

Filling a Critical Gap

One of the early and recurring criticisms of the *Cooperative Strategy* was that it did not address the growing power of China at sea. However, the Naval War College had already begun to put itself into a unique position to do so with respect to research and analysis on the maritime developments of the People's Republic of China by the time that the *Cooperative Strategy* was introduced. In 2004, a small group of faculty members had a sense of unease about the proportion of focus that the College was putting on Central Asia and the Middle East, both in terms of research and analysis and in its curricula. They believed that the College needed to balance its efforts by devoting more intellectual capital to what they believed to be a first-order, strategic priority for the United States over the long term—China. They argued that it was China that posed the most enduring challenge to U.S. global economic, political, and security leadership and that a good deal of this concern rested in China's role in the maritime domain.¹⁴⁶

With this conviction as their driving force, Associate Professor Lyle Goldstein and Assistant Professor Andrew Erickson of the Strategic Research Department, Associate Professor Bill Murray of the War Gaming Department, and Professor Andrew “Dex” Wilson of the Strategy and Policy Department started an informal e-mail group and called themselves the “China Maritime Studies Group.” Their purpose was to concentrate human capital, share sources and ideas, and thereby catalyze research and discussion of China's grow-

ing turn to the sea.¹⁴⁷ In October 2004, this group approached the provost with the support of the dean of Naval Warfare Studies, Dr. Ken Watman, and the chairman of the Strategic Research Department, Dr. Jonathan Pollack, with the idea of creating a China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI) at the College. The provost found their idea to be sound, but one that required guidance concerning its focus and a detailed plan for implementing the concept in terms of manpower and financial resources. After extensive meetings in the provost's office and over the group's nascent library collection of publications in Chinese in McCarty Little Hall, the provost and these faculty members concluded that what set the Naval



A Shelf of Books in the Library of the China Maritime Studies Institute.

Naval War College Museum Collection

War College apart from any other such activity in the Navy was the College's increasing ability to collect and to translate relevant, open-source, Chinese-language literature and then to analyze it in the strategic and operational context of the maritime domain.

Goldstein, Erickson, Murray, and Wilson recognized that there was an extraordinary volume of Chinese journals and other publications concerning Chinese maritime issues that were available on the open

market, particularly in the bookstores of northwest Beijing, but not obtainable outside China. Goldstein and Murray had already published an exceptionally well-received article on China's submarine force in the prestigious journal *International Security*, using some of this Chinese open-source material that Goldstein had acquired and translated.¹⁴⁸ These Chinese publications covered a range of topics from very detailed engineering studies to the broader questions of China's maritime strategy. Included in this literature were equally detailed analyses by credible Chinese authors of U.S. Navy forces and their vulnerabilities. Drawing on his experience, Giblin recognized that this was not unlike the volume of open-source literature that characterized the internal analysis and debate about the Soviet Navy during the Cold War, which had been of value to the U.S. Navy in that period.¹⁴⁹ To exploit this opportunity, much as the U.S. Navy had done in the 1970s with Soviet naval literature, Giblin insisted that the group had to become a defined organization within the College, so that its work could be structured systematically and funded on a full-time basis to conduct the kind of work that Goldstein and his colleagues envisioned. Giblin also insisted that the group work across organizations—inside and outside government—to make the most effective use of its available capacity and capabilities.

With this focus as its point of main effort, Giblin approved the idea and took the concept of how it would be executed to Shuford, who strongly endorsed it and directed that the provost immediately establish the China Maritime Studies Institute within the Center for Naval Warfare Studies. Shuford recognized the potential of the institute in terms of enhancing the College's institutional effectiveness and its relevance to the senior leadership of the Navy, especially the Navy's operational-level commanders in the Pacific. Shuford established three, top-level objectives:

1. Produce analysis of open-source Chinese-language publications on the naval development of the People's Republic of China;
2. Analyze the implications of these developments for the U.S. Navy; and
3. Integrate Chinese maritime studies into the Naval War College's teaching and research.

Accordingly, on 1 December 2004, the provost established the China Maritime Studies Institute within the Strategic Research Department of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, with Professor Lyle Goldstein as the institute's first director. Giblin also committed to finding NWC mission or other funds to get the organization up and running. In this regard, the Naval War College Foundation was exceptionally helpful in providing funds to support the China Maritime Studies Institute's early efforts. Giblin directed Goldstein to draft an issue paper for the College's POM 08 submission that contained a budget estimate of the resources required and the rationale for the initiative. Working with the College's comptroller, Commander Melinda Matheny, Goldstein, Erickson, Murray, and Wilson drafted an above-core issue paper for the College's submission to the Navy's program objective memorandum for fiscal year 2008. After substantial editing, Giblin took the issue paper into the Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Execution process. Subsequently, the Chief of Naval Operations personally approved the establishment of the China Maritime Studies Institute and provided sufficient funding to hire four additional faculty members in fiscal year 2008, along with a modest amount of additional funding to support the institute's research and analysis.



Professors Lyle Goldstein, William Murray, Andrew Erickson, and Andrew “Dex” Wilson with Students from Their “Chinese Maritime Development” Class (Spring Elective 672) in 2008.

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The result was that the China Maritime Studies Institute acquired seven full-time and two part-time faculty members, including five Mandarin speakers, by the end of 2008.¹⁵⁰ During its first four years, the institute sponsored four conferences and published edited volumes of the papers from each of them.¹⁵¹ These included its first effort from 26 to 27 October 2005 to address China’s

future nuclear submarine force. The second conference, held 6 to 7 December 2006, examined the maritime implications of China’s energy strategy. The third, held from 5 to 6 December 2007, considered the challenge of defining a maritime security partnership with China. The institute’s fourth conference took place 10 to 11 December 2008 and investigated the evolving maritime roles for Chinese aerospace power. In addition, the institute’s faculty members completed studies that addressed the Chinese tanker fleet, naval mines, the East China Sea, submarine rescue, and the Chinese shipbuilding industry.¹⁵² Of these, the study by Erickson, Goldstein, and Murray on Chinese mine warfare helped, in particular, to validate the concept of the China Maritime Studies Institute within the U.S. Navy by demonstrating the strikingly accurate and insightful findings that could be derived from open-source analysis.

In just four years, between the China Maritime Studies Institute’s founding in December 2004 and the end of 2008, the institute had quickly emerged as an active and effective contributor in terms of its breadth and depth of coverage of China’s growing power at sea. Its team’s remarkable ability in using open-source literature to identify and to highlight new and critical trends in Chinese maritime activities added substantially to the College’s institutional effectiveness as well as to its relevance in the eyes of the Navy’s senior leadership. In 2008, Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates cited the China Maritime Studies Institute as a model for the Defense Department’s Minerva Research Initiative, which sought to build a deeper understanding of the social, cultural, and political dynamics that shape regions of strategic interest around the world.¹⁵³

The Chinese government publishes a tremendous amount of information about military and technological developments on an open-source basis. However, it is often inconvenient, if not impossible, for American researchers to get access to this material since it is often available only in China. A real—or virtual—archive of documents acquired by researchers and others abroad would help us track Chinese military and technological developments. . . . Faculty members at the Naval War College have already instituted a smaller version of this idea focusing on the Chinese Navy. . . .¹⁵⁴

Indeed, the actions of this small group of CMSI's founding members personified Luce's 1903 guiding principle that the College is a "place of original research on all questions relating to war and to statesmanship connected with war, or the prevention of war."¹⁵⁵ Just as important, they embodied Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner's charge to the College in 1972: "Always keep in mind that the product which the country desperately needs is military men with the capability of solving complex problems and of executing their decisions. Scholarship for scholarship's sake is of no importance to us. You must keep your sights on decisionmaking or problem solving as your objective."¹⁵⁶ Although the College's executive leadership deserves some of the credit for the foresight in establishing the China Maritime Studies Institute, the real credit for filling this critical gap belongs to this group of young faculty members who had the courage of their convictions to think and to act strategically with their unusual skills, the very essence of what the Naval War College is about.

NOTES

1. Giblin Papers (privately held): Naval War College, Office of the President, "120-Day Assessment for the Chief of Naval Operations" (briefing, 17 December 2004) [hereinafter "120-Day Assessment"], slide 6.
2. Giblin Papers (privately held): Department of the Navy, Office of the Naval Inspector General, "Command Inspection of Naval War College, Part 2," letter 5040 Serial N3B/1316 of 25 August 2003, p. 24.
3. "120-Day Assessment," slide 2.
4. Ibid., slide 5.
5. See Andrew C. Winner, "The Proliferation Security Initiative: The New Face of Interdiction," *Washington Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2005), pp. 129–43, on the origins and intent of the Proliferation Security Initiative.
6. Executive Office of the President, *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)* (Washington, D.C.: December 2002), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/16092.pdf>.
7. Ibid.; see also Department of Defense, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) Activity Program," CJCS Instruction 3520.02B of 5 March 2015, p. 1, available at http://www.dtic.mil/ejcs_directives/cdata/unlimit/3520_02.pdf.
8. Giblin Papers (privately held): Dr. Andrew C. Winner to Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., "Update to John Hattendorf's Book—Sailors and Scholars," e-mail, 8 November 2015.
9. The operational experts group (OEG) is an informal coordinating structure that discusses proliferation concerns and plans future exercises. The OEG consists of military, law enforcement, intelligence, legal, and diplomatic experts from PSI states. See Mary Beth Nikitin, *Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)*, CRS Report for Congress RL34327 (Washington, D.C.: 8 January 2010), p. 2, available at <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/137190.pdf>.
10. Giblin Papers (privately held): Professor Robert Rubel to Rear Admiral Jacob Shuford, Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., and Dr. Kenneth Watman, "PSI," e-mail, 1 October 2004.
11. Winner to Giblin, "Update to John Hattendorf's Book," 8 November 2015.
12. Ibid.
13. Naval Historical Collection, Naval War College, Manuscript Item 631: Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to Admiral Michael G. Mullen, USN, 20 July 2006.
14. The College's War Gaming Department was less than half the size it was in 2001, the year the last Global game was conducted. See Rear Admiral Jacob L. Shuford, USN, "President's Forum: Strategic Investment and Title X War Gaming," *Naval War College Review* 61, no. 3 (Summer 2008), p. 10.
15. Naval Historical Collection, Naval War College, Ms. Coll. 23 Hattendorf Papers [hereinafter Hattendorf Papers]: Subject Files: Admiral Vern Clark: "Admiral Vern Clark Edited Remarks, Change of Command, Naval War College, August 12, 2004," p. 4.
16. During the command inspection of the Naval War College by the Naval Inspector General (IG) in 2003, the IG noted that "NWC has assumed the role of providing homeland security training within available resources." In his report to the CNO, he found that "meeting the needs for homeland security war games with civilian authorities—NWC has an appropriate facility to assist in meeting this new national requirement. However, this role is being accomplished at the expense of conducting [research, analysis, and gaming] to support the NWC mission." See Department of the Navy, Office of the Naval Inspector General, "Command Inspection of Naval War College, Part 2," p. 15.
17. For an example of a Naval War College student's paper on this general topic, see Commander John J. Gordon, "Maritime Operational Threat Response Center: The Missing Piece in the National Strategy for Maritime Security" (paper, Joint Military Operations Department, Naval War College, 2006), available at <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA463549>.

- issues; regional developments; nonproliferation and disarmament; the law governing the resort to the use of armed force; the law of armed conflict; the law of the sea; environmental laws applicable to military operations; accountability of military and civilian personnel; law enforcement and international criminal law; the relationship between intelligence and the law of the sea; and migrants and refugees.
120. Ibid.
 121. Ibid.
 122. Richmond M. Lloyd, ed., *Economics and Maritime Strategy: Implications for the 21st Century; Proceedings [of] a Workshop Sponsored by the William B. Ruger Chair of National Security Economics, Newport, Rhode Island, 6–8 November 2006*, William B. Ruger Chair of National Security Economics Papers, no. 2 (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College, [2006]).
 123. Paul D. Taylor, ed., *Perspectives on Maritime Strategy: Essays from the Americas*, Newport Paper 31 (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, 2008), p. ix.
 124. Paul D. Taylor, preface, p. ix; Rear Admiral Alvaro J. Martínez, Argentine Navy, “A Maritime Strategy for the South Atlantic,” pp. 1–10; both in *ibid.*
 125. Taylor, preface, p. x; Rear Admiral Federico Niemann Figari, Chilean Navy, “Views of the Chilean Navy on a New U.S. Maritime Strategy,” in Taylor, *Essays from the Americas*, pp. 41–52. See also CNWS Deans’ Papers, box 43, file 6: Vision of Chilean Navy toward a New Maritime Strategy, 2007.
 126. Taylor, preface, p. ix; Dr. James Boutilier, “Grey on Grey: The Critical Partnership between the Canadian and U.S. Navies,” in Taylor, *Essays from the Americas*, pp. 113–20.
 127. Telephone interview with Admiral Michael G. Mullen, USN (Ret.), 24 January 2013, cited in Elleman, “The Making,” p. 47.
 128. “Mullen Remarks,” p. 1.
 129. Ibid. According to Professor John Jackson of the Naval War College: “Mullen said that he was very impressed by the level of input he received about maritime issues from average American citizens attending the annual Current Strategy Forum, and he wanted to replicate the conversational dynamics of the Current Strategy Forum around the country.” See personal interview with Professor John Jackson, 1 September 2011, cited in Elleman, “The Making,” p. 46.
 130. There is a contending view about how the term “Conversation with the Country” came about. Mullen attributed the idea to Vice Admiral John Morgan. See telephone interview with Admiral Michael G. Mullen, USN (Ret.), 24 January 2013, cited in Elleman, “The Making,” p. 47.
 131. Hattendorf Papers: Subject Files: CS 21 and NWC 2006, box 458, file: Conversations with the Country. This briefing is an early concept for the conversations.
 132. Vice Admiral John G. Morgan, USN, to Admiral Michael G. Mullen, USN, “[no subject],” e-mail, 25 January 2007. See also CNWS Deans’ Papers, box 43, file 9: CNO New Marstrat “Conversations with the Country,” Phoenix AZ, 2007.
 133. Personal interview with Professor Karl Walling, 14 July 2011, cited in Elleman, “The Making,” p. 51.
 134. McGrath, “The Team Leader Speaks.”
 135. Ibid.
 136. Ibid.
 137. Elleman, “The Making,” pp. 52–53.
 138. Rubel, “The Rest of the Story,” pp. 76–77.
 139. McGrath, “The Team Leader Speaks”; Vice Admiral John G. Morgan, USN, to Admiral John Nathman, USN, et al., “New Maritime Strategy Update #14,” e-mail, 16 February 2007.
 140. Rubel to Giblin, “Update of Sailors and Scholars,” 8 January 2016.
 141. “POM 10 Program Review,” slide 23.
 142. CS21.
 143. Individuals in the Maritime Strategy Work Group: see Hattendorf Papers: Subject Files, box 458, file: Maritime Strategy Working Group.
 144. John B. Hattendorf, ed., with John W. Kennedy, *Eighteenth International Seapower Symposium: Report of the Proceedings, 17–19 October 2007* (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College, 2009), p. 2.
 145. Ibid.
 146. This motivation was confirmed in Professor Peter Dutton, Director, China Maritime Studies Institute, to Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., “Update to John Hattendorf’s Book-Sailors and Scholars,” e-mail, 23 February 2016; and Professor Andrew S. Erickson to Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., “CMSI-Update to John Hattendorf’s book—*Sailors and Scholars*,” e-mail, 29 February 2016.
 147. Goldstein had previously approached Murray, then a nuclear submariner on active duty at NWC, in mid-2002 with a stack of Chinese naval journals that had a good deal of what appeared to Murray to be worthwhile information regarding People’s Liberation Army Navy submarines. Goldstein suggested he could translate them into English and that Murray could then assess the relevance of the contents. As a result of their work, Dr. Jonathan Pollack invited them to present their analysis at the Naval War College’s Asia-Pacific Forum, held in Newport on 6–7 February 2003. The work was well received and was subsequently published as Lyle J. Goldstein and William S. Murray, “The Submarine Force in China’s Future Maritime Strategy,” in *Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early Twenty-First Century* (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, 2003), pp. 185–98. Associate Professor William S. Murray to Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., “CMSI-Update to John Hattendorf’s Sailors and Scholars,” e-mails, 28 February 2016 and 7 March 2016.
 148. See Lyle Goldstein and William Murray, “Undersea Dragons: China’s Maturing Submarine Force,” *International Security* 28, no. 4 (Spring 2004), pp. 161–96.
 149. See, for example, the work of Robert G. Weinland, Michael K. McCgwire, and James M. McConnell, *Admiral Gorshkov on “Navies in War and Peace,”* CRC 257 (Arlington, Va.: Center for Naval Analyses, September 1974). Weinland, McCgwire, and McConnell examined eleven articles authored by Admiral of the Fleet Sergey Gorshkov, then commander in chief of the Soviet Navy, that were published in the journal *Morskoi Sbornik (Naval Digest)* in 1972 and 1973. Their analysis addressed such topics as the possibility of an internal debate over Soviet naval missions and budgets, their implications for the future course of Soviet naval force structure and levels, and their meaning for the use of Soviet naval forces in wartime and peacetime.
 150. Initial faculty affiliates were Associate Professors Bruce Elleman and Christopher Yeaw, then of the Strategic Research Department; Professor Michael Chase, then of the Warfare Analysis and Research Department; Professor S. C. M. “Sally” Paine of the Strategy and Policy Department; Professor Paul Smith of the National Security Decision Making Department; Professor Kathleen Walsh of the National Security Decision Making Department; and Professor Toshi Yoshihara of the Strategy and Policy Department. Because of the requirements of their respective departmental chairs, Wilson and Murray did not migrate to a full-time status with CMSI. However, they remained affiliated with the new organization. “The China Maritime Studies Institute” (concept briefing slides, September 2008).

151. Ryan Martinson, Research Administrator, China Maritime Studies Institute, to Dr. James F. Giblin, Jr., "Update of John Hattendorf's Book — Sailors and Scholars," e-mail, 25 February 2016. These volumes included Andrew S. Erickson et al., eds., *China's Future Nuclear Submarine Force* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2007); Gabriel B. Collins et al., eds., *China's Energy Strategy: The Impact on China's Maritime Policies* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2008); Andrew S. Erickson, Lyle J. Goldstein, and Nan Li, eds., *China, the United States, and 21st Century Sea Power: Defining a Maritime Security Partnership* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2010); and Andrew S. Erickson and Lyle J. Goldstein, eds., *Chinese Aerospace Power: Evolving Maritime Roles* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2011).
152. See, for example, Peter Dutton, "International Law and the November 2004 Han Incident," *Asian Security* 2, no. 2 (2006), pp. 87–101; Andrew S. Erickson and Gabriel B. Collins, "Beijing's Energy Security Strategy: The Significance of a Chinese State-Owned Tanker Fleet," *Orbis* 51, no. 4 (Fall 2007), pp. 665–84; Lyle J. Goldstein and William S. Murray, "International Submarine Rescue: A Constructive Role for China?," *Asia Policy*, no. 5 (January 2008); Gabriel Collins and Lieutenant Commander Michael C. Grubb, USN, *A Comprehensive Survey of China's Dynamic Shipbuilding Industry: Commercial Development and Strategic Implications*, China Maritime Studies, no. 1 (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, August 2008), available at https://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS1_Collins-Grubb.aspx; and Andrew S. Erickson, Lyle J. Goldstein, and William S. Murray, *Chinese Mine Warfare: A PLA Navy "Assassin's Mace" Capability*, China Maritime Studies, no. 3 (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, June 2009), available at https://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS3_Mine-Warfare.aspx.
153. "Launched by the Secretary of Defense in 2008," the Minerva Research Initiative focuses on "areas of strategic importance to U.S. national security policy." The initiative's objective is "to improve [the Defense Department's] basic understanding of the social, cultural, behavioral, and political forces that shape the regions of the world of strategic importance to the U.S. The research program will:
- "Leverage and focus the resources of the Nation's top universities.
- "Seek to define and develop foundational knowledge about sources of present and future conflict with an eye toward better understanding of the political trajectories of key regions of the world.
- "Improve the ability of [the Defense Department] to develop cutting-edge social science research, foreign area and interdisciplinary studies that is developed and vetted by the best scholars in these fields.
- "The Minerva Initiative brings together universities, research institutions, and individual scholars and supports interdisciplinary and cross-institutional projects addressing specific topic areas determined by the Secretary of Defense." See "Program History," *The Minerva Research Initiative*, accessed 27 September 2017, <http://minerva.defense.gov/Minerva/Program-History/>; "Objectives," *The Minerva Research Initiative*, accessed 27 September 2017, <http://minerva.defense.gov/Minerva/Objectives/>.
154. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary, Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, speech to Association of American Universities (Washington, D.C., 14 April 2008).
155. Stephen B. Luce, speech at the Naval War College (Newport, R.I., 2 June 1903), reprinted as "An Address Delivered at the United States Naval War College, Narragansett Bay, R.I., June 2, 1903," in *The Writings of Stephen B. Luce*, ed. John D. Hayes and John B. Hattendorf, Historical Monograph Series, no. 1 (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, 1975), pp. 39–40.
156. Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner, "Challenge! A New Approach to a Professional Education at the Naval War College," and "Convocation Address," *Naval War College Review* 25, no. 2 (November–December 1972), pp. 1–10, quotation at p. 7; "Convocation Address" reprinted in *Naval War College Review* 51, no. 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 72–80, quotation at p. 79.

THE UNITED STATES
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE



“ . . . a place of original research on all questions relating to war and to statesmanship connected with war, or the prevention of war.”

Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce, U.S. Navy
Founder, and first President, Naval War College, 1884-1886,
in an address to the Naval War College on 2 June 1903.

Artist's Rendering of the Engraved Glass Plate at the Main Entrance to Spruance Hall.

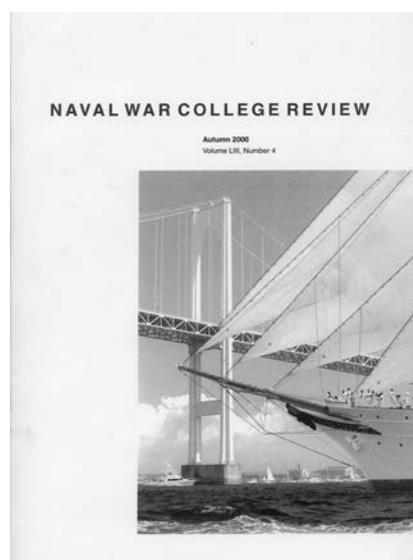
Jason Peters, Naval War College Graphics

Naval War College was collegiality and informal intellectual discussion. There was no meeting place where faculty members and students could regularly and informally congregate or collaborate. Admiral Cebrowski made the observation that members of the College community needed to network among themselves more effectively, thereby sharing knowledge and information, while contributing to the process of developing intellectual capital. As a result he made the decision to dedicate the first floor of the northwest corner of Hewitt Hall to this idea. He directed that a kitchen be installed and an active cafeteria created.⁷⁰ Captain Terry Pudas recalled that the order was not an easy one to execute as it involved a complex set of agreements involving the Navy Region Northeast, the Officers' Club, and the Naval Station and even a viability test.⁷¹

Change in Resource Sponsor

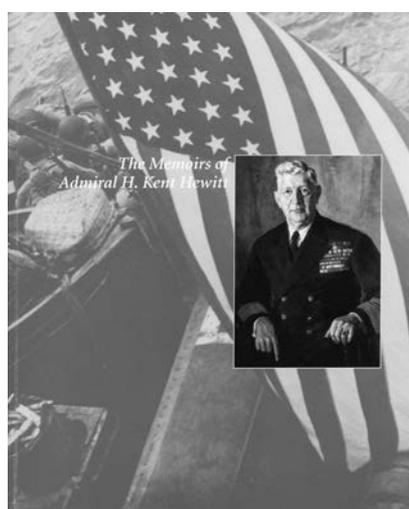
Another important change took place when the decision was made to shift the College's resource sponsor within the Navy from the Chief of Naval Operations to the Naval Education and Training Command. Admiral Cebrowski and his staff fought hard against this change to a long-standing policy. Under the direct sponsorship of the Chief of Naval Operations, the College had operated on a reasonably steady and predictable share of the funds provided to the Chief of Naval Operations, which by this period had reached a budget of approximately \$30 million per year. Due to its steady allocation, competing budget issues had not been a major concern to academic department chairmen or even to the deans. When more money was needed, the President of the College typically made a direct request to the Chief of Naval Operations. The shift to the Naval Education and Training Command meant that all the department heads within the Na-

val War College now had to become much more deeply involved in the very detailed competition for funding through the Navy's program objective memorandum process. While this involved a challenging and distinctive bureaucratic exercise for academics, it had been the normal process for uniformed officers in the naval service since the 1960s. This approach made a dramatic change for the College, allowing it to compete directly for funding, on the basis of documented and anticipated needs. As a result, over the next fifteen years, the College's budget tripled to more than \$100 million a year.⁷²



The Autumn 2000 Issue of the *Naval War College Review* introduced the new design and format for the College's journal. The cover image shows the Spanish Navy's sail training ship *Juan Sebastian de Elcano* approaching the Pell Bridge in Narragansett Bay during the Parade of Sail on 2 July 2000. The Naval War College's Hewitt Hall is visible in the background.

Naval War College Press



Dr. Evelyn Cherpak's Edition of *The Memoirs of Admiral H. Kent Hewitt* Was the First Naval War College Press Book Published with the New Format and Design. *Naval War College Press*

Naval War College Press

In the fall of 1999, the new dean of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Dr. Alberto Coll, directed the *Naval War College Review* staff to begin working on a new image for the *Review*, not only to start the new millennium, but also to raise its sights to try to become one of the nation's finest scholarly journals in the policy arena. After a wide search for designers, the press chose David Chapman

of Chapman and Partners, then of Providence and later based in Warren, Rhode Island. After a period of studies and trials, the new design was launched with the Autumn 2000 issue and a small ceremony attended by Vice Admiral Cebrowski. Over the following years, Chapman produced related designs, still used in 2024, for other Naval War College Press publications. The first Newport Paper with the new design was number



16, *The Third Battle* by Owen Cote, in 2003. The first Historical Monograph was number 15, Dr. Evelyn Cherpak's edition of *The Memoirs of Admiral H. Kent Hewitt*, and the first Policy Studies book was Dr. Jonathan Pollack's *Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early Twenty-First Century*, both of which came out in March 2004. Chapman also produced a related design for the China Maritime Studies series. Its first volume, Gabriel Collins and Lieutenant Commander Michael C. Grubb's *Comprehensive Survey of China's Dynamic Shipbuilding Industry: Commercial Development and Strategic Implications*, appeared in 2008.⁷³

16, *The Third Battle* by Owen Cote, in 2003. The first Historical Monograph was number 15, Dr. Evelyn Cherpak's edition of *The Memoirs of Admiral H. Kent Hewitt*, and the first Policy Studies book was Dr. Jonathan Pollack's *Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early Twenty-First Century*, both of which came out in March 2004. Chapman also produced a related design for the China Maritime Studies series. Its first volume, Gabriel Collins and Lieutenant Commander Michael C. Grubb's *Comprehensive Survey of China's Dynamic Shipbuilding Industry: Commercial Development and Strategic Implications*, appeared in 2008.⁷³

Change Again

The concept of a current revolution in military affairs that Cebrowski, General Shalikashvili, Admiral Owens, and others had championed soon ran into resistance, or as one writer put it, it ran into a "counterrevolution."⁷⁴ As these leaders in the movement retired, the Department of Defense tended to return to its prior approaches. *Joint Vision 2020* replaced *Joint Vision 2010*, moving the goalposts out another decade, even beyond current practical planning and budget cycles.⁷⁵ The term "revolution in military affairs" quietly disappeared and the Department of Defense came to promote the vaguer word "transformation."⁷⁶ Some were much more explicit in their criticism. In Dr. Norman Friedman's 2009 book *Network-Centric Warfare*, he commented, "When the late Adm. Arthur K. Cebrowski coined the phrase something more than a decade ago,



Former President Bush with Rear Admiral McGann and Commander Victoria Turner at the Naval War College President's House Graduation Reception, June 2001.

Naval War College Museum Collection



Rear Admiral Jacob Shuford. As the fifty-first President of the Naval War College, Admiral Shuford served from 12 August 2004 until 6 November 2008. Shuford's tenure of four years, two months, and twenty-five days was the second longest in the history of the College, superseding by one month and twenty-four days the previous record held by Vice Admiral Bernard Austin in 1960–1964. Shuford's presidency was marked by a number of innovative changes, including the establishment of the China Maritime Studies Institute, the College of Operational and Strategic Leadership, and the Maritime Staff Operators Course; the development of courses for flag and general officers serving as maritime and joint component commanders; and a significant increase in the College's international reach.

Naval War College Museum Collection

- 3) Work top-down;
- 4) Establish an agenda-free zone;
- 5) Establish an intellectual audit trail; and,
- 6) Do options.⁷⁸

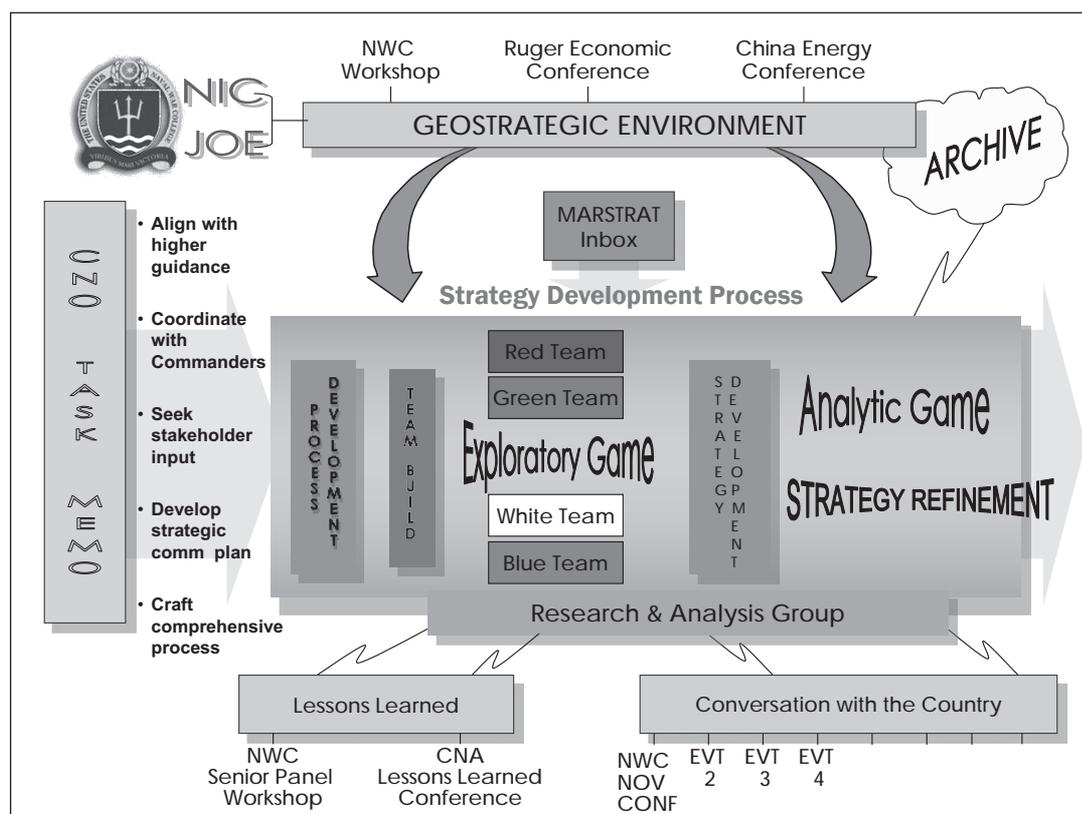
Over the next nine months, Morgan's direction, Rubel's guiding principles, and the process that Rubel and his team had developed provided the intellectual focus for the management and direction of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies and the senior executive leadership of the College.

From the perspective of the Navy Staff, the development of the *Cooperative Strategy* occurred across three phases. Phase I ran from July 2006 to January 2007; phase II, from January through March 2007; and

phase III, from April through 17 October 2007, when the completed strategy was announced at International Seapower Symposium XVIII.⁷⁹

Under Rubel's direction, Captain Michael Sherlock was appointed the executive director of the new maritime strategy project. To provide the necessary working space, a section of the College's library that had previously been used for periodicals was renovated through a grant from the Naval War College Foundation and made into a working area for the project as Hewitt Hall's room 100.

As its first step, the College's strategy development team created a "strawman" set of concepts and issues that would presumably



Strategy Development Process, 2006. This slide from a PowerPoint presentation illustrates the broad process involved. "Maritime Strategy Update" (PowerPoint presentation, 17 August 2006), slide 36.

Naval Historical Collection, Ms. Coll. 23, Box 458

be the bedrock of any new strategy. Rubel insisted that his team begin with an understanding of a range of plausible strategic scenarios and their distinctive characteristics. Rubel's experience and sound judgment recognized the absolute imperative of not making a great leap of faith from self-interest to high theory by prematurely accepting an incomplete strategic concept that could serve to link the diverse elements that emerged in the early stages of the process. To execute most of the College's phase I activities, Rubel turned to Dr. Peter Dombrowski, chairman of the Strategic Research Department, who later recalled that



Rear Admiral James P. Wisecup
President, 6 November 2008–30 March 2011

A surface warfare officer, Rear Admiral Wisecup was Commander, Carrier Strike Group Seven (USS *Ronald Reagan* Strike Group) immediately before becoming the fifty-second President of the Naval War College. The second College president from Clark County, Ohio, he followed in the wake of Clarence Williams, the seventeenth President. A 1977 Naval Academy graduate, Wisecup earned a master's degree from the University of Southern California, was an Olmsted Scholar in France, at the University of Strasbourg, and graduated from the Naval War College in 1998. At sea, he was executive officer of USS *Valley Forge* (CG 50) and commanded USS *Callaghan* (DDG 994) and Destroyer Squadron Twenty-One during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. He received the Vice Admiral James Stockdale Award for Inspirational Leadership. Ashore, Wisecup was assigned to NATO Headquarters, in Brussels, served as force planner and ship scheduler for Commander, U.S. Naval Surface Forces, Pacific, and was an action officer for Navy Headquarters Plans and Policy Staff. He was a Chief of Naval Operations Strategic Studies Group fellow, Director of the White House Situation Room, and Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Korea.

As fifty-second President of the Naval War College, Admiral Wisecup oversaw the continuing growth of the College, inaugurated the Chinese-language library for the College's China Maritime Studies Institute, and hosted two highly successful Current Strategy Fora as well as the Nineteenth International Seapower Symposium. His administration saw increased cooperation and support from the Naval War College Foundation with substantial growth in its membership.

Gerald York's portrait of Admiral Wisecup was designed to echo the portrait of Stephen B. Luce by Frederic Vinton, which is the frontispiece to this history of the Naval War College.

Oil Portrait on Linen by Gerald P. York, Image Courtesy of the Artist

At first, the new dean of academic affairs had no clear or recognized authority over the curriculum, which needed integration and revision. Each teaching department—National Security Decision Making (from 2011, National Security Affairs), Strategy and Policy, Joint Military Operations, the College of Distance Education, electives, and the Naval Operational Planner Course—developed its syllabi in almost complete independence and, except in rare circumstances, without higher input. In the initial period of Garofano's tenure, the chairs and directors did not have regular meetings with the free and open exchanges that form the basis for cooperative action.

In addition, other complications limited the dean's capabilities. The dean of academic affairs was notionally responsible for teaching performance, but the provost retained the dean of faculty's authority over hiring, firing, promotion, and discipline. The comptroller provided the budget with the associate provost's substantial input. The new dean of academic affairs found that he had no apparent role in determining in which of his departments the dozens of new military faculty would teach each year. In addition, the associate provost retained authority over most student survey instruments, access to accrediting agencies, much of the budget, including the faculty development budget, and, through the provost, the agenda for the Academic Policy Council.



Rear Admiral Wisecup Cuts the Ribbon, Formally Opening the China Maritime Studies Institute's Research Library in McCarty Little Hall on 14 January 2010.
Naval War College Museum Collection

Moreover, the dean of academic affairs needed access to the College President on par with the other deans. Among the significant issues, the dean wanted more control over the number of students who opted out of a core curriculum course to do a group advanced research project in the Center for Naval Warfare Studies. This number had reached 16.5 percent of the student body (sixty-seven students in 2009–2010, up from ten in 2004). At the same time, he did not control the makeup of those students. However, the presence or absence of their service and warfare specialties significantly impacted the composition of seminars in the core curriculum. Dean Garofano also found that he had no role in the Advanced Research syllabi or pedagogy.

Similarly, the entire electives program was adrift from Academic Affairs, without clear standards or any process for review of courses or syllabi.

For four of Garofano's six years as dean of academic affairs, his office engaged in significant battles over what to say in accreditation self-studies, during the Naval Inspector General's inspection visits, and in responses following each assessment from the teams of experts from the Naval Inspector General and from the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, and in the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff–approved Process for the Accreditation of Joint Education. To these can be added debates over the revisions of the College's strategic plan. The associate provost controlled these processes, including those visits for academic and joint military education accreditation. In each case and at each stage (self-study, visit, response), the

APPENDIX A

Chronology of Courses and Significant Events at the United States Naval War College, 1884–2019

Year	Date	Event	
1884	3 May	At suggestion of Commodore Stephen Luce, Secretary of the Navy W. E. Chandler appoints a board of 3 officers to report on the subject of postgraduate education for officers.	
	13 June	Board headed by Luce recommends establishment of a war college.	
	6 Oct.	Navy Department General Order 325 establishes a Naval War College (NWC) at Newport, R.I., in the former poor-house and deaf and dumb asylum on Coasters Harbor Island with Luce as “Superintendent.”	
1885	4 Sept.	First summer course begins with 9 students and a faculty composed of Luce, an Army officer, and a civilian professor of international law. Ends 30 September.	
1886	22 June	Luce detached for sea duty without relief.	
	26 Aug.	Captain A. T. Mahan reports and assumes NWC presidency.	
	6 Sept.	Course begins with 21 students. Ends 20 November.	
		William McCarty Little introduces first lecture on war gaming.	
1888	6 Aug.	Course begins with 14 students. Ends 5 November.	
1889	11 Jan.	Navy Department orders consolidation of College with Torpedo Station.	
	12 Jan.	Mahan detached on temporary duty. Commander Caspar Goodrich assumes NWC presidency.	
	5 Aug.	Course begins with 12 students. Ends 25 October 1890.	
1890		No course held.	
	1 May	<i>Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783</i> , by Mahan, is published.	
1891		No course held. Bureau of Navigation (BuNav) cites shortage of officers.	
1892	28 May	First new building (present Luce Hall) completed.	
	21 July	Mahan returns and assumes NWC presidency.	
1893		No course held.	
	1893	10 May	Mahan detached for sea duty. Commander Charles Stockton, President.
		4 Oct.	First visit by a Secretary of the Navy. Hilary Herbert inspects NWC.
		15 Nov.	Commander Henry C. Taylor assumes NWC presidency.
	1894	12 June	Course begins with 25 students, including first foreign officers, 2 from Royal Swedish Navy. Ends 30 September.
	1895	June	Course begins with 25 students. Mahan returns as lecturer. Ends 15 October, includes a Danish officer.
	1896	1 June	Course begins with 27 students. Ends 15 October.
		31 Dec.	Captain Taylor detached for sea duty. Goodrich returns and assumes NWC presidency.
	1897	1 June	Course begins with 22 students. Ends 15 September.
		2 June	Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt addresses War College students and faculty.
	1898	19 Apr.	United States declares war on Spain. Staff, including Goodrich, ordered to sea. Planned course cancelled. College closed for duration of the Spanish-American War.
		12 Aug.	Cessation of hostilities between United States and Spain.
		2 Nov.	Captain Stockton assumes NWC presidency.
	1899	31 May	Course begins with 4 students. Others from fleet in bay attend part-time. Ends 1 October.
	1900	12 Mar.	General Order 11544 constitutes Navy General Board. NWC President assigned as <i>ex officio</i> member.
		1 June	Course begins with 30 students, including 2 from the Revenue Cutter Service. Ends 30 September.
		25 Oct.	Stockton detached for sea duty. Captain French E. Chadwick assumes NWC presidency.
	1901	2 June	Course begins with 28 students, including Rear Admiral Shepard (first flag officer student). Ends 1 October.

2004	18 June	Graduation. Richard Haas, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, addresses graduates. CNW, 146; CNCS, 147; NCC, 39; NSC, 34; CDE receiving master's degree, 47; CDE, 405. Vice Admiral Thomas R. Weschler (Ret.) receives an honorary degree.	2006	16 June	Graduation. Sen. Richard Lugar, Ind., addresses graduates. CNW, 149; CNCS, 145; NCC, 48; NSC Class of 2006, 29; NSC Class Sixty-Eight, 36; CDE receiving master's degree, 105; CDE, 346; NPS Program, 213. Lugar awarded an honorary degree.
	Aug.	Proof of concept for NSC ten-month program begins.		Sept.	First Combined Force Maritime Component Commander (CFMCC) course for international flag and general officers held in Newport. The course focuses on U.S. Naval Forces Central Command.
	12 Aug.	Route proceeds to Washington and is promoted to vice admiral as Naval Inspector General. Rear Admiral Jacob L. Shuford becomes fifty-first NWC President.		6 Sept.	NOPC Class 2006B graduates 16.
	10 Sept.	NOPC Class 2004 graduates 13.		25 Sept.	At a dinner at the Atlantic Beach Club in Middletown in honor of Rear Admiral Joseph C. Strasser, who would retire as executive director of the Naval War College Foundation in November 2006, Rear Admiral Shuford presents Strasser with the Navy Distinguished Public Service Medal and announces that the private dining room adjacent to the Hewitt Hall Café would be named for Strasser. During Strasser's tenure at the Foundation, the endowment grew from about \$3 million to \$14.5 million.
	26–29 Sept.	New England Council on Higher Education (NECHE, formerly part of NEASC) comprehensive evaluation team for continuing accreditation visits NWC.		1 Oct.	China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI) founded as part of the Strategic Research Department within the Center for Naval Warfare Studies.
	17 Nov.	Graduation. Admiral John B. Nathman, Vice Chief of Naval Operations (N09), addresses graduates. CNW, 28; CNCS, 46; CDE, 25.		15 Nov.	Graduation. Vice Admiral John J. Morgan, Jr., Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Information, Plans and Strategy (N3/N5), addresses graduates. CNW, 26; CNCS, 59; CDE, 43.
2005	Mar.	Proof of concept for JPME Phase II program begins.		2 Mar.	Graduation. Rear Admiral Roger T. Nolan (Ret.), Executive Director, Naval War College Foundation and former Commander, Navy Warfare Development Command, Newport, R.I., addresses 40 graduates.
	9 Mar.	Graduation. Vice Admiral John G. Cotton, Chief of Navy Reserve, Commander, Navy Reserve Force, is scheduled to speak but cancels due to weather. Shuford, NWC President, addresses graduates. CNW, 33; CNCS, 60; CDE, 11.		13–18 May	PAJE team visit to NWC for JPME Phase II accreditation for CNW.
	17 June	Graduation. Richard L. Armitage, former Deputy Secretary of State, addresses graduates. CNW, 130; CNCS, 143; NCC, 49; NSC Class of 2005, 21; NSC Class Sixty-Six, 40; CDE receiving master's degree, 85; CDE, 314; NWC at NPS Program, Monterey, Calif., 238.	2007	15 June	Graduation. Admiral James G. Stavridis, Commander, U.S. Southern Command, addresses graduates. CNW, 138; CNCS, 145; NCC, 52; NSC Class of 2007, 35; NSC Class Seventy, 40; CDE receiving master's degree, 133; CDE, 442; NPS Program, 269. Rear Admiral Joseph C. Strasser awarded honorary degree.
	9 Sept.	NOPC Class 2005 graduates 13.		7 Sept.	NOPC Class 2007 graduates 30.
	19–23 Sept.	Seventeenth International Seapower Symposium.			
	16 Nov.	Graduation. L. James Woolsey, former Director, Central Intelligence Agency, addresses graduates. CNW, 23; CNCS, 50; CDE, 38.			
2006	9 Mar.	Graduation. C. Ryan Henry, Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, addresses graduates. CNW, 23; CNCS, 59; CDE, 29.			
	29 Mar.	NOPC Class 2006A graduates 12.			
	May	Primary PME Course for Officers and Enlisted introduction online via Navy Knowledge Online (NKO) begins.			

2007	Oct.	College of Operational and Strategic Leadership (COSL) established.	2009	Apr.	NOPC evolves into the Maritime Advanced Warfighting School (MAWS).
	17–19 Oct.	Eighteenth International Seapower Symposium. On the opening day of the symposium, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Gary Roughead, with the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General James Conway, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Thad Allen, jointly announce the “Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower.”		30 Apr.	Ribbon cutting for Maritime Operations Center battle lab in Evans Hall for COSL’s MSOC.
	Nov.	First Maritime Staff Operators Course (MSOC), taught by COSL, convenes.		4–7 May	PAJE team visit to NWC to reaffirm JPME Phase II accreditation for CNW.
	7 Nov.	Graduation. CNCS, 65.		4 June	Wisecup testifies before House Armed Services Committee Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee on how successful senior professional military schools are at producing military strategists.
	15 Nov.	Graduation. CNW, 42.		16–17 June	Sixtieth Current Strategy Forum.
2008	Jan.	Introductory and Basic PME Courses introduced online via NKO.		19 June	Graduation. Rep. Ike Skelton, Mo., addresses graduates. CNW, 139; CNCS, 154; NCC, 52; NSC Class of 2009, 35; NSC Class Seventy-Four, 37; CDE receiving master’s degree, 159; CDE, 536; NPS Program, 301.
	8 Feb.	Graduation. CNCS, 64.		25 June	Wisecup testifies before House Armed Services Committee on “Raising Thinking from the Tactical to the Operational Level: JMPE I and II at the Services’ and Joint Command and Staff Colleges.”
	4 Mar.	Graduation. CNW, 38.		24 July	War Gaming Department concludes week-long Global ’09.
	20 June	Graduation. Sen. Jack Reed, R.I., addresses graduates. CNW, 202; CNCS, 273; NCC, 54; NSC Class of 2008, 37; NSC Class Seventy-Two, 39; CDE receiving master’s degree, 188; CDE, 582; NPS Program, 280.		10 Sept.	MAWS Class 2009 graduates 29.
	4 Aug.	Global ’08 war game begins, marking the return of Navy Title X War Gaming at NWC. The game series had previously been held annually from 1979 to 2001.		1 Oct.	Updated versions of officer and enlisted Primary Professional Military Education courses launched online through NKO.
	5 Sept.	NOPC Class 2008 graduates 30.		6–9 Oct.	Nineteenth International Seapower Symposium.
	1 Oct.	The Senior Enlisted Academy (SEA) shifts from reporting to Commander, Naval Education and Training Command, to President, Naval War College.		6 Oct.	One hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of NWC.
	5 Nov.	Graduation. Army Lieutenant Colonel James L. Cook, National Security Decision Making Department, addresses graduates. CNCS, 67.		25–30 Oct.	PAJE team visit to NWC to reaffirm JPME Phase I accreditation for CNCS and CCE.
	6 Nov.	Shuford retires from active duty. Rear Admiral James P. Wisecup becomes fifty-second NWC President.		30 Oct.	Graduation. Professor William J. Hartig, Joint Military Operations Department, addresses graduates. CNCS, 55.
	18 Nov.	Graduation. Dr. Karl Walling, Strategy and Policy Department, addresses graduates. CNW, 35.		13 Nov.	Graduation. Professor Donald W. Chisholm, Joint Military Operations Department, addresses graduates. CNW, 29.
2009	5 Jan.	Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG) established.	2010	8 Jan.	Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, addresses NWC students.
	13 Jan.	NSC Class Seventy-Four begins.		14 Jan.	Ribbon cutting for China Maritime Studies Institute research library.
	10 Feb.	Graduation. Professor John R. Schindler, National Security Decision Making Department, addresses graduates. CNCS, 65.		15 Jan.	NSC Class Seventy-Six begins.
	11 Mar.	Graduation. Dr. John H. Maurer, Chair, Strategy and Policy Department, addresses graduates. CNW, 42.		3 Feb.	Graduation. Dr. Marc A. Genest, Forrest Sherman Chair of Public Diplomacy, Strategy and Policy Department, and

- “Cheer Up!! There Is No Naval War College” (Sims), 92
- Cheney, Dick, 339, 470
- Chernavin, Vladimir, 355
- Chernyavskii, Sergei, 459
- Cherpak, Evelyn, 289, 297, 297, 412, 413
- Chester, Colby M., 124
- Chester W. Nimitz Chair of Social and Political Philosophy, 190
- Chief Clerk’s Office, 93
- Chief of Information, 495
- Chief of Naval Education and Training, 273, 431, 598
- Chief of Naval Engineers, 41
- Chief of Naval Operations (CNO)
- and academic accreditation efforts, 320, 335, 451
 - and Advanced Research Department, 381
 - and Armed Forces Staff College’s curriculum, 334
 - on attitudes toward NWC, 672
 - and banning of foreign officers at NWC, 199
 - and budgetary issues at NWC, 663
 - and Cebrowski’s reforms and modernization program, 406–7
 - and Center for Naval Warfare Studies, 283
 - and change in NWC resource sponsor, 412
 - and China Maritime Studies Institute, 547–48
 - and college-to-college relationships, 625, 627
 - and combat-readiness role of NWC, 557
 - and concept development gap in war gaming, 519–21
 - and cooperative degree programs, 286
 - and curriculum revisions at NWC, 658–59
 - and Deep Blue operations group, 586n66
 - and development of cooperative security strategy, 524–25, 528
 - and Executive Policy Group, 288
 - and financial challenges of NWC, 440, 460
 - and General Staff, 87
 - Guidance for 2004*, 598
 - Guidance for 2005*, 482–83, 490–91, 561–62, 563, 569, 603
 - Guidance for 2006*, 577
 - and implementation of *CNO Guidance*, 483, 485–88, 492–96
 - and international maritime security cooperation, 613, 615, 617–18, 635
 - and International Maritime Symposia, 621
 - and international programs at NWC, 363, 458
 - and International Seapower Symposia, 611, 623
 - and Joint Force Maritime Component Commander Course, 561–64, 565–68
 - and LeBourgeois’s NWC reforms, 266
 - and logistics studies at NWC, 172
 - and maritime operations centers, 572
 - and Maritime Security Conference, 577
 - and Maritime Strategy Development Team, 534
 - and mentor programs, 585n45
 - and Naval Command Course, 200
 - and Naval Doctrine Command, 400–402
 - and Naval Long-Range Studies Project, 204
 - and *Naval Manual of Operational Planning*, 178
 - and Naval Operational Planner Course, 570, 586n83
 - and *Navy Leader Development Strategy*, 660
 - and Navy Professional Military Education Continuum, 481
 - and 9/11 attacks, 428
 - and operational effectiveness focus at NWC, 559–60
 - and origins of Center for Naval Warfare Studies, 282–83
 - and “Path to Joint” plan, 500
 - policy on NWC operations, 271–74
 - and Pratt’s reorganization of NWC, 116
 - and Robbins’s curriculum reforms, 202–3
 - and Sea Power 21, 431
 - and senior leaders’ input on *CNO Guidance*, 577–79
 - and Shuford’s 120-day assessment, 513
 - and Shuford’s assumption of NWC presidency, 471
 - and Sims’s presidency at NWC, 97
 - and Stark’s service history, 393
 - and Stockdale Groups, 583–84
 - and Strategic Studies Group, 284
 - and Turner’s assumption of NWC presidency, 244
 - and Turner’s NWC reforms, 260
 - and updating of NWC’s mission, 591–602, 605–7
 - and Wisecup’s service history, 642
 - and World War II Battle Evaluation Group, 176, 177
- Chief of Naval Operations Distinguished International Fellow, 646
- Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel, 431, 453, 636n14
- Chief of Naval Personnel, 179, 189, 260, 265, 271, 286, 486, 498, 500–501, 503, 505, 598
- Chief of Naval Research, 441
- Chief of Naval Reserve, 503
- Chief of the Maritime Staff (CMS) (Japan), 636n15
- Chile, 1, 5, 233, 345, 373, 534, 539, 626, 630, 632, 634
- China, 46, 301, 361, 535, 546
- China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI), 468, 546, 546–49, 548, 553n150, 640, 649
- Chinese-language library at NWC, 640
- Chng Ho Kiat, 413
- Christensen, C. S., Jr., 237, 657–58, 663, 665
- Christenson, John N., 653, 653, 706
- Christmas cards, 128, 368
- chronology of courses and significant events, 679–703
- Chu, David S. C., 446, 494
- Church, Albert T., III, 434–35, 591, 591, 596–97
- Church, W. C., 13
- Cienfuegos, Cuba, 49
- Cinalli, David A., 583
- Citadel, The, 281
- Claiborne Pell Bridge, 234, 412, 589
- Clambake Club, 109
- Clark, David G., 244
- Clark, Vernon E., 421, 512
- and change of command ceremony, 471
 - as Chief of Naval Operations, 421
 - and concept development gap in war gaming, 518–19
 - at Current Strategy Forum, 430
 - and demand for war-gaming analysis, 516
 - and financial challenges of NWC, 439–40
 - and GERB Report, 433–34
 - and implementation of *CNO Guidance*, 481–82, 484, 486, 487, 489, 491–92, 584
 - and international maritime security cooperation, 613, 614, 617–18
 - and international programs at NWC, 458
 - and Joint Force Maritime Component Commander Course, 561–63
 - and joint professional military education requirements, 435
 - and maritime operations centers, 573
 - and Navy Professional Military Education Continuum, 479–81
 - and Newport Papers, 425
 - and organizational restructuring of NWC, 445
 - priorities of Chief of Naval Operations, 414
 - and quantitative methods at NWC, 448–50
 - and Rempt’s move to Naval Academy, 447

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SAILORS AND SCHOLARS



The History of the
U.S. Naval War College,
1884–2009

VOLUME II
1984–2009

John B. Hattendorf



John B. Hattendorf is the Ernest J. King Professor Emeritus of Maritime History at the U.S. Naval War College, a chair he also occupied from 1984 until his 2016 retirement. Additionally, he served as

chairman of the College's Advanced Research Department, 1986 to 2003, and Chairman, Maritime History Department, as well as Director, Naval War College Museum, 2003–2016. He fully retired in 2024, having served the Navy for six decades. As an officer in the U.S. Navy, 1964–1973, he saw combat action while serving on board destroyers during the Vietnam War. He also served in uniform in the Naval History Division, OPNAV, and then on the faculty and staff of the Naval War College. He holds degrees in history from Kenyon College (1964) and Brown University (1971), with two doctorates from the University of Oxford (DPhil, 1979, and DLitt, 2016). He is author or editor of more than fifty books and has received many awards for his contributions to maritime history. He was visiting professor of military and naval history at the National University of Singapore, 1981–1983; spent a year on exchange with the German Armed Forces Military History Research Office in 1990–1991; and was a visiting fellow at Pembroke College, Oxford, 2001–2002.

Cover: Personnel working in groups in Sims Hall with the Enhanced Naval War Gaming System (1988).

Source: Naval War College Archives.

This edition is a revision and continuation of *Sailors and Scholars: The Centennial History of the U.S. Naval War College*, by John B. Hattendorf; B. Mitchell Simpson, III; and John R. Wadleigh, published in 1984.

“Those who consider ourselves well-read in U.S. naval history, especially those years when we were part of it, are in for a surprising treat. John Hattendorf has given us the second volume of the elegantly written story of the Naval War College, full of facts, people, and anecdotes that are new and important. His account covers from 1984 to 2009, and will be an excellent fit to the yet-to-be-written story of the creation of the maritime strategy by Lehman, Holloway, Lyons, Claytor, West, and Swartz in '79 and '80.”

– John Lehman
65th Secretary of the Navy

“Before my retirement, my experience studying at the Naval War College greatly benefited me in my role as Chief of Maritime Staff. Being a part of the NCC Class of 2007, I gained valuable leadership skills in the Stockdale Group and found the relationships I built there to be immensely valuable. NWC has been a significant educational institution for many past Chiefs of Maritime Staff. This book, documenting the history of NWC, offers significant insights for the development of our future, and I'm confident it will serve as a guide for our aspirations.”

– Ryo Sakai
Admiral (Retired), Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force

“My year at the U.S. Naval War College as part of the Class of 2007 remains one of the most fundamental experiences of my career. It shaped me as an operational and strategic leader and created lasting bonds and insights that continue to influence my service to this day. John Hattendorf's history shows how the College has maintained its position as the home of naval thought for 140 years by continuously adapting to geopolitical, operational, and technological change. I look back on my time in Newport with great appreciation and am confident that the world's navies will continue to watch the College during this unprecedented era of change.”

– Jan Christian Kaack
Vice Admiral and Chief of German Navy





The Naval War College coat of arms was adopted on 2 April 1956 with the approval of College President Vice Admiral Lynde D. McCormick. In December 1955, Captain Leonard J. Dow, a student in the College's Advanced Study of Strategy and Seapower course, initiated the idea, and McCormick began the formal process with a request to the U.S. Army's Institute of Heraldry to design an appropriate heraldic emblem. On 23 April 1956, after receiving further advice from Captain Dow, Lieutenant Colonel James S. Cook, Jr., chief of the heraldic branch, submitted a description, which was slightly modified by the College. The final version, formally approved by Vice Admiral McCormick, is as follows:

SHIELD: Azure, issuing from a bar gemel wavy argent in base, a trident palewise or.

The wavy white and blue bars at the bottom of the shield represent water. The trident rising from the water symbolizes mastery of naval activities. The three tines of the trident allude to an understanding of naval warfare on the sea, in the air, and on the land.

CREST: On a wreath of the colors, or and azure, a pilot wheel surrounded by a wreath of laurel all or.

The pilot wheel alludes to the purpose of the Naval War College: education in the art and science of naval warfare. The eight spokes refer to honor, duty, leadership, command, strategy, tactics, logistics, and weapons. The laurel wreath is for achievement of the mission.

MOTTO: *Viribus Mari Victoria*, translated as "Victory through sea power."

Sailors *and* Scholars

*The History of the U.S. Naval
War College, 1884–2009*

Volume II, 1984–2009

by

John B. Hattendorf

Second edition, revised, enlarged, and illustrated



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C O N T E N T S

CHAPTER 13

History and Commemoration, 1984 293
The History behind the History • Administrative Aftermath

CHAPTER 14

Beginning the Naval War College's Second Century, 1984–1987 305
The Naval War College and the *Maritime Strategy* of the 1980s • War Games • The Beginnings of the Department of Defense Reform Movement • Change in College Presidents • The Henry E. Eccles Library—Fire and Recovery • The Beginning of Academic Accreditation for the Naval War College

CHAPTER 15

The Long Process for Joint and Academic Accreditation, 1987–1991 327
The Naval War College Review • Other Courses • The Continuing Quest for Academic Accreditation

CHAPTER 16

The Teaching Curriculum in the 1990s 345
Curriculum Revision • The National Security Decision Making Department • The Joint Military Operations Department • Strategy and Policy Department • Continuing Education • Electives • International Programs • The Henry E. Eccles Library • The College's Curriculum in Perspective

CHAPTER 17

Research in the 1990s..... 369
Strategic Studies Group • War Gaming Department • Global War Game and Advanced Concepts Department • Strategic Research Department • Oceans Law and Policy Department • Office of Naval Intelligence Detachment • Advanced Research Department • From a Decision Support Center to a Decision Strategies Department • Naval War College Press • The Naval War College's Curriculum and Research Recognized

CHAPTER 18

Changes in the Wind, 1995–2001 393
The Presidency • Plans for a New Building • Naval Officers as Students and Faculty • The Naval Doctrine Command and the Navy Warfare Development Command • The Return of a Vice Admiral to the College President's Office • The Origins of the Concept of Network-Centric Warfare • Preparing for the Twenty-First Century • From the Naval Operational Planner Course to the Maritime Advanced Warfighting School • Mahan Scholars Program • Accreditation of the Fleet Seminar Program • Cafeteria • Change in Resource Sponsor • Naval War College Press • Change Again

CHAPTER 19**In the Shadow of 9/11, 2001–2004 421**

The College Responds to the Events of 11 September 2001 • Sea Power 21 • Graduate Education in the Navy • Professional Military Education and Joint Professional Military Education • Research, Analysis, and Gaming • International Programs • Financial Challenges • Administrative Actions • Organizational Changes within the College • The Effects of Change • A New President • Graduate and Professional Military Education • Faculty Appointments and Promotions • Research, Analysis, and Gaming • International Programs • Fiscal Guidance and Risk Assessment • The Naval War College Foundation’s *Queen Mary 2* Cruise • Change of Command

CHAPTER 20**Reaffirming Academic Accreditation and Developing Strategic and Operational Leaders 469**

On Taking Charge • Reaffirmation of the College’s Accreditation • Developing Strategic and Operational Leaders • The College and the Continuum • “TACAMO—Take Charge and Move Out” • “Don’t Set the Plow Blade Too Deep” • The Devil Is Always in the Details • Reducing a “Cost of Opportunity” • “Accelerate Your Mind” • The “Path to Joint”

CHAPTER 21**Helping the Chief of Naval Operations Define the Future Navy 513**

The Good News • The Games That Count • The Concept Gap • The Return of the Global War Game • The “Gap” Decision Goes against the Naval War College • The Beginning of *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower* • The Meeting on the Barge • Make All Preparations for Getting under Way • “Kick the Tires . . . Light the Fires . . .” • The Gathering of the “Graybeards” • The College’s Strategy Team • Let the Games Begin • Supporting Fires • Listening to the American People • Long on Data . . . Short on Options • The Completion of the College’s Work on *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower* • Filling a Critical Gap

CHAPTER 22**Supporting Combat Readiness 557**

The Overview in 2004 • The Campaign Plan • The Lines of Operations—JFMCC • Stars to Steer By: Laying the Track • The Lines of Operations—Naval Operational Planner Course and “the Short Course” • The Maritime Operations Center • New Lines of Operations • The Navy’s Senior Leaders on the Operational Level of War • Matching Form with Function • Other Initiatives • The Outcome

CHAPTER 23**Evolution of the College’s Mission, Functions, and Tasks, 2001–2012 591**

An Anchor to Windward • Setting the Anchor • Now Set the Anchor Watch • Now Set the Underway Watch: The Course to the New Mission • Revitalizing the Navy at the Operational Level of War: Supporting Combat Readiness • The Fourth Mission Element • Epilogue: The Bureaucratic Resolution

CHAPTER 24

Strengthening Maritime Security Cooperation	611
A New Mission Element? • Suspicions Confirmed • The Challenge—How Best to Move Forward?	
• The College Moves Downrange • The Question of Graduate Degrees • A Broader Approach to the Field Studies Program • The Fiftieth Reunion • International Seapower Symposia XVII and XVIII	
• College-to-College Relationships • Reconnecting with the College’s International Graduates • International Fellows • International Law Initiatives • Summing It Up	

CHAPTER 25

The College and Its Curriculum at 125 and Beyond	641
The New Provost • The Fifty-Second President of the College • The National Debate about Teaching Strategy • Wisecup Testifies before Congress • The New Dean of Academic Affairs • Dean of Academic Affairs • Curriculum Bifurcation • Curriculum Development • Consideration of Faculty Tenure • Government Shutdowns, Sequestration, and Furloughs • Epilogue, 2009–2024 • An After Lookout Reports	

Appendix A	679
Chronology of Courses and Significant Events at the United States Naval War College, 1884–2019	

Appendix B	705
List of the Presidents of the U.S. Naval War College	

Appendix C	707
Key Naval War College Officials, 1972–2025	

Appendix D	713
Distinguished Graduates, 1885–2024	

Index	725
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