The one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative are both part of an ongoing effort to define a new maritime strategy. This paper explains the expanded list of maritime security threats articulated by ADM Mullen, U.S. Navy Chief of Naval Operations. It also outlines the efforts to develop cooperative relationships to confront these threats which negatively impact the globalized economy. Such relationships facilitate information and intelligence sharing with commercial maritime interests, other U.S. government organizations involved with maritime security and international counterparts. This paper outlines the strengths and weaknesses of these ideas in terms of implementation of a new maritime strategy. Finally, the paper makes recommendations regarding public diplomacy, intra-U.S. government cooperation, international cooperation and technology application to eliminate barriers which inhibit implementation of these ideas.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
Newport, R.I.

PERILS FACING THE ONE THOUSAND SHIP NAVY

by

Margaret Marshall

Commander, U.S. Navy

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The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

Signature: _____________________

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Abstract

The one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative are both part of an ongoing effort to define a new maritime strategy. This paper explains the expanded list of maritime security threats articulated by ADM Mullen, U.S. Navy Chief of Naval Operations. It also outlines the efforts to develop cooperative relationships to confront these threats which negatively impact the globalized economy. Such relationships facilitate information and intelligence sharing with commercial maritime interests, other U.S. government organizations involved with maritime security and international counterparts. This paper outlines the strengths and weaknesses of these ideas in terms of implementation of a new maritime strategy. Finally, the paper makes recommendations regarding public diplomacy, intra-U.S. government cooperation, international cooperation and technology application to eliminate barriers which inhibit implementation of these ideas.
# Table of Contents

- **Introduction**
  - Page 1
- **Background**
  - Page 3
- **Discussion**
  - Page 5
- **Analysis**
  - Page 10
- **Recommendations**
  - Page 14
- **Conclusion**
  - Page 16
- **Bibliography**
  - Page 18
INTRODUCTION

Perils of the sea affect sailors of every nation, on every type of ship. Perils of the sea which affect commerce have come to impact a broader range of people than battles between national ships of the line. These perils also strike at the economic well-being of the United States. In September 2005, ADM Michael Mullen, U.S. Navy Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) warned of the impact of such maritime security threats and called for a one thousand ship navy, comprised of commercial vessels and navy ships, to focus on the safe use of the maritime commons to protect the economic well-being of all nations involved in the globalized economy. ADM Mullen first spoke of the one thousand ship navy at the 17th International Sea Power Symposium, emphasizing its international make up, which is particularly important at a time when the U.S. Navy is comprised of less than 300 ships.

The image of a one thousand ship navy brings to mind a grand international fleet exercise photo opportunity – ships of all participating nations sailing in close proximity in calm seas under blue skies. But the envisioned one thousand ship navy of the 21st century

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must be prepared to sail, dispersed around the world, focused on common economic threats, in seas roiled by conflicting priorities and under skies darkened by uncertainty.

The response to ADM Mullen’s call for a one thousand ship navy has been generally positive, but the one thousand ship navy does not encompass all those affected by the maritime security threats of the 21st century. The Global Maritime Partners Initiative incorporates feedback from the past year and reflects concrete requirements to combat modern-day perils of the sea. The one thousand ship navy concept focuses on the common economic need for maritime security; the Global Maritime Partners Initiative seeks to establish information and intelligence sharing for transparency in the maritime domain.\(^3\),\(^4\) These two ideas significantly affect the development of a new U.S. maritime strategy. The challenges of the 21st century dictate a new maritime strategy to outline the ways and means to achieve the ends set forth in the vision of Sea Power 21.

The strengths and weaknesses of the one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative become apparent when viewed from the perspective of operational art. Analytical consideration of legitimacy, time, force and space will significantly shape the development of a new maritime strategy. Although progress is being made, barriers still inhibit full implementation of these ideas. This paper includes several proposals for public diplomacy, intra-U.S. government coordination, and international cooperation for consideration in the development of a maritime strategy. The U.S. Navy needs to unequivocally articulate its continued institutional relevance, particularly at a time

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\(^3\) “Global Maritime Partners AKA The 1,000 Ship Navy”, Presentation to the Navy Industry International Dialogue Day. October 4, 2006. 
http://www.ndia.org/template.cfm?section=international&template=/contentmanagement/contentdisplay.cfm&ccontentid=6620 [06 October 2006].

\(^4\) Farrell, Joseph D. joseph.d.farrell@navy.mil “RE: follow up to phone call regarding the 1,000 ship navy” [E-mail to Margaret Marshall Margaret.marshall@nwc.navy.mil] 05 October 2006.
when the most pressing battles facing the U.S. are in mainly non-maritime environments, such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

BACKGROUND

From a historical perspective, the U.S. has cooperated with navies from other nations throughout our history. At the Battle of Leyte Gulf in World War II, Australian ships, in conjunction with U.S. naval forces, engaged the Japanese.\(^5\) Also, the British Eastern Fleet contributed escort, coastal, patrol and amphibious forces as part of the American efforts to destroy the Japanese fleet.\(^6\) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, formed in 1949, created a framework for formal cooperation, including naval forces, “to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.”\(^7\)

Operation Desert Storm in 1991 provided the first real-world opportunity for post-Cold War maritime interoperability. U.S. Naval forces worked with maritime forces from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, Holland, and Australia to conduct air and missile strikes, deliver naval gunfire support, provide air defense, maintain sea control, deceive the Iraqis regarding an amphibious assault, capture significant islands and protect oil infrastructure in the Persian Gulf. In addition, during and after the Persian Gulf War, international maritime forces conducted mine clearing,

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\(^6\) Ibid, p142.

enforcement of sanctions and maritime interdiction operations.\(^8\) As long ago as 1994, the National Security Strategy explicitly outlined the need for cooperation among military forces of many nations, to combat threats such as terrorism.\(^9\)

Maritime cooperation has been constant in the execution of Operations Enduring and Iraqi Freedom. Task Force 150 and Task Force 58, which report to Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Central Command/FIFTH Fleet, demonstrate the cooperative employment and interoperability of ships from many nations in the ongoing global war on terror. Their missions of law enforcement and border security require sharing of intelligence with countries of the region, coordination of operations, and reciprocal training arrangements to strengthen interoperability.\(^10\) Maritime interoperability exercises are conducted around the world with a broad range of navies. For example, BALTOPS is an annual maritime exercise, which brings together NATO, non-NATO, and Partnership for Peace nations in the Baltic Sea. Similar maritime interoperability exercises are conducted with the littoral nations of South America (UNITAS), Africa (West African Training Cruise-WATC) and the Pacific (Rim of the Pacific - RIMPAC). Countless bilateral maritime exercises are conducted as part of U.S. Navy engagement efforts around the world.

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\(^8\) Marvin Pokrant, Desert Storm at Sea: What the Navy Really Did (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp 3-65.
DISCUSSION

International cooperation is a large part of what the U.S. Navy does everyday. The one thousand ship navy concept as articulated by ADM Mullen goes beyond the above examples of maritime cooperation in several ways and focuses on cooperation based on common economic well-being. The Global Maritime Partners Initiative further shapes and advances the idea of cooperation, both domestically and internationally, with a focus upon information and intelligence sharing.

The definition of maritime security threat used in the one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative shifts the employment of naval forces. Naval battles between national ships of the line in the blue water of the international seas are not included in ADM Mullen’s list of maritime security threats. Instead, the focus for navies of the 21st century is to combat threats which negatively impact the globalized economy. As per this concept, maritime security threats include “piracy, smuggling, drug trading, illegal immigration, banditry, human smuggling and slavery, environmental attack, trade disruption, weapons proliferation including weapons of mass destruction, political and religious extremism, and terrorism.”

The one thousand ship navy concept, envisioned by the current Navy staff, dramatically increases cooperation with other agencies and organizations within the U.S. government, with commercial maritime interests and with international navies and governments. The prospect of shipbuilding is included to maintain industrial capacity and to

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potentially provide low-cost ships to nations requiring assets to participate in the one
thousand ship navy, but these are not the primary focus of this concept.\textsuperscript{12}

Mullen said in his speech to the International Sea Power Symposium, which
introduced the one thousand ship navy concept, “Cooperation must exist not only in a region,
but also within a nation, integrating military, coast guard and law enforcement.”\textsuperscript{13} The
cooperation he speaks of is necessary to avoid wasteful overlap of capabilities and dangerous
gaps in enforcement. This initiative envisions the Regional Combatant Commanders
cooperating more closely with the U.S. Coast Guard, Departments of Homeland Security,
Transportation, and Justice, Customs and Borders Patrol, Maritime Administration, the
Federal Bureau of Investigation and state and local officials to better combat maritime
security threats.\textsuperscript{14}

In addition to increased cooperation within the U.S. government, the one thousand
ship navy concept foresees the need for greater cooperation with commercial maritime
interests. The U.S. Navy sees maritime security threats as dangerous to the globalized
economy. The role of commercial mariners has been compared to members of a
neighborhood watch: familiar with normal behavior, and the first to notice aberrant behavior
which threatens security within their own maritime neighborhood.\textsuperscript{15}

ADM Mullen espouses and supports the U.S. Navy’s important role in the one
thousand ship navy concept. The central premise of this concept though is that no one nation
acting alone can combat all maritime security threats. ADM Mullen’s decision to announce

\textsuperscript{12} Morgan and Martoglio, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{13} Mullen, 21 September 2005.
\textsuperscript{14} CDR William Wimmer \texttt{William.wimmer@navy.mil} “Maritime Domain Awareness Concept of Operations
(Action Officer-Level Draft)” [E-mail to Margaret Marshall \texttt{Margaret.marshall@nwc.navy.mil}] 02 October
2006.
\textsuperscript{15} Mullen, 21 September 2005.
this concept at the 17th International Sea Power Symposium was the start of his ongoing
effort to articulate the economic value of the one thousand ship navy concept to all those
involved in the globalized economy, be they commercial maritime interests or navies of the
world.

In response to ADM Mullen’s comments, many naval leaders from countries around
the world seconded his concerns about the impact of maritime security threats upon
economic well-being and the need to integrate naval forces and commercial maritime
interests to effectively combat these threats. Vice-Admiral Drew W. Robertson, of the
Canadian Navy said, “…the security of the maritime commons is necessary for the general
benefit of our increasingly globalized world.”16 Rear Admiral Minko Kavaldzhiev of the
Bulgarian Naval Forces concurred in saying “I fully agree with the opinion that the one
thousand ship navy should integrate the naval forces and ship industry, on a worldwide scale
with a view to increasing the number of sensors providing global surveillance of the marine
environment.”17

Concerns raised about the one thousand ship navy concept include an erroneous focus
on number of platforms, conflict with existing national and regional priorities and conflict
with internal policies. For example, Admiral Slamet Soebijanto of the Indonesian Navy said,
“Our navy’s priority is cooperation with neighboring countries that share a sea border with
Indonesian territory to maintain maritime security and to foster mutual confidence. No less
important is our navy’s obligation to patrol Indonesian territorial waters. These constraints
would limit our opportunity for joint operations with the one thousand ship navy.” Admiral
Jorge Ampuero Trabucco of the Peruvian Navy noted, “The main problems with this concept

are driven by the states’ internal policies. Many would face legal restrictions, lack of political will, and nationalist sentiment, mainly among smaller nations, who will see their sovereignty sacrificed for the international relationship.”

Since ADM Mullen’s speech in September 2005 and the November 2005 Proceedings Article, subtle changes to the one thousand ship navy concept reflect feedback from those most affected by this idea. The term “navy” does not incorporate the many entities involved, such as coast guards, maritime constabulary forces, port authorities, shipping firms, cruise ship fleets, and shore-based law enforcement organizations. Also, the maritime security threats enumerated by ADM Mullen, although significant, pose less of a monetary threat to commercial shipping interests, than poorly-trained mariners do. Raising professional standards for better adherence to safety procedures is seen among commercial maritime interests as more pressing and necessary for reducing costly losses at sea.

The focus of the one thousand ship navy concept has narrowed to only encouraging and incentivizing information sharing among commercial maritime interests for efficiencies, which will contribute to bottom-line profitability. The Global Maritime Partners Initiative focuses on intra-U.S. government and international government-to-government sharing of information and intelligence to combat maritime security threats.

The importance of the maritime environment cannot be overstated, since so many actors – small and large nations, commercial and military ships, legal and illegal

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18 Mullen, Morgan, and Martoglio, 36 – 49.
21 Ibid.
organizations, come together on the world’s oceans. The maritime environment lends itself
to the traditional criminal desire to hide in ungoverned space, considering that 70% of the
world’s surface is covered by oceans, much of which is beyond the domain of any nation’s
sovereignty.22 Also, international shipping is the dominant transportation means of trade,
moving more than 90 percent of the world’s trade in nearly 50,000 ships.”23 The U.S.
globalized economy, in particular, is highly vulnerable to disruptions in the flow of high
value cargo such as oil, natural gas and finished manufactured products.24

Partnership is the key to the Global Maritime Partners Initiative. ADM Mullen
recognized the importance of partners when he stressed that no one nation and no one navy
can combat the maritime security threats we face.25 Partners within the U.S. government,
sharing information and intelligence, hold the promise of jointly accomplishing national
security objectives with fewer local, state and national resources. Partners in the
international community would potentially allow early identification of maritime security
threats well before they mature into action against U.S. economic interests or the nation
itself.

This initiative is only one of many efforts to shape the Navy’s overall maritime
strategy.26 The Global Maritime Partners Initiative does not replace the one thousand ship
navy concept, but focuses on information and intelligence sharing within and between
governments to establish maritime domain awareness. This supports the National Security

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23 “Shipping & World Trade,” World Trade Shipping Facts
http://www.marisec.org/shippingfacts/worldtradeindex.htm [19 October 2006].
26 Cavas.
Strategy which noted the need for multinational efforts to solve problems and the positive impact of free and fair trade in combating threats to the United States.27

ANALYSIS

The strengths and weaknesses of the one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative will significantly affect the development of a new maritime strategy. Legitimacy, force, time and space considerations inherent in these ideas must support the overall maritime strategy and higher-level national military, defense and security strategies. Otherwise, they will detract from the Navy’s role in meeting conventional national defense objectives.

“It seems reasonable to say that, where merchant shipping exists, it tends logically to develop the form of protection which is called naval….”28 These words would naturally fit into ADM Mullen’s speeches of the last year, regarding the one thousand ship navy. Alfred Thayer Mahan actually wrote these words nearly a century ago, illustrating the historical legitimacy of a navy tied to protecting American maritime economic interests.

In initially approaching maritime security threats, as defined by the CNO, from the perspective of those perceived as most dangerous rather than most prevalent, the U.S. Navy misjudged the primary concerns of commercial maritime interests. The one thousand ship navy concept as it is defined in October 2006 has narrowed its focus to that of encouraging efficiency among commercial maritime interests for increased profitability. In doing so, the

28 Alfred Thayer Mahan, Naval Strategy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company 1918), 446.
U.S. Navy has moved outside its realm of expertise and legitimacy, revealing a significant weakness in this concept. I question why commercial maritime interests would look to the U.S. Navy for this guidance, since it does not operate with a bottom-line profitability focus required in the commercial world.

The one thousand ship navy concept requires limited force or naval assets in terms of encouraging commercial maritime interests to cooperate to achieve efficiencies for increased profitability. VADM Morgan, CNO Plans, Policy and Operations (N3/N5), recently spoke at the Navy Industry International Dialogue Day, regarding the one thousand ship Navy concept. His presentation emphasized the importance of combating security threats in the maritime environment and encouraging transparency and trust to create economic advantage.  

Even this limited use of naval assets distracts from the more pressing issues facing our nation during a time of war.

Insufficient preparation time was employed prior to announcing the one thousand ship navy concept. The time expended over the past year cannot be regained. Continuing such a narrow theme in an area outside of the U.S. Navy’s area of expertise is poor use of time, particularly since the naval forces involved have many other areas of broader concern. To improve the management of time, a coherent command and control process for this concept needs to be implemented, allowing a faster operational tempo to maintain momentum for implementation.

Space in this context is the intersection between the U.S. Navy and commercial maritime interests. Currently, very limited interaction takes place. For example, the Maritime Administration, whose mission includes coordination with commercial maritime

29 “Global Maritime Partners AKA The 1,000 Ship Navy” presentation, 4 October 2006.
interests, would be an obvious federal agency for the U.S. Navy to coordinate with. But the CNO staff did not even brief the Maritime Administration’s leadership until September 2006, a full year after the CNO announced this concept. This space of interaction would be more effectively used by listening to commercial maritime interests, regarding the impact of maritime security threats upon competitiveness in the globalized economy. Maritime strategy could then be developed based upon their concerns in relationship to naval capabilities.

Based upon feedback received over the last year, the CNO staff put together the Global Maritime Partners Initiative. With the one thousand ship navy concept narrowed to encouraging efficiency among commercial maritime interests, the Global Maritime Partners Initiative took up combating the expanded list of maritime security threats through intra-U.S. government and international government-to-government cooperation. These concepts are still evolving, so the practicalities of who is in charge, what and how agencies contribute, how to best engage with other governments, and so forth have not been fully fleshed out.

With the implementation of the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, the Navy began to recognize the value of joint military experience and operations. An entire generation of naval leaders has been exposed to the idea that a coordinated approach is necessary for the optimal defense of our nation. Similar sustained efforts for inter-agency cooperation must be initiated to integrate capabilities among federal, state and local agencies and organizations for an idea such as the Global Maritime Partners Initiative to be anything more than an empty slogan. The focus on maritime security threats means the U.S. Navy is a natural participant

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31 James B. Perkins, james.perkins@nwc.navy.mil “FW: 02 OCT Brief” [Email to Margaret Marshall Margaret.marshall@nwc.navy.mil] 04 October 2006.
in this inter-agency process but the emphasis on traditional law enforcement tasks means the
U.S. Navy is not the natural lead organization for this effort.

As noted earlier, international cooperation amongst navies is a well-established
practice. The already existing infrastructure of naval and defense attaches, Security
Assistance Officers, international education and training programs, conferences such as the
International Sea Power Symposium, Status of Forces Agreements, bilateral and multilateral
naval and joint exercises, and Regional Combatant Commanders indicate how significant and
legitimate establishing international naval cooperation is for the U.S. Navy. The Global
Maritime Partners Initiative links this ongoing navy-to-navy cooperation to combating
maritime security threats which negatively impact economic prosperity.

In addition to forces deployed for international cooperation, U.S. Navy forces
involved with information gathering and intelligence must coordinate their actions with other
U.S. agencies and organizations, such as the U.S. Coast Guard, Transportation Security
Administration, and Customs and Border Patrol. The Global Maritime Partners Initiative
seeks more efficient use of existing assets to combat maritime security threats which involve
law enforcement rather than traditional defense. This recognizes how military assets can
support non-military organizations and agencies, which are better focused, trained and
equipped to combat the expanded list of maritime security threats.

Development of the necessary information and intelligence sharing processes will
take time, just as was required for jointness within the military environment. Existing naval
information gathering and intelligence assets will need to be reprioritized to support more
extensive intra-U.S. government coordination. Development of fruitful international
cooperation will also require an extensive time investment, particularly with less-traditional partners.

To fully exploit use of naval assets, appropriate information and intelligence gathering sensors need to be more fully deployed and exploited in the most troublesome maritime spaces of the world. Closer coordination among organizations and agencies involved in combating maritime security threats promises to increase the productivity of government forces, providing better visibility of threats in more of the maritime space.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

These recommendations focus on ensuring all concepts/initiatives/ideas fully support the new maritime strategy. In turn, this maritime strategy must contribute to the larger, military, defense and national security objectives. This coordinated effort maximizes use of limited assets in support of the highest of national goals – protection of the homeland and economic prosperity.

Words are important. I recommend the CNO and his staff stop using the phrase “one thousand ship navy”, which prompts too narrow a focus on number of platforms. This term, along with “global”, perpetuate the perception the United States wants to dominate the maritime commons for their own benefit. ADM Mullen should discuss the one thousand ship navy concept as an evolutionary idea, which prompts necessary discussion of maritime security threats and how commercial and military maritime interests can best cooperate to protect the globalized economy. He should then announce the Maritime Partners Initiative
which incorporates the best ideas of the one thousand ship navy and feedback received since September 2005. This places the focus appropriately on the Navy’s strengths in inter-agency cooperation within the U.S. government and internationally with other navies. I thought I was alone in my distaste for the current language but similar recommendations have emerged recently.32 A descriptive, direct public diplomacy message is needed to effectively communicate with new and established partners.

Also, instead of naval leadership encouraging efficiency among commercial maritime interests, those naval leaders should develop a better understanding of how the U.S. Navy could support commercial needs. Only after this critical step is taken, should cooperative efforts between the U.S. Navy and commercial maritime interests be undertaken to combat the new maritime security threats which affect all ships at sea.

The U.S. Navy should continue to focus on international navy-to-navy cooperation efforts with like-minded nations. As we shift to a maritime strategy of cooperation, aircraft carriers, amphibious assault ships and cruisers should focus on interoperating with nations possessing complementary capabilities. For cooperating with partner nations with small navies, coast guards or maritime constabulary forces, money and personnel should be shifted to the U.S. Coast Guard, enabling it to take on a larger international cooperation role. As has already been demonstrated, small U.S. Coast Guard cutters with white hulls and personnel experienced in law enforcement and environmental protection, provide excellent opportunities to develop cooperation with new partners.33 Legislative, policy, institutional and procedural barriers which inhibit this cooperation need to be addressed. Foreign Military Sales, technology transfers, information and intelligence sharing, training and education, and

grants of excess defense articles need to be aligned toward enabling greater cooperation rather than inhibiting it, as is the current situation.

Effectively combating maritime security threats requires greater transparency and information sharing among entities seeking safe use of the maritime commons, i.e. legal commercial maritime interests and navies of the world. Admiral Ulrich, Commander Naval Forces Europe and Africa, discussed how powerful an automated identification system for ships, similar to what is already in use for all airplanes, would be when combined with coastal radars and existing information sharing networks. "The right technology combined with partners committed to working together and sharing information is the first step toward maritime security," Ulrich said.34 Technology alone cannot solve inter-U.S. agency and international government-to-government problems. However, newly developed and strengthened relationships focused on combating common maritime security threats and focused on common economic goals require supporting technology to facilitate information and intelligence sharing, for maximum effectiveness.

CONCLUSION

No initiative, concept, or strategy can absolutely ensure calm seas and blue skies in the world we live in. Security threats must be firmly confronted to prevent damage to the globalized world economy. This fight is on the world’s oceans as well as in the cities of Iraq and the mountains of Afghanistan. During the past year, ADM Mullen articulated a broader definition of maritime security threats and sought to expand the forces engaged in combating

these threats. The one thousand ship navy concept reaches out to commercial maritime interests to encourage efficiency for greater profitability. The Global Maritime Partners Initiative recognizes the need to share information and intelligence within the U.S. government and with other nations.

Combating maritime security threats requires more than will. A clear method of cooperation based upon mutual economic prosperity is critical to expanding the maritime resources engaged in combating these maritime threats. Cooperation within the U.S. government through sharing of information and intelligence means greater maritime security without impeding global trade. Cooperation with international partners promises early recognition of threats and the shared benefit of a free, secure maritime commons, available to all engaged in the global economy.

Although the vision that comes to mind may be a vast force of ships at sea, ADM Mullen never intended for there to be a massing of a thousand ships to regulate and patrol international waters. The one thousand ship navy concept and the Global Maritime Partners Initiative emphasize greater cooperation to combat new maritime security threats which negatively impact the global economy. To realize these ideals, a clear message must be articulated which brings together all those interested in the safe use of the maritime commons for economic development – commercial maritime interests, U.S. government agencies and organizations, and international counterparts. The U.S. Navy naturally contributes to this effort with its recognition of new maritime security threats, its experience in cooperation and its role in combating threats to our nation. Only through collective action can the nations of the world and the globalized economy weather the rough seas and stormy skies we face in the 21st century.
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