

# America's Future Fleet

## Maintaining Peace & Deterring China



**Tuesday, December 5, 2023**  
**Navy League of the United States**  
**Arlington, Virginia**



**NAVAL WAR COLLEGE**  
FOUNDATION



# WELCOME TO AFF 2023

Dear Colleagues,

On behalf of the Center for Maritime Strategy and the Naval War College Foundation, it is our pleasure to welcome you to the second annual America's Future Fleet symposium.

Last year, we looked at the sea services' long-term force structure requirements with attention to investment, innovation, and stewardship. This year, we look to the Indo-Pacific.

America's Sea Services are uniquely positioned to serve as America's extended arm of diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific. In partnership with our diplomatic corps and missions abroad, the Sea Services will play a significant role in deterring Chinese aggression and influence globally.

Impacts of conflict with China will be felt at home and abroad. The economic costs are likely to disrupt trade, supply chains, and investments for everyday Americans and our defense industrial base.

Leaders across Congress, the Department of Defense, and the national security establishment will need to work with practitioners, experts, and members of industry to ensure a fleet that is ready to fight tonight.

This symposium is the culmination of much thought and debate on the role of America's naval force in deterring conflict in the Indo-Pacific. By convening representatives from across the national security community, we believe that today's discussion will inform the crafting of future force posture for years to come.



**Admiral James G. Foggo, USN (ret.)**  
Dean  
Center for Maritime Strategy



**Captain George Lang, USN (ret.)**  
President & Chief Executive Officer  
Naval War College Foundation

# ABOUT US



## Center for Maritime Strategy



The Center for Maritime Strategy is a non-profit, non-partisan think-tank dedicated to research and policy advocacy on maritime issues and their context within wider national and international security policy. Through its analysis, in the form of external outreach, publications, and high-level convenings, CMS engages key stakeholders across government, academia, and industry.

Our mission is to strengthen American national security through its sea services, conducting policy-driven research, advocacy, and education on the relationship between maritime power and national security policy.

The Center supports all of the Nation's sea services, including the Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine, through conducting scholarly research and analysis to drive prudent national security policies. Its inception came in response to several key national security challenges that demand revitalized maritime power.

The Center for Maritime Strategy is located in Arlington, Virginia and was established in 2022 by the Navy League of the United States with the appointment of Admiral James G. Foggo, USN (ret.) as its inaugural Dean. Since the Center's founding, our work has informed key policy conversations and has been acted on by leaders across government and industry.

# ABOUT US



**NAVAL WAR COLLEGE**  
F O U N D A T I O N



Founded in 1969, the Naval War College Foundation provides critical funding solely to the U.S. Naval War College to enrich and enhance its educational programs and initiatives offered to military and civilian leaders enrolled in its 10-month accredited higher education program. The Foundation funds priorities such as research and scholarship support, curriculum and instruction, endowed chairs, capital improvements, conferences and events, and regional studies programs. We educate today to secure tomorrow by supporting the development of leaders who can anticipate and prepare strategically for the future, strengthen the foundations of peace, and create a decisive warfighting advantage.

The College has graduated more than 75,000 students since its founding in 1884 and welcomes more than 500 senior and intermediate-level students from the U.S. military, federal agencies, and international sea services to its campus each year. Thousands of additional students advance their scholarship, professional knowledge, and research through the College's distance education programs.

# AM AGENDA

**9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.**

**Check-In & Coffee & Pastries**

**9:30 a.m. - 9:45 a.m.**

**Welcome Remarks**

**9:45 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.**

**Opening Keynote: Resourcing the Fight**

**10:15 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.**

**Break & Transition to Morning Panel**

**10:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.**

**Panel Discussion: Tools for Civil-Military  
Cooperation**

# PM AGENDA

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <b>11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.</b> | <b>Lunch Conversation: Congress Countering the CCP</b>             |
| <b>1:00 p.m. - 2:15 p.m.</b>  | <b>Panel Discussion: Assessing the Cost of Conflict with China</b> |
| <b>2:15 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.</b>  | <b>Break</b>   |
| <b>2:30 p.m. - 3:45 p.m.</b>  | <b>Closing Keynote: Priorities for a New Era of Competition</b>    |
| <b>3:45 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.</b>  | <b>Closing Remarks</b>   |
| <b>4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.</b>  | <b>Reception</b>   |

# WELCOME REMARKS



## **Daniel E. Holland III**

Chairman, Board of Trustees, Naval War College Foundation

Daniel E. Holland III serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee of the Naval War College Foundation. Dan Holland is the Chief Operating Officer at Shield Capital, a venture capital firm focused on investing in frontier, dual impact technologies in the areas of Cybersecurity, Space, Autonomy and Artificial Intelligence. Prior to joining SHIELD, he spent 35 years at Goldman Sachs.

Holland began his career in the fixed-income division of Goldman Sachs in Boston and was named Co-Resident Manager of the Boston Office in 1997 and became a Managing Director in 1999. In 2000, Holland was named Chief Operating Officer of fixed income, currency and commodities sales for North America. In 2001 he moved to Global Securities Services to work with the firm's hedge fund clients. From 2010 to 2022, he managed the firm's Private Wealth Management business in New England, advising ultra-high net-worth families and small institutions.

Dan served in the United States Navy as a Surface Warfare Officer assigned to USS David R. Ray (DD-971) before attending business school at Wharton. He remained in the Navy Reserves serving in Naval intelligence roles. Today, Dan serves as Chairman of the Naval War College Foundation, is Chairman of the Advisory Board for the Carroll School of Management at Boston College and as Overseer of the USS CONSTITUTION Museum. He serves on the Development Committee for the New England Center and Home for Veterans and is an active member of Business Executives for National Security (BENS). Dan holds a Bachelor of Arts in Economics from Boston College and an MBA from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania.

# WELCOME REMARKS



## **Dr. Stephen J. Mariano**

Provost, Naval War College

Provost Stephen Mariano, Ph.D. most recently served as the deputy commandant and dean of the NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy. He also served on the faculties of the School of International Service at American University, National Defense University, the Royal Military College of Canada and the U.S. Military Academy.

He holds a B.A. in mathematics and economics from the University of California, Santa Barbara, an M.A. in national security affairs from the Naval Postgraduate School, and a Ph.D. in war studies from the Royal Military College of Canada

# WELCOME REMARKS



## **Admiral James G. Foggo, USN (ret.)** Dean, Center for Maritime Strategy

Admiral James G. Foggo, U.S. Navy (ret.), is the Dean of the Center for Maritime Strategy. He is a 1981 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. Adm. Foggo is also an Olmsted Scholar and Moreau Scholar, earning a Master of Public Administration at Harvard University and a Diplome d'Etudes Approfondies in Defense and Strategic Studies from the University of Strasbourg, France.

He commanded the attack submarine USS Oklahoma City (SSN 723) in 1998, which was awarded the Submarine Squadron 8 Battle Efficiency "E" award and the Admiral Arleigh Burke Fleet Trophy, for being the most improved ship in the Atlantic Fleet.

Following command of USS Oklahoma City, he would go on to command eight more times to include: Submarine Squadron 6 in Norfolk, Virginia; Submarine Group 8; Allied Submarines South; the U.S. 6th Fleet; Allied Striking and Support Forces NATO; Naval Forces Europe; Naval Forces Africa; and Allied Joint Forces Command (NATO), all headquartered in Naples, Italy.

During these command tours, he participated in combat operations as the Operations Officer for Joint Task Force Odyssey Dawn (Libya) in 2011 and Commander Naval Forces Europe for strike operations against Syrian chemical weapons sites in April 2018.

Throughout his career, Foggo has been a champion of the Navy as an extended arm of diplomacy. He maintained close relationships with the U.S. ambassadors in his area of responsibility from Europe to Africa and into the Middle East. He sponsored numerous regional ambassadors conferences at his headquarters in Naples to address security challenges in the Balkans, Mediterranean and the Black Sea regions. Throughout 2021, he taught a seminar at the Foreign Service Institute on civil-military relations for rising foreign service officers. In November 2021, Foggo was named to the American Academy of Diplomacy as one of a handful of retired flag officers who serve alongside more than 200 retired ambassadors with the common goal of enhancing American diplomacy around the globe.

Foggo is a Distinguished Fellow of the Center for European Policy Analysis and a Distinguished Fellow of the Council on Competitiveness. He is a member of the board of directors of the Olmsted Foundation and the Naval Historical Foundation. He occupies a seat on the editorial board of the Marine Corps University in Quantico, Virginia. He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Explorer's Club of New York. Admiral Foggo sits on the Senior Military Advisors Group at the United States Institute of Peace.

His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit and NATO Meritorious Service Medal. In addition, he is the recipient of the French Chevalier de l'Ordre National de Merit  and the Legion d'Honneur, the Cross of Saint George (Portugal), the White Cross of the Naval Order of the Spanish Armada, the Meritorious Service Cross from the Governor General of Canada, the rank of Commendatore from the President of Italy, and Knight of the Grand Cross of Kingdom of Two Sicilies.

# OPENING KEYNOTE



## **The Honorable Erik K. Raven**

### **Under Secretary of the Navy**

The Honorable Erik K. Raven assumed the responsibilities of the Under Secretary of the Navy on 13 April, 2022. He serves as the Department of Navy's Chief Operating Officer and Chief Management Officer. He is responsible for providing oversight and policy for defense and naval strategy, intelligence and intelligence-related activities, sensitive activities, special access programs, space activities, critical infrastructure, small business programs, and the naval audit service. Additionally, he is responsible for business operations, performance management, and risk management within the Department.

Mr. Raven has served in a variety of legislative senior leadership positions in the federal government. Before his nomination, Mr. Raven was the principal advisor to the Democratic Chairs and Vice-Chairs of the Committee on Appropriations and Subcommittee on Defense on budget matters relating to the Department of Defense and intelligence community.

Mr. Raven also served as a principal advisor in the offices of Senators Feinstein, Kennedy, and Byrd, advising on defense, foreign affairs, homeland security, veterans, space, and transportation policy issues.

Mr. Raven holds a master's degree in the History of International Relations from the London School of Economics, and a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations from Connecticut College.

# TOOLS FOR CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION

*Panel Introduced By*



## **Captain George Lang, USN (ret.)**

President & Chief Executive Officer  
Naval War College Foundation

George Lang is a 1987 graduate of SUNY Maritime College at Fort Schuyler, where he earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Electrical Engineering, a USCG Merchant Marine Third Mate's License, and a commission in the United States Navy through the NROTC Scholarship Program. During his 32-year career in the Navy, George served successfully in challenging leadership positions throughout the fleet. At sea, he commanded USS Carr (FFG 52) from April 2006 to October 2007, completing overseas deployments to the Gulf of Guinea, Mediterranean Sea, and Arabian Gulf. Following his command tour, he served for nearly six years from November 2007 to July 2013 on the staff of Commander, Carrier Strike Group Twelve, Enterprise and Theodore Roosevelt Carrier Strike Groups, as Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans (N3/N5) and as Chief of Staff, completing overseas deployments in 2011 and 2012, including the 25th and final combat deployment of USS Enterprise (CVN 65) to the European and Central Command areas of responsibility.

George's initial afloat tour was aboard USS Bainbridge (CGN 25) as CICO and FCO. As a department head, he reported to PCU Laboon as a plank-owner and served for four and one-half years in USS Laboon (DDG 58) as WEPS and CSO, and performed duties as TAO during Operation Desert Strike, where Laboon distinguished herself as the first Arleigh Burke-class destroyer to fire weapons in anger. As Executive Officer, he served aboard USS Oscar Austin (DDG 79), the first Aegis DDG 51 FLT IIA, when Oscar Austin was awarded its first Battle Efficiency (Battle "E") Award for sustained superior performance.

Ashore, George served as Deputy Superintendent and Chief of Staff of the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD; Vice President and Chief of Staff of the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, RI; and Current Operations Officer on the staff of Commander, 2nd Fleet/Striking Fleet Atlantic, STWO/SUW Officer on the staff of Commander, Naval Surface Force, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, and TAO Instructor and FWC/SWC Course Curriculum Model Manager at Fleet Combat Training Center in Tidewater, VA. George also earned a Master of Arts degree in Computer Resources and Information Management from Webster University in St. Louis, MO, and completed Joint Professional Military Education at the Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, KS, and the Joint Forces Staff College in Norfolk, VA.

Following his retirement from active duty Naval service, George assumed duties as President & Chief Executive Officer of the Naval War College Foundation in Newport, RI in April 2019.

# TOOLS FOR CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION

Panelists will address the role of civil-military cooperation in countering the rise of China in contested regions.

## *Moderator*



### **Dr. Colin Jackson**

Chair, Strategic and Operational Research Department  
U.S. Naval War College

## *Panelists*



### **Colonel Heino Klick, USA (ret.)**

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia  
Department of Defense



### **B. Lynn Wright**

Independent Consultant  
T.S. Pilgrim, LLC



### **Rear Admiral Robert P. Girrier, USN (ret.)**

President Emeritus  
Pacific Forum

# LUNCH CONVERSATION

## Congress Countering the CCP

### Senator Mark Kelly (D-AZ)



As the son of two police officers, Senator Kelly learned the value of public service at an early age. He attended public schools from elementary school all the way through graduate school. Senator Kelly earned his B.S. degree in marine engineering and nautical science from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and later an M.S. degree in aeronautical engineering from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School.

As a Navy pilot, he made multiple deployments on the aircraft carrier USS Midway and flew 39 combat missions in Operation Desert Storm. Senator Kelly is the recipient of the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, two Distinguished Flying Crosses, and multiple Air Medals. He has logged more than 5,000 flight hours in more than 50 different aircraft and has over 375 carrier landings. Senator Kelly retired from the Navy with the rank of Captain. In 1996, he was selected as an astronaut in the same NASA class as his identical twin brother Scott. Senator Kelly's first of four trips into space was as pilot of STS-108 in December 2001, during which he helped deliver equipment, supplies, and additional crew members to the International Space Station. All in all, Senator Kelly has spent more than 50 days in space — traveling over 20 million miles. He retired from NASA in 2011 after commanding Space Shuttle Endeavour on its final flight.

Now, Senator Kelly has embarked on his next mission — serving as a U.S. Senator for Arizona, in the seat once held by Senator John McCain. After being sworn in on December 2, 2020, Senator Kelly went right to work helping Arizona get through the COVID-19 pandemic. He helped pass the American Rescue Plan, which put shots in arms and direct relief in the pockets of Arizonans. The Community Navigator Program, which Senator Kelly championed in the American Rescue Plan, is helping Arizona's small businesses access the resources they need to keep their doors open and save local jobs.

# LUNCH CONVERSATION

## Congress Countering the CCP

Senator Kelly has broken through Washington gridlock to deliver real results for Arizonans. In his first year, he played a key role in shaping and passing the historic bipartisan infrastructure law, which is improving Arizona's roads, bridges, water systems, ports of entry, high-speed internet access, wildfire response, and much more.

Senator Kelly has also introduced a resolution that would require all members of Congress to publicly post their official schedule online. He is leading the effort to bring more transparency and accountability to Washington. Senator Kelly also worked on a bipartisan basis to secure the Senate passage of a \$52 billion deal that will increase domestic microchip manufacturing to create high-paying Arizona jobs, strengthen supply chains to lower costs, and bolster national security. Additionally, he helped negotiate a landmark deal to drive down prescription drug prices and lower out-of-pocket costs for seniors. Senator Kelly's focus remains on working with both Republicans and Democrats to create good-paying jobs, cut taxes for middle-class families, and lower costs for Arizonans.

Senator Kelly serves on the Armed Services, Environment and Public Works, Intelligence, Aging, and Joint Economic Committees. He is Chair of the Senate Armed Services Airland Subcommittee, where he plays a leading role in getting our airmen and soldiers the tools they need to do their jobs, while also expanding Arizona's role in our national defense.

Senator Kelly is married to former Congresswoman Gabby Giffords and they live in Tucson. Senator Kelly has two daughters: Claire, a graduate of Arizona State University, and Claudia, who lives in Tucson and is a student at the University of Arizona. His favorite hobbies include spending time with family (especially his baby granddaughter Sage!), going to the gym, riding his bike around Tucson with Gabby, hiking, and exploring Arizona's outdoors.

# ASSESSING THE COST OF CONFLICT WITH CHINA

Panelists will address the disruptive cost of conflict with China through the lenses of venture capital, risk analysis, and cooperation between industry and the armed forces.

## *Moderator*



### **Rear Admiral Brian Luther, USN (ret.)**

President & Chief Executive Officer  
Navy Mutual Aid Association

## *Panelists*



### **Dr. Ronald Epstein**

Managing Director, Americas Equity Research  
Bank of America Merrill Lynch



### **William Tuttle**

Executive Director, Global Engagement  
JP Morgan Chase & Co.

# ASSESSING THE COST OF CONFLICT WITH CHINA

*Panelists Continued*



**Thomas Callender**

Regional Director  
Naval War College Foundation



**Anne Shybunko-Moore**

Owner & Chief Executive Officer  
GSE Dynamics Inc.

# CLOSING KEYNOTE

*Keynote Introduced By*



**Mitchell B. Waldman**

Trustee & Secretary  
Naval War College Foundation

Mitchell “Mitch” Waldman founded M. Barnet Advisors, LLC, in 2021, a consulting firm which provides strategic and advisory services to clients in the aerospace and defense sector. On April 25, 2023, Waldman was appointed by the U.S. Senate to serve as a member of the National Commission on the Future of the Navy. Previously, he served for over a decade as an executive vice president and management team member of Huntington Ingalls Industries, a global engineering and defense technologies provider and America’s largest shipbuilder.

Prior to serving in the private sector, Waldman held several executive appointments over nearly three decades of federal service including national security advisor to Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, national security consultant to the office of the Senate Majority Leader, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy (SHIPS).

Waldman earned a bachelor’s degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Florida and a Juris Doctor degree from the Catholic University of America Columbus School of Law. He is also a graduate of the Executive Management Program at Yale University’s School of Management.

He currently serves on several non-profit and educational boards including the Naval War College Foundation, Armed Services YMCA, National Bureau of Asian Research, University of Florida College of Engineering, and George Mason University Baroni Center for Government Contracting.

# CLOSING KEYNOTE



## Ambassador Robert C. O'Brien

Chairman, American Global Strategies  
27th National Security Advisor

Ambassador O'Brien was the 27th United States National Security Advisor from 2019 – 2021. O'Brien served as the President's principal advisor all aspects of American foreign policy and national security affairs.

O'Brien brought a renewed focus to defense and industrial base issues to the NSC. A long-time advocate of a sea power and a 355 ship Navy, O'Brien visited leading shipyards during his tenure. He also spent time at defense plants and with our troops at bases around the world.

During O'Brien's time as National Security Advisor, the United States orchestrated the historic Abraham Accords in the Middle East, brokered economic normalization between Serbia and Kosovo, achieved significant defense spending increases among our NATO allies and increased cooperation with America's allies across the Indo-Pacific.

Prior to serving as NSA, O'Brien was the Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs with the personal rank of Ambassador. He was directly involved in the return of over 25 detainees and hostages to the United States. O'Brien previously served as Co-Chairman of the U.S. Department of State Public-Private Partnership for Justice Reform in Afghanistan under both Secretaries of State Rice and Clinton.

O'Brien was also a presidentially-appointed member of the U.S. Cultural Property Advisory Committee from 2008-2011. In 2005, O'Brien was nominated by President George W. Bush and unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate to serve as a U.S. Representative to the 60th session of the UN General Assembly. Earlier in his career, O'Brien served as a Senior Legal Officer for the UN Security Council commission that decided claims against Iraq arising out of the first Gulf War. He was a Major in the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the U.S. Army Reserve.

O'Brien is partner emeritus at Larson LLP in Los Angeles, a nationally recognized litigation boutique that he co-founded in 2016. Over his career, he has served as counsel and arbitrator in dozens of International proceedings.

O'Brien is the recipient of the National Security Medal, the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, the National Defense Medal, the Legion d'honneur (chevalier), the Republic of China (Taiwan) Order of the Brilliant Star with Special Grand Cordon and the Kosovo Presidential Medal of Merits.

The National Museum of the Surface Navy named O'Brien the recipient of the 2021 Freedom of the Seas Award. That same year, O'Brien and former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo were awarded the Richard Nixon Foundation's Architect of Peace Award for their work on the Abraham Accords and other initiatives while in office. Following the signing of the Abraham Accords in 2020, a tree was planted on behalf of the State of Israel at the John F. Kennedy Memorial Forest in the Hills of Jerusalem in honor of O'Brien. In 2019, O'Brien received the Dr. Miriam and Sheldon Adelson Award for the Defense of America and Israel. The U.C. Berkeley School of Law presented O'Brien with the Stefan A. Riesenfeld Memorial Award for outstanding contributions to the field of international law in 2011.

In July 2022, O'Brien was elected as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Richard Nixon Foundation. He also serves as co-chair with Secretary Pompeo of The Nixon Seminar on Conservative Realism and National Security. O'Brien is a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Pepperdine School of Public Policy and a Carnegie Distinguished Fellow at the Columbia University Institute of Global Politics.

O'Brien serves as the Chairman of the Global Taiwan Institute (GTI) Task Force on US-Taiwan Relations. He is also a co-chair of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Commission on Hostage Taking and Wrongful Detention. O'Brien holds a J.D. from the U.C. Berkeley School of Law. He received his B.A. degree in political science, cum laude, from UCLA.

