. A native of Woodbine, Maryland, General Berger graduated from Tulane University and was commissioned in 1981. He commanded at every level – including a Reconnaissance Company; 3d Battalion, 8th Marines in Haiti during Operation SECURE TOMORROW; and Regimental Combat Team 8 in Fallujah, Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

As a General Officer, he commanded 1st Marine Division (Forward) in Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; I Marine Expeditionary Force; U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific/Fleet Marine Forces Pacific; and Marine Corps Combat Development Command.

General Berger's staff and joint assignments include serving as Assistant Division Commander of 2d Marine Division; policy planner in the Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate, J-5; Chief of Staff for Kosovo Force (KFOR) Headquarters in Pristina, Kosovo; Director of Operations in Plans, Policies, and Operations, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps; and Deputy Commandant for Combat Development and Integration.

General Berger's formal military education includes the U.S. Army Infantry Officer Advanced Course, U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College, and U.S. Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting. He holds multiple advanced degrees including a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

ABOUT OUR SPEAKERS – DAY 2

(In Order of Appearance)

KEYNOTE



ADMIRAL KARL L. SCHULTZ assumed the duties as the 26th Commandant of the United States Coast Guard on June 1, 2018. As Commandant, he oversees all global Coast Guard operations and 41,000 active-duty, 6,200 reserve, and 8,500 civilian personnel, as well as the support of 25,000 Coast Guard Auxiliary volunteers.

He previously served from August 2016 to May 2018 as Commander, Atlantic Area where he was the operational commander for all Coast Guard missions spanning five Coast Guard Districts and 40 states. He concurrently served as Director, DHS Joint Task Force-East, responsible for achieving the objectives of the DHS Southern Border and Approaches Campaign Plan throughout the Caribbean Sea and Eastern Pacific Region, including Central America.

Prior flag assignments include Director of Operations (J3), U.S. Southern Command in Doral, Florida; Commander, Eleventh Coast Guard District in Alameda, California; and Director of Governmental and Public Affairs at Coast Guard Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Previous operational assignments include Sector Commander in Miami, Florida, as well as command tours aboard Cutters VENTUROUS, ACACIA, and FARALLON. His senior staff assignments include Chief of the Office of Congressional and Governmental Affairs; Congressional Liaison to the U.S. House of Representatives; Liaison Officer to the U.S. Department of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs; Assignment Officer at the Coast Guard Personnel Command; and Command Duty Officer in the Seventh Coast Guard District Operations Center in Miami.

A native of Connecticut, Admiral Schultz graduated from the Coast Guard Academy in 1983, earning a Bachelor of Science degree in Civil Engineering. In 1992, he was awarded a Master's Degree in Public Administration from the University of Connecticut, and in 2006, completed a one-year National Security Fellowship at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. He and his wife, Dawn, have five children - Kelsey, Lindsey, Annaliese, Eric, and Zachary.

His personal awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal, four Legions of Merit, four Meritorious Service Medals, three Coast Guard Commendation medals, two Coast Guard Achievement Medals and various other personal and unit awards.

KEYNOTE



ELIZABETH ECONOMY is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and a senior fellow for China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. Her forthcoming book, *The World According to China* (Polity Press, 2021), explores China's foreign policy ambitions and their impact on the international system. Her most recent book, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, (Oxford University Press, 2018) was shortlisted for the Lionel Gelber Prize, a prestigious literary award for foreign affairs books. She is also the author of *By All Means Necessary: How China's Resource Quest is Changing the World* (Oxford University Press, 2014), co-authored with Michael Levi, and the award-winning *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Cornell University Press, 2004; 2nd edition, 2010). She has published articles in policy and scholarly journals including *Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy*, and the *Harvard*

Business Review; and op-eds in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post, among others. In June 2018, she was named one of the "10 Names That Matter on China Policy" by Politico Magazine. Economy serves on the board of managers of Swarthmore College, the board of trustees of the Asia Foundation, and the board of directors for the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. She is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group. She received her BA with Honors from Swarthmore College, her AM from Stanford University, and her PhD from the University of Michigan. In 2008, she received an honorary doctor of laws degree from Vermont Law School.

PANEL 2 PREVAILING WITH INTEGRATED ALL-DOMAIN NAVAL POWER



ANDREA J. DEW is an Associate Professor of Strategy and Policy and also holds the Maritime Irregular Warfare Chair. She lived in Japan for eight years where she studied advanced Japanese at the Kyoto Japanese Language School. Professor Dew has served as a Research Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science in International Affairs at Harvard University, and Senior Counter-Terrorism Fellow at the Jebsen Center for Counter Terrorism Studies at the Fletcher School. Dr. Dew is the founding Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups at the US Naval War College.



ANDREW F. KREPINEVICH, JR., is a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, and an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. He is a member of the Business Executives for National Security's Advisory Council. In 1995 he founded the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, which he led for 21 years. His service at CSBA was preceded by a 21-year career in the U.S. Army.

Dr. Krepinevich has served in the Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment, and on the personal staff of three secretaries of defense. He has also served as a member of the National

Defense Panel, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Joint Experimentation, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates' Defense Policy Board, the Congressional National Defense Strategy Commission, and as chairman of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel.

Dr. Krepinevich has served as a consultant for several secretaries of defense, the four military services, the Defense Advanced Projects Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency. He has testified frequently before Congress. Dr. Krepinevich has taught on the faculties of West Point, Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and George Mason University.

His most recent book is The Last Warrior: Andrew Marshall and the Shaping of Modern Defense Strategy, which he coauthored with Barry Watts. He also authored 7 Deadly Scenarios: A Military Futurist Explores War in the 21st. Century, and received the Furniss Award for his book, The Army and Vietnam. His next book, War Like No Other, is scheduled for publication by Yale University Press in the winter of 2021.

Among his recent articles are "Finding Strength in Decline," "Preserving Primacy: A Defense Strategy for the New Administration" (with Congressman Mac Thornberry), "How to Deter China: The Case for Archipelagic Defense," and "The Eroding Balance of Terror." All were published in the journal Foreign Affairs.

A graduate of West Point, Dr. Krepinevich holds an M.P.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and in 2020 received West Point's Distinguished Graduate Award.



MICHÈLE FLOURNOY is Co-Founder and Managing Partner of WestExec Advisors, and former Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), where she currently serves on the board.

Michèle served as the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy from February 2009 to February 2012. She was the principal advisor to the Secretary of Defense in the formulation of national security and defense policy, oversight of military plans and operations, and in National Security Council deliberations. She led the development of the Department of Defense's 2012 Strategic Guidance and represented the Department in dozens of foreign engagements, in the media and before Congress.

Prior to confirmation, Michèle co-led President Obama's transition team at the Defense Department.

In January 2007, Michèle co-founded CNAS, a bipartisan think tank dedicated to developing strong, pragmatic and principled national security policies. She served as CNAS' President until 2009, and returned as CEO in 2014. In 2017, she co-founded WestExec Advisors, a strategic advisory firm.

Previously, she was senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies for several years and, prior to that, a distinguished research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University (NDU).

In the mid-1990s, she served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy.

Michèle is the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including: the American Red Cross Exceptional Service Award in 2016; the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service in 1998, 2011, and 2012; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award in 2000 and 2012; the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service in 1996; and CARE's Global Peace, Development and Security Award in 2019. She has edited several books and authored dozens of reports and articles on a broad range of defense and national security issues. Michèle appears frequently in national and international media, including CNN's State of the Union, ABC's This Week, NBC's Meet the Press, BBC News, NPR's Morning Edition and All Things Considered and PBS' News Hour, and is frequently quoted in top tier newspapers.

Michèle serves on the boards of Booz Allen Hamilton, Amida Technology Solutions, The Mission Continues, Spirit of America, CARE, and The U.S. Naval Academy Foundation. She serves on the advisory boards of SINE, Equal AI, and The War Horse and on the honorary advisory committee of The Leadership Council for Women in National Security. Michèle is a former member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, the CIA Director's External Advisory Board, and the Defense Policy Board. She is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group and is a Senior Fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Michèle earned a bachelor's degree in social studies from Harvard University and a master's degree in international relations from Balliol College, Oxford University, where she was a Newton-Tatum scholar.



TOSHI YOSHIHARA is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA). He was previously the inaugural John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies and a Professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College.

Dr. Yoshihara's latest CSBA publications include *Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing with China's Globalizing Military* (CSBA, 2021) and *Dragon Against the Sun: Chinese Views of Japanese Seapower* (CSBA, 2020). Dragon Against the Sun was subsequently translated by Admiral Tomohisa Takei, JMSDF (ret.), the former Chief of the Maritime Staff, and published by a major Japanese press in September 2020. He is the co-author, with James R. Holmes, of the second edition of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime*

Strategy (Naval Institute Press, 2019). The book is listed on the Chief of Naval Operations Professional Reading Program, the Indo-Pacific Command Professional Development Reading List, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps Professional Reading Program. The first edition of *Red Star over the Pacific* (Naval Institute Press, 2010) has been translated in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Germany. In 2016 Dr. Yoshihara was awarded the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award in recognition of his scholarship on maritime and strategic affairs at the Naval War College.

Dr. Yoshihara served as a visiting professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; the School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego; and the Strategy Department of the U.S. Air War College. He currently teaches a graduate course on seapower in the Indo-Pacific at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

He holds a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and a B.S.F.S. from the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

