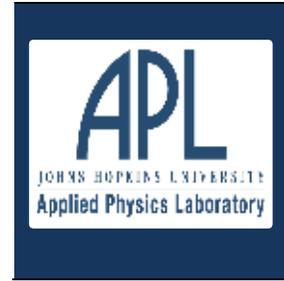




JHU/APL Seminar Series
*Rethinking U.S. Enduring Strengths,
Challenges, and Opportunities*



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ADM James Stavridis, USN (ret)
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21st Century Security: Buckle Up

Notes:

1. Below are informal notes taken by a JHU/APL staff member at the Seminar.
2. Links to the video, audio, and presentation files for this and past seminars can be found on the [Rethinking Seminars](#) website and the [JHU/APL YouTube Playlist](#).
3. ADM Stavridis used a series of images in his presentation, some of which are included below. All are available on the [Video Archives](#) page of the website.

Introduction

ADM Stavridis began his talk about 21st century security by looking back at 20th century security. His starting point was a photograph of the spring 1914 graduating class of the French equivalent of West Point. The 100 or so graduates vowed to go to battle wearing their white gloves. By 1918 every member of the class was dead, lost to World War I. Security throughout the 20th century was focused on creating walls such as the Maginot Line, the Iron Curtain, the Bamboo Curtain, and the Berlin Wall. But that security methodology ended with 9/11. On that day, ADM Stavridis noted that he was sitting in the Pentagon, one of the world's most protected buildings, surrounded by the strongest military the world had ever know, but he was only a few hundred feet from the spot where an airliner exploded through a wall. None of the walls that had been built for 20th century security were safe enough protection in the 21st century.

In the 21st century we must always be scanning the horizon for threats and challenges especially from violent extremism

- Example 1: A YouTube video of the Taliban justice court finding a woman guilty of adultery and forcing her husband to execute her
- Example 2: In Oslo, Norway, 3 years ago a single individual bombed the Norwegian equivalent of the Old Executive Office Building in Washington, killing eight
 - He then took high-powered rifles to an island and killed 70 young people attending what would be the equivalent of a Boys' State/Girls' State event
 - Comparing population percentages, this would be like killing 4,000 to 5,000 young people in the US
- Bottom line: This sort of violent extremism can't be stopped by walls

21st Century Concerns: Rogue Nations Outside the Boundaries of International Law

Iran: The UN agrees with this concern given the sanctions it has imposed on Iran

- Iran's missiles can reach 2,000 km – well into southeastern Europe
 - Part of a worrisome pattern given Iran's long-term interest in WMD
- Currently on-going diplomatic efforts appear hopeful but worry continues

North Korea: Even more dangerous than Iran since it already has nuclear weapons

- Has a young, untried, emotional leader
- Has shown a tendency towards violence even as recently as this month when the North launched artillery shells into South Korea
- Problems not likely to be solved by the visits of Dennis Rodman

Syria: An especially bad situation lately been submerged by concerns about Ukraine

- As a humanitarian disaster, Syria is becoming more like Rwanda or the Balkans
- With 7 million displaced people, the problem is not just Syria but also the impact on its contentious neighbors including Jordan and Israel, Greece and Turkey
- Problem is exacerbated by the possibility of finding hydrocarbon deposits in the area bringing warships from major powers to the region



Figure 1: Numbers on flags indicate the number of that country's warships in the region on a randomly chosen day last fall indicating those countries' concerns about activity there

- All of this is happening with the backdrop of the Arab Spring / Arab Revolution / Arab Awakening activities in the region

Libya: Had looked hopeful after the defeat of Gaddafi but has since faced great problems and challenges as part of the recent general pattern now manifesting in Ukraine

Ukraine: Much of the current situation relates to the importance of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia

- As NATO Commander, Stavridis had a great deal of contact with the Russian military leadership, with many of the discussions and negotiations going quite well
 - Cooperation in the Arctic was developing
 - Problems important to both sides such as Iran, Afghanistan, Syria, counter-terrorism, and counter-piracy were being worked on together
- Despite the importance of these other issues, the West can't ignore what the Russians are doing in Ukraine
- Bottom line: the fully-justifiable frustration about Russian actions in Ukraine should not cut off all the other very important projects the West has with Russia

Venezuela: A country with a peoples' uprising where more protesters have died in the last few months than the number who died in the Ukrainian uprising that overthrew the regime

- Of special concern because it is so near the US
- Requires close observation

Spectrum of Challenges and Concerns

Concerns ranging from violent extremism to peoples' uprisings unsettling regimes all go on simultaneously with the problems instigated by countries that live outside world norms

- **Convergence:** Use of narco-trafficking routes potentially to move weapons or people under cover and illegally for migration or slavery
 - Of great concern is the possibility of moving WMD across borders
 - Traffickers are going hi-tech well-equipped platforms such as this semi-submersible



Figure 2: Drug-runner's 3-man, twin-screw semi-submersible caught with 10 tons of cocaine with a street value of over \$100M

- Must also worry about the poppy/opium/heroin coming out of Afghanistan moving through the Balkans, Russia, and Western Europe to the US

- Illegal migration is big issue since 200 million people move about the world every year
 - A large percentage of this migration involves the Mediterranean or the southern US border
 - Within the slipstreams of those just trying to better their lives, there can be all kinds of other deleterious materials including WMD
- **Environment:** Needs more attention especially the melting in the High North which will create conflict or competition in the region
- **Cyber:** The threat that worried ADM Stavridis the most as the NATO commander
 - Greatest mismatch between level preparation and the level of threat
 - NATO and the US Spend a lot of time worrying about and preparing to handle problems like WMD and Afghanistan, but not so with cyber yet
 - Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Georgia have already suffered cyber attacks
 - Georgia was the first to have a simultaneous cyber and kinetic attack when they were invaded by Russia
 - Ukraine was the second when Russia attacked Crimea
 - Bottom line: Cyber is likely to be used in attacks of the 21st century
 - So should think of cyber not standing alone but how it is matched up with kinetic activity

Background Issues in 21st Century Security

- Concerns about a rising China may be overstated given the tremendous challenges China has to face including demographic, environmental, and financial issues
- In the long-term this may be an Indian rather than a Chinese century
- Big global questions:
 - Europe: Will it unify?
 - China: How far will it rise?
 - India: Where will it come out in relation to the US?
 - Other countries could be in the mix including Brazil, Turkey
- Bottom line: the great powers in the century will likely be Europe, China, India and the US but all have challenges to face
 - Europe: demographics of an aging population, questions about the Euro and unification
 - The US: political gridlock and an increasingly polarized governmental system

Focus on Asia

- Recommendation: *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* by Robert Kaplan who looked at all the actors involved in the region
- China is a cause of concern in the region because of actions such as its heavy protection of its fishing fleet in disputed waters with overlapping claims
- History has an impact here including events such as the WWII "Rape of Nanking"

- On the other hand China is concerned about the Japanese premier's visit to a shrine honoring its war dead indicating its growing muscular foreign policy
- This friction between China and Japan has led to recent confrontations over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands among other disputed areas
- China is claiming much of the South China Sea and its claims intersect with those of other nations in the region (see chart below).



Figure 3: Referred to as the "Nine Dash line" map or by the Vietnamese as the "Ox tongue line" map

- Regional issues of particular concern for the US
 - China is greatly expanding its submarine force and may reach parity with the US in numbers if not in sensor capabilities
 - Taiwan's relations with China are part of the cauldron of issues
 - North Korea will be a continuing problem
 - The Philippines is a big country with 100 million people that could be seen as 3 different nations lacking a sophisticated military
 - Vietnam is a rising power and has long-standing problems with China
- Bottom line: China is the key to the stability of the South China Sea region
 - Area should have the interest of any strategic planner
 - Reflected in the Obama administration's rebalancing / pivoting efforts
 - Not a turning away from Europe
 - Stavridis supports this new focus but believes that Europe will continue to hold a strong significance for the US

What the US Should Be Doing

- **Listening more** as individuals and as a country before leaping to actions
 - Do so by turning to places like the Naval War College, the National Defense University, and non-DoD institutions such as Tufts' Fletcher School
 - Take time to think about how to build intellectual capital for creating security in the 21st century
- **Building bridges** rather than walls will be the method of creating security in the 21st century and must do so through:
 - **Learning languages** – only 8% of DoD members speak a second language
 - DoD needs to encourage the learning of languages
 - Learning a language should also mean learning about another culture in order to build bridges to that culture
 - **Read more** – both fiction and non-fiction
 - Fiction: helps readers understand other cultures - recommends the following:
 - *The Orphan Master's Son* – Charles Dickens goes to N. Korea
 - *Matterhorn* – a young Marine's first two months in combat in Vietnam showing counterinsurgency turned upside down
 - *The Circle* – why you should be terrified about what Google knows about you; a Facebook meets *1984* story
 - *The Afghan Campaign* – first one was by Alexander the Great and a collision of Western and Pashtun cultures occurred then, too
 - Non-fiction:
 - Henry Kissinger's *On China* – probably the best single volume on China, especially important as the US focus switches to the Pacific
 - **Improving strategic communications** by making use of the interconnections such as those seen below in a depiction of the nation of Facebook below

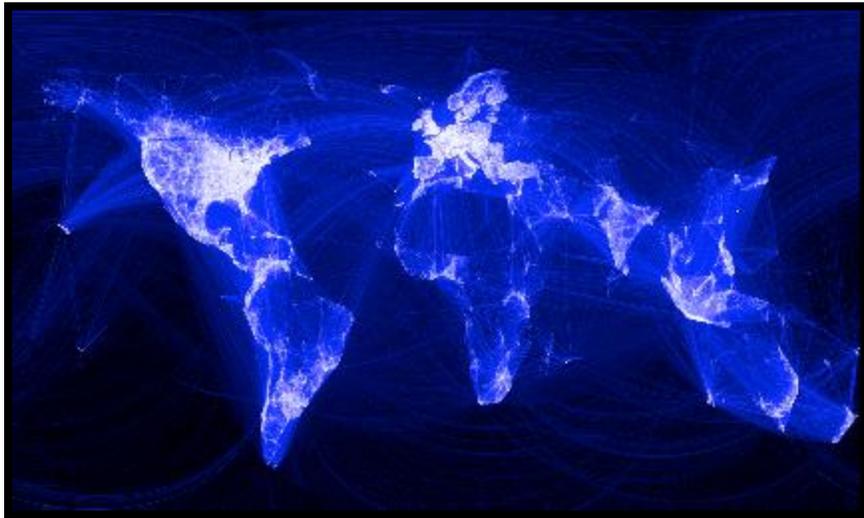


Figure 4: An illustration of connections between relationships in Facebook in which the lightest the lines show where the greatest number of connected relations are

- If Facebook were a nation, it would be about to surpass India in size
 - Current listing of nations by population: China, India, Facebook, the US, Twitter, Indonesia

- Facebook's growth comes from the effect it gets for providing a tremendous ability to move messages and build bridges
 - Bottom line: the West must find ways to share the excellent messages it has to offer including:
 - Democracy / liberty / freedom of speech, religion and education / gender and racial equality
 - The desire for these concepts are part of what is pushing the protests in the Arab world, Ukraine, and Venezuela
 - The US should be using social media to move such messages, which will then help to create security
- **Recognizing the need for partners** since the US can't do any of this alone
 - As former NATO commander, Stavridis believes that NATO is a good, if often underappreciated model
 - The basics about NATO:
 - Size: 28 nations that account for 52% of the world's GDP
 - Military: 28,000 aircraft, 3 million personnel, mostly volunteers on active duty with another 3 million in the reserves
 - Defense spending: about \$900B a year; the US accounts for about \$600B
 - The Allies could/should spend more but they still do a lot
 - Bottom line: NATO is a very wealthy alliance – the US is lucky to be in it and NATO is lucky to have the US as a member
 - Other coalitions of note:
 - ISAF, the Afghanistan effort, has 50 troop-contributing countries, a historically high number of participating nations
 - 28 NATO members and 22 non-NATO countries
 - Georgia is a large per capita contributor and Australia is big contributor
 - Counter-piracy coalitions that can create situations where French Marines operate from an Italian helicopter that refueled from a Danish frigate
 - Operational oversight by a Portuguese maritime patrol aircraft
 - Initial intelligence tip had come from Russia
 - Bottom line: coalitions of NATO plus Russia, Iran, China, and India to fight piracy are also useful to bring very different groups together
 - Efforts to train local forces as in the example of Hungarians training Afghans how to operate Russian-supplied helicopters

Systems Important to 21st Century Security

Space and Cyber

- Both space and cyber will be major players and will be the connectors for the rest of military operations this century
- As seen in the *Ender's Game* book and movie, it may be time to establish a Cyber Force
 - 100 years ago had only Navy, Army, and Marines
 - It took 60 years after the Wright Brother's flight to establish a separate, specialized Air Force, which now is a must-have for any modern military
 - US may be at that 100-year ago mark now with cyber – we know we will be operating the military in a cyber environment and should embrace it

- Now have operators from various military backgrounds coordinated up through Cyber Command – workable but a Cyber Force would be better
- Need to do more training and exercises in cyber environments

Other Important Systems

- New Triad: Cyber, Special Forces and Unmanned Vehicles working together
- Wide-area surveillance with systems such as Global Hawk
- Missile Defense
- Subsurface – until the seas are made transparent through new technologies

Low-Cost / High Payoff Efforts to Support 21st Century Security

- **Disaster Relief:** US involvement changes the message to say that the US is a good partner and provides aid
 - Example: in Pakistan the US message has been delivered by drones but the message changes when troops are sent in to deliver water after an earthquake
 - Such efforts are relatively inexpensive ways to improve security
 - Hospital ships sent to Latin American and Caribbean humanitarian crises a few times have a bigger impact than the hundreds of combat deployments of carrier strike groups
 - Those responding to the tsunami tragedy made a big impression in the Pacific
 - Bottom line: the good that comes out of these missions helps create security
 - Nicaraguan example: Hospital ship USS COMFORT brought aid to the same harbor that the US had mined years before
 - Even the anti-US president had to admit that the US had returned to help
 - Always better to have those who have antipathy toward you to praise your efforts
 - Actions become strategic communications
 - Helps build bridges that lead to security
- **Education**
 - [Coursera](#) is program that offers free US intellectual content on-line for everyone everywhere
 - Just beginning to explore this in the US universities
 - Example: 20,000 Pakistanis are learning physics from Stanford professors using Coursera and other programs
 - Many Afghan policemen who are illiterate are taught to read when they start training
 - Over 80% of the police-trainee age demographic (including all women) were not allowed to learn to read because of Taliban control when they were of school age
 - US, NATO, NGOs have trained 350,000 army and military trainees to read
 - They learned enough to work cell phones and connect to others
 - In Afghanistan those who can read put a pen their shirt pocket to show others that they are literate
 - Students of Western-sponsored courses are each given a pen when they graduate
 - Pens become another bridge to security

Technologies Important to 21st Century Security

- Focus should be particularly on these technologies:
 - Bio-metrics and biology in general
 - Nano, which can lead to products such as hand-built, off-the-shelf missiles

- Robotics
- Materials
- Energy and how it is changing
 - Fracking and its implications need to be much better understood
 - Fracking will be a game changer for energy markets
 - Batteries and the storage of energy will be important
- Bio technologies will be very important in the next decade and already are making great advances in prosthetics and human performance enhancement including
 - Exo-skeletal systems
 - Capabilities remain awake for long periods or use the brain to move objects
 - At the dark end of the spectrum, must also be aware of implications of synthetic drug research to enhance or deter human performance
 - Bottom line: The US needs to think about these elements in terms of security, too

Conclusion

- Must also recognize that the US has an extremely powerful military and it is very good at exerting “Hard Power” like launching Tomahawk missiles
- The US needs to get better at launching ideas under the “Soft Power” category
- But Hard/Soft Power is not an on/off switch; it is more of a rheostat
 - Don’t build great armies, navies, and air forces to have them only sit in the off position or go into combat (in the on position)
 - Dr. Joe Nye, the architect of soft power thinking, has even said that soft power without hard power is no power
- Bottom line: the US may at times focus more towards soft power but must maintain its ability to move the dial by using all elements: international, interagency, private/public, strategic comms
 - Taken all together these efforts make “Smart Power,” which is needed to create security
- Wikipedia is the perfect example to show that no one of us is as smart as all of us thinking together
 - Thousands of people put in information everyday and millions take information out
 - Building bridges, collaboration involving international, interagency, private/public efforts
 - Vision statement: A world in which every human being can share in the sum of all knowledge
- Stavridis’ thesis: By collaborating and building bridges in 21st century security we can create the sum of all security for the century

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

Re: Ukraine, Russia, and the Peace-to-War Spectrum

- It is correct to put war and peace on a spectrum – usually can’t find either pure peace or pure war
 - Political leaders try to move along that spectrum, hopefully toward the peaceful end
 - Also, too often leaders try to use violence to create political outcomes
- What is coming from Moscow now looks like using more of the violent end of the spectrum
 - The good news: Things are not as bad as they were in Budapest in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968, etc.
 - Russia is using a modicum of caution after using hard power in Crimea
 - A recent agreement provides some hope of moving back toward the peaceful end
- What should be done?
 - 1st: US/NATO should be trying to improve Ukraine’s military, so not just a speed bump to a Russian invasion

- Does not mean NATO boots on the ground in Ukraine or aircraft overhead
- Could share intel/comms/advisors/light weapons systems/logistics support/fuel/etc.
 - Enough to put up a creditable resistance showing willingness to fight
 - Expect Ukrainians would fight this time where they did not in Crimea
- 2nd: US should reassure NATO allies – all are nervous, especially the former Soviet Bloc
 - Do more exercises and send in more rotational forces especially in the east
- 3rd: Remember the total US / Russia relationship and that Ukraine is not the only issue
 - There are also issues to work with Russia over Iran, Syria, the High North, etc.
 - Must find a way to a modus vivendi – a way of living / talking / working together
- At same time must also register US/West concerns about Russian activity in Ukraine

Re: Combatting Convergence by the Military and Law Enforcement Agencies Working Together

- Civilian law enforcement may need to take the lead with significant back-up and support from DoD in intel, cyber and logistics support
- Example: A small boat capturing drug traffickers was piloted by a Navy sailor, but the boarding team was Coast Guard, a law enforcement agency embarked on a Navy ship
 - Intelligence came from an interagency entity that depended on a DoD backbone for intel and logistics
- Bottom line: Need both civilian and military agencies to be involved, and can't just throw the military at civilian law enforcement problems
 - To avoid Posse Comitatus issues for one thing

Re: Spreading the Message

- ADM Stavridis' message as discussed here would go to a different audience if presented by Tufts University
 - Tufts is looking into ways through courses or other methods to provide this sort of information in an educational framework
- ADM Stavridis has also done a [TED talk on global security](#) as another way to spread this message

Re: Soft Power Opportunities and Searching for the Malaysian Airliner

- In general the US should be aggressive in identifying opportunities to exert soft power
 - When a crisis happens such as the tsunami disaster, the US should get to where it is needed as soon as possible
 - Once there, the US must work with others in a coalition
 - Can get both a positive outcome for those helped and also get a message out about the US as a helping entity
- Example: the US has been heavily engaged in the search for the missing Malaysian airliner
 - Australia is in charge as it should be given the geography
 - 11 nations have sent ships to help
 - Real lesson of this situation: Why aren't we tracking every aircraft 100% of the time?
 - Technology is probably available but the cost may be prohibitive

Re: NATO's Response to the Ukraine Situation

- NATO should move forces in a rotational basis into the Baltics, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria to bases that already exist
- NATO should also accelerate the missile defense plan being prepared for Eastern Europe
- As in previous years, NATO should operate ships up into the Black Sea and the Baltic
 - Useful even if some may consider it provocative, but hardly as provocative as invading Crimea, so it would be an appropriate response
- The NATO/Russia Council should be used as another tool to maintain some semblance of positive relations with the Russians
 - Can't afford not to so as not to return to a Cold War
- Still need NATO and the US to object strenuously to what has already happened
- NATO should be involved in supporting the Ukrainian military since it has been a good partner to NATO in Afghanistan / Balkans / Libya / counter-piracy operations
 - NATO understands the Ukrainian military and can work with it

Re: A Separate Soft Power Organization

- US doesn't need a separate organization for soft power since elements of DoD (for its logistical capabilities) and the State Department and USAID are already engaged in these efforts
 - Creates a troika of defense, diplomacy and development
- Do need to energize more soft power activities in more robust interagency exchanges
- Need to incentivize State / DoD / AID officers to go to interagency positions so they can better work together
 - Do the same as was done to incentivize military officers to go to inter-service billets
 - Some of this is happening already especially at the combatant command but much more needs to be done
- The cost is very low compared to buying bullets to use when diplomacy fails because not enough had been spent on diplomatic efforts

Re: Getting Military Students to Add Languages and Culture to What They Must Learn

- Must start by realizing that the US is already becoming a bi-lingual, bi-cultural nation
 - Today 15% of Americans have Spanish as a first or close second language
 - By mid-century the number will be 30%
 - So a significant segment of the population will already be bi-lingual
- More languages are being taught in elementary schools
 - Facility with language starts early in life so the situation improving naturally
 - Also there is now an understanding that events outside the US impact the country
- DoD should create opportunities to learn new languages and incentivize members to do so
 - It is relatively easy to do on your own with enough incentive and motivation
 - Lots of simple courses are available, even many that are free and online
 - DoD should point members to learn on their own
 - Already some of that happening since if can do well enough on a language proficiency test and are in a billet you can be paid more
 - DoD should drop the "in a billet" rule giving just a simple incentive to learn another language
- Bottom line: To improve language skills of its members DoD should
 - Start early
 - Provide incentives

- Encourage the development and use of online tools
- Language students must also learn about the culture and history of other countries to better understand and build relations with others

Re: US Attention to Latin America and the Caribbean

- US is not paying enough attention to that region
- US should be paying more attention given its dramatically changing demographics
 - US citizens will likely have many more roots there, which will aid in soft power efforts
 - So the US needs to better understand the region
- Still true what Nixon said: The US will do anything for Latin America except learn about it
- Historic view of the potential
 - In 1600 could split the hemisphere in two around northern Mexico with the north and south segments being about equal in land masses, resources, and development
 - In 2000 should expect about the same split but that is not the case
 - The northern part is the wealthiest region in the world
 - The southern part is the poorest – even behind sub-Saharan Africa
 - There are many reasons why this has occurred related to Spanish colonization but more important is the potential for the southern half is still tremendous
- There are cultural affinities beyond just demographics that can be powerful connectors
- Stavridis will be going to Brazil shortly and expects to discuss the situation involving the NSA
 - Brazil and Germany are the most unhappy with the US over the NSA leaks
- Bottom line: Given the potential and the growing number of connections, the US needs to continue to try to reach out

Re: Law of the Sea Treaty and Chinese Claims

- Need to balance historic Chinese claims in the South China Sea against the Law of the Sea Treaty, which shows significant difference in how the area is demarcated
- Problem: The Law of the Sea Treaty has only theoretic teeth
 - Offenders can only be taken to court
 - UN has no army or other means to back up its resolutions, only a collective voice
- Unclear how far the Chinese will press their claims
- The Philippines, Vietnam, others should take China to court over their S China Sea claims
 - They would win since Chinese claims were superseded by the Law of the Sea Treaty, which China signed

Closing Remarks

- The world is a complicated place with no simple answers
- The greatest opportunities to create security are in the collective represented by the spirit of the UN, which is often criticized, but is reflective of the desire for the greater good
- Stavridis is optimistic about the world because of the potential to move toward the greater good
 - Expect speed bumps
 - Must keep eyes on the horizon