



National Defense University Symposium



Forging an American Grand Strategy: Securing a Path Through a Complex Future

“In thinking about the soup of grand strategy, recipes and theoretical principles are equally useless. What works in one case may well not work in another. In various strengths, grand strategy consists of leadership, vision, intuition, process, adaptation, and the impact of a nation’s particular and idiosyncratic development and geographic position, but in no particular order or mixture.” – Williamson Murray

8-9 November 2011
National Defense University
Fort Lesley J. McNair

Most commonly, grand strategy is framed in the context of warfare or at least conflict among nations. There have been exceptions, and the focus of this symposium is not on warfare or preparation for war. Our intent is to promote a discussion about the elements of and prospect for a grand strategy for America.

Over the millennia grand strategies have evolved as the complexities of the known world grew. Rulers created and executed grand strategies for their nations through to modern times. It is possible that a 21st Century grand strategy will be very different than past models since our systems understanding of the world has and will change our understanding of how complex systems, including nations, behave. The empowerment of individuals or small groups with new technologies and communication tools can extend beyond anything imagined outside the realm of science fiction. Other factors may come into play as well. Some would also argue that in a democracy it is not possible to attain the necessary consensus to craft and implement a national grand strategy in the absence of an existential threat. Recent political discourse lends some credence to that line of reasoning.

We believe that an American grand strategy is not only possible, but critical to the future of the nation. A common strategic vision can do much to focus the attention and energies of the nation towards a common good. In a recent published article, Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter, formerly the Director of Policy Planning at the Department of State, succinctly described the need for a grand strategy or to use her terminology, a national strategic narrative to serve as a guide to the future. As Dr. Slaughter says, “We need a story with a beginning, middle, and projected happy ending that will transcend our political divisions, orient us as a nation, and give us both a common direction and the confidence and commitment to get to our destination.”

During recent years the U.S. government has generated a plethora of strategies and strategic plans with most aimed at some aspect of security – national, economic, space, cyber, energy . . . the list continues to expand. It appears clear that none of these strategies whether separately or combined gets to the objective succinctly identified by Dr. Slaughter – “a story with a beginning, middle, and projected happy ending that will transcend our political divisions, orient us as a nation . . .” That storyline, with associated ways and means, is the basis for an American grand strategy. Our goals with this symposium are to help illuminate that path to the future and along the way, pose and answer a range of fundamental questions.

- What is grand strategy?
- What lessons does history offer to today’s strategists?
- Is a national grand strategy possible in today’s world of complexity and divisive political turmoil?

- What is the appropriate role of the President, the Congress, the Departments of State and Defense, and the private sector in developing, supporting, and sustaining America's grand strategy?
- What system or processes are necessary to produce a U.S. grand strategy?
- What is the role of strategic foresight in developing and implementing grand strategy?
- What are the requirements for intelligence to serve national grand strategy?
- How should we educate today's and tomorrow's leaders to think strategically and develop the necessary skills to develop and execute grand strategy?
- What are, or should be the connections between an American grand strategy and the various national defense and security strategy documents? How can we improve those connections?

AGENDA

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8

- 0800 – 0900 Registration** Lincoln Hall, Room 1105
0900 – 0905 Administrative Remarks Lincoln Hall, Lincoln Auditorium
- 0905 – 0915 Welcome and Opening Remarks**
Vice Admiral Ann Rondeau, USN, *President, National Defense University*
- 0915-0930 Conference Overview**
Dr. Sheila Ronis, *Conference Chair and Director of the MBA/MM Programs Walsh College*
- 0930-1015 Opening Keynote**
Professor Leon Fuerth, *Distinguished Research Fellow, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University and Research Professor of International Affairs, George Washington University*

1030-1200 Panel 1: What is Grand Strategy? (How) Can we develop it? What should it look like?

Chair: **Dr. Nicholas Rostow, *Director, Center for Strategic Research and Distinguished Research Professor, National Defense University***

Panelists:

- **Ambassador Robin Raphel, *former Coordinator for Economic and Development Assistance to Pakistan***
- **Dr. Steven Meyer, *former Professor of National Security Studies and Political Science, Industrial College of the Armed Forces***
- **Colonel Mark “Puck” Mykleby, *USMC (Ret), LRN***
- **Captain Wayne Porter, *USN, Chair of Systemic Strategies and Complexity, Naval Postgraduate School***

- 1200-1315 Luncheon** Room 155, Marshall Hall
Speaker: The Honorable Michèle Flournoy, *Under Secretary of Defense for Policy*

1315-1345 Keynote Speaker: Dr. Michael Mandelbaum, *Director of the American Foreign Policy Program, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies*

1400-1530 Panel 2: Historical Grand Strategies & Lessons for Today

Chair: **Professor Audrey Kurth Cronin**, *Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University*

Panelists:

- **Dr. Williamson Murray**, *Professor Emeritus of History, The Ohio State University*
- **Dr. Benjamin Franklin Cooling**, *Professor of National Security Studies, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University*
- **Professor Hew Strachan**, *Chichele Professor of the History of War, University of Oxford*

1545-1700 Panel 3: What is the Role of Intelligence in supporting a successful grand strategy?

Chair: **Dr. Roger George**, *Associate Professor, National War College*

Panelists:

- **Rear Admiral Elizabeth L. Train, USN**, *Director for Intelligence, J2, Joint Chiefs of Staff*
- **Mr. Paul Batchelor**, *Chief Mission Integration Officer, Defense Intelligence Agency*
- **Dr. Mathew J. Burrows**, *Counselor, National Intelligence Council*

1700-1715 Closing Remarks

Dr. Sheila Ronis, *Conference Chair, Walsh College*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9

0830-0900 Strategy Overview:

Dr. Hans Binnendijk, *Vice President for Research and Applied Learning, National Defense University, Theodore Roosevelt Chair in National Security Policy, and Director, Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS)*

Mr. Frank Hoffman, *Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies and Director, NDU Press*

0900-1030 Panel 4: Grand Strategy Needs Foresight and Vision

Chair: **Dr. Warren Fishbein**, *Independent Consultant and former Coordinator, Global Futures Forum, Department of State*

Panelists:

- **Mr. Jerome C. Glenn**, *Executive Director, The Millennium Project*
- **Ms. Patricia (Patti) Morrissey**, *Office of Outreach, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State*
- **Dr. Allen S. Miller**, *Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Risk Management and Analysis, Department of Homeland Security*
- **Colonel Christopher Holshek, U.S. Army Civil Affairs (Ret)**, *Senior Associate, Project on National Security Reform*

1045-1130 Keynote Speaker

Dr. Thomas Fingar, *Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow, Stanford University*

1130-1245 Luncheon

Room 155, Marshall Hall

Different Lenses: The Role of the Presidency

Ambassador David M. Abshire, *President, Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, Vice Chairman of the Board, Center for Strategic and International Studies*

1245-1315 Keynote Speaker

Dr. Peter Feaver, *Professor of Political Science, Duke University*

1330-1500 Panel 5: Educating Strategists

Chair: Colonel Greg Schultz, USA, *Chairman, Department of Strategy and Policy, National War College*

Panelists:

- **Dr. Minh Luong**, *Associate Director, Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, Yale University*
- **Dr. Cynthia Watson**, *Chairwoman and Professor of the Department of Security Studies, National War College*
- **Dr. Richard Immerman**, *Director, Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy, Temple University*
- **Dr. Matthew Connelly**, *Director, Hertog Global Strategy Initiative, Columbia University*

1515-1630 Panel 6: Views on Grand Strategy from the Next Generation of Strategists

Chair: Dr. Louise Diamond, *Director, Global Systems Initiatives*

Panelists:

- **Dr. Kristin Lord**, *Vice President and Director of Studies, Center for A New American Security*
- **Mr. Robert Polk**, *Research Staff Member, Institute for Defense Analyses*
- **Mr. Patrick Doherty**, *Director, Smart Strategies Initiative, New America Foundation*
- **Mr. Evan Faber**, *Project on Forward Engagement*

1630-1645 Closing Remarks

Dr. Sheila Ronis, *Conference Chair, Walsh College*