

NATIONAL SECURITY SYMPOSIUM

COLLEGE OF SAN MATEO

SAN MATEO, CA

26/27 March 2011

PRESENTED BY:

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT



The Challenges of a Leaderless World

The message from Washington is that a combination of forces – political, economic, international, social – are diverting America’s preoccupation with acting as a global leader for the first time since 1941. Torn from within, beset from without, saddled with a mountain of debt and exploding deficits, the U.S. public today demands a focus on domestic matters as we diminish our military presence in the Middle East and accede to the increasing economic power of other nations and to the G-20. Burdened by what might well be called responsibility fatigue, the United States might lay down the burden of global leadership. Thus, the possibility of a leaderless world looms on the horizon. Who will try to fill that role? What does such a world mean for our nation, our military and our Navy?

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NATIONAL SECURITY SYMPOSIUM
“The Challenges of a Leaderless World”
AGENDA

SATURDAY, 26 March 2011 (Day 1)

0800-0815		Admin Remarks
0815-0845		Introductions: Dr. Tom Fedyszyn Update and Scene Setter: Dr. David Cooper
0845-1015	Session 1:	Abdicating the Throne: Why Won't We Lead? Do We Deserve to Lead? Dr. Rick Norton
1015-1030		BREAK
1030-1145	Session 2:	A Non-Polar World: Is Anyone in Charge? Dr. Tom Fedyszyn
1145 -1300		LUNCH
1300-1445	Session 3:	Afghanistan: Counterinsurgency Gone Awry? Dr. Ron Ratcliff
1445-1500		BREAK
1500-1615	Session 4:	Pirates of Tijuana Dr. Rick Norton

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SUNDAY, 27 March 2011 (Day 2)

0800		Admin
0800-0915	Session 5:	Whatever Happened to the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)? Dead, Dormant or Resting Comfortably? Dr. David Cooper
0915-1030	Session 6	The Future of the Russian Navy Dr. Tom Fedyszyn
1030-1045		BREAK
1045-1145	Session 7:	Debate: Is a Leaderless World Really Likely? Affirmative: Tom Fedyszyn and Ron Ratcliff Negative: Rick Norton and David Cooper
1145-1300		LUNCH
1300-1500	Session 8:	Concluding Panel and Group Discussion All professors
1500-1515		Concluding Comments

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March 26-27 2011
*“The Challenges of a Leaderless World”***

Update and Scene Setter

Dr. David Cooper, Chair, National Security Affairs Department

The recently-appointed Chairperson of the newly-renamed National Security Affairs Department (formerly National Security Decision Making Department) of the U. S. Naval War College will begin the symposium with a brief status report of current activities ongoing in Newport. He will then introduce the theme of the weekend symposium and offer a scene setter to put the presentations that follow in a broader context.

Session 1: Abdicating the Throne: Why Won't We Lead? Do We Deserve to Lead?

Dr. Rick Norton

If the world is increasingly in search of a leader it is in large part because the United States is abdicating responsibilities that it has shouldered since the end of World War II. Distressingly, the causal roots of this shift likely lie in our own national soil. Or, in the words of the late Walt Kelly, perhaps, “We have met the enemy and they is us.”

Session 2: A Non-Polar World: Is Anyone in Charge?

Dr. Tom Fedyszyn

For decades the international system could always be described in some variant of polarity. The late 19th century was multipolar; the Cold War existed in a bipolar world; recently the United States dominated a unipolar world. There was a certain rhythm and regularity that came with each form. In our postulated non-polar world, who decides how the system operates? What unpleasant surprises might we be in store for?

Session 3: Afghanistan: Counterinsurgency Gone Awry?

Dr. Ron Ratcliff

Dr. Ratcliff will explore the counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy being executed by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and U.S. Forces in Afghanistan. Recently returned after two months in Helmand Province, he will challenge claims that this strategy is working in southern Afghanistan. Will America be able to continue its presence in this part of the world?

Session 4: Pirates of Tijuana

Dr. Rick Norton

Appreciating the audience's awareness of the increasing volatility and lethality of issues involving the northern tier of Mexico, Dr. Norton will project an intriguing scenario. Despite the efforts of the Mexican authorities, Rick suggests that lawlessness and anarchy abound. Drug cartels, increasing in boldness, numbers and firepower are branching into new and lucrative venues. What if there will be pirates operating off the U.S. Pacific coast?

Session 5: Whatever Happened to the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)? Dead, Dormant or Resting Comfortably?

Dr. David Cooper

In the years following its 2003 launch by President George W. Bush, PSI was widely hailed as an innovative and successful new model for U.S. global leadership. Participation in PSI broadened from less than a dozen close allies to a diverse spectrum of nearly a hundred countries. However, the initiative seems to have become conspicuously moribund, even as the threats grow apace. Dr. Cooper will evaluate the causes and project the implications of its seemingly precipitous decline.

Session 6: The Future of the Russian Navy

Dr. Tom Fedyszyn

Admiral Gorshkov's Navy seems to have fallen just as hard as the Berlin Wall. Once the mighty rival to the U.S. fleet, Russia's Navy has slipped into the ranks of second-rate navies since the mid-1980's. Dr. Tom Fedyszyn will take a new look at the Russian Navy to see if there is once again an opportunity that Moscow might challenge America at sea, particularly in light of the Sea Services strategy: *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*.

Session 7: Debate: Is a Leaderless World Really Likely?

Affirmative: Tom Fedyszyn and Ron Ratcliff

Negative: Rick Norton and David Cooper

All four professors will engage in a lively debate to test whether the premise of this symposium is either realistic or likely. Following short opening remarks and rebuttals, the presenters will engage with the audience on this particular subject.

Session 8: Concluding Panel and Group Discussion

All professors

This will be an opportunity for the audience to ask questions or offer their own ideas on any subject relevant to national security. This give-and-take has long been one of the hallmarks of the weekend Naval War College National Security Symposium, with any and all points of view welcome.

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Biographies

Professor David A. Cooper is the Chair of the Department of National Security Affairs at the U.S. Naval War College. Previously Dr. Cooper served for many years as a foreign and defense policy specialist in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), where he was a career member of the Senior Executive Service (SES). His last SES assignment was with the then new U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), where he established and led a joint directorate responsible for partnership and strategic communication. His senior OSD assignments have included Principal Director for Homeland Security Integration, Director of Nonproliferation Policy, and Director of Strategic Arms Control Policy. He is also the former U.S. Head of Delegation to the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) Operational Experts Group and he served as the U.S. Representative to the Second United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Missiles. He first came to the Pentagon as a Presidential Management Intern (PMI) in 1990. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from the Australian National University, a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University, and is a graduate of Oberlin College. He is an internationally recognized expert on nonproliferation, disarmament, and weapons of mass destruction issues, authoring various articles and a book on these topics. He has served as an Adjunct Professor of U.S. Foreign Policy at American University, Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University, as is a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

Dr. Thomas Fedyszyn has been a member of the Naval Security Affairs faculty since 2000 and serves as the Naval War College Chair of the Europe-Russia Studies Group. He received a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University in Political Science while on active duty. His 31-year naval career included military assignments as the U.S. Naval Attaché to Russia and two tours at NATO Headquarters in Brussels. A former surface warrior, he commanded the USS Normandy (CG 60) and USS William V. Pratt (DDG 44). He was a principal contributor to both the Lehman-era Maritime Strategy and NATO's Strategic Concept (1991) following the Cold War. He has developed recognized expertise and has published widely in maritime strategy, NATO strategy and the Russian navy. His most recent article, “Saving NATO: Renunciation of the Article V Territorial Security Guarantee” is in the summer 2010 issue of *Orbis*. As a leader within the Partnership for Peace Consortium, he has participated in a number of initiatives aimed at improving defense planning and military education in eight nations over the past years. His current projects are in developing professional military education in Georgia and Azerbaijan. His current research is focused on the future of the Russian Navy.

Dr. Richard J. Norton is a Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval War College. He holds a doctorate in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy; and retired from the United States Navy in 1996, with the rank of Commander. While on active duty, he served extensively at sea on cruisers and destroyers. He also served on Capitol Hill as a Senate Liaison Officer with the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs and with several political-military assignments on senior staffs. His military professional experience is focused in surface naval operations and national security policy. He has published extensively on failed states,

humanitarian early warning, African regional military affairs and related peacekeeping, humanitarian and refugee operations as well as numerous case studies concerning emerging security and leadership issues. Three national security volumes he has edited have been published by the Naval War College Press. Professor Norton has been also appeared as a guest on several programs on public radio and television. He also teaches courses on military history. His most recent areas of research include the topic of feral cities - selected by the New York Times as one of the "ideas of 2004," policy dilemmas associated with the U.S.-Venezuelan relationship, maritime piracy and assisting several African militaries in developing curriculum for command and staff studies. His most recent publications include: "Through a Mirror Darkly: The Use of Alternate History for Decision-Makers," in the Naval War College Review and "Feral Cities 2009" published in the United States Marine Corps University Journal. nortonr@nwc.navy.mil

Dr. Ronald E. Ratcliff has been a member of the NSDM faculty since 2000 and teaches the Senior Leadership Seminar (SLS) and the Leading Organizations Effectively (LOE) courses. Additionally, he teaches electives in human resource strategy and Southeast Asia security. He received a transdisciplinary Ph.D. in Humanities from Salve Regina University and holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration from the University of Montana, a Master of Science degree in Financial Management from the Naval Postgraduate School, and a Master of Arts degree in National Security and Strategic Studies (with Highest Distinction) from the Naval War College. He retired from the U.S. Navy in the rank of Captain after 31 years of service primarily in destroyers and frigates including command of USS *Gary* (FFG-51) as well as staff assignments afloat and ashore. Other notable assignments included duty as the Naval Attaché to Malaysia and as an instructor at the French Naval Academy where he authored an English-French naval terms dictionary. His most recent areas of research include maritime strategy and strategic leadership.