

**NATIONAL SECURITY SYMPOSIUM**

**COLLEGE OF SAN MATEO  
SAN MATEO, CA  
24/25 March 2012**

**PRESENTED BY:**

**THE U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE**



**U.S. GRAND STRATEGY DOES A REGIONAL  
REFOCUS: WILL THE U.S. NAVY BE READY?**

THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE  
NATIONAL SECURITY SYMPOSIUM

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WILL THE U.S. NAVY BE READY?***

AGENDA

<b><u>SATURDAY, 24 March 2012</u></b> (Day 1)		
0800-0815		Admin Remarks
0815-0900		<b>An Update from the Naval War College</b> Dr. David Cooper Chair, National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College
0900-1015	Session 1:	<b>China's Maritime Straitjacket? Chinese Seapower and the "First Island Chain"</b> Dr. Toshi Yoshihara China Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College
1015-1030		<b>BREAK</b>
1030-1145	Session 2:	<b>Asia's Middle Powers React</b> Dr. David Cooper
1145 -1300		<b>LUNCH</b>
1300-1445	Session 3:	<b>Chinese Guerilla Warfare at Sea: "Old Thinking in a New Naval Context"</b> Dr. Toshi Yoshihara
1445-1500		<b>BREAK</b>
1500-1615	Session 4:	<b>Africa: So Much Coast, So Little Navy</b> Dr. Richard Norton National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College

<b><u>SUNDAY, 25 March 2012</u></b> (Day 2)		
0800		Admin
0800-0915	Session 5:	<b>Does Russian Foreign Policy Demand an American Naval Response in European Waters?</b> Dr. Thomas Fedyszyn National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval War College
0915-1030	Session 6	<b>South America: Forgotten History, Uncertain Future</b> Dr. Richard Norton
1030-1045		<b>BREAK</b>
1045-1130	Session 7:	<b>U.S. Navy: Responding Correctly to Regional Challenges?</b> Dr. Thomas Fedyszyn
1130-1300		<b>LUNCH</b>
1300-1500	Session 8:	<b>Concluding Panel and Group Discussion</b> All professors
1500-1515		<b>Concluding Comments</b>

THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE  
NATIONAL SECURITY SYMPOSIUM  
March 24-25, 2012

***“U.S. Grand Strategy Does a Regional Refocus: Will the U.S. Navy be Ready?”***

**(Saturday) Admin remarks by hosts (0800-0815)**

**An Update from the Naval War College (0815-0900)**

Dr. David Cooper, Chair, National Security Affairs Department

The Chairperson of the newly-named National Security Affairs (NSA) Department of the U.S. Naval War College will begin the symposium with a status report of current activities ongoing in Newport. He will highlight the initiatives and activities related to the enhancement of regional and cultural awareness. Under his tutelage, the NSA curriculum has adopted a “levels of analysis” approach in its three sub-courses, further enabling the understanding of the relationship of regional awareness to U.S. national security decision making processes.

**Session 1: China’s Maritime Straitjacket? Chinese Seapower and the “First Island Chain” (0900-1015)**

Professor Toshi Yoshihara, China Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College

The first island chain—an archipelago that stretches from Japan to the Philippines—has emerged as a critical geographical construct for Beijing's defense planners. To the Chinese, the island chain is not only a physical barrier, but it is also an evocative metaphor for the resistance that they anticipate from the occupants of the first island chain, not the least of which include latent maritime competitors such as Japan and the United States. Not surprisingly, Chinese analysts are deeply concerned about the strategic constraints that the string of islands could impose on China’s maritime ambitions. Beijing's island chain dilemma thus represents a rich case study on the nexus of maritime geography, naval strategy, and seapower in Asia.

**Break 1015-1030**

**Session 2: Asia’s Middle Powers React (1030-1145)**

Professor David Cooper

After more than a decade of carefully cultivating a reassuring image of its peaceful rise, has china now overplayed its hand with the neighbors? As the world ponders the prospects and implications of Beijing’s global aspirations with varying degrees of alarm or sanguinity, the recent actions of some Asian “middle powers” would seem to suggest that they are unequivocally alarmed...enough to reassess longstanding assumptions about their fundamental security relationships and interests. Will this evolving realignment of Asia’s middle powers fizzle or gather steam? Is it likely to support or hinder U.S. interests? Can the United States capitalize on these developments (and should it even try?)

**Lunch 1145-1300**

### **Session 3: Chinese Guerilla Warfare at Sea: “Old thinking in a New Naval Context (1300-1445)**

Professor Toshi Yoshihara

China's rapid naval modernization has stimulated interest in how warfighting concepts may help Chinese commanders harness their newfound capabilities. The writings drawn from China's extensive open-source literature suggest that Mao Zedong's ideas on guerilla warfare continue to resonate with Chinese naval strategists. Moreover, homegrown maritime traditions, including the formative experiences of the Chinese navy, have influenced debates over the future of China's naval strategy. How the combination of old concepts and new military technologies could boost Chinese naval prowess is thus a question of considerable import for the U.S. Navy and allied navies in the Western Pacific.

### **Break 1445-1500**

### **Session 4: Africa: So Much Coast, So Little Navy (1500-1615)**

Professor Rick Norton, National Security Affairs Department

Traditionally, Africa has been seen by the western, developed world and more recently by the energy-hungry developing world as a land mass to be explored and exploited. If anything, the continent seemed all but impervious to naval influence and apparently lacked any significant maritime components to its dominant culture. However, in today's modern world the waters of Africa are becoming more and more important – as commercial highways, hot beds of emerging littoral and blue water violence and home to important biological and mineral resources. So what's the state of African Naval play and what does the future hold? Can the rest of the world ignore African maritime domains? Can the United States?

### **(Sunday) Admin Remarks (0800)**

### **Session 5: Does Russian Foreign Policy Demand an American Naval Response in European Waters? (0800-0915)**

Professor Tom Fedyszyn, National Security Affairs Department

Since the end of the Cold War NATO's relationship with Russia has been ambivalent, vacillating between extreme cooperation and similar antagonism. Russia is both embarking on an accelerated shipbuilding plan and beginning to once again deploy her navy into European waters. She is also taking extreme issues with NATO's ballistic missile defense strategy aimed at Iran. Do these Russian moves demand a NATO/U.S. naval response back into the Baltic, Norwegian and Mediterranean Seas? What effect will homeporting ballistic missile defense destroyers in Spain have on this equation?

### **Session 6: South America: Forgotten History, Uncertain Future (0915-1030)**

Professor Rick Norton

In contrast to some regions of the world South America boasts a significant maritime history. Although little known north of the U.S. border with Mexico, some South American states had

significant involvement in the Age of Fighting Sail and the era of the ironclads, at times punching significantly above their weight. The U.S. Navy's history in the region has been one of both respect, cooperation and confrontation. Today many analysts look at South America and wonder why there should be any South American state that needs a navy. This presentation assesses the state of naval play on the continent, looks for potential hot spots and asks "whither Venezuela?"

### **Break 1030-1045**

### **Session 8: U.S. Navy: Responding Correctly to Regional Challenges? (1045-1130)**

Professor Tom Fedyszyn

Many strategists in Washington are beginning to see a "sea change" in American Grand Strategy as we move our ground troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan. The Obama Administration has made it clear that the Asia-Pacific theater is becoming its principal focus of strategic interest. Does this suggest that China will become a near peer competitor and that the maritime domain of the Pacific will put the U.S. Navy into the central role of American strategy? How is the Navy reshaping itself? Will the navy be ready to respond to this challenge?

### **Lunch (1130-1300)**

### **Session 9: Concluding Panel and Group Discussion (1300-1500)**

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.

### **Concluding Comments: Hosts (1500-1515)**

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Biographies

**Dr. 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 U.S. Naval War College’s Naval Security Affairs faculty since 2000 and serves as the College Director 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. As a leader within the Partnership for Peace Consortium, he is responsible for NATO’s Azerbaijani Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP). His latest article on the future of the Russian Navy has been accepted by the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. His most recent Op-Ed was published in the *Providence Journal* (December 29, 2011).

**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](mailto:nortonr@nwc.navy.mil)

**Dr. Toshi Yoshihara** is Professor of Strategy and the John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. He is an affiliate member of the China Maritime Studies Institute at the war college. Previously, he was a visiting professor in the Strategy Department at the Air War College. Dr. Yoshihara has also served as an analyst at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, RAND, and the American Enterprise Institute. He is co-author of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy* (Naval Institute Press, 2010), *Indian Naval Strategy in the Twenty-first Century* (Routledge, 2009), and *Chinese Naval Strategy in the Twenty-first Century: The Turn to Mahan* (Routledge, 2008). He is also co-editor of *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age: Power, Ambition, and the Ultimate Weapon* (Georgetown University Press, forthcoming) and *Asia Looks Seaward: Power and Maritime Strategy* (Praeger, 2008). His articles on maritime issues and naval strategy have appeared in *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Orbis*, *Naval War College Review*, *American Interest*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, and *Proceedings*. Dr. Yoshihara holds a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.