



Navy's Maritime Strategy
All Flag Officer Symposium
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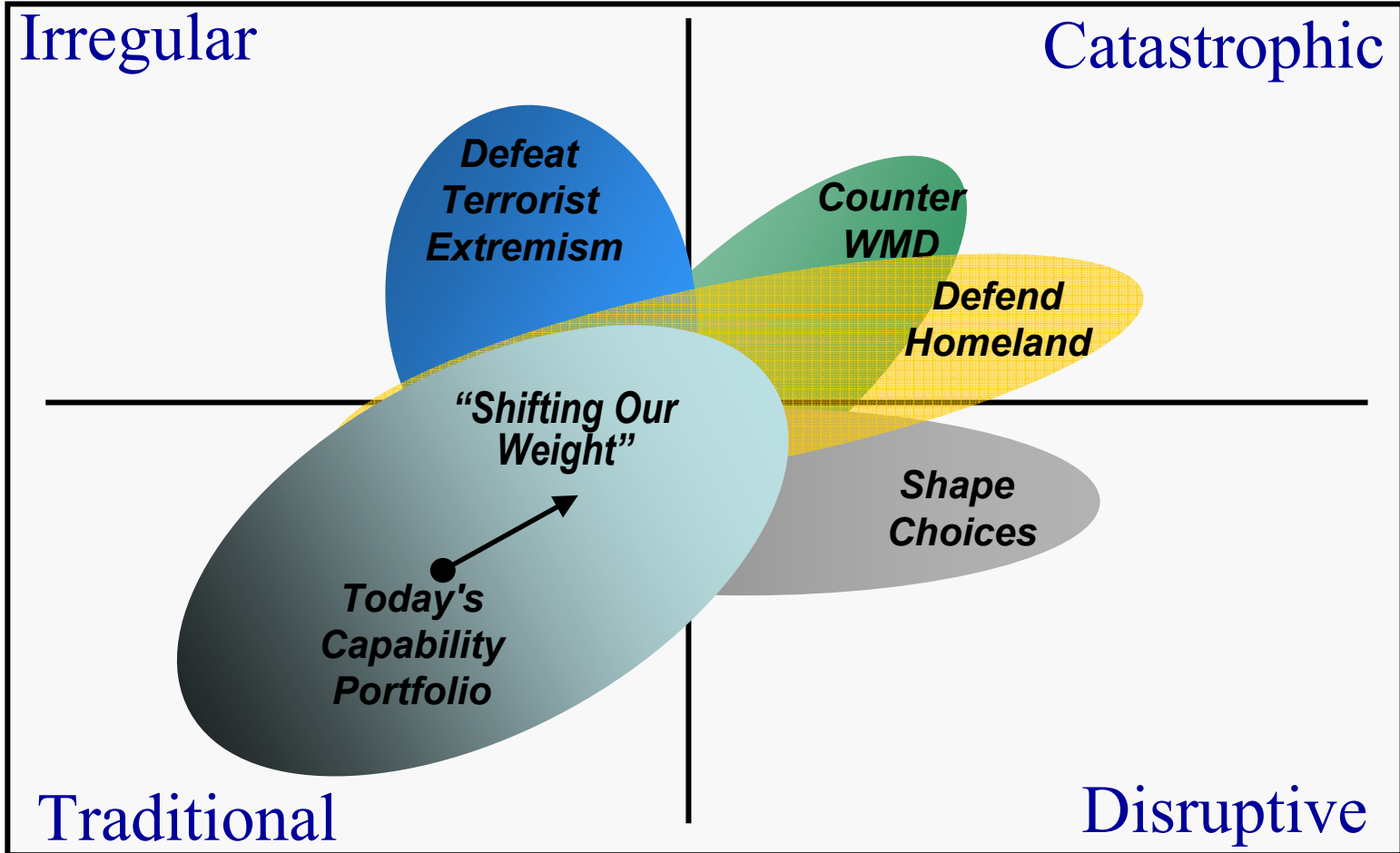
Navy Strategic Plan

(presented at) CNO Strategic Offsite

27 April 2006



QDR Objectives – Shift in Focus



Continuing the reorientation of military capabilities and implementing enterprise-wide reforms



QDR Transitions/Adaptations

Old emphasis

New emphasis

Nation-state threats



Decentralized network threats from non-state enemies

War against nations



War in countries we are not at war with (safe havens)

One size fits all deterrence



Tailored deterrence for rogue powers, terrorist networks and near peers

Major Combat Operations



Multiple, Irregular and Asymmetric Operations

Reactive after crisis starts



Ships and planes (platforms)



Proactive and Shaping

U.S. Military/DoD Solutions



Find, Fix, Finish (massing effects)

Static Defense



Joint, Interagency, Combined

Move User to Data



Expeditionary operations

Service Operational HQ



Move Data to User

Joint Command and Control Capability



"The Big Picture"

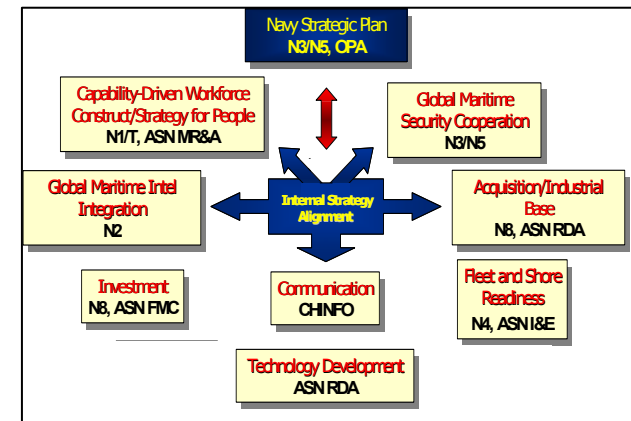


One Coherent Navy Strategy Enabled by a Family of Strategic Plans



For POM-08, NSP

- Informs investments
- Provides mission-level guidance
- A framework for programming, funding and budget
- The capstone document for Family of Strategies



The Family of Strategies

Repeatable process tied to PPBE



Objectives

- Sustain current readiness
- Build a fleet for the future
- Transform accessions, assignment, distribution and compensation





CNO Desired Effects

- Global Maritime Domain Awareness
- Theater Security Cooperation
- Disrupt and attack terrorist networks
 - Enhanced MIO – nighttime level III VBSS
 - Riverine
 - Expeditionary Security Force
 - NECC
 - Expeditionary combat skills readiness center

CNO directs additional emphasis in POM-08



CNO Desired Effects

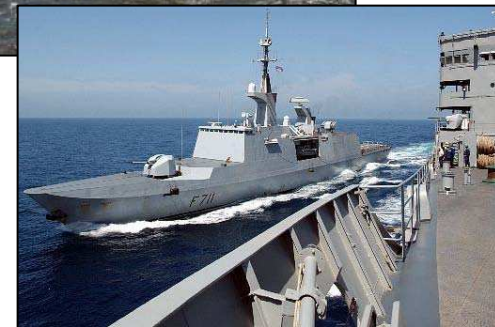
- Transnational Deterrence
 - Forward presence
 - Deployability
 - Distributed and networked
- Homeland Defense
- Combat WMD at sea and ashore
 - Ship disabling non-lethal systems
 - Remote WMD sensing
 - EOD and Render-Safe capabilities





CNO Desired Effects

- Global Deterrence
 - Prompt global strike with sufficient surge capacity
 - Strategic partnerships
 - Information Operations to support diplomacy
 - Stable industrial base
- Joint Access
 - Sea based missile defense
 - ASW
 - High-end partner interoperability
 - Joint Forcible Entry
 - WMD defense





CNO Desired Effects

- Deliver decisive effects promptly
 - Force posture
 - 60/40 split in CVNs & SSNs
 - Persistence and penetrating ISR
 - Warfighting decision superiority
- Substantial sustainment
 - FRP with 6 + 1 CSG readiness
 - Overseas shore infrastructure – IGPBS
 - Workforce strategy
- Regional deterrence



***A Global Navy Concept:
Distributed and Networked Operations (DNO)***



Risk Guidance

- Accept prudent risk
- Align risk to Dependencies and Interdependencies
 - Accept more risk where Joint overmatch or commonality (Interdependency) exists
 - Accept more risk where efficiencies can be found
 - Accept less risk where Joint exclusivity (Dependency) exists
- Steer best course, not just safest



“ This is a different world we’re in today. It’s unconventional instead of conventional; it’s asymmetric instead of symmetric; it’s irregular instead of regular; and it is so different for us that we need to...learn to fight this battle as effectively as we were successful with respect to the Cold War.”

SECDEF Rumsfeld April 2006

Reshape our Navy to accommodate a strategic landscape that has shifted



Commanding Heights
What's Necessary for the U.S. Navy
(2006 - 2009)

The Maritime Strategy



Dance Card

- The Big Flick
- Competition of Ideas
- What's Necessary



Order in the World Order

- Body of Work – 2 Assertions
 1. Economics Drive Everything
 2. Peaceful / Safe Access to the Maritime Commons is the Strategic Imperative
 - A New Naval Era
- Books of Interest – some written before 9/11
 1. The Savage Wars of Peace - Max Boot
 2. Shield of Achilles – Philip Bobbitt
 3. The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth – Benjamin M. Friedman
 - Book Reports / Cliffs Notes Available on all Three
- PBS Special: Commanding Heights – Yergin and Stanislaw



Video Clip

3 Min Clip From
2002 PBS Documentary



Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy

by

Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw



Video Clip





Why Change – The Hidden Hand

- John McPhee, *A Sense of Where You Are: Bill Bradley at Princeton*
- World Order is Economy Based
- Navy's Role in New Order based upon First Principles of Maritime Strategy
 - Proven Prerequisite for Globalization
 - Safe Access to the Highway
- Strategic Choices at Hand



It's the Economy that Drives Everything

- “*Commanding Heights*”
 - Phrase used by Vladimir Lenin referring to the segments and industries in an economy (e.g., oil, railroads, banking and steel), that effectively control and support others
 - PBS documentary (2002) based on the book (1998)
 - Traces the rise and fall of free markets during the last century, the process of globalization, and poses questions as to what lies ahead





“The Globally Integrated Enterprise”

- *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006
by Samuel James Palmisano
Chairman, President and CEO of IBM:

"Among the most urgent of the challenges facing emergent global institutions in all spheres of society is global security and order. Without them, nothing is possible. Companies will only invest in global systems of production if they believe that the geopolitical relationships that enable their investments will be stable and lasting. Without such confidence, investment will collapse."



Globalization

- Occurring prior to WWI – It's Not New
 - Great Britain and its trading partners
 - WWI ends first Globalization era
- Interwar Period
 - World wide boom (1920s) and Bust / Depression (1930s)
 - Hyperinflation in Germany / Rise of 3rd Reich
 - Russian Revolution and Rise of Communism
- After WWII
 - Two Competing Economic Theories
 - Communism vs. Capitalism



Within Capitalism - Two Competing Theories

- Keynes vs. Von Hayek
 - John Maynard Keynes (UK) : Believes in capitalism but with heavy government regulation (to prevent economic meltdowns)
 - Frederick Von Hayek (Austria): opposed to government regulation (it stifles innovation and competition), and believes in pure free markets
- Post WWII
 - West embarks on a period of market driven economies but with a high degree of regulation (Keynesian Economics)



United Kingdom - Post WWII

- Churchill: believer in free market economies with little control
- But, public remembers Great Depression
- 1945: Clement Attlee (Labour) elected
 - Dedicated to government controls to prevent another economic crisis
 - Major industries (railroads, coal, steel, power, etc) nationalized
- 1970s: Massive strikes by Unions
 - Competition / Innovation thwarted
 - Economy almost brought to a halt
- Thatcher elected
 - Privatizes industries to allow for competition
 - Results initially mixed
 - Falklands war success gives her more time
 - Privatization completed
 - UK economy booms



United States - Post WWII

- Still remembers Great Depression
- Massive regulation put in place to try and prevent widespread economic downturn
- 30 yrs post WWII economic growth under “Keynesianism”
- 1970s: Stagflation
 - Competition / Innovation thwarted by massive regulation (think airlines)
 - Navy in Disarray
- Reagan elected 1980
 - Deregulates
 - Economy takes off



Russia/Soviet Union - Post WWII

- Stalin - Centralized economy
 - Workers kept in line with brute force
 - Stalin successors were not as brutal
- Gorbachev
 - 1980s: Economy in shambles
 - Almost impossible for average person to get basic necessities
 - Tries limited reform
 - Allows Poland's Solidarity to usurp Communist regime
 - Warsaw pact crumbles
- Yeltsin
 - Free market minded
 - But Communists still maintain political power
 - Eventually forced to accept support from Oligarchs and sells key Industries (think oil)
- Putin
 - Reigning in Oligarchs
 - State Nationalizing key industries (think oil)

Tear Down This Wall



South America - Post WWII

- Follows Marxist approach to Industrialization
 - Limits imports of manufactured goods
 - Subsidizes own industries
- Little incentive to be efficient or innovate
- Western investment flees
 - Hyperinflation
 - Markets and governments collapse
- Series of Military Coups
- Chile - Pinochet / Chicago Boys
 - Economic reforms
 - Ideas spread to rest of Latin America
 - But, spoils of economic reform uneven
- Populism / Nationalism of industries returning in some quarters (Venezuela and Bolivia)



China / Asia - Post WWII

- China
 - Mao Zedong: Communist planned economy
 - Deng Xiaoping: introducing free market capitalism
 - But, w/o democracy, civil liberties, and without basic economic controls and economic structural underpinnings
 - Will it meltdown?
- Asia
 - Japan
 - Economy takes off and then melts down in 1990s
 - Still protecting many Industries
 - Asian Tigers (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Korea)
 - Economies take off in early 1990s
 - Collapse in late 1990s without basic economic controls and structural underpinnings (regulatory and banking systems)
 - Flight of Western funds



India - Post WWII

- Mahatma Gandhi: supports Agrarian Economy
- Nehru (1947) moves India toward Industrialization but with high degree of regulation and massive government control
 - Centrally planned economy
 - “*Permit Raj*” based on “*British Raj*” Colonial system utilized
 - Everything needs a permit and bureaucratic systems rule
 - Bribery commonplace
 - Innovation & competition stifled
- Manmohan Singh (1990s)
 - Stringent regulations relaxed
 - Indian economy booms



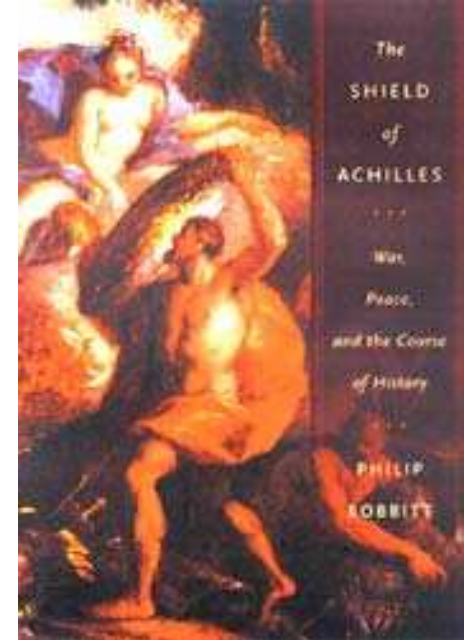
Today

- Globalization
 - Continued Globalization is a US National Interest
 - Peaceful Access to the Maritime Commons is *The Imperative*
- Russia
 - Returning to planned economy with nationalization of key industries
- Parts of Latin America
 - Some nations doing well
 - Others returning to planned economies and nationalization of key industries (think Venezuela and Bolivia)
- China / Asia / India / Europe
 - Peer competitors?
 - Allies?
 - Trading partners?
 - More meltdowns?
 - Return to regulated economies
- Powerful Linkage between Positive Economic Conditions and Good Order in the World



Emergence of Market States

- A different view of the future
 - Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles*: War, Peace, and the Course of History
- A work theorizing the effects of globalization to create “market states” that supersede traditional “nation states,” and inevitably affect the global economic and security environment. In this environment, the competition for access to natural resources, energy, economic markets, and labor pools will present the pre-eminent challenge for the maintenance of peace.





Market vice Nation States

- A new society of *market-states* is being born
 - Less regulated capital markets maximize investment
 - Privatization...capital gains...lower inflation, taxes...increased savings, growth...educated population...political stability...macroeconomic prudence...foreign investment...personal autonomy
 - Different cultures, different values, different models
 - Ex. Tokyo vs. Berlin models: private vs. public education, personal sacrifice vs. higher quality of life, long working hours vs. leisure consumption

Same Race, Same Rules, Different Cars



Legitimacy

- “The market also requires something else: Legitimacy. But here it faces an ethical conundrum. It is based on...self constraint – which contrasts mightily with other ways of organizing economic activity. Yet a system that takes the pursuit of self-interest and profit as the guiding light does not necessarily satisfy the yearning in the human soul for belief and some higher meaning beyond materialism.”

Yergin and Stanislaw

Commanding Heights



What Role for the U.S.?

- World's Model Economy?
- World's Banker and Regulator?
 - Think IMF and World Bank
 - Think Mexican Bailout
- World's Policeman?
 - Think Bosnia and First Gulf War
 - Think Limiting Conflict
- World's Guarantor of Free Trade?
 - Think Worldwide Naval Presence
 - Think 1,000 Ship Navy, Coast Guards, Maritime Industries



Challenges of Globalization

- Along with benefits, globalization has brought challenges
 - Empowerment of Fourth Generation enemies
 - Terrorists
 - Proliferators of WMD and other weapons
 - Organized criminals
 - Drug traffickers
 - Pirates
 - Frenetic pace of change
 - Not only about *change*, but the *speed* of change

Need leadership, flexibility, imagination to quickly adapt



Security Challenges

- Conflict is Inevitable
 - Energy and Resources
 - Trade war challenges: co-dependency and multipolar systems
 - Economic targets replacing military targets
- North-South conflicts
 - Comparative advantage of low labor costs increasing



Greatest Dangers and Threats

- Collapse of Global Economy
 - Loss of State Legitimacy – Immoral Consequences
 - If One Big Player Falls...
- Access to Prevent Regional Domination
 - Escalation and De-Escalation
- Proliferation of Ballistic Missiles
- Proliferation of WMD
- Pandemic Disease or Infection
- Rise of Evil Genius



WMD Threats

- Weapons of mass destruction
 - Nuclear proliferation
 - Defense should enable retaliation, preventing conflict
 - Missile Defense of 21st century = Deterrence of 20th century
 - Nuclear terrorism
 - Only global coalition sharing intelligence and information can forestall nuclear terrorism
 - Biological weapons
 - Dozens of countries have/seek capability; ships can carry
 - Increased intelligence collection capabilities may thwart
 - New Threats will be market driven and decentralized



Market-State Conflict

- Inevitable that market-states will come into conflict
- Conflict will happen but it can and should be limited – accept it where necessary
- Control of Maritime Commons can localize and limit conflict
 - Korean War
 - Cuban Missile Crisis

Key goal is to ensure conflict does not become catastrophic

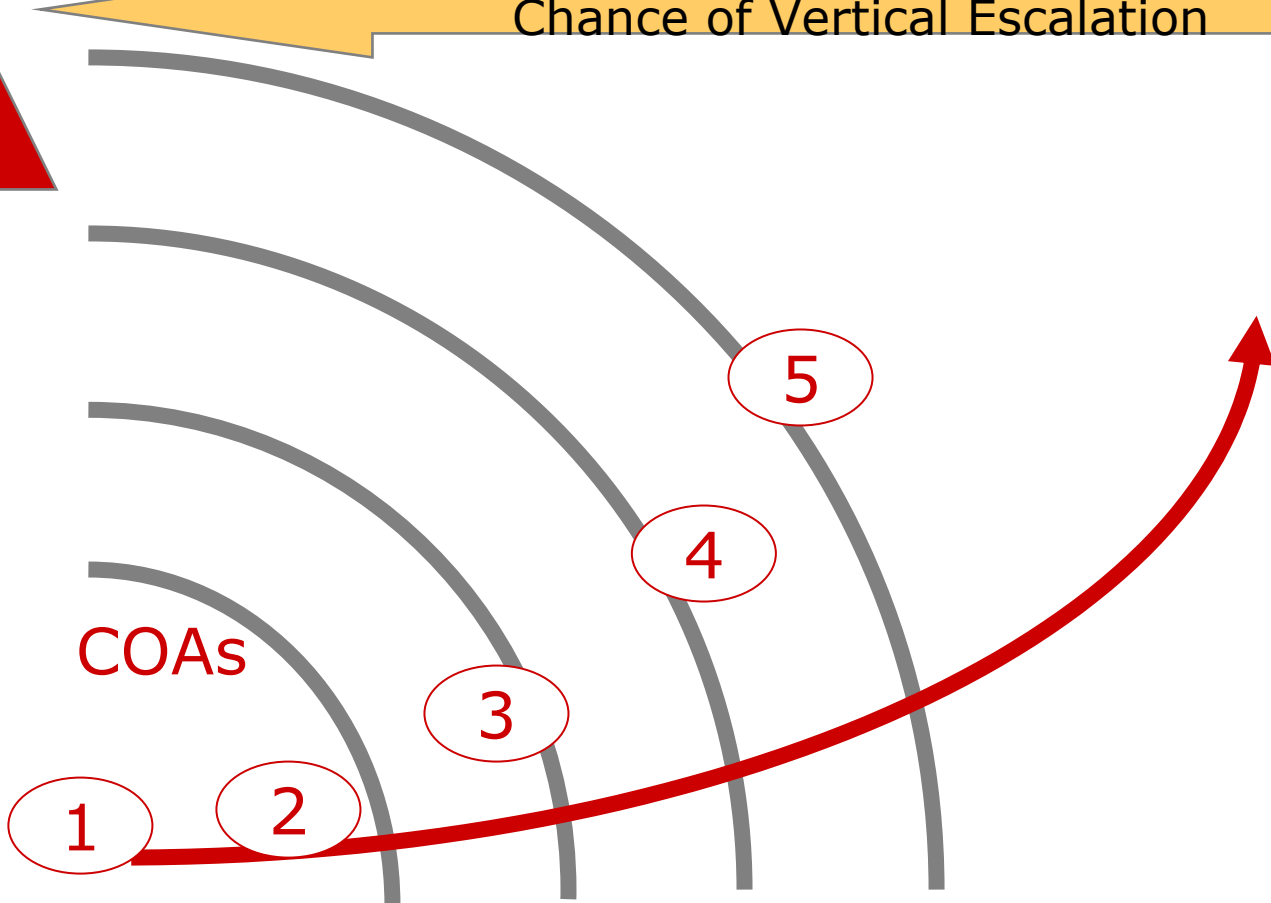


Effects Planning is about End States

Chance of Vertical Escalation

Expanded Naval Advocacy

D.I.M.E. Integration



Ability to Shape Post-conflict Environment

Indirect Campaign



Dance Card

- The Big Flick
- Competition of Ideas
- What's Necessary



Competition of Ideas

- “As our challenges are new, we must think and act anew”
 - Lincoln
- Not ordained we’ll get it right
- What we must do right in hopes of getting it right
 - Ideas must be free to compete
 - Encourage dissenting views
 - Listen, Learn, Lead



Disarray 1970-1980

One Hundred Years of Sea Power 1890-1990, George w. Baer

“The Navy made a mistake in stating its case largely in terms of competition with Soviet capabilities – That is in terms of force structure, the same terms in which it justified its own doctrine. The mistake was the impassioned arguments about force structure, about the size of the hulls and the speeds of the airplanes, passed by most listeners outside the service. Such arguments failed to convey their implicit political and hence strategic content. And as we have seen, listeners became confused when the Navy did not speak with a single voice.”



The Maritime Strategy of the 80's

- Maritime Strategy – *for* and *of* its time
 - Delivered 25 years ago by Secretary John Lehman
 - Highlighted enduring, unifying principles and missions
 - Guided our Navy through the Cold War without major conflict
 - Contain
 - Defeat

Maritime Strategy of 80's: endured with relevance

Timeline: 1980s

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	Capstone Document
Beirut/Grenada	1981	Reagan	Lehman	Hayward	<i>Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S)</i> <i>Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S)</i> <i>Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)</i> <i>Maritime Strategy (U)</i>
	1982			Watkins	
	1983				
	1984				
Goldwater/Nichols	1985			Trost	
	1986				
	1987		Webb		
Cold War Ends	1988		Ball		
	1989	Bush			<i>Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)</i>
	1990		Garrett		
Iraq invades	1990				



Our Challenge Today...

- As Alfred Thayer Mahan posed...
 - Think about the moral consequences of naval force
 - Ponder the gifts and responsibilities of world power
 - Understand naval strengths and how Sea Power influences history
- As Mahan addressed his War College class of 1892...
 - “All the world knows that we are building a new navy...well, when we get it...what are we going to do with it?”

What are we going to do with our Navy?



Wisdom in the Crowd

- “Groups are remarkably intelligent, and are often smarter than the smartest people in them.”
- “Diversity and Independence are keys to the wisdom of the crowd. The best collective decisions are a product of disagreement and contest, not consensus and compromise.”
- “Crowds often make the best judgments because they aggregate a wide range of opinions and diverse information, cancelling out personal bias and emotion”

James Surowiecki, [The Wisdom of the Crowds](#)



For the New Maritime Strategy How Do We Let Ideas Compete in the Crowd?

- Naval War College
- 4 Star Conference
- 3/4 Star Conference
- Maritime Security Conference
- AFOTS / NFOTS
- Regional Seapower Symposiums
 - CENTCOM Naval Force Generation Conference
- Rethinking Project
- At-Sea Strategy Forum



Rethinking Project

Track Record

- 1st Year – Principles of War
- 2nd Year – Nature of Competition and Conflict
- 3rd Year – The Maritime Strategy
- First Book

Speakers – Just a Few

- Martin Van Creveld
- Zbigniew Brezinski
- Friedmans (Tom, Ben, Milt, & George)
- Robert Kaplan
- Peter Schwartz (GBN)
- Tom Barnett
- Asst SecState Whalen
- First Sea Lord

Funding

- \$250 K
- OSD – Office of Force Transformation
- SecDef Endorsement of 1,000 Ship Navy

Website

- 6,600 hits this year
- 5,400 video downloads
- 750 audio downloads
- 995 presentation downloads
- 50,000 podcast downloads
- 14,000 monthly subscribers



At-Sea Strategy Forum





Dance Card

- The Big Flick
- Competition of Ideas
- What's Necessary



What's Necessary

- A New Maritime Strategy
- Essential Elements
 1. Access to Region and Markets / Promote Economic Growth
 2. Permanent Presence to Protect Trade and Interests
 3. No Domination of Any Region
 - Escalation and De-Escalation
 4. Places if not Bases, Friends if not Allies
 5. Respect for Rule of Law – Global Anti-Terror Environment (GATE)
 6. Respect Stability of Governance, Transparency and Legitimacy
 - Encourage Democracy



Strategy Defined

- Strategy is one element of a 4 part structure:
 1. The ends to be obtained – A Vision (Seapower 21)
 2. Strategy is the ways and the means for obtaining, and the ways in which resources will be deployed in obtaining the ends – The Maritime Strategy
 3. Tactics are the way in which resources that have been deployed are actually used or employed – Doctrine, Naval Operating Concept, CONOPS, TTP's
 4. The resources themselves, the means at our disposal
-- The POM and the Navy Strategic Plan

Strategy and Tactics Bridge Ends to Means



New Strategy – for this Era, this War

- Globalization effects drive the need for a new maritime strategy
 - Expansion of interdependent world markets and economies...need to keep sea lanes open and free
 - Race for energy...will have impact on security
 - Spread of ideology through leaps in communications...some destructive behavior and disruptive ideologies
- Shifting strategy from *control* of the seas to *safety and freedom* of the seas

Globalization is the great “flattener” of the world



Why Navies Matter

- From Alfred Thayer Mahan's groundbreaking book "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History"
 - Naval forces' strengths and actions can uniquely influence the history of nations and peoples
- We must utilize our enduring naval strengths to:
 - Influence
 - Anticipate and flexibly respond
 - Build friends and partners

Positive moral consequences of economic growth are largely dependent upon free trade and open seas



Naval Strength: Influence

– Influence

- Spread benefits of free markets and free societies
- Promote stability with Joint, Interagency, International forces to counter radical ideologies
- Promote stability through disaster relief
 - Ex. Tsunami in Indonesia, earthquake in Pakistan

Not only protection of trade routes...



Naval Strength: Adapt and Flexibly Respond

- Anticipate and flexibly respond
 - Find and eliminate terrorists and non-state actor threats
 - Cut the flow of WMD and other catastrophic technologies – Ballistic Missiles
 - Match the circumstances - deter potential competitors while deescalating crisis
 - Plan now using base of Navy Strategic Plan, Naval Operating Concept, and National Fleet Policy for interim and integral opportunities

Navy must foresee opportunities for success



Naval Strength: Build Friends and Partners

- Build friends and partners
 - Build “One Force” partnerships among Foreign Area Officers (FAOs), Joint, Interagency, International Organizations, Navies, Coast Guards, and NGOs
 - Global Fleet Stations
 - 1,000 Ship Navy – Multilateral Bilateralism
 - Common Interests unite the Great Commons
 - Unite all freedom-loving nations to defeat fourth generation threats

In a globalized, interconnected world, nobody can do it alone



Our Moment, Our Test

- Moral Consequences of Naval Power to the World Order
- Contributor to American Legitimacy
- Our Noble Endeavor
 - Avert a Global Catastrophic Crisis
(Severe Disruption or Destroying Global Economy)
 - Localize and Limit Conflict
 - Arise to Our Commanding Heights
 - Influence History