

“THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE MARITIME”

(AS DELIVERED)

22 OCTOBER 2015

I. INTRO

- A. THANK YOU ALL FOR HAVING ME HERE TODAY, IT’S A PRIVILEGE TO SPEAK THIS MORNING TO SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GATHERING OF NAVAL LEADERS AT SUCH A VERY IMPORTANT TIME.
- B. I’D LIKE TO ECHO WHAT MY COLLEAGUES HAVE SAID BEFORE, WHO EXTEND AN ESPECIALLY WARM THANK YOU TO ADMIRAL DI GIORGIO AND THE ENTIRE NAVY FOR BEING SUCH MAGNIFICENT HOSTS HERE IN THE CITY OF VENICE, A CENTER OF MARITIME POWER, MUCH OF WHICH BEGAN RIGHT HERE IN THIS VERY BUILDING.
- C. I’D ALSO LIKE TO EXTEND MY THANKS AND ADMIRATION T TO MY COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE SPOKEN AT THE PANEL BEFORE ME. I’VE BEEN FRANK IN WRITING DIFFERENT PARTS INTO MY SPEECH—JUST VERY EXCITED ABOUT THE IDEAS THEY PRESENTED.
- D. AS THEY ALL SAID, WE ARE FACING A VERY IMPORTANT PANEL TOPIC THIS MORNING – ONE THAT I’D LIKE TO ADDRESS RIGHT UP—FRONT. WE WERE ASKED TO DISCUSS WHETHER WE THOUGHT THAT NAVIES SHOULD BE THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENT OF STATE POWER ACROSS THE THE SPECTRUM OF MARITIME CHALLENGES.

- E. AS HAS BEEN SAID ALREADY BEFORE, IT'S TEMPTING TO JUST QUICKLY SAY YES, AND THEN MOVE ON ANOTHER TOPIC—MOVE ON TO THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.
- F. WHILE I DO THINK NAVIES SHOULD BE THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENT OF STATE POWER, I'D LIKE TO TAKE JUST A MOMENT THIS MORNING TO LAY OUT EXACTLY WHY NAVIES ARE SO IMPORTANT IN THIS NEW STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT THAT FACES US TODAY.
- G. IN PARTICULAR, I THINK THAT WE ALL SHARE A SENSE THAT THE MARITIME DOMAIN IS GROWING IN IMPORTANCE, AND THE ROLE OF THE NAVY IS GROWING AS WELL. I'VE HAD A TERRIFIC OPPORTUNITY EVEN IN THE FIRST MONTH OF MY TIME AS CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS TO CONDUCT A TRIP, AND I'M ON THE TAIL END OF THAT TRIP RIGHT NOW. IT'S A TRIP THAT REALLY TOOK ME AROUND THE WORLD TO VISIT U.S. NAVAL FORCES AROUND THE WORLD AND TO VISIT MY COUNTERPARTS—THE CHIEFS OF NAVY IN JAPAN, KOREA, BAHRAIN AND NOW HERE IN ITALY.
- H. VISITING OUR SEVENTH OUR FIFTH AND OUR SIXTH FLEETS, AND AGAIN I'D LIKE TO GET KNOW MY COUNTERPARTS THE HEADS OF NAVY AT EACH STOP. I LEARNED A GREAT DEAL ON THIS TRIP. PERHAPS MOST NOTABLY TO THE CHIEFS OF NAVY IN THIS ROOM, I HAD

THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE MANY OF YOUR NAVAL FORCES DEPLOYED AROUND THE WORLD, SERVING SIDE BY SIDE IN COALITIONS AND DOING SO MUCH GOOD WORK TOGETHER WORLDWIDE.

- I. WHAT BECOMES CLEAR ON SUCH A TRIP IS THAT IN EACH SENSE THAT IS STOPPED THERE IS A GROWING SENSE AS I SAID OF THE INCREASED IMPORTANCE OF THE MARITIME DOMAIN AS A GLOBAL SYSTEM THAT SEAMLESSLY AND EFFECTIVELY CONNECTS OUR NATIONS, OUR ECONOMIES, OUR PEOPLE, OUR ACCESS TO RESOURCES, OUR MARKETS—ALL FLOW ON THIS SUPERHIGHWAY THAT WE CALL PART OF THE GLOBAL COMMONS.
- J. THIS INCREASING IMPORTANCE IS FELT ALSO DUE TO GROWING NATIONS AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE NATURALLY TURNING TO THE SEA FOR INCREASED PROSPERITY AND DUE TO NATION THAT ARE USING TO THE SEA TO GAIN GREATER INFLUENCE IN CRITICAL PARTS OF THE WORLD. AND IF THAT WEREN'T ENOUGH, CLIMATE CHANGE IS OPENING MARITIME ACCESS BOTH TO NEW SEA LANES FOR TRANSIT AND ACCESS TO NEW RESOURCES.
- K. AND I SAY SEAMLESSLY, BUT AS WE KNOW IN THIS ROOM, THAT THERE IS A STRUCTURE TO THIS SYSTEM. THERE ARE GEOGRAPHIC STRAIGHTS, CHOKEPOINT AND SEA LANES THAT MAKE SOME PLACES MORE CRITICAL THAN

OTHERS. IT'S A BUSY PLACE. THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BLACK SEAS ARE AS BUSY AS IMPORTANT AS ANYWHERE.

II. STRATEGIC VIEW

- A. WE HERE IN THIS ROOM HAVE ALL FELT THIS RESURGENCE OF ATTENTION TO THE MARITIME DOMAIN.
- B. AROUND THE WORLD, THE MARITIME DOMAIN IS BECOMING MORE CENTRALLY IMPORTANT AS MORE AND MORE NATION'S USE IT FOR PROSPERITY AND ACCESS, AND AS A CONSEQUENCE IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE CONTESTED.
- C. RISING POWERS ARE TURNING TO THE SEA TO IMPROVE THEIR PROSPERITY AND ALSO THEIR SECURITY.
- D. AS THEY SEEK GREATER INFLUENCE, WE CONFRONT STATES THAT SEEK TO COMPROMISE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, WHERE CONFLICT AND COERCION ARE INCREASINGLY COMMON.
- E. WE'RE SEEING STATES THAT SEEK TO COMPROMISE THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, WHERE CONFLICT AND COERCION ARE INCREASINGLY COMMON, AND WE'RE SEEING MORE CHALLENGES TO INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND STANDARDS THAT HAVE GOVERNED THE STATES FOR SO LONG AND ENABLED THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL.

- F. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP WE ARE ALSO CONTINUING TO SEE INSTABILITY IN THE MARITIME THAT ARISES FROM VAST FLOWS OF PEOPLE MOVING ACROSS THE SEAS, HIGHLIGHTING THE CHALLENGES THAT HUMAN TRAFFICKING, CRIMINALITY, AND MIGRATION CAUSE.
- G. NOWHERE HAS THIS BEEN FELT MORE ACUTELY THAN RIGHT HERE IN ITALY WHERE ADMIRAL DI GIORGIO HAS DONE SUCH AN ADMIRABLE JOB, MANAGING THIS TREMENDOUS CHALLENGE WITH GREAT SKILL.
- H. I WOULD ALSO OFFER, ALONGSIDE THE RISING IMPORTANCE OF THE MARITIME DOMAIN, THERE IS ANOTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR IN THAT THE SEAS ARE NO LONGER THE ONLY MEDIUM THAT CAN ACCESS THE CONNECTS US AROUND THE GLOBE. THERE IS A NEW SYSTEM, A VAST GLOBAL INFORMATION NETWORK THAT ALSO BINDS US TOGETHER AS SEAMLESS AS THE OCEANS WITH A STRUCTURE AND FLOW ALL ITS OWN AND MOVING AT THE SPEED OF LIGHT, SPEEDING UP THE RATE AT WHICH OUR WORLD CHANGES AND ENABLING NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR BOTH TRADITIONAL AND NEW PLAYERS AROUND THE WORLD.
- I. ONE ONLY HAS TO CONSIDER THE EXPLOSION OF CAPABILITIES IN CYBER, ELECTROMAGNETIC, PERVASIVE MEDIA, UBIQUITOUS ISR AND UNMANNED TECHNOLOGIES TO GET A SENSE OF WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT.

J. WHILE THIS NETWORK IS NOT EXCLUSIVE TO OPERATIONS IN THE MARITIME DOMAIN, IT IS JUST AS INFLUENTIAL AND CAN ACHIEVE POWERFUL EFFECTS BOTH KINETICALLY AND NON-KINETICALLY AND FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGES THE WAY WE DO BUSINESS.

K. AND ADDRESSING ALL THESE CHANGES IS WHERE NAVIES COME IN AS BEING FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT TO GOVERNING THIS INCREASING ACTIVITY AND COMPETITION AND MANAGING THE FLOW OF TRAFFIC THROUGH AND ACROSS THESE GEOGRAPHIC FLOW POINTS. THIS IS EXACTLY THE TERRIFIC WORK THAT I SAW BEING DONE BY MULTINATIONAL NAVAL COALITIONS, BY YOUR NAVIES AROUND THE WORLD.

L. AND I THINK THAT THE WORLD WILL ONLY CONTINUE TO GROW MORE COMPLEX, COMPLICATING MARITIME ACTIVITIES, AND DEMANDING FORCES THAT RESPOND AND ADAPT FASTER ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF MARITIME CHALLENGES. TO REMAIN COMPETITIVE, TO CONTINUE TO ALLOW OUR NATIONS TO THRIVE, OUR NAVIES AND COAST GUARDS OUR LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES WILL NEED TO BE READY TO RESPOND WITH GREATER AGILITY AND CREATIVITY ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF ACTION AT SEA, FROM COMPETITION PERHAPS THROUGH COERCION AND INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFLICT.

M. THESE TWO SYSTEMS THE MARITIME SYSTEMS AND THE INFORMATION SYSTEM, I BELIEVE, GIVE RISE TO UNPRECEDENTED POSSIBILITIES, MORE TAILORED SOLUTIONS AND MORE INCLUSIVE APPROACHES.

III. PURPOSE OF THE NAVY

A. SO AGAINST THIS ENVIRONMENT AND BACKDROP, MIGHT I SUGGEST THREE MAIN AREAS WHERE NAVAL FORCES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY:

- 1. ONE IS TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.**
- 2. SECOND IS TO ADVOCATE FOR AND DEMONSTRATE THE BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND STANDARDS.**
- 3. AND FINALLY THE THIRD IS TO DETER CONFLICT AND COERCION.**

B. I'D LIKE TO TAKE A MOMENT TO DISCUSS EACH ONE OF THESE.

C. THE FIRST, TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

1. AS EVER, FOR ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REASONS - WE ALL DEPEND ON FREE AND OPEN SEAS.
2. AND AS HAS BEEN POINTED OUT MANY TIMES BEFORE, AND THIS MORNING, 90% OF THE WORLD'S TRADE TRAVELS BY SEA - 20% OF IT FLOWS THROUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN. EVEN THOUGH BY

AREA THE MEDITERRANEAN COMPRISES ONLY 1% OF THE SURFACE OF THE WORLD'S OCEANS. IT IS A REGION THAT IS ASYMMETRIC IN ITS INFLUENCE.

3. TRADE TRAVELS AND CONCENTRATES IN SEA LANES, AND CHOKE POINTS. THOSE SEA LANES BY WHICH TRADE TRAVELS, AND WHICH WE, THE WORLD'S NAVIES, PATROL, ARE BECOMING MORE CONTESTED.
4. THE NEW RUSSIAN MARITIME DOCTRINE, RELEASED IN AUGUST OF THIS YEAR, REFLECTS A VERY SPECIFIC SEA DENIAL STRATEGY, FOCUSED ON HOLDING AT RISK MARITIME FORCES OPERATING IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, AS WELL AS THE ATLANTIC, AND IN EUROPE'S NORTHERN REGIONS.
5. GENERAL BREEDLOVE, THE TOP NATO COMMANDER, SPOKE RECENTLY ABOUT RUSSIA'S ANTI-ACCESS/AREA-DENIAL STRATEGY LAST MONTH, CALLING IT A GROWING PROBLEM BOTH OUT OF KALININGRAD AND, VERY RELEVANT TO THIS AUDIENCE, OUT OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.
6. I'M SURE WE WOULD ALL AGREE, THESE FREEDOMS APPLY, NOT ONLY TO SHIP ENGAGED IN TRADE, BUT ALSO TO COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT AND TO OUR MILITARY FORCES SEEKING TO PROMOTE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY ALL AROUND THE WORLD.

7. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE NAVY'S ROLE OF SAFEGUARDING FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IS IMPERATIVE!

D. SECOND PURPOSE TO ADVOCATE FOR AND DEMONSTRATE THE BENEFITS INTERNATIONAL LAW AND STANDARDS.

1. ADHERENCE TO RULES-BASED SYSTEMS FURTHERS OUR COMMON GOALS OF PEACE, STABILITY, AND PROSPERITY.
2. THEY HELP US MANAGE SHARED USE OF WATERWAYS AND RESOURCES. THEY ENSURE SAFE OPERATIONS IN THE MARITIME DOMAIN. THEY APPLY THE RULE OF LAW - NOT COERCION AND FORCE - TO BUILD OUR FUTURE.
3. IT MUST BE NOTED THAT IT IS THIS VERY SYSTEM THAT HAS PERMITTED, EVEN PROMOTED AND ENHANCED THE PROSPERITY OF ALL OF US, INCLUDING SOME OF THE NATIONS WHO NOW SEEM TO WANT REDEFINE THESE INTERNATIONAL LAWS.

E. FINALLY WE SAY A FEW WORDS, ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE NAVY TO DETER CONFLICT AND COERCION

1. WE, THE WORLD'S NAVIES, ENABLE PROSPERITY BY ENSURING REGIONAL PEACE, STABILITY, AND SECURITY.

2. WE HAVE SEEN WORRYING SIGNS AND ACTIONS IN RECENT YEARS FROM RUSSIA WITH THEIR AGGRESSION IN EASTERN UKRAINE, ATTEMPTED ANNEXATION OF CRIMEA, AND DESTABILIZING ACTIONS IN SYRIA HAVE SHOWN A PROPENSITY TO USE COERCION TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL GOALS.
3. WE WITNESSED THE INCREASED CAPACITY AND CAPABILITY OF PRESENCE AND ACTIVITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.
4. ADMIRAL CHIRKOV HIMSELF HAS POINTED OUT THAT THE INTENSITY OF RUSSIAN SUBMARINE PATROLS HAS RISEN BY ALMOST 50% FROM THE LAST YEAR. THEIR OPERATIONAL TEMPO HAS RISEN TO LEVELS NOT SEEN IN OVER A DECADE, AND THAT THEIR PROFICIENCY IS INCREASING.
5. IT HAS BEEN MENTIONED, THEIR KALIBR-EQUIPPED KILO-CLASS SUBMARINE TRANSITED FROM THE NORTH SEA TO THE BLACK SEA LAST MONTH, BRINGING INTO ITS RANGE THE EASTERN HALF OF EUROPE.
6. I WOULD SUBMIT THAT THESE ACTIONS IN EUROPE AND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ARE CLEARLY NOT THE ACTIONS OF A NATION THAT REFRAINS FROM USING CONFLICT AND COERCION TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS, AND GIVES US ALL PAUSE AND REQUIRES US TO

QUESTION WHETHER WE ARE BEING EFFECTIVE IN OUR AIM TO DETER SUCH ACTIONS.

7. DO WE HAVE THE DETERRENT POSTURE CORRECT? IS THERE SOMETHING DIFFERENT WE MUST DO TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE TO CONSTRAIN THIS ACTIVITY?
8. AS A MENTIONED AT THE BEGINNING OF MY REMARKS, WE HAVE SEEN CLEAR EXAMPLES OF WHEN WE PROPERLY DEFINE THE PROBLEM THAT CONFRONTS US TOGETHER—TOGETHER WE CAN FIND AN EFFECTIVE SOLUTION.

IV. SO HOW CAN WE ACHIEVE THESE PURPOSES?

- A. TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, ADVOCATE AND DEMONSTRATE THE BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND STANDARDS AND TO DETER CONFLICT AND COERCION.
- B. I THINK THAT OUR NAVAL FORCES, FORCES THAT ARE UNITED IN THE COMMON AIMS OF PRESERVING INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ESTABLISHED NORMS, WILL PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN ENSURING THAT GLOBAL TRANSITIONS EVOLVE IN A WAY THAT OFFERS EQUAL BENEFITS FOR ALL.
- C. OUR FORCES WILL NEED TO BETTER LEVERAGE THE CAPABILITIES THAT EACH OF US BRINGS AND THEN COMBINE TO FORM NETWORKS OF ALLIANCES AND PARTNERSHIPS TO MAKE OUR COMBINED FORCE MUCH

MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE SUM OF OUR INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

D. I HOPE THAT I HAVE CONVINCED YOU THAT MUCH HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE MARITIME DOMAIN. OUR ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME MORE CHALLENGING AND COMPLEX AND WE ARE BEING STRESSED IN NEW WAYS. MAY I STRESS AS ADMIRAL DI GIORGIO DID AT THE START OF THIS CONFERENCE, THAT WE UNDERTAKE AN EFFORT TO EXAMINE FROM A STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE THE ROLE THAT WE ALL SHARE IN NOT ONLY THE MEDITERRANEAN, BUT PERHAPS THE NATO MARITIME STRATEGY.

E. IF WE ARE IN A NEW AND PERHAPS UNPRECEDENTED SECURITY ENVIRONMENT, HOW TO DO WE ADEQUATELY DEFINE OUR NEW PROBLEMS AND PROPOSE ADEQUATE SOLUTIONS? AS A MARITIME ALLIANCE, DO WE NEED TO THINK HARD ABOUT WHAT NATO ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES MUST BE?

F. FURTHERMORE, MAY I ASK IF IT WOULD BE FRUITFUL TO CONSIDER A DELIBERATE ALIGNMENT OF THE MARITIME STRATEGIES OF BOTH NATO AND EUROPEAN UNION SO THAT WE CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY AND EFFICIENTLY ADDRESS THE COMMON PROBLEMS FACED BY THESE TWO VERY DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS, THAT AT THE END

OF THE DAY, BOTH PLACE DEMANDS SCARE AND VALUABLE RESOURCES.

G. SUCH RE-EXAMINATION MIGHT BETTER DEFINE HOW EACH OF OUR NAVIES, SO CRITICAL TO ACHIEVING OUR NATIONAL COMMON GOALS, CAN BE PREPARED TO EFFECTIVELY ACT, AND IF NEED BE REACT, ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF INFLUENCE, OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, OF PRESERVING THE RULE OF LAW, TO COMPETITION AND BEING PREPARED CONFLICT.

H. I WOULD HOPE THAT SUCH A REVIEW OF OUR NAVIES' STRATEGIC ROLES WOULD EXPOSE THAT WE MUST ALL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP CAPABILITIES THAT ALLOW US TO ADDRESS A WIDER SPECTRUM OF CHALLENGES, CONFRONTING THEM HEAD ON WITH ADAPTIVE SOLUTIONS.

I. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BLACK SEA CONTEXT, THE CHALLENGE IS PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN THE USE OF HIGHER END CAPABILITIES. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE KEY TO EFFECTIVENESS WILL BE INTEROPERABILITY AND FAMILIARITY THAT ONLY COMES THROUGH OPERATING AND EXPERIMENTING TOGETHER. THESE EFFORTS SHOULD FOCUS ON EACH OF OUR ABILITIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR MAXIMUM SUSTAINABLE EXTENT—TO OUR STRENGTHS, AND

MINIMIZE AND OBSTACLES TO COMBINE OUR NAVAL FORCES IN NEW AND CREATIVE WAYS.

J. AS WE DISCUSSED AT THE LAST INTERNATIONAL SEAPOWER SYMPOSIUM, OUR GLOBAL NETWORK OF NAVIES IS FUELED BY A COMMON INTEREST IN GLOBAL STABILITY AND PROSPERITY.

K. WE CAN INVEST IN STRENGTHENING AND EXPANDING THE RELATIONSHIPS AND CAPABILITIES THAT WILL HELP US TO CONTINUE TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER AND THEN PUT TO SEA TOGETHER, TO OPERATE TOGETHER, TO EXPERIMENT AND TO DEFINE NEW ADAPTIVE FORCE COMBINATIONS AND OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE.

V. CLOSING

A. SO IN CLOSING, WE HAVE A BROAD RANGE OF CHALLENGES AND THREATS FACING US TODAY, AS OUR WORLD BECOMES MORE COMPLEX AND CHANGES EVER MORE RAPIDLY.

B. BUT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP AGILE, ADAPTIVE SOLUTIONS.

C. I'VE SPOKEN MUCH TODAY ABOUT THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT, ABOUT TECHNICAL POSSIBILITIES, BUT AS HAD BEEN SAID IN A COUPLE OF LECTURES ALREADY, AT THE END OF THE DAY THIS IS A HUMAN ENDEAVOR. IT IS FUELED BY TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

D. MY SINCERE COMPLIMENTS TO ADMIRAL DI GIORGIO FOR BRINGING US ALL TOGETHER TO ENHANCE AND STRENGTHEN THAT GLUE OF TRUST AND COMPETENCE AMONG US.

E. I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH ALL OF YOU IN THE COMING YEARS. I ENJOYED MEETING ALL OF YOU PERSONALLY, AND I KNOW THAT TOGETHER, WE WILL MAKE A GREAT TEAM. THANK YOU.