

United States Army War College



Communicative Arts Directive

**Resident Education Program Class of 2013
Distance Education Program Class of 2014**

U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5216

Middle States Accreditation

The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

COMMUNICATIVE ARTS

*The strategic leader who can't communicate is akin to
a weapon without ammunition . . . mostly useless.*




RANDALL K. CHEESEBOROUGH
COL, FA
Chair, Department of Academic Affairs


ROBERT K. NYE
COL, IN
Acting Dean of Academics

ATWC-A

MEMORANDUM FOR SEE DISTRIBUTION

SUBJECT: Communicative Arts Directive

1. Revisions to the Communicative Arts Directive (CAD) are complete. It provides guidance for the AY13 Resident Education Program and the AY14 Distance Education Program.
2. The revised CAD will be posted on the CBPortal in its entirety upon final USAWC approval. Additionally, it will be distributed to all students and faculty.
3. The following item is an enclosure to this memorandum:

Communicative Arts Directive

1 Encl



ROBERT K. NYE
COL, IN
Acting Dean of Academics

DISTRIBUTION:

DCOMDT -	1	DAA -	22
CofS -	1	AHEC -	2
DNSS -	40	CEC	12
DMSPO -	48	SSI -	30
DCLM -	40	SSR -	5
DDE -	65	PKSOI -	35
RCA -	2	CIO	4
CSL -	40	PAO -	3
Registrar-	4	Com Arts	50
Library -	10		

Table of Contents

Communicative Arts and Strategic Leadership

Information Acquisition, Distribution, and Analysis	2
Critical Reading	2
Active Listening	2
Public Speaking.....	2
Professional Writing	2
Assessment of Graduate Skills.....	3
Distance Education and USAWC Fellowship Programs.....	3
Assessment of Student Work	3
Oral Presentations.....	3
Written Work	5
Assessment Guidance.....	6

Communicative Arts and the Resident Education Program

Skill Development Opportunities	7
Critical Reading Skills.....	7
Active Listening Skills	7
Public Speaking Skills	7
Public Speaking Requirement	8
Professional Writing Skills	10
International Fellows Writing Program	10
Extended Writing Projects	11
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	11
Strategy Research Project (SRP)—Institutional Requirement.....	12
SRP Myths	13
SRP Milestones.....	14

SRP Travel.....	15
<u>Communicative Arts and the USAWC Fellowship Program</u>	
Communication Responsibilities.....	17
Strategic Communication Goals	17
Public Speaking.....	17
Professional Writing Projects	18
Article for Publication (AFP).....	18
Civilian Research Paper (CRP)	19
CRP Schedule and Milestones	20
<u>Communicative Arts and the Distance Education Program</u>	
Skill Development Opportunities	21
Critical Reading Skills.....	21
Professional Writing Skills	21
Program Papers—Basic Guidance	21
Extended Writing Projects	21
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	21
Program Research Project (PRP).....	22
PRP and PEM Milestones	23
<u>Student Awards Program for Excellence in the Communicative Arts</u>	
USAWC Student Paper Award Nomination Guidelines	25
Nomination Parameters—Overall	25
Nomination Parameters—USAWC Writing Awards	25
Nomination Parameters—USAWC Research Awards	26
Resident Education Program Student Awards.....	26
Secretary of Defense National Strategy Essay Competition	26

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff National Defense and Military Strategy Essay Competition	26
USAWC REP Research Awards.....	27
USAWC REP Writing Awards.....	27
USAWC REP Public Speaking Award	29
USAWC DEP Research Awards.....	29
USAWC DEP Writing Awards.....	29

Guide to Writing and Research for Strategic Leaders

Research	31
Research Terminology	32
Abstract	32
Argument.....	32
Bibliography	32
Endnotes	32
Epigraph.....	33
Evidence	33
Information (“Info”) Paper	34
Organization.....	34
Outline.....	35
Paraphrase and Quotation	36
Point of View	36
Policy Paper	37
Thesis	37
Voice (Active and Passive).....	37
Document Formatting.....	39
Papers.....	39

SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs.....	40
SRP, PRP, and PEM Format Check.....	42
Document Submission	43
Distance Education Program Course Papers	43
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	43
Program Research Project (PRP).....	44
Strategy Research Project (SRP)	44

Rules for Writing and Research

Academic Misconduct	45
Copyright	45
USAWC Student Papers	45
Use of Outside Materials in Student Projects.....	46
Distribution of Documents	46
Distribution A.....	46
Distribution B.....	47
Distribution G	47
Freedom of Information Act	47
SRP/PRP/CRP/PEM Availability and Access	47
Human Subjects Research.....	47
Non-Attribution Policy.....	48
Plagiarism	48
Security Classification	50
Source Documentation.....	51
Student Publication	52

Endnote Citation Format

Determining Citation Type.....	53
--------------------------------	----

Questions to Ask	53
Determining Endnote Type.....	54
Single Source Endnotes	54
Multiple Source Endnotes.....	54
Content Endnotes.....	54
Articles in Journals	55
Basic Journal Format.....	55
Journal Author Information	55
Journal Information.....	55
Means of Access	55
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive.....	56
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive	56
Articles in Magazines	56
Basic Magazine Format.....	56
Magazine Author Information.....	57
Magazine Information	57
Means of Access	57
Periodical Interview	57
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive.....	57
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive	57
Articles in Newspapers.....	57
Basic Newspaper Format	57
Newspaper Author Information	58
Newspaper Information	58
Means of Access	58
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive.....	58

Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive	58
Books.....	58
Basic Book Format	58
Book Author Information.....	58
Book Information	59
Book in Series	59
Edition other than First	59
Edited or Compiled Book.....	59
Means of Access.....	59
Repeated Reference to Book—Consecutive	60
Repeated Reference to Book—Non-Consecutive.....	60
Translated Book	60
Book Sections.....	60
Book Chapter by Book Author	60
Book Chapter in Edited Work	60
Quotation in Book—Secondary Source	60
Internet-Only Sources	60
Home Page	60
Home Page—Linked File.....	61
Internet Document.....	61
Military Publications	61
Army Regulation.....	61
Congressional Hearing	61
Congressional Testimony	61
Fragmentary Order (FRAGO).....	61
Joint Publications	61

Public Documents.....	62
Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report	62
Federal Budget.....	62
Government Accountability Office (GAO) Report.....	62
National Security Strategy	62
Posture Statement.....	62
Public Law.....	62
Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR).....	62
United States Army War College Student Writing Projects	62
United States Constitution	63
Recorded Media.....	63
Hardcopy.....	63
Internet.....	63
Unpublished Sources	63
Briefings	63
Electronic Mail and Social Networking Communications.....	64
Memoranda.....	64
Personal Interviews	64
United States Army War College Speakers	64
<u>Resources for Student Success</u>	
Research and Writing Process.....	65
Verification of Endnote Style	66
Reader's Edge Speed Reading Access Instructions.....	67
Information Paper Guidance	68
Information Paper Example.....	69
Communicative Arts Contacts and Resources	70

Template Instructions

Basic Information73

Selecting the Proper Template.....74

 Cover Page Differences74

 Resident Education Program Guidance.....75

 Distance Education Program Guidance75

 USAWC Fellowship Program Guidance75

Template Front Matter.....76

 Information Entry—Basic Guidance.....76

 SF 298—Box by Box Instructions76

Making Effective Use of the Template78

 Using the Home Tab of the Ribbon.....78

 Using the Insert Tab of the Ribbon83

 Using the References Tab of the Ribbon84

 Using the Review Tab of the Ribbon84

Exemplary Student Writing

Model Short Paper—Strategy Article.....85

Model Course Paper—DEP92

Model PEM—Abridged.....104

Model Research Paper109

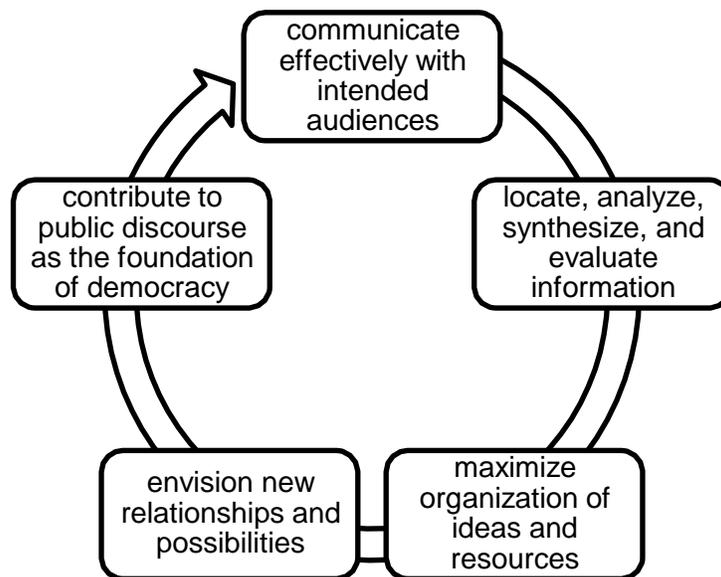
Index

Major Topics and Terms.....143

Communicative Arts and Strategic Leadership

The Communicative Arts are concerned with the exchange of messages and the impact of messages on human beings operating within specific circumstances constrained by powerful social, cultural, and political influences. The mission of the Communicative Arts Office is to promote communicative competence: the analysis and creation of thoughtful messages and the understanding of how those messages are best communicated, interpreted, and understood. The world is increasingly volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous, making proficient communication a pivotal competency for strategic leaders. Communicative Arts strives to identify ways to enhance communication proficiency. This goal is shared by the faculty and the larger professional community affiliated with the United States Army War College (USAWC).

Fundamental communication competencies include (a) *reading* diverse texts and information sources, (b) *listening* effectively and efficiently to voluminous information flows, (c) *speaking* with substance, clarity, and confidence to diverse audiences, and (d) *writing* economically, articulately, and persuasively using compelling arguments built on solid evidence. Working with and through Resident and Distance Education Program (REP and DEP) faculty, the United States Army War College Fellowship Program (USAWC Fellows), Computer Education Center (CEC), Educational Methodology and Technology, the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), the Center for Strategic Leadership (CSL), the Army Heritage Education Center (AHEC), and the USAWC Library, the Communicative Arts Program facilitates student ability to:



Broadly speaking, communication skills entail (a) information *acquisition* and *analysis* through critical reading and effective listening, and (b) information *distribution* and *analysis* through public speaking and professional writing. Significantly, *analysis*—the consideration of how messages are constructed and likely to be understood—is key to acquisition and distribution.

This directive offers information and guidance helpful to negotiating the academic curricula offered through the Resident, Distance, and USAWC Fellowship Programs. All share a common mission: to prepare the next generation of strategic leaders for success in an uncertain world. The REP is an intensive, face-to-face academic venue delivered in a seminar format. The DEP privileges independent learning through a computer mediated intellectual environment. The

USAWC Fellowship Program facilitates development of subject matter expertise through study at prestigious civilian and DoD institutions. These programs, and the faculty who bring them to life, recognize the fundamental role of communicative arts to mission success.

Information Acquisition, Distribution, and Analysis

Critical Reading

Strategic leaders are always pressed for time. Finding time to read and to carefully process the information visually requires skill, practice, and sustained commitment. Reading well—with efficiency, exceptional comprehension, and a critical eye—is an essential and expected competency for those who make decisions and offer informed recommendations to others. All USAWC courses involve extensive reading and most require it daily. Students have many opportunities to identify coherent bodies of knowledge, to initiate systematic reading programs, and to independently explore materials and resources intended to help maximize subject matter expertise as well as reading effectiveness and efficiency.

Active Listening

Listening—the process of selecting, attending to, and constructing meaning from oral and nonverbal messages—is a fundamental information acquisition process. By some counts, people devote over 40 percent of their communication time to listening activities and attending to messages initiated by others. Strategic leaders can improve their professional effectiveness and enhance personal credibility by learning how to avoid non-productive listening habits while maximizing listening capabilities. The USAWC offers several structured opportunities for students to enhance listening competency through lectures and presentations. Listening is an important daily activity that entails far more than simple auditory processing of oral message streams. The effective strategic leader is poised to attend and focus at the right time.

Public Speaking

Public speaking is a fundamental leadership competency for senior executives and national leaders. The ability to craft and deliver effective oral presentations must be developed by those being groomed for leadership roles at the strategic level. Strategic leaders must also possess fundamental media competence and well-honed skills that facilitate using media to deliver messages to diverse and multiple audiences. Effective public speaking facilitates the exchange of ideas, the building of community and consensus, and helps to identify best courses of action. The ability to lead is rooted in the ability to speak clearly, thoughtfully, and persuasively.

Members of the Carlisle Barracks community often have the knowledge, experience and communication skills necessary to speak publicly about a wide range of national defense topics. Students, faculty, and others are encouraged to address topics within their areas of expertise. Those who speak help to increase public understanding of national defense topics and related issues. Plan to take full advantage of the opportunities for public expression that association with the USAWC offers (see CBks Pamphlet 10-1, section 2-8).

Professional Writing

Facility with the written word is probably the most fundamental and enduring competency of any strategic leader. The ability to write well, with purpose, clarity, and precision, reflects the quality

of a writer's mind. The most able individuals write articulately and persuasively. The hardest working and most gifted capitalize on the flexibility of language such that the available means of persuasion are both discovered and put to good use. At the strategic level, Communicative Arts is invested disproportionately in the written word. That is not an accident. Strategic leaders must be able to advance well reasoned arguments that are sustained by evidence and that warrant particular courses of action. All students have multiple opportunities to communicate via writing. Opportunities to engage in extended writing projects include: The REP and DEP Personal Experience Monograph (PEM), The REP Strategy Research Project (SRP), the DEP Program Research Project (PRP), and the USAWC Fellowship Program Civilian Research Project (CRP).

Assessment of Graduate Skills

Each year, the Communicative Arts Office administers an assessment of graduate skills called the Graduate Skills Diagnostic (GSD). The diagnostic is an opportunity for incoming students to demonstrate facility with the English language, fundamental grammar skills, and introductory research protocol. The GSD is taken without the benefit of notes, books, or other study materials. It consists of a number of objective-style questions and one or more brief essay/short answer opportunities. Diagnostic scores help identify areas in which particular students would benefit from additional assistance at the start of their USAWC studies.

The GSD is crafted in accord with standard educational testing and evaluation protocol. The measure is annually reviewed for both qualitative merit and statistical utility. It consistently helps identify students most likely to benefit from supplemental academic and writing assistance. The measure entails sampled items from three domains: (1) the structure of American English (grammar), (2) general language facility, including punctuation and mechanics, and (3) fundamental research protocol. Grammar specific and definitional questions reveal pertinent information about writing/language competency. Those who recognize the difference between a compound and a complex sentence or who understand the function of a colon or comma demonstrate a depth of language facility that keeps them in good stead throughout the program.

- Resident Education Program—U.S. Students: Complete the Diagnostic by the announced suspense. It is delivered on-line and requires just over one hour to complete.
- Resident Education Program—International Fellows: Complete the Diagnostic during their assigned session. It is proctored by faculty, administered in print or electronically (as the technology-of-the-day permits), and takes up to 90 minutes to complete.

Distance Education and USAWC Fellowship Programs

USAWC Fellows and DEP students are not required to take the Graduate Skills Diagnostic. The GSD, however, is available for those students who would like the opportunity to assess their skills, compare their scores with the mean scores of other students, and investigate ways to further develop writing and research skills. The GSD is easily accessible on-line, takes just over one hour to complete, and is available nearly anytime. Interested students should contact the Communicative Arts Office for more information and to gain access to the GSD resource.

Assessment of Student Work

Oral Presentations

Effective oral presentations (a) reflect appropriate analysis, research, and thought, (b) are carefully tailored to the intended audience, and (c) achieve maximum impact through clear

organization and delivery. Of paramount importance are the quality and clarity of ideas, the analysis and arguments advanced, and the strength of evidence used for support. PowerPoint slides, briefing aids, charts, and other supporting materials can help maximize impact, but “glitz, shine, and glitter” will never substitute for clear thinking, solid research, and effective speaking.

Faculty assessment is largely holistic and subjective, but remains focused on the message trilogy: Content, Organization, and Delivery. Content carries the most weight as it privileges assessment of idea quality and argument strength. Thus, although each major presentational aspect is important, the overall assessment cannot be rated higher than the Content assessment. A speech might be well organized and delivered expertly, but if the speaker has nothing worthwhile to say, an important opportunity is lost. Strategic leaders cannot afford to miss such opportunities. Assessment criteria are the same for both the Resident and Distance Education Programs. Each element of the message trilogy receives a numerical assessment:

- 5 - Outstanding. The presentation not only exceeds standards in every salient respect, but stands as an exemplar of human excellence in oral communication. It (a) displays exceptional creativity, solid research, able analysis, and perceptive synthesis, (b) employs an efficient and economical organizational scheme, (c) reflects both depth and balance, (d) is delivered clearly and articulately, and (e) displays confidence derived from grounded knowledge and experience, on the one hand, and openness to the possibility of change on the other.
- 4 - Exceeds Standards. The presentation is impressive and clearly above the norm. The speaker is an able communicator who is responsive to the task/opportunity. The presentation is (a) thoughtfully organized, (b) germane to the audience/situation, (c) alive with well-constructed arguments that are ably-supported with relevant evidence and solid reasoning. The speaker’s facility with analytical reasoning and the ability to synthesize and integrate material is strong. The presentational delivery is clear, crisp, reasonably persuasive, and consistently articulate.
- 3 - Meets Standards. The presentation is a competent and fully acceptable response to a speaking opportunity, suggesting that even better oral work will be forthcoming. It (a) is informative, perhaps somewhat persuasive, (b) includes evidence, some of which is grounded in research, (c) has a reasonable organizational structure that brings unity to the presentation, (d) appropriately addresses clearly identified major points, often with support from credible and acknowledged sources. The stated purpose is accomplished while favorably accommodating the intended audience. Oral delivery does not distract from the speaker’s substantive message.
- 2 - Needs Improvement. The presentation is weaker than it should be and possibly deficient in one or more salient respects. The content might be weak, the organization unclear and/or the delivery uninspired. Content deficiencies are the gravest concern, however, because the absence of anything worthwhile to say inherently undercuts the need to organize, or to present as an invested and articulate spokesperson. A presentation characterized by minimal analysis, deficient insight, lack of evidence, inadequate preparation, poor organization or a cavalier presentational style which leaves some listeners confused and disoriented “needs improvement.”
- 1 - Fails to Meet Standards. The presentation is more than weak or deficient—it misses the task substantially. The content or substance of the presentation is unsubstantiated, illogical, or exceedingly shabby; the organizational scheme is unorganized and unfocused; the delivery is uninspired and characterized by inarticulate speaking. Nonperformance also “fails to meet standards.”

Written Work

The ability to write and the ability to think are directly related. Strong writing skills demonstrate intellectual competence and acumen as well as critical thinking facility. Students should clearly emphasize analysis, synthesis, and evaluation in written compositions. Thoughtful exposition moves beyond simple description. Professional writers avoid substituting personal opinion for insightful ideas. To be effective, knowledge claims, arguments, contentions, and insights must be supported with clearly presented and sensibly organized evidence.

USAWC papers require a clear thesis that is well-supported, properly documented, concise, and logically organized. Papers must adhere to conventional rules of English grammar and syntax, using a professional/academic style. Written work must represent individual effort, analysis, and reasoning. “Double-dipping” is not allowed. A paper may not be used to fulfill requirements for more than one course (although its ideas may be used as building blocks for another).

Faculty assessment of written work is largely holistic and subjective, but remains focused on the message trilogy: Content, Organization, and Style, where Style is concerned with perfecting the “flexibility and obedience” of language to accomplish a desired end. Content carries the most weight as it includes assessment of idea quality and argument strength. Thus, although each major aspect of the writing is important, the overall assessment cannot be rated higher than the Content assessment. A paper might be well organized and stylistically interesting, but if the writer fails to communicate worthwhile ideas to the reader, an important opportunity is lost. Strategic leaders cannot afford to miss such opportunities. Assessment criteria are the same for both the Resident and Distance Education Programs. Each element of the message trilogy receives a numerical assessment rating as follows:

- **5 - Outstanding.** The paper not only exceeds standards in every salient respect, but stands as an exemplar of excellence in written communication. It displays exceptional insight and creativity, able analysis, solid research, precise documentation, and does so in a literate context with an efficient and economical organizational scheme. Reflecting both depth and balance, it advances a thoughtful explication of a problem, question or subject area, and is an inviting, compelling read—one suitable for publication with only minor edits and polishing.
- **4 - Exceeds Standards.** Impressive and clearly above the norm, the paper is insightful and responsive to the task, well researched, ably documented, and thoughtfully organized. The writer has a strong ability to analyze, synthesize, and integrate material. The work exhibits clarity in thought and expression and reflects an accomplished and continuously developing command of language. The paper is thoughtful, substantive, well structured, aptly documented, and well worth reading.
- **3 - Meets Standards.** The paper is an acceptable and competent response to a writing opportunity: informative, somewhat persuasive, and includes some evidence grounded in research. Major points are clearly identified and appropriately developed, often with support from properly documented credible sources. The organization is reasonable, demonstrates unity, and has a clear beginning, middle, and end. The writing is relatively free of grammatical, punctuation, and spelling/typing errors. The author displays a mature ability to gather information, address important issues, express ideas/arguments in appropriate language, accomplish a stated task, and accommodate the reader.
- **2 - Needs Improvement.** The paper is weaker than it should be and possibly deficient in one or more salient respects. The content is weak or the reasoning and logic noticeably flawed; the organization might be unclear and/or the style (facility with language)

deficient. Content shortcomings are the gravest concern because the absence of substantial material severely undercuts the need for organization and the ability to craft a thoughtful and articulate paper. A manuscript characterized by minimal analysis, deficient insight, lack of evidence, inadequate research, slipshod documentation, poor organization, and sloppy and/or semi-coherent writing “needs improvement.”

- 1 – Fails to Meet Standards. The paper is more than simply weak or deficient—it misses the mark substantially. The content is superficial or soft-headed at best, the organization is little more than a running litany of thinly connected topics, and the style/language usage is casual, chatty, and pedestrian. Knowledge claims and observations are offered without research support and appropriate source documentation. Failure to submit a paper within the specified timeframe also “fails to meet standards.”

Assessment Guidance

CBKs Memorandum 623-1 requires assessment of student work to be centered on Content, Organization, and Delivery (oral presentations) or Style (written work) with Content being paramount. Work that receives a Content assessment of Needs Improvement or Fails to Meet Standards cannot receive an overall assessment of Meets Standards—even if both Organization and Delivery/Style were Outstanding. The Overall assessment cannot be higher than the Content assessment. Overall assessment equals Content assessment when both Organization and Delivery/Style are assessed at the minimal level of Needs Improvement.

Minimal Assessment Profile			
Message Component	Assessment		Percentage
Content	3	Meets Standards	50%
Organization	2	Needs Improvement	25%
Style (Written Work) Delivery (Oral Presentations)	2	Needs Improvement	25%
Overall	3	Meets standards	100%

Students should strive to exceed minimal standards and not settle for an assessment profile in which two of three areas of competence need improvement. Only papers that earn Exceeds Standards or Outstanding in all three areas may be nominated for an award.

Communicative Arts and the Resident Education Program

Skill Development Opportunities

Critical Reading Skills

Directed Study (Reading). Elective AA2201 is a 2 credit hour opportunity to employ critical reading skills to acquire in-depth knowledge of specific figures, issues, and trends in strategic leadership, and to develop a greater understanding of military history.

Commandant/Deputy Commandant's Reading Program. Students may apply to participate in Special Topics Elective AA2297. For selected students, the Program provides opportunities to read, discuss, and analyze selected books and materials. Participants may register for 2 credit hours, or may elect to participate without earning academic credit.

Speed Reading. All students can gain access to The Reader's Edge which offers brief web-based speed reading lessons and exercises helpful for learning to quickly cover quotidian reading materials, and to preview materials prior to conducting a more thorough, thoughtful investigation. If interested, respond affirmatively to email invitation from Communicative Arts.

Active Listening Skills

Oral History Program. Students may apply to participate in the Elective HC2200 offered for 2 credit hours through the Army Heritage Education Center (AHEC). The Program provides selected students with an opportunity to practice listening and research skills by conducting structured interviews with retired senior officers regarding their professional military experiences, including command, leadership, and management techniques.

Strategic and Operational Art Film and Discussion Series. The Department of Military Strategy, Planning and Operations (DMSPO) sponsors a series of commercial films that address the evolution of strategic and operational art. Showings typically include a faculty led discussion of media portrayals of military leaders and campaigns in a strategic context.

Commandant's Lecture Series (CLS). The Commandant sponsors a series of lectures by distinguished guests of the USAWC. Themes, speakers, and presentation types vary by year.

Public Speaking Skills

Public Speaking for Strategic Leaders. Students may apply for inclusion in Elective AA2202 (2 credit hours). Selected students prepare and deliver speeches that explore strategic issues, flow logically from a central thesis, are grounded in relevant research, fit the intended audience, and employ effective delivery techniques.

Eisenhower National Security Series. Students may apply to participate in the elective AA2300 (4 credit hours). Eight to ten selected students have the opportunity to discuss national security and public policy issues with audiences across the nation. Series participants thoroughly research and prepare 2 public presentations that are delivered via panel discussion, lectures, classroom meetings, media engagements, and question/answer sessions. Participation satisfies the REP Public Speaking Requirement.

Military and the Media. Elective LM2219 is a 2 credit hour course offered by the Department of Command Leadership and Management (DCLM). The course examines the relationship between strategic leaders and the media, investigates the process of media influence in military affairs and national security, and prepares students to communicate effectively with media representatives.

USAWC Speakers Bureau. The Bureau is managed by the PAO to facilitate contact between community groups and USAWC speakers. Participation is voluntary. Interested speakers should contact the PAO to complete the Speakers Bureau Topic Preference Sheet. Numerous speaking opportunities are announced regularly. The PAO does not initiate speaking opportunities on behalf of students, but can put you in contact with possible opportunities if informed of your interest and expertise. If a student’s participation in the Bureau meets the intent of the REP Public Speaking Requirement, the requirement is satisfied.

Strategic Decision Making Exercise (SDME). Within the SDME, students have the opportunity to prepare and execute short-notice interviews and media briefings.

Media Speaking Engagements. May be proposed to and coordinated through the PAO.

Public Speaking Requirement

The Public Speaking Requirement tasks students with increasing public awareness of U.S. military and government agencies, and provides an opportunity for the public to meet those who undertake command responsibilities. Strategic leaders enhance essential leader skills by speaking to citizens about significant issues and national security challenges, and sharing experiences as defenders of freedom.

- ***To be eligible for graduation, all REP U.S. students must prepare and deliver a speech to a civilian audience not affiliated with the Department of Defense.***
- Eisenhower National Security Series students meet this requirement through participation in the Series (see Special Procedures for Eisenhower Participants).
- International Fellows are not required to speak to an external audience. Those who wish to speak in a public venue should coordinate the proposed engagement with the International Fellows Writing and Research Instructor prior to speaking.

Guidelines:

- Presentations should meet program needs of the audience and reflect the presenter’s standing as a USAWC student and member (as applicable) of the Armed Forces.
- Speeches must be delivered to audiences who do not normally interact with—and will most benefit from—interaction with senior caliber strategic leaders. Not all audiences/forums meet the specifics of this graduation requirement.

<i>Appropriate Audiences</i>	<i>Inappropriate Audiences</i>
Think tanks & international forums	Children’s groups under age 16
Professional & business organizations	Military audiences
Educational & civic organizations	ROTC & Junior ROTC
Community & religious organizations	Civilian audiences affiliated with DoD

- Students may speak alone or in pairs.
- Each student is responsible for making speaking arrangements, including audience identification, topic selection (appropriate for the audience and aligned with speaker expertise), Faculty Adviser (FA) approval, and speaking engagement confirmation.
- Significant travel is not required; travel expenses are not reimbursed. Students may use a government vehicle if traveling within a reasonable driving distance. Many speaking opportunities are available within 50 miles of Carlisle Barracks.
- Students may speak at any point prior to 31 May, including during the regular work week, on weekends, while on TDY, or over holiday break as desired and appropriate. If missing a class or required event, follow procedures outlined in the USAWC Administrative Policies and Procedures for Students Faculty and Staff Manual.
- The PAO periodically distributes information about possible speaking opportunities.
- Arrangements should be made no later than 1 May.
- Be aware that public speeches delivered by USAWC students may attract media representatives who will evaluate all remarks for potential inclusion in one or more media outlets. The PAO pamphlet *Speaker's Bureau: Tips, Tools, and Techniques* offers public speaking preparation guidelines.

Procedures Prior to Speaking:

- Students discuss topic, audience, and potential speaking engagement with FAs to determine academic suitability.
- Students record and submit the proposal in OASIS for FA approval.
- FAs approve student proposal in OASIS.
- Students notify the Public Affairs Office (PAO) (see CBks Pamphlet 10-1, section 2-9).
- Students using a government vehicle must complete and submit CBks Form 54-R-E to the Motor Pool Dispatcher (245-3018, bldg. 849) 5 days in advance of a speaking trip.

Procedures After Speaking:

- Students record the completed engagement in OASIS, including answers to questions regarding (a) approximate audience size, (b) audience type, and (c) most difficult question asked by an audience member.
- Notify the FA that the requirement is complete. The FA will then record engagement completion in OASIS.

Special Procedures for Eisenhower Participants

- Select one speaking engagement from among the Eisenhower presentations to fulfill the USAWC Public Speaking Requirement.
- After speaking, record/submit proposal information and completion information in OASIS, including answers to questions regarding (a) approximate audience size, (b) audience type, and (c) most difficult question posed by an audience member.

- Notify the FA that the presentation has been submitted. The FA will then approve the “proposal” and engagement completion in OASIS.

Professional Writing Skills

Foundations of Military Writing (FMW). FMW is a non-credit course required for selected students. FMW participants engage in intensive writing instruction to prepare for the rigors of graduate level writing and research in a military context. Students develop language facility, through study and practice of grammar and punctuation techniques, sentence and paragraph construction, argument development, revision strategies, and professional/academic writing documentation and techniques. FMW consists of twelve 2-hour classes followed by individualized coaching sessions that continue throughout the term. FMW is a more comprehensive approach to writing facility than is the Effective Writing Lab (EWL).

Effective Writing Lab (EWL). The EWL is a non-credit course required for selected students and open to others on a space available basis. Students in the EWL develop graduate level writing effectiveness, including grammar skills, sentence structure, punctuation, and revision strategies. EWL helps facilitate successful completion of USAWC course writing requirements through participation in four 2-hour instructional sessions.

Introduction to Strategic Writing and Discourse (ISWD). ISWD is a non-credit continuation of EWL with a focus on writing to inform, revision processes, and research and documentation strategies. ISWD provides guidance in the development and writing of course papers and the SRP through ten 1-hour instructional sessions offered October thru mid-January. ISWD is open on a space available basis; EWL students have right of first refusal.

Editorial Counseling and Individual SRP Consultation. Individual writing assistance is available from mid-January through mid-April. Priority access is given to students who have completed EWL and ISWD. Second priority access is restricted to students recommended by their PA. Third priority access may be available “as time permits” for students who self-select.

Directed Study (Writing). Elective AA2203 is a 2 credit hour opportunity to enhance research, writing, editing, and revising skills while developing subject matter expertise in an area of particular interest. The course fosters development of a knowledge base regarding specific figures, issues, events, campaigns and trends of strategic interest, and encourages contribution to public discourse about matters of strategic importance.

Writing for Publication. Elective AA2204, offered through the *Parameters* office, is a 2 credit hour opportunity to revise an existing manuscript for possible publication in a professional or academic journal. The course offers students the opportunity to enhance their research, writing, editing, and revising skills while seeking to make a contribution to the larger strategic community through publication.

International Fellows Writing Program

The International Fellows Writing Program offers academic support in English writing and research in conjunction with the International Fellows Program (IFP) objective to offer an opportunity for senior foreign military officers to study, research, and write on subjects of significance to their security interests while attending the USAWC. This support includes:

- English writing and research proficiency level assessment and intensive academic skills development classes as part of the IF Orientation course.
- Supplementary classes for Fellows in need of additional academic English writing support (conducted and scheduled based on need throughout the academic year).
- Writing tutoring at the *Dickinson College Writing Center*, consisting of individual assistance with a professional and knowledgeable Dickinson College student tutor (see <http://www.dickinson.edu/academics/resources/writing-program/content/Writing-Center/>).
- Individual instruction with the IFP Writing Instructor, including assistance with specific core course writing projects, and the SRP (scheduled by appointment).

A three month Academic Prep Course is offered several months before the start of the USAWC academic year. This course is designed to prepare International Fellows for the rigors of graduate level academic work. Contact the Academic Prep Course Director for information.

Extended Writing Projects

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

The PEM (Elective AA2205, 2 credit hours) is an opportunity to write about military/professional experiences that entail strategic implications for future strategic/military leaders and scholars. The PEM supports the goal of the Chief of Staff of the Army to capture experiences of those who have participated in combat/peace operations, have had unique mission experiences, or have insights deriving from personal experience that have the potential to impact the strategic environment. Although narrative in form, the PEM is far more than an exercise in storytelling. A successful Personal Experience Monograph highlights the strategic implications of events from the writer's history in order to provide a deeper understanding of the documented experiences.

One might interpret the statement attributed to the Duke of Wellington that "the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton" as a reverse exemplar of what the PEM attempts to do. Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, looked backward from victory to suggest that the lessons learned early at Eton delivered the day. The ideal PEM invites senior officers to examine and chronicle personal experiences at the tactical and operational levels and to consider how those experiences can inform strategic possibilities that have yet to be realized. PEMs are written in a first person, narrative style, targeted to an audience of strategic leaders.

Throughout the PEM, students work one-on-one with a PA to develop a well-written, well-organized, thoughtful, and insightful document with strategic implications. The primary source for the PEM is the student's own experience. The PA facilitates the project by asking questions to guide the writing/recollecting process, making suggestions about narrative flow and development, and helping position the experiences to inform strategic considerations. The PA also provides detailed comments regarding writing style, organization, and clarity.

Prior to beginning work: (1) Determine PEM topic and orientation, (2) Seek support of a PA, (3) Complete the PEM proposal CBKs Form 193-R-E (CBPortal), (4) Get the REP PEM Template.

PEMs must be a minimum of 5,000 words, well written, and insightful, and employ judicious word use. Maximum length is determined by the character of the project subject to the direction of the PA. Students must use the PEM Template.

The PEM does not satisfy the AA2206 SRP graduation requirement.

Sample PEMS are available through the USAWC Library. Some recent titles include: *Coalition Fighting – Kandahar: A Tactical Experience with Strategic Import*, *Arrowhead Ripper: Adaptive Leadership in Full Spectrum Operations*, *Baghdad ER – Revisited*, *The Last Battle of the Argonne: Archeological Research and the Authenticity of Sergeant Alvin York’s Heroic Deed*.

Strategy Research Project (SRP)—Institutional Requirement

Serving as a springboard from the core curriculum into independent thinking and research, the SRP is an opportunity to research a topic of strategic importance. All REP students register for and complete AA2206, an institutional requirement that carries no credit. Students engaged in the SRP pursue research projects exploring a specific research question or a defined strategic problem. This venture culminates in fresh insights or re-consideration of an event, campaign, or problem of strategic significance. Students work with a Project Adviser throughout the academic year to conduct research and to report that research in an official form.

- For degree-seeking students, the SRP report must be a specifically formatted 5,000 word (minimum) research paper. Students choose a topic of strategic importance, team with a PA, conduct research to generate a research-based thesis, and write a carefully documented paper explicating the thesis and exploring its implications. This effort leads to the production of a paper potentially suitable for award competition and publication.
- For International Fellows seeking only the USAWC Diploma, the SRP report may be a research paper, or it may take an alternative form. Diploma-only Fellows choose a topic of strategic importance, team with a PA, conduct research, generate research-based ideas, and work with the PA to determine the best means of presenting their work. Projects and formats must be negotiated with and approved by the PA. Provided the project is strategic in character and appropriate to the student’s professional development, many options exist for presenting SRP work. A student might:
 - Write a paper appropriate to the student’s interests and abilities.
 - Conduct a regional strategic appraisal.
 - Provide a written and/or oral review of selected strategic materials.
 - Speak formally before an appropriate audience.
 - Translate a strategic/leadership document (providing the PA or consulting SME has the appropriate language facility to evaluate the project).
 - Design another means of presenting SRP work with PA input and approval.

As Subject Matter Experts (SMEs), PAs guide students toward becoming fully independent strategic thinkers who generate fresh approaches to significant national security issues. PAs:

- Provide subject matter advice and facilitate access to additional SMEs as needed.
- Guide student efforts to gather material, evaluate source credibility, analyze relationship of source information to the research question, and effectively use research data.
- Provide writing guidance/evaluation and facilitate student efforts to use graduate level professional/academic writing to effectively communicate ideas and recommendations.
- Complete the OASIS Research Project Contract and other actions required in OASIS.

- Help students meet formatting requirements by:
 - Requiring students to use the appropriate SRP Template.
 - Reviewing drafts for consistency of headings, figures, tables, and endnote citations.
 - Identifying students who require additional formatting instruction.
- Review SRP drafts, providing research and writing feedback.
- Nominate exceptional SRPs for USAWC Student Award Consideration.
- Encourage high-achieving students to submit SRPs for publication consideration.

The SRP must be original, representing the student's best work at the USAWC. Both the research and the project must be designed, conducted, and produced by the student (in consultation with a PA) while enrolled in the degree program. Students should pursue projects that facilitate their intellectual and professional development. For some, that means pursuing work in a completely new area of interest. For others, students build upon areas of expertise to extend their knowledge and produce new insights into problems/issues previously encountered. In both instances, the goal is to produce a *new* document that contributes to knowledge and demonstrates skills developed/enhanced through the USAWC. Thus, while students may consult their prior work, they may not simply revamp, revise, or reposition work done *elsewhere*. Like all other sources, references to a student's prior circulated work must be properly cited.

The SRP may not take the form of a PEM.

Failure to complete the SRP requirement acceptably will prompt a meeting with the Academic Review Board (ARB) and, potentially, disenrollment (CBks Memo 623-1).

Successful SRPs impact the larger community of strategic leaders by making a contribution to what is known about a topic and how it is understood. Most completed SRPs are forwarded to the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC) and made available to assorted agencies and publics worldwide. After completion, students may submit SRPs for publication consideration. Increasingly, these are being accepted for publication in refereed professional and academic journals focusing on strategic issues, national security, and international affairs.

Samples are available through the USAWC Library. Some recent award winning SRPs include: *Building Resiliency into the National Military Strategy*, *The Navy's Moral Compass: Commanding Officers and Personal Misconduct*, *Sailing into Troubled Waters: Predicting Piracy off Africa*, *Mao's War of Resistance: Framework for China's Grand Strategy*.

SRP Myths

Unfortunately, some students subscribe to the myth that the SRP is an artificial requirement, one dictated by an external accrediting agency which is overly concerned with the appearance of academic legitimacy. A corollary myth is that the SRP requirement is designed to compel students to demonstrate pro forma research skills in order to make the institution look credible.

Both myths are in error.

The USAWC grants an accredited graduate level degree: one that is unique in both character and execution. A professional school unlike most civilian master's degree granting institutions, the USAWC strives to cultivate the habits of mind necessary for critical engagement of the most

pressing and important national security and strategy issues of the century. The education and development of senior military and civilian leaders requires the ability to identify and engage a strategic question, to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate relevant information, and to render a decision or advance a recommendation to a decision maker based on that information. Through the SRP, students have an opportunity unavailable to most graduate students: to explore a strategic issue while working closely with an expert well-versed in a particular aspect of U.S. National Security. The core curriculum, faculty expertise, and experiences of those who study here should merge during the academic year, positioning each graduate for greater leadership responsibility. The Strategy Research Project is an important element in the process. Students who embrace the SRP and, indeed, the whole of the degree program as an opportunity for insight and enrichment leave Carlisle Barracks poised to make genuine contributions to ongoing dialogue on U.S. National Security as they assume advanced leadership responsibility.

SRP Milestones

Suspense	Milestone	SRP Activity
07 Aug 12	#1 Begins	Students initiate inquiry, seek PA.
		Students review Template Instructions & supporting material.
16 Oct 12	#1 Ends	Student enters Intent into OASIS. PA enters contract into OASIS.
17 Oct 12	#2 Begins	Research question/thesis taking shape; bibliography developing; dialogue with PA continuing; outline initiated; template being used.
12 Dec 12		Initial draft of SRP delivered to PA. Format check performed to ensure proper template is being used.
18 Dec 12		PA comments and returns SRP to student.
25 Jan 13		Revised draft of SRP delivered to PA.
07 Feb 13	#2 Ends	PA comments and returns SRP to student.
08 Feb 13	#3 Begins	Research and writing continues. PA notifies Comm. Arts of unsatisfactory student progress.
21 Mar 13	#3 Ends	Final SRP delivered to PA with Signature Forms. Final Diploma-Only Candidate materials submitted to PA PA records receipt of SRP in OASIS
Caution: All Students must submit the SRP to the PA by 21 March or face automatic Academic Probation with possible action by the Academic Review Board.		
01 Apr 13		PA nominations for research & writing awards due to Dept. Chairs.
08 Apr 13		Dept. nominations for research & writing awards due to Comm. Arts.
15 Apr 13		Depts. forward final SRP packages & assessment to Comm. Arts. Format changes due to Communicative Arts for final check.
TBD May		Essay competitions at NDU
31 May 13		Research and writing awards announced.
08 Jun 13		Awards presentation at Graduation ceremony.

SRP Travel

Each year, the Communicative Arts Office makes limited funds available for travel essential to the completion of selected SRPs. Most SRPs require no travel: Research is conducted through USAWC resources. Some, however, require access to resources unavailable locally (e.g., personal interviews, special collections, and presentations). Students pursuing SRP research that *cannot* be completed without travel may apply for Communicative Arts funding of eligible expenses—transportation, lodging, and meals—not including registration or event fees.

The Director of Communicative Arts reviews all applications expeditiously. Decisions are based on project merit, travel necessity, and funding availability. Apply early; requests may not be approved; approved requests may only receive partial funding. Additional funds may be available through the PA's department. (If the PA is not affiliated with a USAWC REP unit, the avenue for funding consideration moves through the REP department that houses the student's Faculty Adviser.) Units outside the REP (e.g., DDE, AHEC) do not fund SRP travel.

Application Procedures:

1. Obtain support and approval for travel from the PA.
2. Confirm that participation (e.g., interviewee availability, library access) will be possible.
3. Complete the *SRP Travel Funding Application* available on the Communicative Arts homepage and submit to the Director of Communicative Arts.
 - a. For research involving human subjects, the project must be reviewed by an Exempt Determination Officer for use of human subjects in research (Director of Institutional Assessment) prior to applying for funds.
 - b. Establish a means of financing expenses not eligible for Communicative Arts funding (e.g., conference fees) prior to completing the *Travel Application*.

SRP Travel Procedures:

1. Complete the Student Absence Request Form (626-R-E) and obtain signatures.
2. Obtain travel authorization
 - a. U.S. students: complete Defense Travel System (DTS) Authorization.
 - b. International Fellows: contact the IF Program Director for paperwork.
3. Make arrangements for transportation, lodging, and with the TDY location as necessary.
 - a. Transportation arrangements are through Motor Pool or DTS as appropriate.
 - b. Lodging arrangements must not exceed published government rates.
 - i. For travel to the National Capital Region (NCR), lodging must be arranged through the Lodging Success Center (1.800.462.7691) which provides a hotel confirmation number to make a reservation.
 - ii. For non-NCR locations, lodging arrangements may be made directly.
4. Save receipts for any expense of \$75.00 or greater.
5. Upon return, complete all required paperwork.
 - a. U.S. students: Travel Voucher via Defense Travel System (DTS).
 - b. International Fellows: contact the IF Program Director.

Communicative Arts and the USAWC Fellowship Program

Communication Responsibilities

Strategic Communication Goals

A key objective of the USAWC Fellowship Program is to enhance the strategic communication between the Army and important academic and policy institutions. Fellows play an important role in the Army Strategic Outreach Program as representatives of the Army.

As non-resident members of the USAWC Resident Class, USAWC Fellows are ambassadors for the USAWC and instrumental to the execution of its three primary functions—education, research, and strategic communication. The education and research functions are quite obvious, but the Commandant also considers USAWC Fellows to be “*strategic scouts*,” and may refer to and use individual input/feedback and SIGACTS to maintain and improve strategic communication between partnering educators and the civilian education community.

Strategic communication is defined as “Focused United States Government processes and efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favorable to advance national interests and objectives through the use of coordinated information, themes, plans, programs, and actions synchronized with other elements of national power” [Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), 2006]. The U.S. military is not sufficiently trained or equipped to analyze, plan, coordinate, and integrate the full spectrum of capabilities available to promote America’s interests. Changes in the global information environment require the Department of Defense, in conjunction with other USG agencies, to implement more deliberate and well developed strategic communications processes. Effective communication by the United States must build upon coordinated actions and information at all levels to maintain credibility and trust. Students should understand the significance of QDR-identified gaps in the primary communications supporting public affairs, information operations, military diplomacy, and defense support to public diplomacy.

Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) should emphasize the QDR goal for the Department of Defense: develop a culture that recognizes the value of communication and integrates communications considerations into policy development, operational planning, execution, and assessment designed to advance national interests.

Public Speaking

USAWC Fellows are encouraged to take full advantage of opportunities to attend and participate in public forums and to speak at public events during the fellowship year. Accordingly, USAWC Fellows are responsible for informing the Program Director and Public Affairs Office (PAO), and also their Faculty Mentor, of all invitations in this regard and of willingness or unwillingness to commit. As with individual writing, USAWC Fellows are responsible for the accuracy of information presented orally and for insuring that classified information is not disclosed. The PAO will advise about any sensitivities or restrictions that should be considered. Prior to accepting a public speaking engagement, USAWC Fellows must:

- a. Inform the Program Director and USAWC Faculty Mentor.
- b. Contact the USAWC PAO to provide the name of the requesting organization, date of engagement and topic. This information will be annotated on a monthly Speakers

Bureau Report. Feedback concerning the speaking engagement is appreciated, especially information on the size of the audience and most difficult/significant questioned asked by a member of the audience.

If asked to speak at an academic forum, inform the USAWC Strategic Studies Institute's (SSI) Director of Academic Engagement (717.245.4127) who is charged with supporting informed dialogue on national security issues between the Army and the academic community. Doing so serves interests of both the USAWC Fellow and the Academic Engagement Program as follows:

- SSI's Academic Engagement Program staff becomes aware of a particular research interest and, therefore, watchful for other opportunities for USAWC Fellows to speak and to present papers.
- Under some circumstances, the Academic Engagement Program Office may be able to provide funding for the presentation at some other academic forum.

Professional Writing Projects

Army Regulation 621-7, *Army Fellowships and Scholarships*, requires USAWC Fellows to satisfactorily complete two separate writing assignments: an Article for Publication (AFP) and a Civilian Research Paper (CRP). Under certain circumstances, papers may be individually or group authored. Independent writing is preferred; however, some institutions require group research and co-authored writing. If required by a host institution, students may request special consideration from the Program Director to have a group project accepted as one of the two required research papers.

- Unless discussed with the USAWC Faculty Mentor and authorized by the Program Director, research products should be completed and submitted to the USAWC in unclassified format to afford maximum distribution and public exposure.
- USAWC must clear all articles to be released to the general public prior to submission.

Article for Publication (AFP)

Each Fellow must write and submit at least one Article for Publication in a professional military or strategic publication/journal. Each manuscript should be approximately 1,500 words, addressing a topic related to the specific fellowship research study. In recent years, Fellows have enjoyed success upon submission of AFPs to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff National Defense and Military Strategy Essay Competition. Winning articles are published in JFQ. To be eligible for that competition, submissions must be unpublished and not under publication review. Deadline is 1 February (see Resident Education Program Student Awards).

Fellowship institutions may require articles for institutional publication. Such articles can fulfill the AFP writing requirement. In this case, the institutional Faculty Adviser serves as primary coach and adviser; the USAWC clears for publication; and the host institution's publishing editor approves for style, format, and content. The public release process requires review by the USAWC Faculty Mentor who submits to the Program Director a recommendation for clearance with comment, affirming that the article does not disclose classified, or operations security information. The Program Director submits the recommendation through the PAO to the USAWC Chief of Staff.

If the civilian host institution does not concede that an article written exclusively for the institution may be submitted to the USAWC to satisfy the writing requirement, Fellows must write a separate article, select a professional journal, and submit the article to the appropriate editor. Again, the completed article must be reviewed by the USAWC Faculty Mentor and properly cleared for publication by the USAWC Clearance Authority.

Civilian Research Paper (CRP)

Each Fellow must write a Civilian Research Paper on an approved research topic for her/his MEL-1 Certification. Research focus will be fully coordinated with the sponsoring agencies during the first two months of the fellowship year. Fellows use the Key Strategic Issues List (KSIL) as a guide to ensure that their AFP and CRPs are strategic (not operational or tactical) in character and focused on areas identified as important to the Army by the CSA and the Army G3. Fellows may identify a topic from a number of sources, including course work at the host institution, War College faculty, the Key Strategic Issues List (KSIL), the Strategic Studies Institute, Center for Strategic Leadership, Unified Commands, Service Staffs, among others. The topic may be applicable to anticipated future assignments. If the topic is not assigned by faculty at the host institution, it may be derived from a number of locations, including: professional/personal interest or experience, goals or background, course work at the host institution. Whether individually selected or assigned, the research topic must be focused at the strategic level and have implications for national and international security. Additionally, (1) the research area should be interesting and acceptable to the Faculty Adviser and (2) sufficient resource materials ought to be accessible for completing the project within the time available.

Each Fellow must submit a CRP Research Plan approved by an official or assigned academic Faculty Adviser at the Fellow's host institution. The Research Plan consists of three or four related elements:

- a. A brief research proposal, posing a problem, issue, or researchable question. Length is limited to 200 words or 15 lines of text, whichever is shorter.
- b. A preliminary bibliography of sources and materials (approximately 10 to 20 entries).
- c. A 1-page preliminary writing outline which identifies tentative lines of argument, points of analysis and/or synthesis to be explored.
- d. A travel and cost estimate should the Research Plan necessitate research travel.

If Research Plans change substantially, the USAWC Fellow is responsible for providing revised documents, including travel plans, to the Program Director and Faculty Mentor. Faculty at the civilian host institution must approve proposed revisions to the Research Plan before it may be re-submitted to the Program Director (if the Faculty Adviser at the civilian host institution is the primary contact person guiding the research).

Fellows are encouraged to seek research and writing assistance from their USAWC Faculty Mentor with the goal of producing an AFP worthy of publication and/or use by an outside agency. Publication is both a laudable goal and an intellectual obligation for individuals selected to attend a Senior Service College. USAWC Faculty Mentors will nominate quality papers to the USAWC Writing and Research Awards Competition.

USAWC Faculty Mentors support USAWC Fellows and civilian institution hosts by grading and approving the Fellow's AFP with the same standards applied to Resident and Distance Education student work. The USAWC Faculty Mentor provides substantive and /or constructive

comments and may raise areas of concern, recommend corrections, and/or request changes. The Fellow must meet the USAWC Faculty Mentor's standards to receive credit for the AFP. If a USAWC Faculty Mentor detects a security violation or questions an issue on the AFP or CRP, the USAWC Faculty Mentor returns the paper to the Fellow for recommended revisions and/or additional discussion with the Fellowship institutional Faculty Adviser. USAWC Faculty Mentors also ensure that USAWC Fellows are aware of security considerations and proper handling techniques for classified reference materials, personal notes, drafts, and finalized documents assembled during research and writing.

CRP Schedule and Milestones

Suspense	CRP Milestone
1 Aug 12—30 Sep 12	CRP Topic Investigation and Selection
1 Oct 12—30 Oct 12	Submit Research Plan (through host adviser)
12 Jan 13	Research & Writing Continuing in Earnest
12 Feb 13	CRP Drafts Circulating for Review and Comment
12 Mar 13	Revised CRPs Circulating with Full Documentation
01 Apr 13	USAWC Writing Awards Program Submissions Due
<i>Note: All CRPs are due on 01 April unless fellowship institution dictates the suspense date (but no later than 30 days prior to fellowship end).</i>	
01 Apr 13	CRP Due for Non-University Fellows
01 May 13	CRP Due for University Fellows

Communicative Arts and the Distance Education Program

Skill Development Opportunities

Critical Reading Skills

Speed Reading. USAWC students have access to The Reader's Edge, a web-based speed reading program. Brief speed reading lessons and exercises/comprehension tests are helpful for learning to quickly cover quotidian reading materials, and to preview materials prior to conducting a more thorough, thoughtful investigation.

Professional Writing Skills

Effective Writing Seminar (EWS). The DEP is academically rigorous, repeatedly requiring students to write effectively to succeed. EWS uses a combination of synchronous (real time) and asynchronous (time independent) instruction to provide guidance on basic writing skills required to complete the degree program. Students in the volunteer Orientation Course submit a 500 word essay for faculty evaluation. Students who receive an evaluation of "needs improvement" or "fails to meet standards" are highly encouraged to enroll in the EWS.

The EWS has four objectives, to increase student ability to (1) organize, draft, and revise graduate level essays, (2) distinguish between active and passive voice, (3) edit written materials, and (4) write effectively as required for strategic leadership.

At the end of the Seminar, students submit a second 500-word essay critically analyzing several articles and exploring the importance of critical thinking to strategic leadership. Faculty evaluate the essays with the same assessment protocol used throughout the DEP. This process helps students prepare to successfully negotiate future DEP writing requirements.

Program Papers—Basic Guidance

- Prior to each course, read the entire directive, including introduction to each lesson.
- Focus on the objectives and requirements to identify assignment expectations.
- Respond directly and specifically to each task.
- Contact the FI or Course Author for clarification or assistance.
- Do not plagiarize—it will not be tolerated. See "Academic Dishonesty" and "Plagiarism."
- If formatting specifics are not in the course directive, follow the format indicated herein.
- If no specific organizational guidance is given, use the format indicated under "Outline & Organization" herein (see "Terminology").

Extended Writing Projects

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

The PEM (Elective DE2245, 2 credit hours) is an opportunity to write about military/professional experiences that entail strategic implications for future strategic/military leaders and scholars. The PEM supports the goal of the Chief of Staff of the Army to capture experiences of those

who have participated in combat/peace operations, have had unique mission experiences, or have insights deriving from personal experience that have the potential to impact the strategic environment. Although narrative in form, the PEM is far more than an exercise in storytelling. A successful Personal Experience Monograph highlights the strategic implications of events from the writer's history in order to provide a deeper understanding of the documented experiences.

One might interpret the statement attributed to the Duke of Wellington that "the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton" as a reverse exemplar of what the PEM attempts to do. Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, looked backward from victory to suggest that the lessons learned early at Eton delivered the day. The ideal PEM invites senior officers to examine and chronicle personal experiences at the tactical and operational levels and to consider how those experiences can inform strategic possibilities that have yet to be realized. PEMs are written in a first person, narrative style, targeted to an audience of strategic leaders.

Throughout the PEM, students work one-on-one with a PA to develop a well-written, well-organized, thoughtful, and insightful document with strategic implications. The primary source for the PEM is the student's own experience. The PA facilitates the project by asking questions to guide the writing/recollecting process, making suggestions about narrative flow and development, and helping position the experiences to inform strategic considerations. The PA also provides detailed comments regarding writing style, organization, and clarity.

PEMs must be a minimum of 5,000 words, well written, and insightful, and employ judicious word use. Maximum length is determined by the project under the direction of the PA. Students must use the PEM Template.

Sample PEMs are available through the USAWC Library. Some recent titles include: *Coalition Fighting – Kandahar: A Tactical Experience with Strategic Import*, *Arrowhead Ripper: Adaptive Leadership in Full Spectrum Operations*, *Baghdad ER – Revisited*, *The Last Battle of the Argonne: Archeological Research and the Authenticity of Sergeant Alvin York's Heroic Deed*.

Program Research Project (PRP)

Serving as a springboard from the core curriculum into independent thinking and research and professional/academic writing, the PRP (Elective DE2324, 2 credit hours) is an opportunity to research and explore a topic of strategic importance. Students pursue research projects investigating a specific research question or a defined strategic problem. This venture culminates in fresh insights or re-consideration of an event, campaign, or problem of strategic significance. Students choose a topic, team with a PA, conduct research to generate a research-based thesis, and write a carefully documented paper (5,000 word minimum) explicating the thesis and exploring its implications. This effort leads to the production of a paper potentially suitable for award competition and publication.

As Subject Matter Experts (SMEs), PAs guide students toward becoming fully independent strategic thinkers who generate fresh approaches to significant national security issues. PAs:

- Provide subject matter advice, facilitating identification of additional SMEs as needed.
- Guide student efforts to gather material, evaluate source credibility, effectively use research data, and analyze the relationship of source information to research question.
- Provide writing guidance/evaluation and facilitate student efforts to use graduate level professional/academic writing to effectively communicate ideas and recommendations.

- Help students meet formatting requirements by:
 - Requiring students to use the PRP Template.
 - Reviewing drafts for consistency of headings, figures, tables, and endnote citations.
- Review PRP drafts, providing research and writing feedback.
- Nominate exceptional PRPs for USAWC Student Award Consideration.
- Encourage high-achieving students to submit PRPs for publication consideration.

The PRP must be an original document, representing the student’s best work at the USAWC. Both the research and paper must be designed, conducted, and produced by the student (in consultation with a PA) while enrolled in the degree program. Students should pursue projects that facilitate their intellectual and professional development. For some, that means pursuing work in a completely new area of interest. For others, students build upon areas of expertise to extend their knowledge and produce new insights into problems/issues previously encountered. In both instances, the goal is to produce a *new* document that contributes to knowledge and demonstrates skills developed/enhanced through the USAWC. Thus, while students may consult their prior work, they may not simply revamp, revise, or reposition work done *elsewhere*. Like all other sources, references to a student’s prior circulated work must be properly cited.

The PRP may not take the form of a PEM.

Successful PRPs impact the larger community of strategic leaders by making a contribution to what is known about a topic and how it is understood. Award winning PRPs are forwarded to the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC) and made available to assorted agencies and publics worldwide. After completion, students may submit PRPs for publication consideration. Increasingly, these are being accepted for publication in refereed professional and academic journals focusing on strategic issues, national security, and international affairs.

Samples are available through the USAWC Library. Some recent award winning PRPs include: The Generals’ Revolt and Civil-Military Relations, Filling Irregular Warfare’s Interagency Gaps, The Torture Memos: A Failure of Strategic Leadership, Engaging the BRIC Countries: Diplomacy Outside the Capital.

PRP and PEM Milestones

Suspense	PRP / PEM Milestone
01 Nov 13	Topic Approval by Project Adviser (PA)
13 Dec 13	Thesis Statement Approval by PA
14 Feb 14	Outline to PA
01 Apr 14	First Draft with Abstract to PA
12 May 14	PRP / PEM Completed Delivered to PA

Student Awards Program for Excellence in the Communicative Arts

The Student Awards Program, administered through the Communicative Arts Office, encourages and recognizes excellence in research and writing by students in the Resident, Distance, and USAWC Fellows Programs. Because research and writing are fundamental to the intellectual process and the professional development of strategic leaders, those who distinguish themselves as researchers, writers and, indeed, strategic thinkers are slated for awards and distinctions by the faculty and others who support advanced study of strategic issues. Award nominees are primarily drawn from SRPs, PRPs, CRPs, and PEMs. Student awards are detailed in both the Communicative Arts Directive and CBks Memorandum 672-6.

USAWC Student Paper Award Nomination Guidelines

Project Advisers nominate exceptional student papers to the appropriate Department Chair or Director for award consideration. Each Chair or Director then utilizes available faculty resources to establish an evaluation procedure for nominated papers, such that only the very best are advanced for review at the institutional level.

Distribution A papers may be nominated by the PA for award consideration in either of two USAWC categories: (1) Research, or (2) Writing. Papers may not be double-nominated, however, a paper nominated but not selected for a research award may migrate to the writing competition if: (a) such a recommendation is made by the Academic Chair Holder Reviewing Panel, and (b) the paper falls within the length mandated for writing award nominees.

Nomination Parameters— Overall

- To be considered for an award, a paper must have earned a review of “Outstanding” or “Exceeds Standards” in all three areas of assessment—Content, Organization and Style.
- *Only Distribution A papers are eligible for award nomination.*
- Length and standards requirements must be met for award consideration in a category.
- Papers by USAWC Fellows are eligible for REP award nomination provided they meet all REP requirements and deadlines.

Nomination Parameters— USAWC Writing Awards

A number of specific writing awards are given at graduation each year. Some are accompanied by a monetary honorarium, associated with engraved mementos, and/or linked to publication in a professional journal. Several awards are restricted to papers that address particular subjects or are authored by individuals with specific professional backgrounds and interests. Although the goal is to always bestow each award, not all are awarded every year due to insufficient numbers of exceptionally well qualified papers germane to a particular award category.

Papers nominated for writing award consideration are exceptionally well-written and:

- Clarify understanding and articulately review, integrate, and perhaps evaluate the present state of knowledge.
- Clearly demonstrate superior communication of ideas through the written word.
- Are well-grounded, interesting, articulate contributions to discourse on a topic or issue.

- Must be a minimum of 5,000 words and a maximum of 6,000 words.
 - Exception 1: Papers between 6,000 and 6,300 words *may* be considered if the PA requests an exception by offering a compelling argument justifying the inclusion of additional words and explaining the necessity and benefit of the additional length.
 - Exception 2: Personal Experience Monographs (PEMs) do not have a maximum word limit. PEMs over 5,000 words are eligible for award nomination provided that their length is appropriate to the merit of the project.

Nomination Parameters— USAWC Research Awards

Papers nominated for research award consideration are exceptionally well-written and:

- Offer new insights at the strategic level.
- Make a clear contribution to knowledge.
- Go well above and beyond what might be characterized as a well written “literature review.”
- Usually advance new relationships or evaluate old relationships in a fresh light.
- Are a minimum of 5,000 words.
- Typically do not exceed 6,000 words, but may be longer if appropriate to the topic addressed and method used. Although no upper word limit exists, they should be written with exceptional clarity and economy nonetheless.
- Are accompanied by a brief note from the nominating PA that comments upon the character of the knowledge contribution associated with the paper. (These may be attached to the document or sent via email to the Director of Communicative Arts.)

Resident Education Program Student Awards

Secretary of Defense National Strategy Essay Competition

The Secretary of Defense sponsors this competition to stimulate thinking, promote well-written research, and contribute to broader exploration of defense issues among professionals. Papers entered into the competition may not exceed 5,000 words. Each Senior Service College, intermediate service school, and Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) phase II at the Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC), is invited to submit entries in accord with competition rules administered by National Defense University Press.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff National Defense and Military Strategy Essay Competition

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) sponsors this competition to stimulate strategic thinking, promote well-written research, and contribute to a broader security debate among professionals. It includes two strategic research writing categories: (1) a 1,500 word research based strategy article, and (2) a 5,000 word strategy research paper. Each Senior Service College, intermediate service school, and JPME phase II at the Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC), is invited to submit entries in accord with rules administered by National Defense University Press.

Award nomination suspense for the CJCS 1500 Word Article Competition is 1 February.

USAWC REP Research Awards

The Commandant's Award for Distinction in Research.

- Sponsor: The Commandant, United States Army War College
- Focus: Contemporary strategic challenges facing the military
- Details: Up to 4 awards for Excellence in Research. Diplomas of award winners are annotated *With Distinction in Research*.

Association of the United States Army (AUSA) Strategy Essay Award.

- Sponsor: Association of the United States Army
- Focus: National Security and Defense Landpower Issues
- Details: Best paper addressing National Security and Defense Landpower issues.

Excellence in Logistics Research or Writing Award.

- Sponsor: The Defense Logistics Agency (DLA)
- Focus: Logistics Issues
- Details: Excellent research or writing on a significant historic, contemporary, or future logistics issue.

USAWC REP Writing Awards

AWC Foundation Award for Outstanding Strategy Research Paper.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: National Security and Defense Issues
- Details: Up to four awards for outstanding SRPs.

AWC Foundation Anton Myrer Strategic Leadership Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Strategic Leadership
- Details: An award for excellent writing on strategic leadership

AWC Foundation Best Personal Experience Monograph Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Personal experience in a professional military context
- Details: An award for excellent expository writing which details personal experience in support of combat or peace operations with strategic implications.

AWC Foundation Colonel Francis J. Kelly Counterinsurgency Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Counterinsurgency
- Details: An award for excellent writing on counterinsurgency.

AWC Foundation Daniel M. Lewin Cyber-Terrorism Technology Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Cyber-Terrorism and National Security
- Details: An award for excellent writing on cyber-terrorism and national security.

AWC Foundation Dr. Sara L. Morgan Civilian Development/Management Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Human Resource and Personnel Management
- Details: An award for excellent writing on human resource and personnel management.

Armed Forces Communications-Electronics Association (AFCEA) Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association
- Focus: Information in warfare within operational and strategic contexts
- Details: Excellent writing on the information element of national power, including issues of C41, information systems, management, or assurance, network centric warfare, information operations, strategic communication, and space communication.

COL Don and Mrs. Anne Bussey Military Intelligence Writing Award.

- Sponsor: COL Don and Mrs. Anne Bussey
- Focus: Military intelligence and national security defense issues
- Details: Excellent writing by a reservist on issues related to the award focus

COL and Mrs. T. Bristol Military History Writing Award.

- Sponsor: United States Army Military History Institute, United States Army Heritage and Education Center (AHEC)
- Focus: Military history
- Details: Excellent writing in the field of military history.

Dr. John D. Conroy, Jr. Teaching Strategy Group Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Dr. John D. Conroy, Jr. Teaching Strategy Group
- Focus: Excellence in articulating strategy
- Details: Excellent writing on producing and implementing strategy for practitioners subject to real world constraints, to include current and future strategy.

LTG Thomas J. Plewes Reserve Components National Security Strategy Writing Award.

- Sponsor: The Reserve Officers Association
- Focus: The role of the Reserve Component in support of national military strategy
- Details: Excellent writing by a reservist on Reserve Component issues.

Military Officers Association of America (MOAA) Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Military Officer Association of America
- Focus: Strategic Issues and National Security
- Details: Two awards for outstanding SRPs

Military Order of the World Wars Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Military Order of the World Wars
- Focus: Leaders or campaigns impacting strategic issues
- Details: Excellent writing on a military leader or campaign which impacted strategic analysis, issues, or warfare.

U.S. Military Academy's Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic Writing Award.

- Sponsor: The United States Military Academy's William E. Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic
- Focus: The impact of principles of officership on national defense
- Details: Excellent writing on any aspect of the officer's role as a war fighter, leader, servant of the nation, or military professional.

Red River Valley Fighter Pilots Association Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Red River Valley Fighter Pilots Association
- Focus: Joint employment of air power in support of national military strategy
- Details: Excellent writing on issues related to the award focus

USAWC REP Public Speaking Award

The USAWC hosts an annual public speaking competition in early March through which students are invited to address, inform, and persuade an audience that includes members of the USAWC community, the public, and a panel of judges. Contestants demonstrate superior communication of ideas through the spoken word in a public venue. Speeches must be well-grounded, interesting, articulate, persuasive, and contribute to the discourse on a particular strategic topic or issue. Contest themes are announced yearly.

AWC Foundation Public Speaking Competition Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Issues of national security and defense
- Details: An award for public speaking before an audience at the annual USAWC Public Speaking Contest. The winner is recognized at graduation.

Distance Education Program Student Awards

To be considered for a writing or research award, students should work closely with the Project Adviser (PA). Submit at least one well-polished draft three weeks prior to the final suspense. Faculty require time to review the document and recommend edits and improvements.

USAWC DEP Research Awards

The Commandant's Award for Distinction in Research.

- Sponsor: The Commandant, United States Army War College
- Focus: Contemporary strategic challenges facing the military
- Details: Up to four awards for Excellence in Research. Diplomas of award winners are annotated *With Distinction in Research*.

USAWC DEP Writing Awards

AWC Foundation Award for Outstanding Program Research Paper.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: National security and defense issues
- Details: Up to eight awards for outstanding PRPs

AWC Foundation Daniel M. Lewin Cyber-Terrorism Technology Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Cyber-Terrorism and National Security
- Details: An award for excellent writing on cyber-terrorism and national security.

AWC Foundation Best Personal Experience Monograph Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: Personal experience in a professional military context
- Details: An award for excellent expository writing which details personal experience in support of combat or peace operations with strategic implications.

454th Bombardment Group Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Army Heritage Center Foundation
- Focus: WWII history and national security/strategic issues
- Details: An award for excellent writing that incorporates airpower and/or historical examples from WWII.

Military Officer Association of America Writing Award.

- Sponsor: Military Officer Association of America
- Focus: Strategic issues and national security
- Details: Two awards for outstanding PRPs

Guide to Writing and Research for Strategic Leaders

Research and strategic leadership are inexorably intertwined. Through research, strategic leaders find information and perspectives essential to effective decision-making in an environment that is increasingly volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA). Leader decisions are often a product of what the leader knows (or believes) and his or her ability to acquire information and resources. Writing and research impact knowledge and how that knowledge is presented to the decision makers and leaders who need it.

Research

“Research” is a curious word because it moves us in two directions simultaneously. In a literal sense, “research” requires us to go back and secure grounding before moving forward. What do extant records reveal that can inform or help us? Strategic leaders must cultivate an acute sensitivity to the past because the historical record frequently provides a viable foundation from which to identify possible courses of action. Research also requires us to move into relatively uncharted territory or to venture a strategic change in light of some new circumstance or development. Consequently, strategic leaders who seek to maximize success and minimize failure will always (to quote a past President of the University of Michigan) “do their damndest” to access the materials and writings which serve to inform strategic leaders and help to guide their thinking and decisions.

The USAWC pursues an inquiry-driven model of graduate education that seeks to prepare selected individuals for strategic leadership responsibilities. The intellectual experiences engendered here represent the “culmination of the formal education of most officers.” The REP and DEP faculties seek to initiate those who study here to the centrality of research as the underlying fabric of inquiry-driven graduate education. The faculty values research and many members are engaged actively in the process of inquiry.

The Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) consists of a modest number of full-time researchers dedicated to advancing strategic knowledge. They facilitate inquiry by their own creative work and are a rich resource, willing to assist students in developing research competencies. SSI has special vehicles through which to publish student research. Some SSI researchers may be willing to serve as PAs for student SRPs/PRPs.

The refereed journal *Parameters*, published quarterly by the USAWC, provides an intellectual forum for “the expression of mature thought on the art and science of land warfare . . . issues of national security, and military strategy, leadership, history, and ethics.” The journal enriches the professional academic environment for students and faculty by (a) enjoying a world-wide following in military, government, political and academic arenas, (b) standing as a source of important intellectual thought, and (c) being located on Carlisle Barracks.

Research and writing are forms of intellectual weightlifting and, while initially somewhat uncomfortable, the effort is usually worthwhile. Through research and writing, vision, insight and mental acuity expand, and human struggles at the strategic level are better understood, if not fully resolved. We trust you will enjoy your experiences and will depart from the USAWC richer personally and more accomplished professionally. We also hope you will leave a knowledge contribution as a result of your studies. A knowledge contribution is a kind of intellectual accomplishment that advances or clarifies what we know, and may help to strengthen the nation and possibly contribute to national security if not world peace. While the SRP, PRP, and CRP

emerge from different academic tracks, all are capable of generating exceptionally worthwhile knowledge contributions. In preparing course papers and other academic materials, all students are encouraged to adopt a posture of inquiry—find out what is known and then move forward.

Research Terminology

Abstract

An abstract is a short description of a document. Abstracts provide basic detail about the paper or article, including the thesis, main points, overall conclusion, and possibly recommendations. Abstracts are used by researchers to help determine the utility of the work for a particular project. SRP/PRP abstracts should be approximately 150 words, and must not exceed 200.

Argument

All good papers advance a defensible position or “argument” that must be supported by well documented and articulated evidence, or “good arguments” (see Martha Cooper, *Analyzing Public Discourse*, Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1989). The term “argument” in an academic context, therefore, is much different than the term “argument” in a relationship context (i.e., “fight”). Thinking of academic writing in terms of well-reasoned arguments facilitates discourse in the marketplace of ideas by elevating expectations for discourse. Authors are thus required to (a) clearly articulate the arguments advanced, (b) identify the intellectual roots of their work, (c) ground declarative statements in appropriate evidence, and (d) organize arguments in a fashion conducive to deductive reasoning and enhanced reader understanding.

Bibliography

A bibliography is a properly formatted and comprehensive listing of sources designed to facilitate quick identification of sources used in a document. Bibliographies are presented in alphabetical order, do not include specific reference to the page(s) from which a particular insight is gained, and are normally preceded by endnotes, footnotes, or parenthetical citations in the body of the manuscript text. A guide to bibliographic citations is provided on the Communicative Arts Homepage, the [USAWC Library Homepage](#), and in the Turabian Manual. *SRPs and PRPs do not include bibliographies.* Types of bibliographies include:

- *Bibliography (immediately) following endnotes:* Students may be directed to provide a list of all sources cited in a paper and referenced in the endnotes.
- *Bibliography of relevant materials:* This type of bibliography helps the student begin the research process by generating a list of books, articles, policy statements and other materials to consult. This helps students and faculty to determine materials availability, merit (based upon the credibility of the author and publication outlet), as well as the types of information the project is likely to uncover.
- *Annotated bibliography:* A bibliography including a brief description of each source.

Endnotes

Endnotes are the required source documentation format in USAWC student projects. Endnotes are important both in terms of proper documentation and critical assessment of written materials. Students should habitually read the two types of endnotes (or footnotes) encountered:

- *Content Notes*: Content notes enable authors to include information that is related to but slightly outside the scope of a paper’s argument. Legal researchers/writers commonly include many important content notes in their work. As a reader, always read all content notes—they may contain important insights or useful information. As a writer, be aware that many readers (including many faculty members) do not, in fact, read content notes—so use them with caution. FIs and PAs may have specific expectations regarding use of content notes in student work. Check for faculty expectations in this regard.
- *Source Documentation Notes*: These are the most important to professional/academic work (see “Source Documentation,” “Plagiarism,” and “Endnote Citation Format”).

Epigraph

An epigraph is an introductory quote which frames the context for the paper that follows. Epigraphs should be used sparingly in professional and academic writing and should be exceedingly short—no more than one or two lines of text. An epigraph should **only** be included when it has substantial relevancy to the argument of the paper in a way that would not be possible in the body of the text. For the SRP/PRP/PEM, students may elect, in consultation with the PA, to include one brief epigraph at the front of the paper. *Epigraphs may not appear elsewhere in the SRP/PRP/PEM document.* In general, epigraphs are not necessary and, if not carefully used, may detract from the impact of a writer’s own words.

Evidence

A well written paper advances an argument firmly grounded in evidence—facts, examples, data, and literature that can be used in support of a claim or argument. All main points and their supporting evidence should be directed toward the development the paper’s overall thesis. Evidence must be connected to arguments and claims through interpretation. Usually, evidence will have more than one possible interpretation. Each author develops the rationale for the interpretation of evidence in support of his or her thesis. That does not suggest bending the facts to fit the case. Instead, one should advocate a reasonable interpretation of the evidence and clearly articulate reasons why that evidence is appropriately interpreted as suggested.

Each main point in a paper must be supported by evidence. The strength of a paper is directly dependent upon the strength of the evidence used to support its arguments. Always use the most credible sources available to develop each main point. Generally speaking, the most credible publications are ones that are verifiable, well documented, grounded in current and historical research, and refereed by prestigious individuals and institutions (e.g., University Press books, scholarly journal articles). Many internet sources (e.g., Wikipedia) do not meet these rigorous criteria and, while they may be useful in the initial phases of research, are not appropriate evidence for graduate-level scholarly and professional writing.

In evaluating the strength and appropriateness of a source, scholars also consider the relationship of the source to the time period or event being studied. A source is considered “primary” if it was created as events were unfolding and/or if it presents new information or ideas based upon original research (e.g., a study that reports new findings about a particular event or phenomenon). Primary sources often become the data for later observation or the basis for developing ideas. A source is considered “secondary” if it is one or more steps removed from the time period or event being studied. Secondary sources are dependent upon primary sources—their function is to analyze or interpret information from primary sources. Most good

research utilizes a combination of primary and secondary sources as evidence. Both need to be evaluated carefully for issues of accuracy and credibility.

Understanding the difference between a primary and secondary source helps scholars to more effectively evaluate source credibility. To evaluate a soldier's first-hand account (primary source) of a 1968 battlefield conflict, for example, one might compare that soldier's account with other information available about the event/time in question—a high level of fidelity among the sources would serve to increase the level of confidence in the source, although too high a level of fidelity could potentially serve to either (a) call into question whether the soldier was reporting his/her own observations or simply going with the group, or (b) render the soldier's observation largely mundane. To evaluate a book about the experiences of soldiers during the Vietnam War era (secondary source), one might seek information about the author of the book, the quality and integrity of the publisher, the strength of evidence upon which the author bases his/her conclusions, the effective development of those conclusions through reasoned analysis, and the author's use and interpretation of documents and artifacts (primary sources) from the era. Scholars have a responsibility to carefully investigate and evaluate both primary and secondary sources. In the evaluation of secondary sources it is particularly important to return to the primary sources upon which the secondary information is based. Mistakes are easily made and can result in the perpetuation of false information if all sources are not evaluated carefully.

Good evidence is (a) grounded in valid, reliable and properly referenced data, (b) supported by additional evidence, (c) assumed to be false prior to its incorporation as evidence—by looking at the negative, authors can find flaws in their own reasoning and develop arguments to refute counterclaims, (d) clearly and logically connected to the thesis or claim, and (e) placed in context within the larger professional and academic discussion of the thesis being addressed.

Information (“ Info”) Paper

An info paper takes a variety of forms. Check with the assigning faculty member as to specific format required (see “Resources for Student Success.”) Generally speaking, an info paper is a very brief document (one, possibly two pages) that normally contains the following elements: (1) statement of purpose, (2) issue or topic being addressed, (3) discussion of the facts or main points being advanced, sometimes as bulleted elements, (4) action or desired outcome, and (5) conclusion with a brief reinforcement of the purpose and recommended outcome.

Organization

Effective organization maximizes argument development, message impact, and reader understanding. Professional and academic papers are commonly organized as follows:

- *Introduction:* The introduction provides the setup for the paper, orients the reader to the paper's thesis, includes a specific thesis statement, establishes the paper's structure by briefly previewing main points and organization. The introduction may be short, particularly for DEP course assignments (consult the Course Directive).
- *Paper Body:* Following the introduction, the main part of the paper flows from the thesis and presents evidence in support of the thesis. The body is generally organized around three or more main points, with effective transitions between each:
 - Main point 1
 - Statement of main point 1
 - Delineation of main point 1 as evidence for the thesis

- Evidence for main point 1
- Main point 2
 - Statement of main point 2
 - Delineation of main point 2 as evidence for the thesis
 - Evidence for main point 2
- Main point 3
 - Statement of main point 3
 - Delineation of main point 3 as evidence for the thesis
 - Evidence for main point 3
- *Discussion:* Following the body, discussion flows from development of the body, covers arguments presented and literature incorporated in the body, addresses potential counter arguments not covered previously, incorporates considerations of method as appropriate—all in relation to the paper’s main thesis.
- *Conclusion:* The final section drives home importance for current and future thought and research, points the reader in a new direction, suggesting areas worthy of further investigation, calls the reader to action when appropriate, and strictly avoids simple restatement of the paper’s thesis or main points.

Outline

Students may find it helpful to create an outline for their papers prior to writing them. Faculty members may require students to submit an outline prior to submission of a paper. Unless specified by the FI or PA, outlines have no specific format requirements, but they do have some common elements. Paper outlines should flow from the thesis statement and provide a preliminary sketch of the organization of the paper, including the main points and types of evidence that will be used to support the thesis. A typical outline organizes information in the order it will be presented in the paper. For some course papers and assignments, students may find it helpful to write a “question outline” to help guide and focus their writing. Question outlines are particularly useful for assignments that have strict requirements regarding content and length—such as those most frequently required for DEP courses.

To address an assignment using a question outline:

- For each paragraph, choose a question to answer from the required elements.
 - Outline these as they will appear in the paper to form the question outline.
 - The DEP requires students to address all aspects of the assignment.
- Answer each question in one declarative sentence. This sentence will become the topic sentence for each of your paragraphs.
- Write a transition sentence for each topic sentence, linking it to the next topic sentence. This will help you write a logical and coherent paper.
- Write strong declarative sentences presenting evidence in support of each topic sentence. These go between the topic and transition sentences.
- Write a short introduction informing the reader of the paper’s intent and, if needed, a short conclusion.

- Note: DEP papers frequently omit the traditional paper introduction in favor of expeditiously addressing the specifics of the requirement.

Paraphrase and Quotation

Authors who paraphrase use their own words to express another writer's ideas. The art of paraphrase is important to master. Paraphrase enables writers to incorporate other's ideas into their work while giving the original source proper credit. Good researchers and writers rely upon this process as a means of strengthening their claims by (a) providing supporting evidence, (b) grounding arguments in intellectual history, (c) exploring issues raised in prior research, and (d) briefly identifying issues that are being supported or refuted in a particular paper. Effective use of paraphrase also helps authors avoid becoming dependent on direct quotations. Overuse of quotations detracts from the power of an author's argument and tends to be associated with weak writing. Quotations are best used when the original author has written or said something in such a way that to paraphrase would be to weaken the quality of the author's words or when the specific words used by the original author are of such a unique character that the words themselves provide flavor and context for the information presented. When paraphrasing, be especially careful to provide complete source documentation information. Some examples:

- Quotation: "The constancy with which the United States carried out its global responsibilities over the long course of the Cold War is a great testimony to the character of the American people and to the quality of the leaders who guided the Nation through often trying times. In spite of the cost, in the face of great uncertainties and despite grave distractions, our nation showed the ability to persevere. In doing so, we answered the great question that Winston Churchill once famously posed: "Will America stay the course?" The answer is, we did."¹
- Brief Paraphrase: During the Cold War era government officials and the American public at large demonstrated a sustained and rather impressive commitment, and did so despite numerous obstacles and fears.²
- Paraphrase with Quotation: During the Cold War era government officials and the American public at large demonstrated a sustained and rather impressive commitment, and did so despite numerous obstacles and fears. Thus answering Winston Churchill's famous question "Will America stay the course?" The answer is, we did."³

¹Ike Skelton, *Whispers of Warriors: Essays on the New Joint Era* (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 2004), 79.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Point of View

Professional/academic writing most commonly utilizes the third person point of view. Papers written in the third person use the pronouns *he*, *she*, or *it* (third person singular) and *they* (third person plural). Papers written exclusively in the third person completely avoid the use of *I* (first person singular), *we* (first person plural) and *you* (second person). Many students who write in the first person (a) fail to advance intellectual arguments that are grounded in reason and research, (b) over estimate the importance of personal experience and/or personal opinion to a writing task, and/or (c) mistakenly equate unsupported opinion with reasoned argument. If

handled appropriately, writing in the third person point of view is often supplemented by occasional first person point of view statements. The first person statement “I propose,” for example, is often preferable to the equivalent third person statement of “The writer of this essay proposes” (an awkward construction) or even “This paper proposes” (papers are inanimate and cannot propose anything themselves). Check with an FI or PA for guidance regarding the point of view expected for a given assignment. PEMs always embrace the first person point of view.

Policy Paper

A policy paper reflects an analysis of a specific national security issue, evaluates alternative policy/strategy options, and makes a specific and supported recommendation—typically to a cabinet-level official. Brevity within a context of comprehensive analysis is essential. The purpose is to frame an existing problem in a manner that will allow a policymaker to find the best solution. The writer must be mindful of the ends-ways-means model, offering courses of action that address the policy maker’s objectives. The following points are commonly considered as the research proceeds, although the final paper may not include every element: (a) scope of the problem, (b) differing ways the problem could be defined or perceived, (c) likely outcomes if the problem is not addressed, (d) current action regarding the problem, (e) several options for solving/addressing the problem, and (f) identification of the resolution that best aligns with the policy maker’s objectives. Provide a succinct recommendation identifying a suggested course of action. Policy papers typically have a specific format found in the organization’s Standard Operating Procedure (SOP). Some formats require source documentation; some do not. Once the preferred format has been identified, do not deviate.

Thesis

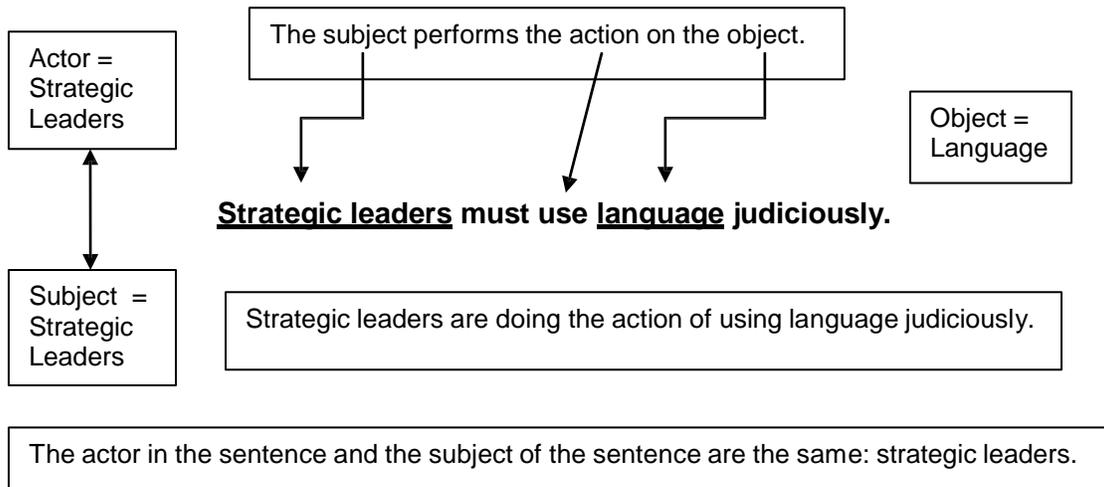
The thesis is the primary argument or overarching position advanced in a paper. The thesis must be carefully articulated near the beginning of the paper. All other information and arguments presented in a paper stem from the thesis. Compelling papers invariably have a strong thesis that advances a particular position on a given topic. The best theses are (a) interesting—they capture attention by addressing an important subject or issue, (b) arguable—they address a topic worthy of interrogation and debate, (c) defensible—they are supported throughout the paper by grounded evidence, and (d) clear—they are carefully written, including enough specificity to avoid over-generalizations and vague propositions.

A “thesis statement” is a one or two sentence articulation of the thesis. In a book-length project, the term “thesis statement” may not be adequate as a book’s thesis usually takes more space to articulate. *The statement of the thesis must come at the beginning of the paper as it is written, but it is not known to the author at the beginning of the research process.* The thesis is a well considered argument developed in response to a systematic and reasonably comprehensive inquiry into a particular topic area. The information discovered and the conclusions drawn during the research process inform the development of the thesis—*the thesis does not direct the research process.* Research flows from the thesis only after enough research has been done such that compelling conclusions can be drawn and an effective thesis developed. At the point of thesis development, further research is undertaken to confirm the appropriateness and validity of the thesis and to gather further supporting evidence.

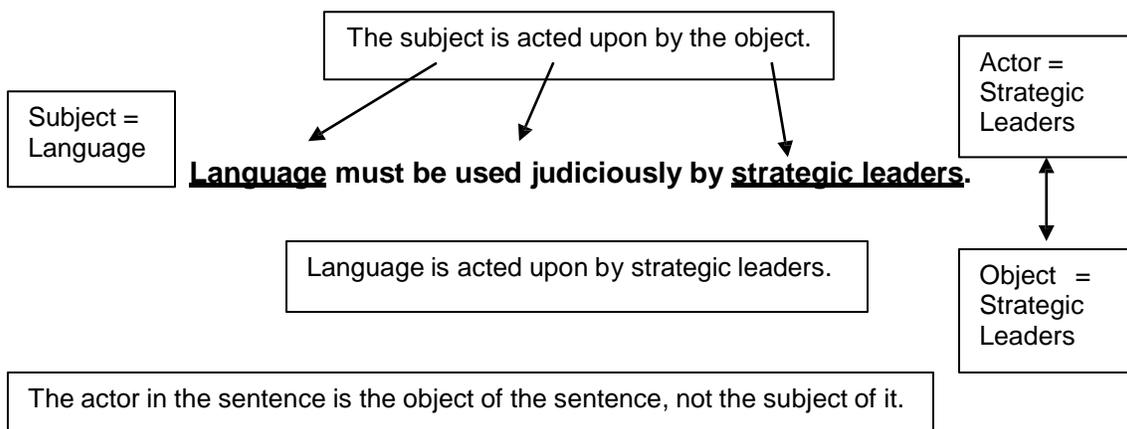
Voice (Active and Passive)

Writing by strategic leaders frequently requires a level of economy, precision, and directness greater than many other forms of writing. For that reason, USAWC faculty frequently insist upon

nearly exclusive use of the active voice (as opposed to passive voice) in student papers. If the subject of the sentence is doing something (e.g., “I am writing this sentence”), the sentence is written in active voice. If the subject of the sentence is having something done to it (e.g., “This sentence is being written by me.”), then the passive voice is in play. In active voice, the form of the verb used places the subject of the sentence in the active position: the subject performs the action rather than being acted upon. As in: “Strategic leaders must use language judiciously.”



A passive construction of the sentence reads: “Language must be used judiciously by strategic leaders.” In passive voice, the subject receives the action of the object.



In the above example, the active voice form of the sentence is far superior to the passive voice form. Active voice is frequently stronger, clearer, and more economical. Students should use active voice whenever it will help them to write clear and concise sentences (which is most—but certainly not all—of the time). Writers use active and passive voice to focus attention on particular elements of a sentence. This impacts the interpretation of the larger ideas, arguments, and bodies of evidence presented in a manuscript. Being able to recognize and consciously shift between active and passive voice is fundamental to the process of bringing obedience to language and opening doors to more effective communication. The decision to use either active or passive voice in a particular sentence should always be based upon the purpose and desired impact of the sentence. Some more examples:

Effective Use of Active Voice (Focus on actor doing the action.)	Ineffective Use of Passive Voice (Focus removed from the actor.)
I shot the sheriff.	The sheriff was shot (by me).
I am shooting the sheriff.	The sheriff is being shot (by me).
I will shoot the sheriff at noon.	The sheriff will be shot at noon (by me).
The sheriff refuses to surrender.	Surrender is refused by the sheriff.
I killed the sheriff.	The sheriff was killed (by me).

Using passive voice to purposefully obfuscate serious events can be insidious. Just as the sentence, “The Sherriff was killed” hides the perpetrator of the crime, so too does the all too common: “Mistakes were made and lives were lost.” Who made the mistakes that resulted in loss of life? Whose life was lost? This use of passive voice attempts to avoid accepting responsibility for the mistakes and the deaths. While obfuscation may be an appealing move, it is, in general, the antithesis of responsible research and good writing.

Absolute avoidance of the passive voice is unnecessary, unproductive, and counter intuitive. No edict exists requiring the use of active voice at all costs. When used appropriately, passive voice can add to sentence strength, increase understanding, and direct reader attention to important elements that might be overlooked were active voice to be employed rigidly.

Like active voice, when used appropriately, passive voice directs attention to the part of the sentence that is most important. Some examples:

Ineffective Use of Active Voice (Focus on Unimportant Actor.)	Effective Use of Passive Voice (Focus on Important Element.)
Unknown forces destroyed the weapon in 1846.	The weapon was destroyed in 1846.
Officials at West Point buried General Custer.	General Custer was buried at West Point.
The UPS driver delivered the supplies on time.	The supplies were delivered on time.
The river flooded 17,000 homes yesterday.	17,000 homes were flooded yesterday.

Document Formatting

Papers

Unless otherwise specified by the PA, assignment, or Course Directive, all student papers should be written in English, using MS Word 2007, and must conform to the following:

- Font: Arial, 12 pt.
- Justification: Left
- Margins: 1 inch on all sides.
- Page Numbers REP: Bottom Center.

- Page Numbers DEP: Lower Right, requirement number – page number
 - Number each page sequentially, by requirement (e.g., 1-1 and 1-2 for pages 1 and 2 of requirement 1; 2-1 and 2-2 for pages 1 and 2 of requirement 2). The first number is the requirement number; the second is the page number.
 - Use the “Header/Footer” option to create requirement - page numbers.
 - 1) Click the “Insert” tab and click the “Footer” button in the “Header & Footer” group.
 - 2) Click the “Blank Header” option in the “Built-in Headers” list.
 - 3) Click the “Insert Alignment” tab button in the “Position” group. Select “Center in the Right” in the “Alignment” tab dialog box.
 - 4) Type the lesson number for the requirement, followed by a dash—e.g., 1- (for lesson 1), 2- (for lesson 2), etc.
 - 5) Click the “Page Number” button located in the “Header & Footer” group.
 - 6) Close the “Header and Footer” group.
- Paragraphs: Set tab stops to 0.5 inch for first line paragraph indentation.
- Paper Length REP: Dictated by the FI, PA or specific assignment.
- Paper Length DEP: Dictated by course directive.
 - Paper length should be within ten percent (10%) of the stated word limit.
 - Endnotes are excluded from the word count.
 - If properly organized/focused, a question can be answered within the word limit.
 - Length parameters facilitate clear, succinct responses.
- References: Endnotes, properly formatted (see “Endnote Citation Format”).
- Spacing—Line: 2.0
- Spacing—Terminal: One space after terminal punctuation (i.e., period, question mark).

SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs

Because SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs are potentially available for worldwide distribution, they must be formatted precisely in order to ensure uniformity of document formatting across all student work originating from the USAWC. The SRP, PRP, and PEM Templates provide the structure necessary to guarantee format consistency.

SRP, PRP, and PEM Template Formatting. **All students must use the Word 2007 template** to format extended writing projects (SRPs/PRPs/PEMs). The template employs MS Word to format documents according to the precise page layout, font, font size, line spacing, margins, page numbering, title page, abstract, and endnote format prescribed by the USAWC.

When a document is written using the template, MS Word automatically performs many formatting functions for the writer, saving time, energy, and frustration by allowing writers to focus on thinking and writing. For the template to work properly, it must be used from “word one.” Begin writing using the template. Attempts to “cut and paste” documents into the template that may produce unwanted format changes that conflict with requirements.

- Instructions for Template use are provided herein.

- Templates and template instructions are available through the Communicative Arts Homepage, DEP Course DE2344 (PRP), and DEP Course DE2345 (PEM).
- The only format differences among the SRP, PRP, and PEM occur in the front matter (Cover Page, SF 298, Title Page, and Abstract Page).
- An exemplar of a properly formatted research paper is provided herein.
- Assistance with the Template is available from CEC, Root Hall, Rm. B20, 717-224-4213.
- **Papers that deviate from the required template format will not be accepted.** They will be returned to the PA and then to the student for correction.

SRP/PRP Length. SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs must be a minimum of 5,000 words. Maximum length is determined by the character of the project and advice of the PA.

- SRPs/PRPs submitted for writing award competition must not exceed 6,000 words.
- SRPs/PRPs submitted for research award competition have no maximum length but must be well written and advance a fresh insight without verbosity.

SRP/PRP (& PEM) Document Order & Required Elements.

- Cover Sheet—Use the template to format the cover sheet.
- Disclaimer
- SF 298—Included in the template.
- Blank Page
 - If the SRP/PRP is printed and bound, it will be printed on both sides of the paper. An extra page is included here so the title page will be front facing.
- Title Page –Use the template to format the title page.
 - All elements depicted on the title page of the model are required.
 - Title is to be brief (10 words or fewer), descriptive, and inviting.
- Blank Page
 - When the SRP/PRP is printed and bound, it will be printed on both sides of the paper. An extra page is included here so the title page will be front facing.
- Abstract—Use the template to format the abstract page.
 - All elements depicted on the abstract page of the model are required.
 - The abstract must fit in the allotted space (an approximate maximum of 200 words).
 - Word Count: Use MS Word 2007 features to count the number of words in the document’s text; do *not* include words in the title page, abstract, or endnotes.
 - Key Terms: Key terms facilitate identification of the paper topic and areas of primary interest to readers. Key terms may be related or add specificity to terms in the title, but they should not be duplicative.
- Blank Page
 - When the SRP/PRP is printed and bound, it is printed on both sides of the paper. An extra page here allows the abstract to be front facing.

- Document Text –Use the template to format the document text.
 - Title is centered at top of first page of text.
 - The template automatically numbers pages as follows:
 - The title and abstract pages are not numbered.
 - The first page of text is page 1, but it is not numbered.
 - Page numbering begins on the second page of text.
- Headings and Subheadings
 - The SRP/PRP generally requires only 2 heading levels, the title and one set of subheads. Other level headings should be used sparingly.
 - Title Level Heading: Centered, Title Case (first letters capitalized), Bold.
 - First Subheading Level: Centered, Title Case (first letters capitalized).
 - Second Subheading Level: Left justified, underlined, first letters capitalized.
 - Third Subheading Level: Indent 0.5”, italicized, Title Case (first letter capitalized)
- Illustrations (e.g., graphics, tables, maps), if included, must be placed in close proximity to the text referring to the illustration.
- Endnotes—Use the template to generate endnotes.
 - The endnote section is demarcated by a level two heading and begins just below the last line of text. (It is, in fact, the next section of the paper, so treat it as such.)
 - Endnotes must conform to the citation style dictated herein.
- Final Blank page—automatically added as needed by the template.
 - The document must end on an even numbered page. If, after completing the paper, the last endnote falls on an odd numbered page, the template inserts a blank page at the end and includes this page in the total page count (bottom left of screen). See "Template Instructions" for information on how to activate this feature.
- The above elements are required.
 - Exclude all other elements such as appendices, glossaries, tables of content, lists of figures and illustrations, acknowledgments, preface statements.
 - A *single, brief* epigraph *may* appear on the first page of the manuscript between the title and the initial manuscript text. Epigraphs may not appear elsewhere.

SRP, PRP, and PEM Format Check

To ensure uniformity of format, students must perform a “format check” prior to final submission of the SRP/PRP/PEM. To reduce the likelihood of a document being returned for adjustments, it may be helpful to have another person review it for formatting errors. The SRP/PRP/PEM must conform to the Template and the formatting specifications detailed herein. During the final format check, (a) compare the document to the required format, (b) juxtapose the document with the sample title and abstract pages in the model research paper to verify that each is formatted correctly, all necessary information is included in the correct form/location, and errors are avoided, (c) read for spelling, punctuation, and grammatical errors, (d) confirm that the title is consistent throughout the project (including accompanying forms and database information),

(e) verify that the Key Terms listed are useful and different from terms used in the title, and (g) check graphics, if any, to ensure that they conform with requirements and are integrated with the text.

Document Submission

Distance Education Program Course Papers

- Retain a copy of all work for use during the course. Save everything in at least two places (e.g., hard drive and CD) to protect against loss due to computer crash.
- DEP Students *must* submit papers through OASIS and must follow the procedures outlined in the USAWC OASIS – User Guide or the OASIS tutorial. Do not fax or email completed work being submitted for assessment/evaluation.
- Identification: Place your rank and full name in the upper right corner of each page using the “Header/Footer” option (e.g., COL John R. Student).
 - Click the “Insert” tab and then the “Header” button in the “Header and Footer” group.
 - Click the “Blank Header” option in the “Built-in Headers” list.
 - Type your rank and full name (Arial, 12).
 - Click the “Insert Alignment” Tab button in the “Position” group. Select “Center in the Right” in the “Alignment” Tab dialog box.
- Requirement(s): Each course has a specific number of requirements to complete. Save and submit each document as a *separate file* DO NOT combine all written requirements into one document (e.g., a course with 2 written requirements will have 2 separate documents). Print documents to review content and format before submission.
- Document Title: Save documents with the title format of: Last name, first initial, course number, requirement number; i.e., Doej2200-1, Doej2200-2, Doej2200-3. Also use this format to title documents in the upload area.

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

PEM Final Procedures for DEP students.

- Upload the PEM manuscript via the PEM Course link in OASIS by the suspense.
- Submit 2 forms per PA guidance: (1) PEM Reproduction and Distribution Memorandum (CBks Form 100-R-E), and (2) SF 298 included in the document via template.

Award winning PEM manuscripts are printed, bound, and forwarded to DTIC for distribution to wider audiences. The author receives one bound copy. Manuscripts may not be distributed until the project is reviewed and approved for release.

PEM Final Procedures for REP students.

- Obtain final approval from the PA to submit the completed PEM.
- Submit the following to the Communicative Arts Office:
 - A hardcopy of the completed PEM with SF 298 included in the document.
 - The Course Evaluation Report from the PA.

- The completed PEM Distribution Form (CBKs Form 100-R-E, available on CBPortal), approved by the PA.
- Submit a digital copy of the PEM, following the procedure detailed in “Submitting REP Digital Documents” available on the Communicative Arts Homepage.

Program Research Project (PRP)

- Upload the PRP manuscript via the PRP Course link in OASIS by the suspense.
- Submit 2 forms per PA guidance: (1) PRP Reproduction and Distribution Memorandum (CBKs Form 231-R-E), and (2) SF 298 included in the document via the PRP Template.

Award winning PRP manuscripts are printed, bound, and forwarded to DTIC for distribution to wider audiences. The author receives one bound copy. Manuscripts may not be distributed until the project is reviewed and approved for release.

Strategy Research Project (SRP)

SRP final procedures for students:

- Submit the complete SRP Package to PA by the due date, include:
 - A clean hard copy of the SRP, single sided, correctly formatted.
 - Completed SF 298 included in document via the template.
 - CBKs Form 715-R-E prepared for PA signature. (Title must match document & SF 298.) If applicable, identify KSIL Subject Area and Specific Topic within that area (e.g., Subject = Landpower Employment; Topic = “Evaluate current responses to irregular challenges.”)
- Submit a digital copy of the SRP, following the procedure detailed in “Submitting REP Digital Documents” available on the Communicative Arts Homepage.

Award winning SRPs are printed and bound. The author receives one bound copy. All Distribution A and B SRPs are forwarded to the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC) for distribution to wider audiences. SRP manuscripts will not be distributed until the project is approved for release.

SRP final procedures for SRP Faculty (PAs & Chairs/Directors):

- Upon receipt, the PA approves the document (as appropriate) and forwards final SRP package to his/her Chair/Director.
- The Chair/Director or designated other reviews the package and forwards it to Communicative Arts along with the SRP assessment (CER) printed from OASIS.

Rules for Writing and Research

Academic Misconduct

Academic misconduct is any activity that compromises the academic integrity of the institution and/or subverts the educational process. Academic misconduct takes three forms: (1) Cheating, (2) Plagiarism, and (3) Fabrication.

- *Cheating*: intentionally using unauthorized information or inappropriate assistance during the academic process.
- *Plagiarism*: taking another's words or ideas and passing them off as one's own.
- *Fabrication*: intentional falsification/invention of bogus information or references.

Sooner or later, academic dishonesty will be discovered. Examples include:

- Eric T. Poehlman, a medical professor at the University of Vermont, pled guilty to fabricating data on a half million dollar NIH grant application. He was sentenced to 366 days in prison, fined \$180,000, and barred for life from receiving federal grant money (see J. Gravois, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 18, 2005).
- Karl-Theodor zu Guttenburg resigned from his position as German Defense Minister after it became known that he had plagiarized portions of his doctoral dissertation. His degree from The University of Bayreuth was rescinded. He committed plagiarism in 2007. Five years later, at the apparent height of his career, his past caught up to him. No longer a popular political figure in the midst of enacting major political reforms, he is now a symbol of malfeasance and dishonor (see J. Dempsey, "[Plagiarism in Dissertation Costs German Defense Minister His Job](#)," *New York Times*, March 1, 2011.)
- At the USAWC, students have had their degrees rescinded and their names ground off the bronze plaques honoring graduates (see CBks Memorandum No. 350-7).

Copyright

USAWC Student Papers

"Copyright protection . . . is not available for any work of the United States Government . . ." ([17 USC § 105](#)). Works produced by U.S. students in the Resident, Distance, and USAWC Fellowship Programs are funded by the Federal Government of the United States and are therefore not protected by copyright. If students write papers on their own time, completely of their own volition, and do not use them to fulfill any USAWC or other obligations associated with being employees of the U.S. Federal Government, then copyright of those works normally falls to the authors. Those wishing to use information gained from student papers (or the papers in their entirety) may do so, provided they follow proper reference citation procedures. Lack of copyright protection is not license for academic thievery in the form of plagiarism. Note: Some U.S. government documents contain copyrighted materials included with permission. Copyright of those materials is retained by the original author, therefore, not all government documents are free from copyright restrictions.

Use of Outside Materials in Student Projects

Students should avoid the reproduction of copyrighted materials. U.S. Government publications, including SRP/PRP/CRPs, are not protected by copyright, but nearly *all* other published and unpublished materials created after 1922 are. Generally, copyright clearance is required whenever an author wants to reproduce the central or primary component of a work, a substantial portion of a work, or an entire work. Common examples of materials requiring copyright clearance include (a) the reproduction of text covering more than an extended quotation, and (b) maps, charts, statistical tables, diagrams, photographs, Internet files, digital images, slides, and other illustrative materials used in original or altered forms.

Whenever possible, make reference through paraphrase and complete source documentation to copyrighted materials rather than seeking to reproduce them. Exercise care when quoting source material. Extended quotes must be used sparingly and in the interest of scholarship, education, and contribution to the marketplace of ideas. If including copyrighted material is essential to a research project, copyright permissions must be obtained in accord with copyright law. "Unauthorized duplication, public performance, or public display of protected materials in any format, including electronic, is prohibited" (CBks Reg 25-96 Paragraph 4.b.).

Library personnel will request permission for the use of copyrighted material. *Do not attempt to resolve copyright issues by yourself.* Securing copyright permission is not guaranteed and approval by the copyright owner may take as long as 12 weeks. Moreover, copyright owners do not have to grant permission to use copyrighted material, frequently charge a considerable fee, and may require a precise credit line to be included in your document.

Use of copyrighted material is not necessary for completion of the SRP/PRP/CRP. The USAWC, does not pay copyright fees. If a PA requests inclusion of copyright material, the appropriate department, usually the PA's, must pay for the copyrighted information.

Distribution of Documents

A paper's distribution statement determines the manner in which it is stored/referenced, and the audience to which it is made available. Student work (course papers, etc.) not carrying a distribution statement is not released or retained. Distribution of SRPs, PRPs, CRPs, and PEMs is determined in consultation with the PA and must be identified on the appropriate forms. Most should be positioned for unlimited release—Distribution A. Occasionally, due to sensitive subject matter, projects may require a restricted release to a more limited audience—Distribution B. In *extremely rare* cases, research may be of such a highly sensitive nature that it is not distributable to the public or government agencies—Distribution G. Student Authors may send Distribution A papers to outside agencies. Distribution B projects may only be released to government agencies.

Once a distribution code is assigned, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change.

Distribution A

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited; available to the public, foreign nationals, companies, and governments worldwide.

Distribution B

Authorized for release to U.S. Government agencies only. Distribution B documents contain sensitive information that, if released to the public, might have the potential to compromise some aspect of national security, personnel safety, and/or ongoing operations. For an SRP or PEM to carry a Distribution B statement, the PA must provide written justification to the Director of Communicative Arts. The project and justification will be reviewed to determine whether the proposed distribution is appropriate. Distribution B carries a Destruction Notice which applies to both classified and unclassified documents.

Distribution G

Do not distribute. Documents are not released. They are treated as course papers and returned to the student. Distribution G documents are available only with approval of the author or possibly under certain provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). For an SRP, PEM, or CRP to carry a Distribution G statement, the PA must provide written justification to the Director of Communicative Arts. The project and justification will be reviewed to determine whether the proposed distribution is appropriate.

Freedom of Information Act

All student research papers produced at the USAWC are subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Through FOIA requests:

- Distribution A papers are easily accessed by any interested party.
- Distribution B papers are easily accessed by government officials and could possibly be accessed by the public.
- Distribution G papers are difficult but not impossible to access. *Papers not intended for distribution may become public under certain circumstances.*

SRP/PRP/CRP/PEM Availability and Access

The USAWC makes all SRPs, CRPs, selected PRPs, and selected PEMs available through the USAWC Library/Library Catalog, and the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC). Once forwarded to DTIC, Distribution A papers become available to the public through www.dtic.mil.

- Eligible users (e.g., members of DoD agencies, DoD contractors, government agencies, and some educational institutions) can automatically obtain documents within a specific area by subscribing to the Automatic Document Distribution Service.
- Distribution A and B papers are forwarded by DTIC to the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) which provides them to the public (Distribution A) and eligible audiences (Distribution B) for a fee.

Human Subjects Research

The USAWC follows the guidance set forth in the Department of Defense Instruction 3216.02, Protection of Human Subjects and Adherence to Ethical Standards in DoD-supported research. The USAWC Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) is an institutional program that governs the conduct of human subject research by the U.S. Army War College. The Deputy Commandant serves as the USAWC Institutional Official (IO). The Director of Research serves

as the Human Protections Administrator (HPA). The Deputy Director of SSI and the Director of Institutional Assessment serve as Exempt Determination Officers.

- REP and DEP students intending to interview or survey human beings for SRPs or PRPs must contact a USAWC Exempt Determination Officer in advance for further information. REP students must obtain a review by an Exempt Determination Officer (the Director of Institutional Assessment) when applying for SRP TDY funds to interview human beings or to obtain identifiable private information.
- USAWC Fellows intending to interview or survey human beings for their CRPs must contact a USAWC Exempt Determination Officer in advance. USAWC Fellows must obtain a review by the Exempt Determination Officer (the Director of Institutional Assessment) if applying for CRP TDY travel funds to interview human subjects or to obtain identifiable private information.
- Faculty intending to interview or survey human subjects for research must contact an Exempt Determination officer (Director of Institutional Assessment or Deputy Director of SSI) prior to the research effort.
- Categories of review are: Exempt, Expedited, and Full Board Review. Expedited and Full Board Review categories must be forwarded by an Exempt Determination Officer to the U.S. Army Medical Department Medical Research and Materiel Command Institutional Review Board (HQ USAMRMC IRB).

Non-Attribution Policy

The USAWC's non-attribution policy guarantees that remarks and opinions expressed in privileged forums will not be publicized, quoted, or discussed outside the USAWC without the *express written permission* of the speaker. The library maintains a file identifying restrictions each speaker placed on his or her remarks. Consult the file prior to citing a potentially privileged source. Do not cite privileged speakers or information without obtaining written permission.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the antithesis of integrity and responsible research. The term "plagiarism" is derived from the Latin *plagiarius*, a word suggesting kidnapping. Thus to plagiarize a work is to kidnap another's creation—ideas, words, thoughts, etc. Once kidnapped, the plagiarist then passes off the creation—or elements thereof—as his/her own. Plagiarism is fraudulent misrepresentation—intellectual deception perpetrated on readers and those invested in the community of ideas. Plagiarism is a serious form of cheating that carries serious consequences.

"Substantiated charges of plagiarism will result in the award of Fails to Meet Standards assessment and disenrollment from the USAWC, and potentially other forms of administrative action" (CBKs Memo 623-1).

Some examples:

- Paraphrasing another author's work without giving proper credit to the author (e.g., incorporating the other author's ideas into your paper in any manner that suggests that the ideas are your own when they are, in fact, derived from another source).

- Directly quoting another author's work without giving proper credit to the author (e.g., incorporating the other author's words into your paper in any manner that suggests that those words are your own and not a quotation).
- Copying a segment of another's work word for word, then conveniently "forgetting" to include quotation marks, but "remembering" to cite the source.
- Using another author's work in its entirety and presenting it as your own work (e.g., digging up an obscure article or SRP, copying it, and submitting it under your own name or purchasing a paper from another for the same purpose).
- Translating an author's work into another language and submitting the work as your own (e.g., taking a document written in Portuguese, translating it into English, and putting your name on it as if the original words/ideas—not just the translation—are your own).
- Taking bits and pieces of works from a variety of sources, combining them either through paraphrase or direct quotation, and claiming the ideas/words as your own (e.g., weaving together information from several different documents, adding some of your own words and ideas, and claiming both your own ideas/words and the words/ideas of others as your own).

Sometimes people plagiarize to save time or to make themselves look good (temporarily). For some plagiarists, dishonesty comes easily and fear of detection is modest or non-existent. Plagiarism is a serious offense that can ruin a person's reputation and career. In February 2008, for example, the White House was confronted with the news that Tim Goeglein, an assistant to the President, had plagiarized by presenting another person's work as his own in a guest column he "wrote" for the *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*. Subsequently, the press learned that Goeglein had made a habit of lifting words from other writers, leaving out proper source attribution and documentation, and claiming the words as his own. He resigned from the President's staff in disgrace (See M. Abramowitz & W. Branigin, "Bush Aide Resigns Over Plagiarism," *Washington Post*, Saturday, March 1 2008; A03). Plagiarism of this type is especially insidious because it is a willful attempt to deceive. In this case, Goeglein's actions damaged his reputation and violated a public trust.

The so-called "accidental" plagiarist, however, is typically a sloppy, careless writer at worst or a hapless dabbler relatively unskilled in the finer points of misrepresentation at best. Avoiding plagiarism is not difficult. Cite all sources, including those that have been published, those that have not, those that you have translated, and those that you may have previously written yourself that have been circulated beyond classroom or personal settings. If, for example, you wrote or contributed to a government project or conducted a professional presentation, you should reference your work as you would any other work, including giving proper credit to co-authors. The sixth edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (2010, 170) defines "self-plagiarism" as: "the practice of presenting one's own previously published work as though it were new."

In contrast to plagiarism, proper source citation promotes visibility and credibility, documents research skills, helps to establish analysis veracity and argument merit. Documented research is grounded research. Grounded research is the bedrock of good scholarship. Good scholarship has the potential to impact understanding of the strategic environment. Perspicuous understanding of the strategic environment enhances national security. Enhanced national security preserves freedom and democracy. The bottom line: don't plagiarize. America needs strategic leaders to help guide her, not to undercut American values with plagiarism and deceit.

When in doubt about source documentation, ask for assistance from your PA or the Director of Communicative Arts. Improper source documentation or inadequate use of sources undermines scholarship. Plagiarism in any form can lead to professional embarrassment, personal failure, and, potentially, dismissal from the program. As a guide, one should always document when quoting materials from another and should always quote when lifting five consecutive words from a source. If you are not lifting, but are just rephrasing the ideas/material and paraphrasing in your own words, then provide an endnote. Generally speaking, one need not document knowledge that is considered common. For example, to write that U.S. involvement in WW II began in late 1941 and continued until well into 1945 would not need to be documented even if you happen to read a source noting the dates. That kind of information is considered common knowledge and there is no need to document it. If, however, for some reason you are directly quoting, word for word “that U.S. involvement in WW II began in late 1941 and continued well into 1945” then you would need to include an endnote to the quoted source. Generally, it is better to paraphrase in your own words and document the source with an endnote than to quote. Avoid lengthy quotes at every opportunity. (See Academic Dishonesty.)

When plagiarism is suspected, the PA bears first line responsibility for examining the paper.

Security Classification

Resident students are *strongly encouraged* to write unclassified papers. Distance Education students are *required* to write unclassified papers. Writing unclassified papers contributes to public dialogue, allows research to be disseminated, and increases the possibility of publication. Some subjects, however, may only be addressed in a classified document. The production of classified SRPs requires strict observation of all physical and automation security procedures of Army regulations. Students who conduct classified research bear sole responsibility for:

- Understanding the process required to produce classified work.
- Obtaining permission from your PA to pursue a classified project. The PA must be willing and able to work on the classified material and to review the final document.
- Complying with all aspects of security management (applies to both student and PA).
- Ensuring that the paper receives and displays the necessary security classification and appropriate downgrading and declassification markings.
- contacting the USAWC Security Manager (SB 17 Root Hall, 5-4188) *before* beginning research to obtain:
 - Procedures for developing, producing, archiving, and exporting classified SRPs.
 - Guidance through the process of producing a classified SRP.
 - Designated secure work stations for production and storage of classified materials.
 - Help managing classified working papers.
 - Help classifying the final document.
- Apprising the Director of Communicative Arts that your SRP will be classified.
- Identifying the SRP with an unclassified title/abstract in OASIS for tracking purposes.
- Following the same style and academic guidelines required for all SRPs.

Classified SRPs may be posted to the SIPRNET.

Source Documentation

All good research is grounded research, rooted in the historical and/or theoretical context that surrounds and permeates the issue being investigated. By integrating ideas from multiple sources, authors bring significant ideas to the forefront of a research project and generate evidence or “good reasons” in support of a thesis, argument, or position. Referencing these sources in written or oral presentations is essential to the research process and to the development of a credible and persuasive argument. For course papers, writing projects, and speeches students are expected cite sources accurately and in the correct format.

Responsible documentation also entails a commitment to ground research in information gained from sources of the highest quality and integrity possible. Evaluate sources carefully prior to their use. Learn about the author, the quality of the publication outlet, the review process prior to publication, and the quality of the sources referenced. Particular care should be taken in the evaluation of on-line content. Prior to citing an on-line source, evaluate (a) authority (who wrote the material?), (b) accuracy (is this fact or opinion?), (c) currency (does this material capture contemporary thinking?) and (d) scope (does the site include references to detailed materials that can be verified?). Avoid quotidian sources such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, non-academic/non-professional web pages, or open source information databases (e.g., Wikis). They should not be relied upon as either (a) entirely accurate, or (b) worthy of supporting a substantial argument. Wikipedia, for example, may be helpful as an introductory overview of a topic or issue, but cannot provide the foundation for professional or graduate level research. One should “never cite it as an authoritative source” (Turabian, 2007, 27).

Proper source documentation entails avoiding both blatant and accidental plagiarism by:

- Referencing all information that did not come from inside the author’s own mind.
- Providing reference information for all materials used in the development of a paper, and doing so in the precise form and location required. Those reading a work must be able to verify the evidence offered while tracking the ideas presented.
- Referencing previously circulated self-authored works, and all translations of other’s works with proper citations.

Course papers, formal research documents, SRPs, PRPs, CRPs, and PEMs must adhere to the specific style of documentation detailed herein. Students in the Resident, Distance, and USAWC Fellowship Programs need to become thoroughly familiar with this material, and to follow these guidelines consistently. Each student is responsible for properly documenting all sources used in each and every paper he/she writes. Students must know and understand documentation procedures and formats. Through practice and repetition, USAWC graduates are exceptionally well-prepared for the professional writing tasks that they will encounter as strategic leaders.

Strategic leaders who are not well versed in source documentation risk exposure to charges of sloppy research, poor information, bad judgment, and even plagiarism. Learn the material. Do not ask reference librarians, FIs, PAs or others to format source documentation. Careful review of this Directive should answer all routine source documentation and reference format questions. If questions or special issues arise that fall outside the scope of information presented here, see (a) the Turabian Manual, (b) FI, PA, course author or other appropriate member of the faculty, (c) Reference Librarians, or (d) the Director of Communicative Arts.

Student Publication

Articles to be released to the general public must be cleared prior to submission. The purpose of the clearance process is not to inhibit public expression but to ensure accuracy while protecting classified or sensitive defense information from unauthorized, perhaps inadvertent, release. The PA and/or the FI has primary responsibility for clearing print and electronic information for public release (Distribution A). Papers that are authorized for release to U.S. Government agencies only (Distribution B) must be cleared for release by the PAO and, in some instances, the Security Office. (See CBks Pamphlet 10-1, Section 10-11.)

When *significant* revision or augmentation involving the PA has been undertaken to prepare the manuscript for publication, the student is encouraged to invite the PA to become the second author on the revised document.

Endnote Citation Format

Use the following citation format to document all sources utilized in the creation of a manuscript. Each example is consistent with the endnote citation format specified in the Turabian manual. Turabian offers alternative formats, but USAWC students use only the endnote format.

Each type of source has a prescribed form which occurs in a precise sequence. Each comma, capital letter, space, colon, bracket, date, and page number has an explicit function and a prescribed position when documenting source material. Proper source documentation is impossible if the necessary specifics are not at hand.

The age of information and media convergence complicates the reference citation process, but only slightly. No matter how an information unit (article, book, video, interview, etc.) is created, delivered, or accessed, the purpose of citation remains the same: providing readers with the information necessary to locate the cited source. Thus a book is still a book regardless of whether or not it is traditionally printed or available via electronic reader. The main differences are (a) the process of accessing the information—pulling it off a shelf or opening a digital file, and (b) the means through which the information is made available to current and future readers. Those differences are reflected in the reference citation. To access information from a printed document, for example, researchers benefit from page numbers, publisher location information, and specific publication dates. Accessing information from an electronic source requires different information for success: electronic search parameters—therefore page numbers are not required and may not be available. Likewise, publication dates and location information may be less important for documents delivered electronically as they are not bound by the physical printing process. With electronic delivery, characters on a screen are easily changed, so one may not be able to locate the exact reference in the form cited (earlier copies of a webpage, for example, may no longer be available). Thus, access dates are essential for electronic document citations as they provide researchers with information about the reference authenticity, and with a means of tracking the information as desired. When providing URL and other electronic identifiers for location information, copy the code information precisely. One punctuation mark, space, or character out of place can mean the difference between locating the desired source and locating a meaningless one (or worse, one that is totally unintended).

Determining Citation Type

Citing references properly is an art requiring precision and, sometimes, a bit of creativity. In all cases, the goal should be clarity for retrieving and accessing the information and sources referenced. The variety of source types a student may encounter and utilize in a research project is vast. No attempt is made to provide details for every type of reference that may be encountered. Such a list is neither necessary nor desired. For the most part, student scholars should be able to follow the basic forms outlined here to create apt references for nearly every kind of source imaginable.

Questions to Ask

- Is the source most like an article, book, internet-only source, military publication, public document, recorded media, or unpublished source?
- What information needs to be provided for the type of source identified?
- Is additional information needed for readers to locate the specific source being cited?

Once the similar source-type is identified and additional information procured, follow the citation format for that source-type as closely as possible, making adjustments as necessary. If needed, see the Turabian Manual for additional documentation information for a wide variety of sources.

Use the endnote citation style described herein for all projects unless otherwise directed. Ensure that all sources are properly documented and references are complete. Collect all documentation details and specifics as encountered. Attention to detail improves efficiency, reduces errors, and strengthens scholarship.

Determining Endnote Type

Single Source Endnotes

Most endnotes will contain information for a single source with no accompanying text. Several illustrative single source endnotes appear below:

¹Barbara W. Tuchman, "Generalship," *Parameters* 40, no. 4 (Winter 2010-11): 13.

²Kenneth R. Young, "Into the Wilderness," in *The General's General: The Life and Times of Arthur MacArthur* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 119.

³Michael Hinds, "The Texas Congressman Behind the Amendment," *New York Times*, June 12, 1992

Multiple Source Endnotes

When using several sources to make a single point, place one superscript at the end of text. Then group sources into one endnote, listing each completely in the standard format and separated by semicolons. A multiple source note appears below:

⁴Michael M. Lombardo, *FYI: For Your Improvement*, 5th ed. (Minneapolis: Lominger International, 2009), 135; John Allen Williams, "The Military and Society beyond the Postmodern Era," *Orbis* 52, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 203, in Wilson OmniFile (accessed November 15, 2009).

Content Endnotes

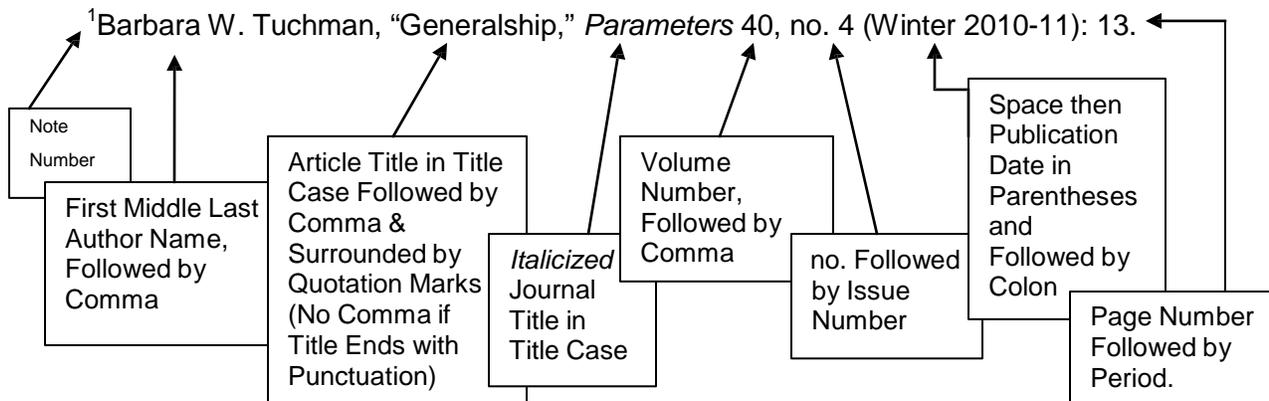
Content notes are used to provide commentary or information useful to the reader but disruptive to paper flow. Source material may be worked into a sentence, or may follow as a separate item. Sources cited initially in a content note may serve as reference material for future notes. Sample content notes follow:

⁵For background on the Muslim Brotherhood, see John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120-33.

⁶China is currently the only UN Security Council permanent member without an aircraft carrier. Michael Hall, *The Blue Water Dragon: China's Emerging Aircraft Carrier Force and US Responses* (Newport: Naval War College, April 23, 2008), 5.

Articles in Journals

Basic Journal Format



Journal Author Information

List author name(s) exactly as they appear in the journal. If no author is given, omit author name and list the title immediately following the note number. As in: ¹Author Not Provided, all other elements of the citation remain the same. For two authors, list each in name order (First Middle Last) connected by the word and. As in: James A. Author and Joan B. Author. For three authors, the proper form would be: James A. Author, Joan B. Author, and Joseph C. Author. For four or more authors, cite only the first author, then et al. As in: Joan B. Author et al. If author is an institution, list name (e.g., American Library Association) as author followed by a comma.

Journal Information

List publication information and dates as they appear in the journal. Academic, professional, and scholarly journals provide publication information in a variety of forms. Not all publishers will include all of the above information in their journals. If elements of the publication information are not included in the journal being referenced, they are not required for citation. Simply omit missing information and continue following the citation format, including appropriate (but not extra) punctuation. If, for example, no volume number is provided, omit and continue, as in: *American-Arab Affairs*, no. 36 (1991): 104.

Means of Access

Journals and journal articles are available in a variety of forms, both print and electronic. Adapt citations to include information about the means by which the author accessed each article. For articles accessed electronically, the basic citation structure remains constant with additional information added to alert the reader to the means of access. Page numbers are frequently irrelevant for electronically accessed citations, so omit when appropriate. Some examples:

- E-reader: place a comma after the date (or page number if provided), followed by the type of reader used and concluded with a period. As in: (Winter 2010), Kindle e-article.
- On-line journal: include the word "online" as the last word of the title, then provide volume, issue, and page numbers as per usual, followed by a comma, the complete URL, and the date of access in parentheses, and concluded with a period. As in: *Media, War, and Conflict Online* 1 (April 2008): 70,

<http://intlmcw.sagepub.com/content/1/1/70.full.pdf+html> (accessed June 24, 2011). Or: *ADA Magazine Online*, May 2001, <http://147.71.210.21/adamaq/May%202001/jommni.htm> (accessed May 10, 2001).

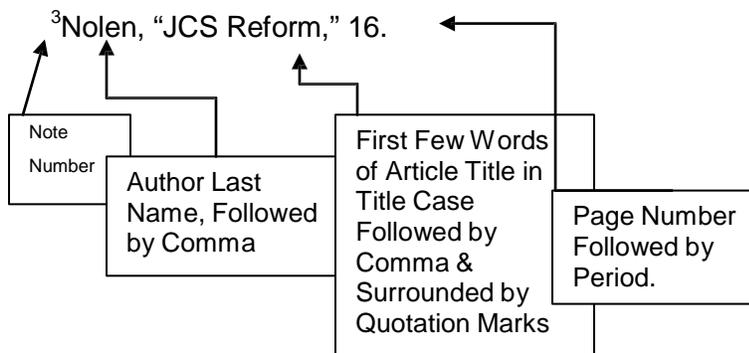
- Subscription databases: place a comma after the date (or page number if provided), followed by “in,” the name of the database utilized, and the date of access—in parentheses and conclude with a period. As in: (Winter 2010): 14, in ProQuest (accessed May 9, 2011).

Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive

²Ibid.

Use this form when the second reference to a source immediately follows an initial reference. Use of Ibid. saves space, allowing quick identification of the pattern of sources cited. More than one Ibid. citation can occur in a row, but must directly follow the original source or another Ibid. linked to that source. Include page information if using the Ibid. form to consecutively reference material located on a different page, as: ³Ibid., 49.

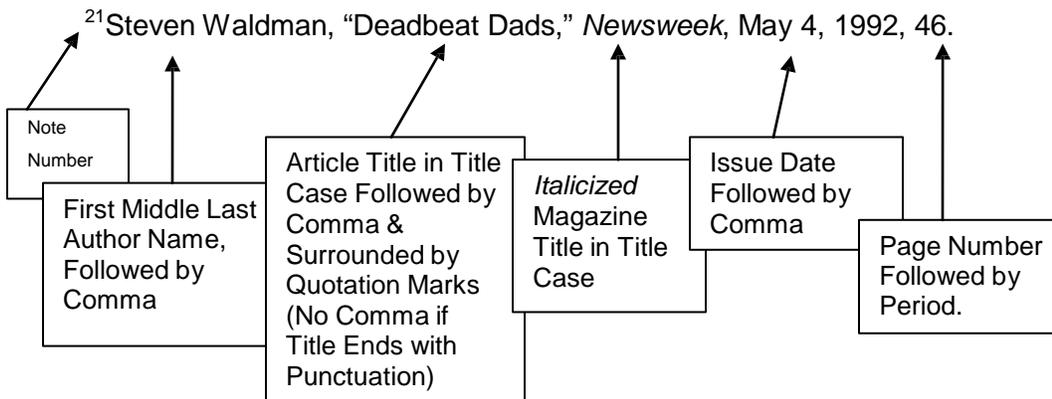
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive



Use this form when the second reference to a source is made after other sources have been referenced. Ibid. may then be used as the next reference if necessary.

Articles in Magazines

Basic Magazine Format



Magazine Author Information

List author name(s) exactly as they appear in the magazine. Format and details for multiple/missing authors are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Magazine Information

Magazines of general interest, (e.g., *Newsweek*), even though they may carry volume numbers, are best identified by date alone. The date takes the place of the volume number and is not enclosed in parentheses. Include relevant page numbers, separated by a comma if necessary (i.e., if pages referenced are not contiguous).

Means of Access

Magazines and magazine articles are available in a variety of forms, both print and electronic. Citations adaptation details are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Periodical Interview

³¹Yasir Arafat, "Arafat Talks: Marriage, Peace and the Plane Crash: An Exclusive Interview with the PLO Leader," interview by Tony Clifton, *Newsweek*, May 4, 1992, 41.

For interviews published in magazines and other periodicals, the basic citation information and style is the same as for all articles from that type of periodical. For interviews, include details about the interviewer between the article title and the publication title, separated by commas.

Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive

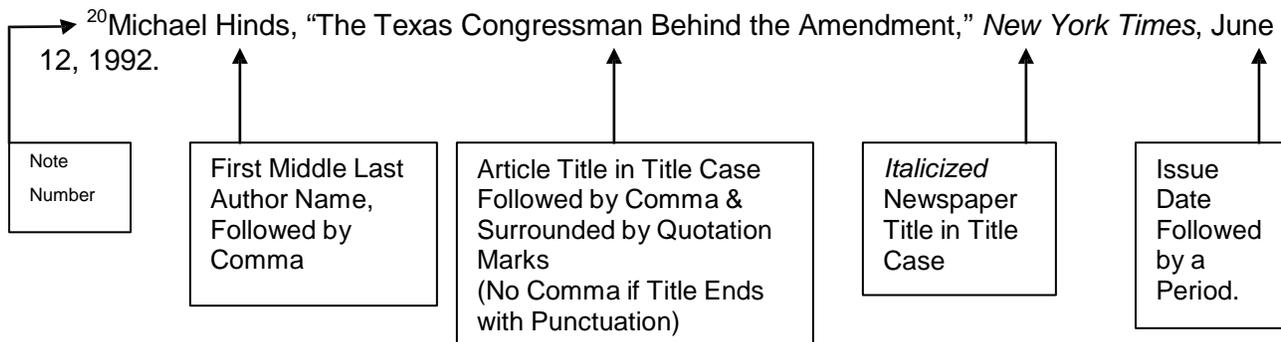
Use *Ibid.* to save space. An explanation is provided under Journal Articles (see above).

Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive

Use a shortened version of the citation information to save space. Details are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Articles in Newspapers

Basic Newspaper Format



Newspaper Author Information

List author name(s) exactly as they appear in the newspaper. Format and details for multiple/missing authors are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Newspaper Information

If the name of an American newspaper does not include the name of the city, add the city before the newspaper title and italicize both (i.e., *Harrisburg Patriot*). If the city is not well known, give the name of the state in parentheses (i.e., *Carlisle (PA) Sentinel*). Omit page numbers.

Means of Access

Newspapers and newspaper articles are available in a variety of forms, both print and electronic. Citations adaptation details are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive

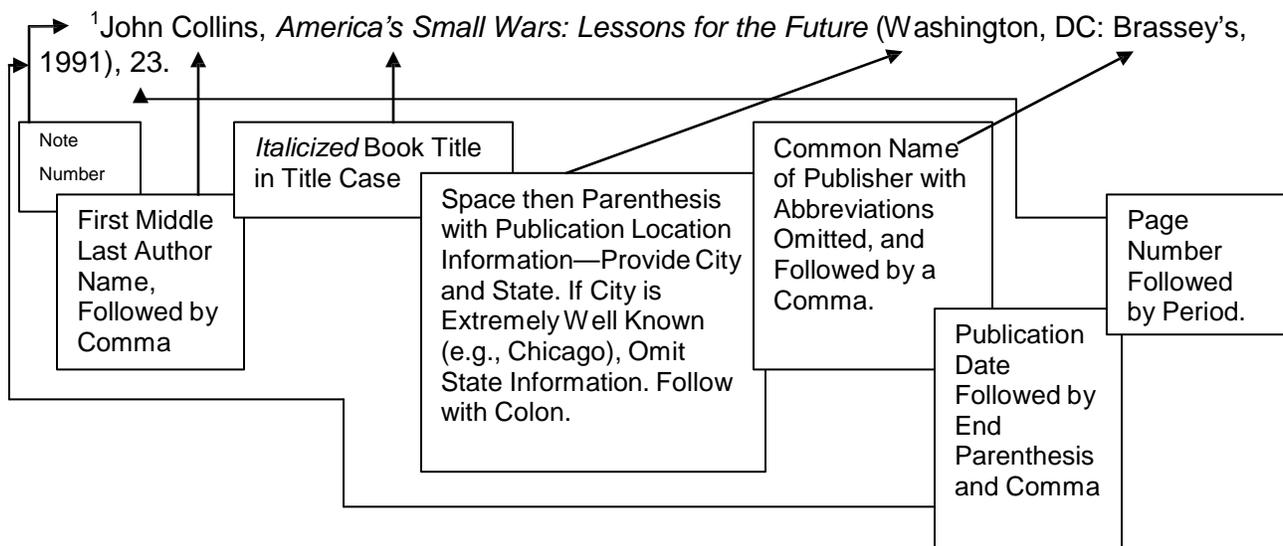
Use *Ibid.* to save space. An explanation is provided under Journal Articles (see above).

Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive

Use a shortened version of the citation information to save space. Omit page numbers, otherwise details are the same as those for Journal Articles (see above).

Books

Basic Book Format



Book Author Information

List author names exactly as they appear in the book. If no author is given, omit author name and list the title immediately following the note number. As in: ¹"Author Not Provided," all other

elements of the citation remain the same. For two authors, list each in name order (First Middle Last) connected the word and. As in: James A. Author and Joan B. Author. For three authors, the proper form would be: James A. Author, Joan B. Author, and Joseph C. Author. For four or more authors, cite only the first author, then et al. As in: Joan B. Author et al. If an institutional author is provided, list the name of the institution (e.g., American Library Association) in the author slot followed by a comma.

Book Information

List publication information and dates as they appear in the book. If elements of the publication information are not included, they are not required for citation. Simply omit missing information and follow the citation format, including appropriate (but not extra) punctuation. For books, two abbreviations are used to indicate missing publication information: n.p. and n.d. No place given is indicated in the appropriate location by n.p. No date given is indicated in the appropriate location by n.d. This information is not necessary for electronically accessed books.

Book in Series

⁸Thomas L. Pangle, *The Ennobling of Democracy: The Challenge of the Postmodern Age*, Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 225.

Edition other than First

⁹Samuel Noory, *Dictionary of Pronunciation: Guide to English Spelling and Speech*, 4th ed. (New York: Cornwall Books, 1981), 10.

Edited or Compiled Book

⁶Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Richard H. Shultz, Jr., eds., *The United States Army: Challenges and Missions for the 1990s* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1991), 30.

Use “ed.,” “eds.,” “comp.,” “comps.” as appropriate.

Means of Access

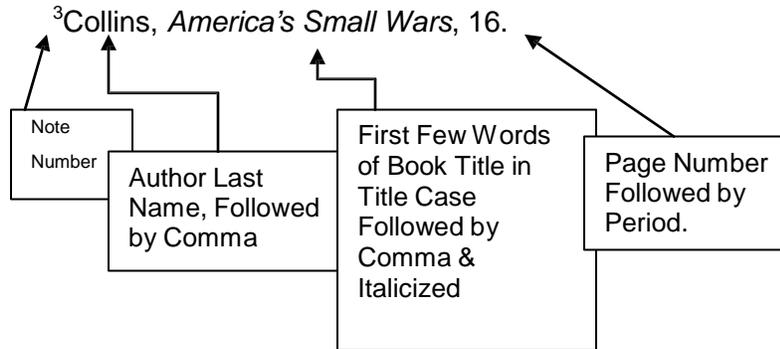
Books and book chapters are available in a variety of forms, both print and electronic. Citations must be adapted to include information about the means through which the author of a paper accessed each reference. For books accessed electronically, the basic structure of the citation remains the same with additional information added to alert the reader to the means of access. Page numbers are frequently irrelevant for electronically accessed citations, so omit when appropriate. Some examples:

- E-reader: place a comma after the date (or page number if provided), followed by the type of reader used and concluded with a period. As in: (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1991), Kindle e-book.
- On-line book: place a comma after the date (or page number if provided), followed by the complete URL, and the date of access in parentheses, and concluded with a period. As in: (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1996), 6, <http://www.dtic.mil/jv2010/jv2010.pdf> (accessed June 12, 2003).

Repeated Reference to Book—Consecutive

Use *Ibid.* to save space. An explanation is provided under Journal Articles (see above).

Repeated Reference to Book—Non-Consecutive



Use this form when the second reference to a source is made after other sources have been referenced. (*Ibid.* may then be used as the next reference if necessary.)

Translated Book

⁷Wolfgang Leonhard, *Betrayal: The Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939*, trans. Richard D. Bosley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 211.

Book Sections

Book Chapter by Book Author

¹⁰Kenneth R. Young, "Into the Wilderness," in *The General's General: The Life and Times of Arthur MacArthur* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 119.

Book Chapter in Edited Work

¹¹Max G. Manwaring, "Limited War and Conflict Control," in *Conflict Termination and Military Strategy: Coercion Persuasion, and War*, ed. Steven J. Cimbala and Keith A. Dunn (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 59.

Quotation in Book—Secondary Source

¹²J. F. C. Fuller, *Grant and Lee* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 82, quoted in Roger H. Nye, *The Challenge of Command* (Wayne, NJ: Avery, 1986), 28.

Internet-Only Sources

Home Page

⁴⁴*The United States Army Home Page*, <http://www.army.mil> (accessed June 19, 2005).

Home Page—Linked File

⁴⁵Joe Smith, "Soldier Awarded Purple Heart," May 23, 2005, linked from *The United States Army Home Page* at "Soldier Stories," <http://www4.army.mil/ocpa/soldierstories> (accessed June 14, 2005).

Internet Document

⁴⁶Michael Schrage, "Information-Age Have-Nots? Let Them Read Books," January 9, 1994, <http://www.cadsim2.gmu.edu/mon/Academia/ShrageLetThemReadBooks.html> (accessed July 23, 1996).

Internet documents are often revised, altered, or moved, so include both the publication date, if available, and the date the user accessed the site. If publication date is not provided, omit.

Military Publications

Army Regulation

²²U.S. Department of the Army, *Effective Writing for Army Leaders*, Army Regulation 25-50 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, November 21, 1988), 3.

Use the same style for Field Manuals, Pamphlets, and other military publications.

Congressional Hearing

²³U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Special Subcommittee on War Powers, *The War Power after 200 Years: Congress and the President at a Constitutional Impasse: Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on War Powers of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, 100th Cong., 2nd sess., July 13, 1988, 11.

Congressional Testimony

²⁴Edward M. Kennedy, "National Intelligence Estimate—Iraq," *Congressional Record* (September 29, 2006): S10523.

Fragmentary Order (FRAGO)

²⁵LTG Eric B. Schoomaker, U.S. Army Surgeon General, "Fragmentary Order 6 to Operation Order 09-75 (Novel a(H1N1) Influenza Vaccine Immunization Program)," Fort Sam Houston, TX, U.S. Army Medical Command, March 17, 2010.

Joint Publications

²⁵U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Mobilization Planning*, Joint Publication 4-05 (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, March 22, 2010), 2.

Public Documents

Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report

²⁸Ronald O'Rourke, *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Naval Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, July 17, 2009), 20.

Federal Budget

²⁷U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1998* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), 4.

Government Accountability Office (GAO) Report

²⁸U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Special Operations Forces: Report to Congressional Committees* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, September 2007), 3.

National Security Strategy

²⁶William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* (Washington, DC: The White House, October 1998), 46.

Posture Statement

²⁹Michael P. W. Stone and Gordon R. Sullivan, *Strategic Force, Strategic Vision for the 1990s and Beyond: A Statement on the Posture of the United States Army, Fiscal Year 1993*, Posture Statement presented to the 102nd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, 1992), 3.

Public Law

²⁵*Atomic Energy Act of 1946*, Public Law 585, 79th Cong., 2nd sess. (August 1, 1946), 19.

Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR)

³²Robert M. Gates, *Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, February 2010), 19.

United States Army War College Student Writing Projects

³⁷Bertram B. Armstrong, *The Army Image*, Strategy Research Project (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, April 10, 2000), 15.

Many SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs are available through the Carlisle Barracks Library and DTIC. Other student papers, such as unpublished course papers, are generally not considered strong sources for inclusion in professional and academic documents.

United States Constitution

³⁰U.S. Constitution, art. 2, sec. 1.

Recorded Media

When citing a media artifact (CD, DVD, etc.), follow the same general format as for book citations. Include as much information as necessary for readers to quickly locate the material. For more obscure entries, this may require a bit of creativity.

Hardcopy

³⁹Peter Markle, dir., *Bat 21*, VHS (Culver City, CA: Media Home Entertainment, 1989).

When possible, give producer or director's name first; otherwise list the title in the "author" position (capitalized headline style, and italicized). Indicate type of media after the title.

Internet

Author.

⁴⁵Joe Mantegna and Gary Sinise, "PBS's National Memorial Day Concert," May 4, 2007. *YouTube*, video file, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJAj84RUIEs> (accessed June 21, 2011).

Institutional Author.

⁴⁶U.S. Army War College, "Army War College History," December 7, 2010, *U.S. Army War College YouTube Channel*, video file. <http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=USArmyWarCollege#p/a/u/2/cfIH8i1YomM> (accessed April 12, 2011).

No Author Given.

⁴⁷"Asymmetric Warfare: People's Tactics and Sun Tzu's 'Art of War'," December 1, 2008, *YouTube*, video file. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nSmwaLrFggc> (accessed June 23, 2011).

Use these forms for all web-based media files. Include web location and type of media accessed (audio, video, live video stream, etc.). Information about media file types (.wmp, .mp3, .mp4, etc.) may be included if particularly relevant to the citation information.

Unpublished Sources

Briefings

⁴⁰Dylan V. Shope, "Peace Forces," briefing slides with scripted commentary, Carlisle Barracks, PA, U.S. Army War College, July 23, 2001.

Electronic Mail and Social Networking Communications

⁴¹Robert F. Parkison, e-mail message to author, May 2, 2002.

Indicate the type of medium used to communicate the message. Electronic mail, on-line chats, Facebook, and other electronic communications are generally not considered academic or professional sources. Use sparingly and only when essential.

Memoranda

³⁵U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, "Review: Calendar Year 1991 Schedule," memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments, Washington, DC, January 22, 1992.

Use double quotation marks to set off the memorandum's subject line.

Personal Interviews

If person interviewed is a member of the Armed Forces, show rank and branch of service. List military rank in standard abbreviated form appropriate to the specific service.

On location.

³²Governor Kirk Fordice of Mississippi, interview by author, Jackson, MS, July 23, 1996.

Telephone or Electronic Source.

³³GEN John Abizaid, U.S. Army, Commander, U.S. Central Command, telephone interview by author, March 19, 2005.

Indicate whether the interview was via telephone (as above) or via another medium.

Unattributed Interview.

³⁴Interview with confidential source, February 17, 2009.

Explain the absence of a source's identity briefly in an endnote. Unattributed interview data should be used very sparingly and only when complete confidentiality is absolutely essential. A source must grant the author permission to quote even if confidentiality is being honored.

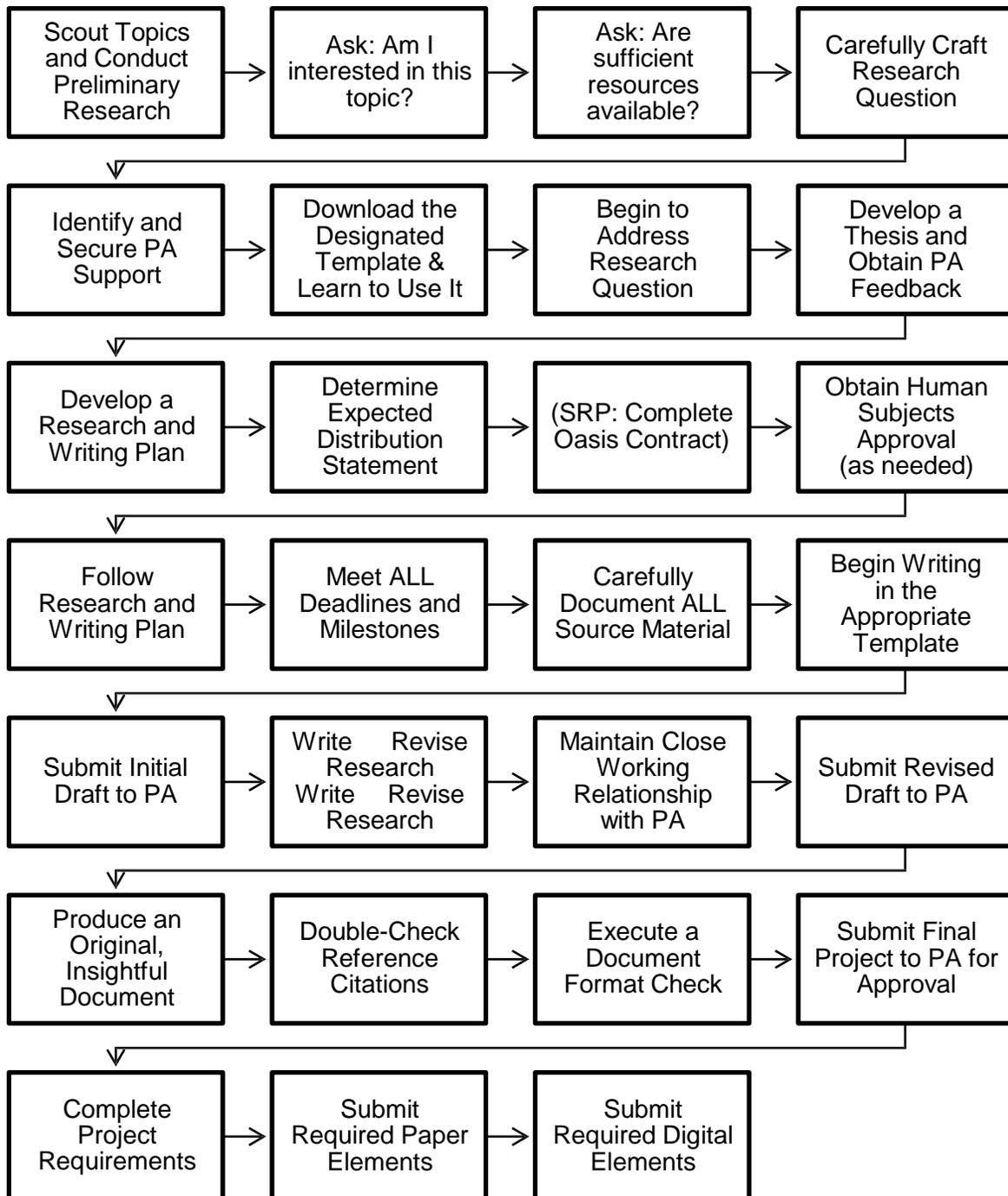
United States Army War College Speakers

³⁶Sam Mosely, "Foreign Policy," lecture, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, May 19, 1997, cited with permission of Mr. Mosely.

Statement regarding special permission is mandatory. The non-attribution policy requires specific written approval from a speaker whenever citing potentially identifying information.

Resources for Student Success

Research and Writing Process



Verification of Endnote Style

¹John M. Collins, *America's Small Wars: Lessons for the Future* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1991), 23.

¹First Reference to Book

²Ibid.

²Same Page

Consecutive Reference to Book from note¹

³Ibid., 49.

³Different Page

⁴U.S. Department of the Army, *Effective Writing for Army Leaders*, Army Regulation 25-50 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, November 21, 1988), 3.

⁴First reference to a document

⁵David E. Long, *The Anatomy of Terrorism* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 15.

⁵First reference to a book by another author

⁶U.S. Department of the Army, *Effective Writing for Army Leaders*, 33.

⁶Second reference to the document in endnote⁴

⁷John M. Nolen, "JCS Reform and the Lessons of German History," *Parameters* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1984): 15.

⁸Ibid.

⁸Consecutive reference to the journal article from endnote⁷

⁷First reference to a journal article

⁹For background on the Muslim Brotherhood, see John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120-33.

⁹Content note—first reference to book

¹⁰Long, *The Anatomy of Terrorism*, 35.

¹⁰Non-consecutive reference to book from note⁵

¹¹Nolen, "JCS Reform," 16.

¹¹Non-consecutive reference to article from note⁷

¹²Esposito, *The Islamic Threat*, 121.

¹²Non-consecutive reference to the book from note⁹ which is a content note

Reader's Edge Speed Reading Access Instructions

Communicative Arts authorizes enrollment in the speed reading program. To gain access, respond affirmatively to the email invitation sent from the Communicative Arts Office. Username and initial password will be assigned. Use them to access the program as described below:

Access:
<http://www.readfasteronline.com/>

Select "Group Account" to open the "Group ID" box.



Enter the Group ID:
warcollege



Enter username (as provided) & initial password: password



Choose & submit a unique password you will remember.
Then select "Continue"



You have successfully accessed the program and may begin.



Information Paper Guidance

Information Paper

ATWC-AA
17 June 2008

SUBJECT: Use of an Information Paper

1. Purpose: To give the reader easy access to act in a clear and concise format (e.g., for use in a discussion or trip book). The format may be altered to meet a specific need. Paragraphs will contain only essential facts concerning the subject.

2. Facts:

a. Papers will be self-explanatory and will not refer to enclosures except for tabular data, charts, or photographs.

b. Prepare on plain bond paper with one-inch margins all around.

c. Papers should not exceed one page in length. They need not be signed, but must include the action officer's name and telephone number in the lower right-hand corner.

d. Avoid using acronyms and abbreviations, except for those that are familiar outside the Army (e.g., DoD).

e. Avoid using classified information when it does not contribute to understanding the issue at hand.

f. The format may be altered to meet a specific need (e.g., the paragraphs may be numbered or unnumbered; it may be constructed to serve as a talking paper).

POC's Name/54402

Information Paper Example

Information Paper

ATWC-AA

6 February 2012

SUBJECT: Communicative Arts Office, Department of Academic Affairs

1. The Communicative Arts Office consists of one Title 10 (Director), one GS-7 (Management Clerical Assistant), and one part-time Contract Instructor. Duties include creation and annual enhancement of the Communicative Arts Directive, detailing academic standards and expectations for student work, format specifications for writing the Strategy Research Project (SRP) or the Program Research Project (PRP) as per the Resident Education Program (REP) or Distance Education Programs (DEP) respectively, provide writing support to the International Fellows Office, the USAWC Fellowship Program, and the Basic Strategic Arts Program.
2. In cooperation with the faculty, assess student facility with academic/professional writing; design and administer an Effective Writing Program.
3. Adjudicate the Student Awards Program for REP and DEP students. Encourage and promote student efforts to advance strategic knowledge through publication, preferably in refereed outlets.
4. Administer several Directed Study and Elective options, including: AA2201 (Reading), AA2203 (Writing), AA2205 (Personal Experience Monograph), and the multi-sectioned Elective AA2202 (Public Speaking for Strategic Leaders). All two credit courses.
5. Course Author for three Electives: AA2202 (Public Speaking for Strategic Leaders-REP Only), and DE2344 (Program Research Project) and DE2245 (Personal Experience Monograph) in the DEP.
6. Faculty Instructor with the Eisenhower National Security Series; a four credit hour elective sponsored by the Department of National Security and Strategy.
7. Administrative liaison for all students and faculty who seek access to the web-based Speed Reading Program (The Reader's Edge).
8. Provide writing support and assistance to the Writing Instructor affiliated with the International Fellows Office.
9. Superintend the formatting and administrative processing of all SRPs, selected PRPs, and most Civilian Research Projects (by USAWC Fellows) for the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC).

Prepared by:

Larry D. Miller, 5-3358

Communicative Arts Contacts and Resources

Communicative Arts		
http://cbportal.carlisle.army.mil/sites/daa/directorates/comm_arts/default.aspx		
Root Hall B-14	717-245-4007	717-245-4568 (fax)
Administrative Associate	Karen A. Slusser Karen.Slusser@us.army.mil	717- 245-4007
Director & Professor	Larry D. Miller, Ph.D., M.S.S. Larry.D.Miller@us.army.mil	717- 245-3358

Critical Reading		
Commandant/Deputy Commandant's Reading Program	COL (Ret.) Charles D. Allen DCLM, Root Hall B-322	717-245-3460 Charlesd.Allen@us.army.mil
Suggested Military Reading List	http://www.carlisle.army.mil/library/bibliographies.htm	
The Reader's Edge (Speed Reading)	http://www.readfaster.com/ (General Information) http://www.readfasteronline.com/ (Login Screen)	
USAWC Library	USAWC Library Root Hall USAWC.libraryr@us.army.mil	717-245-4300

Public Speaking		
Eisenhower National Security Series	CAPT James E. Boswell DNSS, Root Hall	James.E.Boswell@us.army.mil
Military and the Media Faculty Instructor	Carol A. Kerr Public Affairs Office (PAO) Root Hall, Room A118/120	717-245-4389 Carol.Kerr@us.army.mil
Public Speaking for Strategic Leaders Course Director	Larry D. Miller, Ph.D., M.S.S. Director & Professor, Communicative Arts Root Hall B-14	717-245-3358 Larry.D.Miller@us.army.mil
Public Speaking Requirement (REP—OASIS)	Christopher W. Fowler, Ph.D. Registrar, Root Hall, Room B-21	717-245-4209
Speaker's Bureau	Suzanne Reynolds Public Affairs Office, Root Hall, Room A-118/120	717-245-3845

Professional Writing		
Foundations of Military Writing (REP)	Communicative Arts Office Root Hall B-14	
Effective Writing Lab (REP) Strategic Writing & Discourse	Communicative Arts Office Root Hall B-14	
Effective Writing Seminar (DEP)	COL Joel Hillison, Ph.D. Director, First Year Studies, DDE Root Hall A-304	717-245-3994 Joel.Hillison@us.army.mil

International Fellows Program Writing & Research Instructor, Academic Prep Course Director	Jeremy Beussink, M.A. 717-245-3375 Root Hall A-203 Jeremy.P.Beussink@us.army.mil
Key Strategic Issues List (KSIL)	http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/ksil.cfm
Purdue Online Writing Lab (OWL)	http://owl.english.purdue.edu/
Reference Citation Information	Turabian, K.L. <i>A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations</i> , 8 th ed. Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2013.
Template and Computer Assistance	Computer Education Center (CEC) 717-245-4213 Root Hall, Room B-20
USAWC Library	USAWC Library, Root Hall 717-245-4300 USAWC.libraryr@us.army.mil
Writing for Publication	Robert H. Taylor 717-245-4943 Editor, <i>Parameters</i> Root Hall A-228 Robert.Henry.Taylor@us.army.mil

Carlisle Barracks Form Access
<http://cbportal.carlisle.army.mil/sites/nec/pages/electronicforms.aspx>

Communicative Arts Form To Paper Match (Forms Required for Papers to be Printed and Distributed)	
Paper Type	Forms Required
Civilian Research Paper (CRP)	SF 298 & CBks 209-R-E
Directed Study (SD)	SF 298 & CBks 248-R-E
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	SF 298 & CBks 100-R-E
Program Research Project (PRP)	SF 298 & CBks 231-R-E
Strategy Research Project (SRP)	SF 298 & CBks 715-R-E

Template Instructions

Basic Information

The Communicative Arts Office provides custom Templates for student use in MS Word 2007. These templates are available on the Communicative Arts Homepage. Every time a person uses MS Word, that person is writing a document based on a particular template. When MS Word is opened normally, the “Normal Template” is activated automatically without user action (or, frequently, knowledge). The “Normal Template” provides default formatting information such as font and font size, line spacing, and a variety of other elements that set default parameters for how the software operates (such as whether or not certain mistakes are auto-corrected, or how the computer handles cut-and-paste operations). Users will often change document settings each time they begin a new project (as when one document requires Arial 11 pt font and another requires Times New Roman 12 pt font).

Luckily, MS Word also allows users to create personalized default settings that differ from the “Normal Template.” Thus a variety of templates can be created to meet the needs of different projects. One might create, for example, a template to use for official correspondence, and a separate template for personal communication. These would differ from the “Normal Template” and would allow users to customize the way each set of documents would look—without having to make changes prior to beginning work on a particular memo or personal letter.

To use a template, one simply needs to access it prior to beginning work on a particular project.. Communicative Arts Templates are custom made for USAWC students.

To access a Communicative Arts Template required for a particular project (SRP, PRP, CRP, PEM), simply:

- Navigate to the Communicative Arts Homepage
- Select the template appropriate to the task at hand, and open it—this brings up a new MS Word 2007 document with built in Cover Page, SF 298, Title Page, Abstract Page, and First Page.
- Verify that the Cover Page is, indeed, appropriate to the task (meaning the proper template is opened—each template has different language on built in pages).
- Immediately save the document by selecting the Office Button  and SAVE AS. Give it a file name specific to the project, and “Save As Type: Word Document” (not “Word Template” and not “Word 97-2003 Document”), and save to a hard drive or CD.

The newly saved document is now has all of the front-matter, font, font size, spacing, and other information required for successful formatting of the SRP, PRP, CRP, or PEM. To being writing your text, simply navigate to the First Text Page and begin writing in the space below the title and above the word “Endnotes.” Now all text entered will be based on the Communicative Arts Template rather than the default MS Word “Normal Template,” which is exactly what you want!

Prior to the availability of these Communicative Arts Templates, students struggled with detailed formatting instructions, form requirements, and last minute form changes. Use of the proper template eliminates 90 percent of formatting hassles and headaches.

Selecting the Proper Template

Project Advisers expect students to submit all drafts with the correct cover and accompanying front matter. Front matter (SF 298, Title, and Abstract pages) needs to be included in all drafts, but *does not* need to be completed fully until final draft submission.

Each project (SRP, PRP, CRP, PEM) within its associated Program (REP U.S., REP IF, DEP, USAWC Fellowship) has its own template. Choose the template that matches project, program, and distribution statement.

- All students, with very few exceptions, are expected to write papers that can enjoy unlimited distribution (Distribution A).
- Under exceptional circumstances, an REP student may seek authorization to write a Distribution B paper (release to U.S. Government Agencies Only). To do so, the student and PA must provide a rationale/justification to the Director of Communicative Arts (or, in the case of USAWC Fellows, to the USAWC Fellowship Program Director) for review and access to the Distribution B Template.
- Diploma-only International Fellows who are presenting their SRP in a non-written format, do not need the template.

Each template is customized to meet the needs of its particular project type, ensuring correct formatting and inclusion of all pages necessary for submission to the USAWC Library and DTIC.

Differences among templates occur on the Cover Page, the SF 298, and the Title Page.

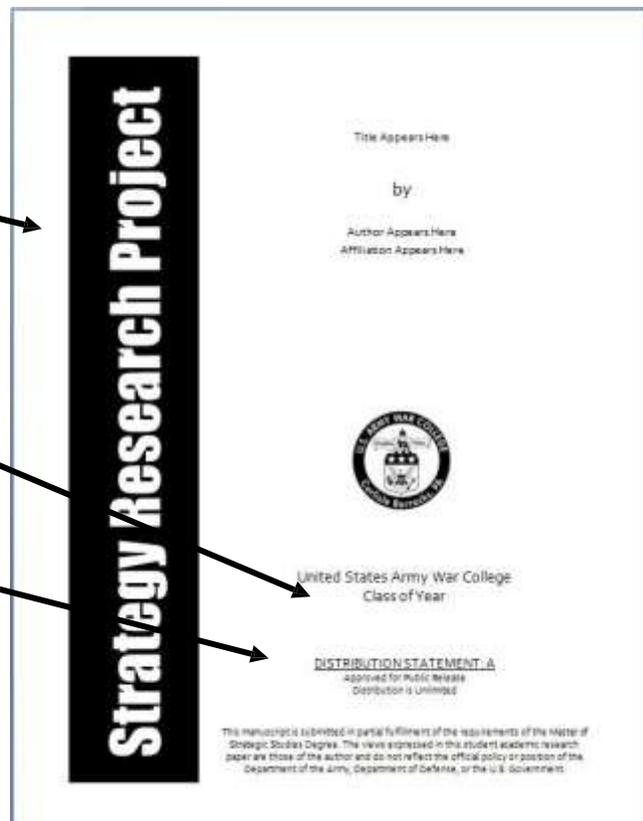
Cover Page Differences

The side banner states the type of project.

The distribution statement—A or B.

The fulfillment statement—M.S.S. or Diploma-Only.

Note: IF Templates also contain a copyright statement (not pictured here) that occurs just below the distribution statement.



Resident Education Program Guidance

U.S. Student Templates: U.S. students should use one of the two templates provided on the Communicative Arts Homepage (Or contact Communicative Arts for a Distribution B Template):

- SRP US Students AY13 Distro A
- PEM US Students AY13 Distro A

International Fellows M.S.S. Candidate Templates: Fellows completing the M.S.S. degree program should use one of the two templates provided on the Communicative Arts Homepage (Or contact Communicative Arts for a Distribution B Template):

- SRP IF MSS AY13 Distro A
- PEM IF MSS AY13 Distro A

International Fellows Diploma-Only Candidate Templates: Fellows completing only the USAWC Diploma should use one of the two templates provided on the Communicative Arts Homepage (Or contact Communicative Arts for a Distribution B Template):

- SRP IF Diploma AY13 Distro A
- PEM IF Diploma AY13 Distro A

Distance Education Program Guidance

Use one of two templates—available on Communicative Arts Homepage—labeled as follows:

- PRP AY13 DEP
- PEM AY13 DEP

USAWC Fellowship Program Guidance

USAWC Fellows generally follow paper formatting guidelines provided by their host institutions. Prior to submission of the CRP, however, USAWC Fellows must insert the cover page, Middle States statement, SF 298, and blank page to the front of the CRP document. Doing so fulfills the requirements established for submission of documents to DTIC for worldwide distribution.

Use one of 2 templates—available on the Communicative Arts Homepage—labeled as follows:

- USAWC Fellows AY13 Cover and SF 298
- USAWC Fellows AY13 Complete Template

Most students will use the “USAWC Fellows Cover and SF 298” template as it includes only the four-page required addition to the CRP. The “USAWC Fellows Complete Template” is provided for those students who may wish to use the USAWC standard Distribution A template to format the CRP. The cover page for each template is identical.

Template Front Matter

The Template front matter—Cover Page, SF 298, Abstract page, and Title page—is precisely formatted for each type of document (SRP, PRP, PEM, CRP) and each program (REP—U.S. Resident, REP—Degree-Seeking IF, REP—Diploma-Only IF, DEP, and USAWC Fellows).

For each page, the Template provides the required format. Students enter all information (Title, Author Name, etc.) once on the included SF 298. The template then uses those entries to position the appropriate text throughout the front matter (e.g., the template places the entered Title on the Cover, Title, and Abstract Pages as well as the first page of text). Simply follow instructions on the SF 298. Changes to front matter entries can only be made on the SF 298.

Information Entry—Basic Guidance

Each custom template contains visible instructions directing information input. These instructions appear in red (electronic version) and are placed in each area requiring specific content. **Complete all elements depicted in red on the SF 298.** To use:

- Click on the instruction, a box will appear
- Begin typing/entering information as needed. (Entered text will be black.)
- Upon first keystroke, the instructions will disappear (the entry field remains, however, so changes can be made at any time prior to final submission).

SF 298—Box by Box Instructions

- Box 1—Year: Enter year of graduation (YYYY)
- Box 4—Title: Enter title of 10 words or fewer. Check visual appeal of title on Cover Page. If the line breaks at a visually unappealing location, add a hard return in the SF 298 box in the title location where you would like the line to break on the Cover Page.
- Box 6—Author Name and Branch of Service/Affiliation: Enter Rank or Title of Author, followed by Author Full Name. Do not abbreviate titles (other than Dr., Mr., Mrs., Ms.)
- Box 7— PA Name and Department: Enter PA Rank or Title followed by PA Full Name. Do not abbreviate titles (other than Dr., etc.)
- Box 13—Word Count: Count the words in the text—not including front matter and endnotes—and enter the total number of words here. Procedure for generating the word count is described in the section entitled “Making Effective Use of the Template.”
- Box 14—Abstract: Once the document is complete, write an abstract and enter it in Box 14. Do not use the Oasis Intent. An abstract must be written after the document is completed, describing what the author has written, not what will be written later.
- Box 15—Key Terms: Enter key/subject terms that will help researchers identify the document as a potential source of interest. Do not duplicate terms from the title.
- Box 18—Page Count: Enter the total number of document pages. To do so, you must first go into Print Preview Mode ( → Print → Print Preview), then Close Print Preview to return to the document. This updates the page count listed in the lower left corner of the screen. The template adds a page, as needed, to ensure an even number of pages.
- The USAWC Fellows template is slightly different. See the specific template for details.

SF 298 REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. **PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.**

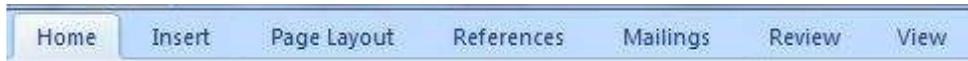
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) xx-03-Enter Year		2. REPORT TYPE STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Click Here, Then Enter Title of 10 Words or Fewer, THEN Check Cover Page for Visual Appeal—IF it doesn't look good there, add a return here as necessary and re-check Cover.				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Click Here, Then Enter Author Rank/Title and Full Name Click Here, Then Enter Author Branch of Service or Affiliation				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Click Here, Then Enter PA Rank/Title and Full Name Click Here, Then Enter PA's Department				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College 122 Forbes Avenue Carlisle, PA 17013				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution A: Approved for Public Release. Distribution is Unlimited.					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Word Count: Click Here, Then Enter Word Count (text only, no front matter or endnotes)					
14. ABSTRACT Click here, then enter abstract text. WAIT until AFTER paper is complete before writing the abstract. Abstracts should describe a paper as written, NOT as it will be written. Abstracts must fit this space AND the space on the abstract page (an approximate maximum of 200 words). After entering the abstract text here, double check to make sure the abstract appears in its entirety both here and on the abstract page.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Click Here, Then Enter Key Terms that Do NOT Duplicate Title Words					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	18. NUMBER OF PAGES Click, Enter # of Pages	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT UU	b. ABSTRACT UU	c. THIS PAGE UU			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (Include area code)

Making Effective Use of the Template

In MS Word 2007, the “Ribbon” provides access to most features needed for word processing.



Seven “Tabs” at the Ribbon’s top allow users to select which options appear at a given time:

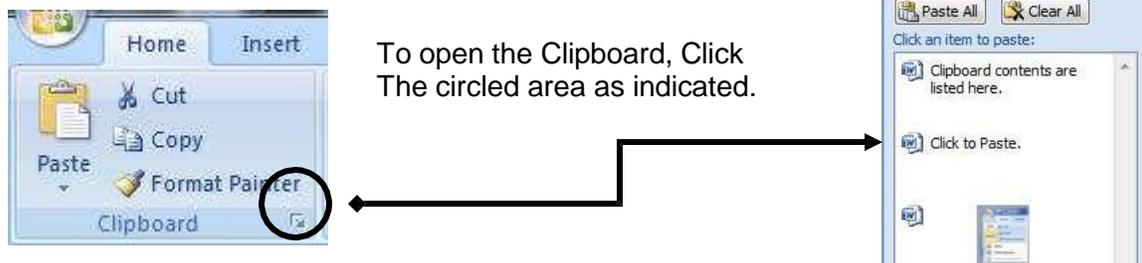


Each Tab includes several “Groups” of related actions, frequently offering the ability to access more options within the Group.

Using the Home Tab of the Ribbon

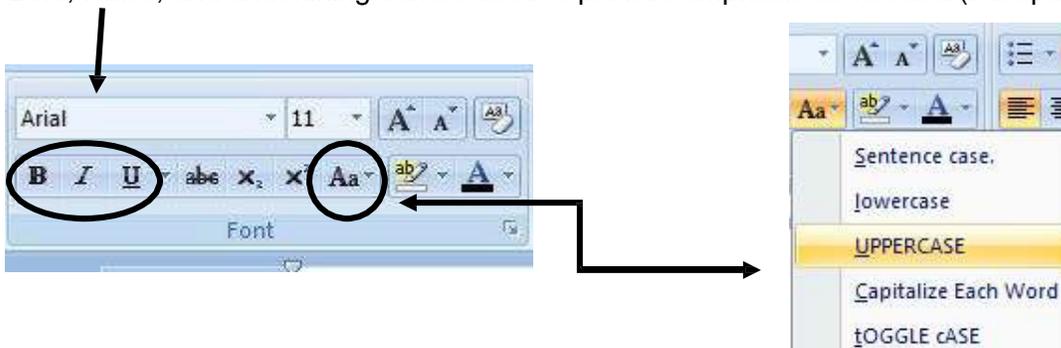
The Home Tab contains five useful Groups (from Left to Right):

1. The “Clipboard” Group contains Cut, Copy, and Paste commands:



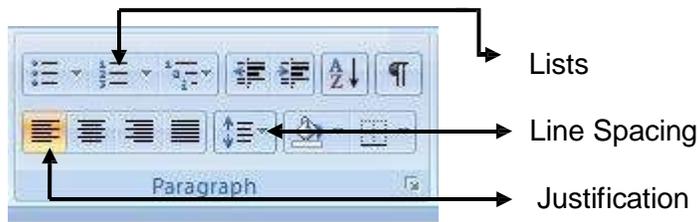
The Clipboard Group also enables users to view the contents of the Clipboard—the area where text and objects (e.g., pictures) are stored after the user has “cut” or “copied” them from within Word or associated software (e.g., PowerPoint).

2. The “Font” Group contains many Font options, most of which are unnecessary for USAWC projects because the Template has set default font parameters that should not be changed. Bold, italics, and underlining can be used to provide emphasis as needed (but sparingly).



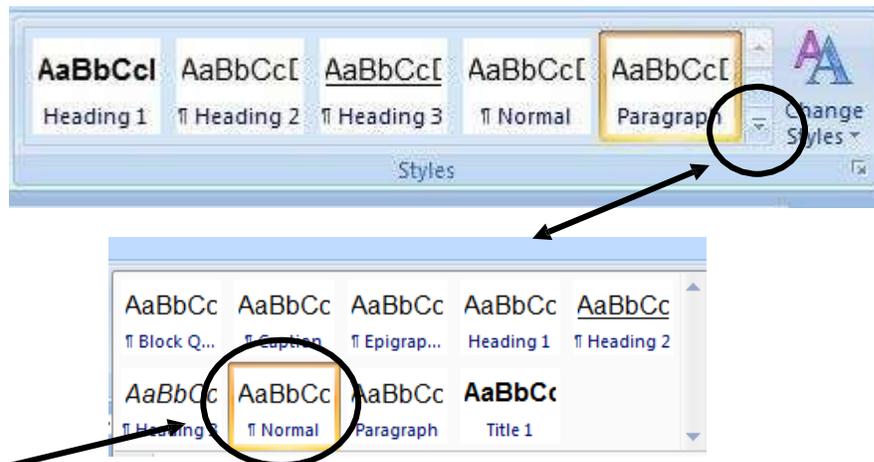
Also note that the font group can be used to quickly change the case of a selected word or group of words (e.g., from lowercase to uppercase.)

- The “Paragraph” Group which assists with paragraph formatting, including text justification (left, center, right), line spacing, and bulleted or numbered lists).



The Template establishes default settings for line spacing (2) and line justification (left), but adjustments to line spacing and/or justification may be required (e.g., epigraph).

- The “Styles” Group is exceptionally useful for Communicative Arts Template users. Through this group, users can automatically format headings in accord with USAWC requirements. Each box in the Styles Group contains formatting information for a particular text style. The selected Style affects text formatting for a particular paragraph.



- Normal Style is basic text, Arial 12 pt font, double line spaced, left justified.
- Paragraph Style is automatically indents the first line of each new paragraph. Paragraph Style is the default setting for the template.

All of the following Styles can be created by users through the Font and Paragraph Groups, but use of the pre-formatted USAWC Styles saves time and reduces error. (FYI, the Styles Group options do not automatically generate Title Case.):



- Heading 1 Style is used for the highest level heading (other than the title) used in USAWC projects. It is centered and in Title Case.



- Heading 2 Style is used for the next level heading below Heading 1. It is left justified, underlined, and in Title Case.



- Heading 3 Style is used for the next level heading below Heading 2. It is left justified, but indented one tab stop, italicized, and in Title Case.

Illustration of USAWC Headings:

Paper Title

The paper title is preformatted on the First Page of text following the Template front matter. Professional and academic papers (such as the SRP, PRP, CRP, and PEM) never include a heading labeled “Introduction” at the start of the paper. Such a heading is unnecessary. Use headings judiciously, saving their use to clearly demarcate paper sections to facilitate reader understanding.

Heading Style One

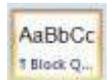
Heading style one serves as the first level heading below the title. Use this level heading to indicate primary paper sections. Use the “Heading 1” button in the Styles Group to format as desired.

Heading Style Two

Heading style two serves as the second level heading below the title. It should be used to demarcate ideas/information that is subordinate to the ideas and information presented under a heading style one. Use the “Heading 2” button in the Styles Group to format as desired.

Heading Style Three

Heading style three serves as the third level heading below the title. It should be used to identify ideas/information that is subordinate to the ideas and information presented under a heading style two. Use the “Heading 3” button in the Styles Group to format as desired.



- Block Quotation Style properly formats a block quote. Block quotations are single spaced, left justified, and indented on both the left and the right. Block quotes should be used for quotations greater than four lines of text. No quotation marks are used. Position an endnote at the end of the last line quoted, as in the following example:

Research projects require the incorporation of information from multiple sources.

Paraphrase is, generally speaking, the preferred method of incorporating ideas and information of others into the development of a new thesis. Authors must take care to reference all information gathered and presented. When used sparingly, however, block quotations can enhance the quality and readability of a paper.

Block quotations can never substitute for considered analysis. They should only be used when the information presented in the original quotation cannot be effectively paraphrased (with accompanying citation), or when it is stated in such a way as to necessitate preservation of the original language.¹

Inexperienced authors frequently equate the presence of block quotations with the presence of authority. Even the most astute observation included in a quotation, however, is limited by the original material that surrounds it and incorporates it into the overall development of the thesis.

- Epigraph Source Style properly formats the source line of an epigraph. The epigraph quotation is formatted using the block quote style detailed above (save that the epigraph is shorter than a standard block quote). After positioning the quotation, the person who authored the quotation is credited on the line immediately following the quote, preceded by a long dash, and followed by an endnote citation, as in the following example:



Formatting an Epigraph

One epigraph may appear at the beginning of the document just below the title. If used, an epigraph should be a maximum of 4 lines of text and should be valuable to framing the paper.

—Communicative Arts Directive²

To format the long dash preceding the epigraph source, hold down the CTRL-Key, then (while continuing to hold it down) press the dash key (usually found on the number line between the 0 and the = keys). This should insert a long dash (—) as required.



- Caption Style properly formats Figure Caption text. Figure Captions appear directly under the object to which they refer, are centered, and should include the word “Figure,” followed by a number (unless there are so few figures in the document to render numbering unnecessary) with a period mark after it, and a caption with the first word capitalized. Whenever possible limit figure captions to one line. As in:

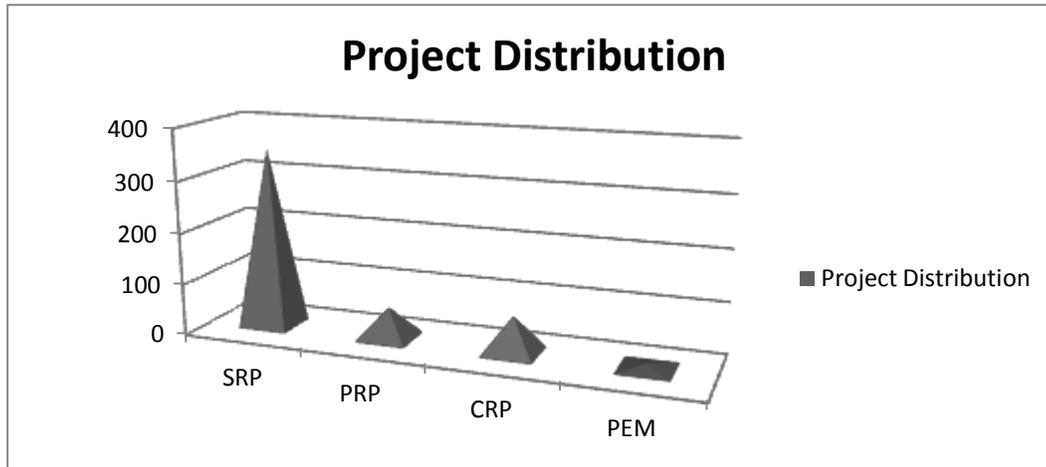


Figure 1. Distribution of USAWC Student Projects by Type

- Caption Style properly formats Table Titles which should be positioned immediately above the table to which they refer, are centered, and should include the word “Table,” followed by a number with a period mark after it, and a title with the first word capitalized. As in:

Table 1. USAWC Minimal Assessment Profile

Message Component	Assessment	Percentage
Content	3 Meets Standards	50%
Organization	2 Needs Improvement	25%
Style (Written Work) Delivery (Oral Presentations)	2 Needs Improvement	25%
Overall	3 Meets standards	100%

The Styles Group can be used to format text in two ways—before and after the text is entered. A selected Style is applied to the entire paragraph in which the cursor rests. To use a Style, place the cursor in the text to be formatted, select the desired Style from a box in the Styles Group, and click. The format for that paragraph (one line for headings) will change to that of the selected style. To return to the default Paragraph Style, either position the cursor at the end of the newly formatted text and press ENTER, or use the mouse to move the cursor to another location in the document.

5. The “Editing” Group houses the familiar “Find,” “Replace,” and “Select” commands.

Using the Insert Tab of the Ribbon

The Insert Tab facilitates insertion of visual elements in a document:



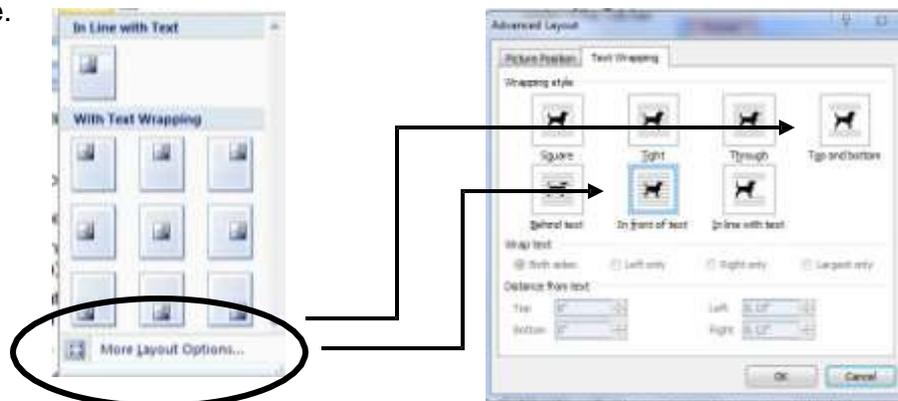
Buttons enable insertion of Tables, Pictures, Shapes, Charts, Text Boxes, and symbols. Once inserted, each visual element must be properly formatted to meet USAWC requirements:

- The visual element must be centered horizontally (left to right) on the page.
- If a Figure, its caption must appear immediately below it (see above example).
- If a Table, its title appear immediately above (see above example).
- The text must be above and below—but not next to or wrapping around—it.

To adjust text wrapping click on the visual element, adding a “Format Tab” to the Ribbon.



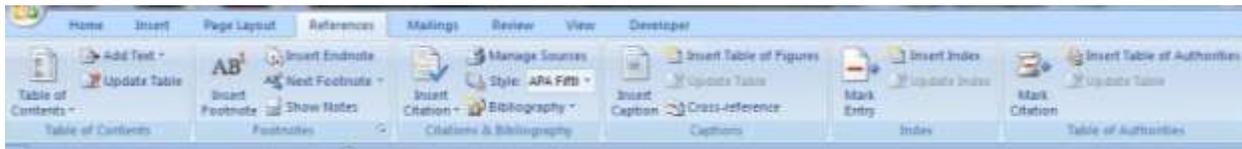
Click “Position,” opening the “Advance Layout.” Select the Text Wrapping Tab, then either “Top and Bottom” (to automatically position text above and below item), or “In Front of Text” to allow positioning of the item anywhere on the page. Do not hide text behind the element or position text to either side.



- The text must refer to the visual element and should do so in reasonable proximity to it.
- The visual element must be positioned in the document such that minimal white-space appears on the page. Do not place the visual element alone on a page or leave the page before it appears half empty. Position the visual element as closely as possible to the text referring to it, but position it so that text continues above and below it without an extra break.

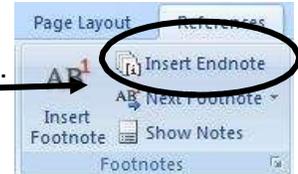
Using the References Tab of the Ribbon

The “References” Tab is used to insert endnote numbers (and references to which they refer).



USAWC Student Projects include endnotes (never footnotes). To insert an endnote:

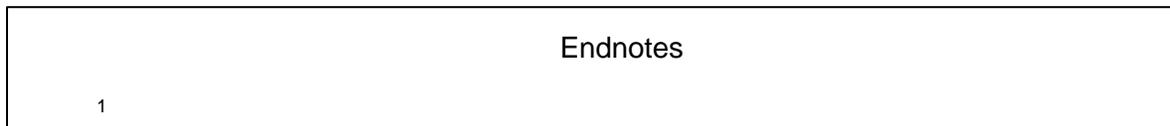
1. Position the cursor where the endnote number should appear.
2. Click “Insert Endnote” in the “Footnotes” Group of the References Tab.



3. The endnote number is automatically inserted in the text. As in:

Any information or ideas not originating in the author’s own brain requires a citation.¹

4. The cursor is automatically moved to the Endnote section for citation entry. As in:

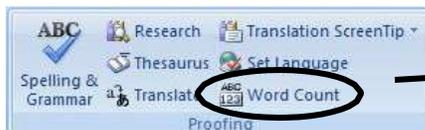


Using the Review Tab of the Ribbon

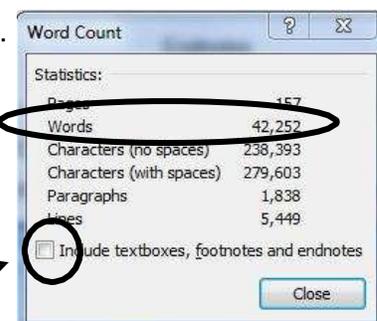


Use the Review Tab to obtain accurate word and page counts required for student documents.

1. For the Total Word Count, position the cursor at the start of the paper’s text, hold down Ctrl and Shift (together) and push End (located right of the alphabetic portion of the keyboard). This will highlight the text from the beginning to the end of the document.
2. Select “Word Count” in the “Proofing” Group of the Review Tab.



3. The Word Count data box will open.
4. Deselect “Include textboxes . . . and endnotes” as needed.
5. Note the number of Words and include total on Abstract Page.



Exemplary Student Writing

Model Short Paper—Strategy Article

Larsen, Daniel S. "U.S. – China Relations: No Need to Fight," Strategy Article (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2011).

A version of this essay appears in *Joint Forces Quarterly*. (Larsen, Daniel S., "U.S.—China Relations: No Need to Fight," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 63 (4th Quarter 2011): 92-94). It earned First Place in the 1500 word "Strategic Article" Competition hosted by NDU Press on behalf of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff in May of 2011.

This is a well-written, well-documented, and well-organized student paper.

U.S. – China Relations: No Need to Fight

At a recent Canadian defense conference, a speaker from the U.S. Naval War College, demonized China and concluded with the words "you may not be interested in war, but it is interested in you."¹ This unbalanced and unsophisticated approach is a hallmark of conflict theorists who maintain there simply has to be a fight between the United States and China. Led by the offensive realism of John Mearsheimer, the "let's fight" approach conflicts with the stated U.S. positions, which seek a "positive, constructive, and comprehensive relationship with China."²

The place and role of China on the world stage is not a new concern. In 1972, as President Nixon travelled to China, he identified three things China wanted: "1. Build up their world credentials; 2. Taiwan; and 3. Get the U.S. out of Asia." His thoughts about what the U.S. and China both wanted included: "1. Reduce danger of confrontation and conflict; and 2. a more stable Asia."³ The same year, Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote about a "2-1/2 powers world," where the two referred to the U.S. and USSR, and China was the 1/2, wielding "considerable political leverage" and whose impact was to "increase uncertainty, to complicate planning."⁴ Today, with a geostrategic emphasis shift from Europe to the Asia-Pacific region, the power situation is a somewhat changed with the

U.S. and China weighing in at one each and Russia commanding the remaining power.

This means we have to deal with China. If our political and strategic approach is to demonize them, we risk a self-fulfilling prophecy. The Chinese are not infallible, all-powerful, or malevolent. China is a normal rising power with unique historical legacies, and we must seek engagement rather than vilification. The U.S. should not approach engagement with trepidation, however. China has significant domestic constraints that will limit its development as a global military power. China is more likely to be a regional military power; and, as such it will be neither adversary nor partner.⁵

Although almost everything seems to be made in China today, China's economy and resources are not unlimited and its stability is not guaranteed. Nationalism, demographic pressures, premature aging, increasing social pressures, regime survival, environmental degradation, corruption, and limited resources will test China's ability to continue its phenomenal economic gains and rise to global power and leadership. In an influential *Foreign Affairs* article, Zheng Bijian noted that because of China's large population, "Any small difficulty in its economic or social development . . . could become a huge problem."⁶ Zheng posits that it will be 2050 before China will be a "modernized, medium-level developed country."⁷

While the Chinese may be low-balling their estimates and definitely their ambitions, it seems unlikely that they can keep up their economic success indefinitely, which is the foundation for their military development and modernization. The National Intelligence Council assesses that the "pace of China's economic growth almost certainly will slow, or even recede, even with additional reforms to address mounting social pressures."⁸ At that point, Chinese leadership will face difficult choices with

respect to funding allocations for military versus economic and social development. If Zheng is right, stability could take precedence over military modernization in order to avoid “huge” problems rippling through more than a billion people.

Predictions of the heights to which Chinese power can ascend vary widely. Robert Kaplan has called China an “über-realist power” that is “beginning to turn outward.”⁹ In 1968, Hans Morgenthau said, “China is the most powerful nation of the mainland in Asia and potentially the most powerful nation in the world.”¹⁰ While Morgenthau’s mainland Asian prediction echoes true today, others are less enamored with China’s potential. Robert Jervis puts Russia and China in close company when noting that they “lack many of the attributes of great powers” and “can pose challenges only regionally.”¹¹ Mearsheimer predicts an “aggressive” China “determined to achieve regional hegemony.”¹² And “regional” is the key word.

In the end, China is tougher to predict than most - almost everything except its economy is virtual, future and opaque. Economically, it is already a global power. Militarily, it is a mainland Asia and regional Asia-Pacific power, but it is doubtful China will become a global military power. The People’s Liberation Army (PLA) is untested, “constrained largely by the lack of robust strategic lift capabilities,”¹³ needs modernization, and is not on par with the US military. Technological discrepancies between the US and Chinese militaries will require that they spend more to catch up or leap ahead. To correct perceived discrepancies, the PLA has focused on new capabilities such as area denial, blue water naval forces, and limited power projection.¹⁴ These efforts will continue, but remain dependent on Chinese economic performance and domestic constraints. They cannot buy every piece of military kit they want any

more than they can buy all of Eurasia or the Eastern Hemisphere.

In the meantime, the United States cannot hedge her bets toward the optimistic side. If China arrives in mid-century as a “modernized, medium-level developed country,” it will only be medium-level using fuzzy per capita math. Its military will be significantly more powerful than a medium-level country. Therefore, we must continue to “monitor China’s military modernization program and prepare accordingly to ensure that U.S. interests and allies, regionally and globally, are not negatively affected.”¹⁵

The US and China will have to interact as China is becoming a regional power and that rise carries with it associated geostrategic and economic shifts. There are numerous areas for cooperation, such as nuclear counter-proliferation and counter-piracy. But, there is no utilitarian harmony principle on the horizon; there will be divergent interests.¹⁶ Even so, we cannot assume that every divergent Chinese interest derives from an underlying malign intent. M. Taylor Fravel notes that, so far, China has “pursued foreign policies consistent with status quo and not revisionist intentions.”¹⁷ Opportunity costs would increase were China to turn aggressive regionally or globally, assuming Chinese foreign policy follows a rational actor model. Some Chinese leaders and actors may not act rationally, however. In that event, these actors’ worldviews and their misperceptions and miscalculations could lead to an arms race, conflict spirals, and a security dilemma, not to mention “signaling China’s ‘type’ as an aggressive rising power.”¹⁸

Regardless of Chinese intentions, the U.S. should follow the “traditional American interest in the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia.”¹⁹ According to Nicholas Spykman, in 1942, this interest “predates the threat of the emergence of a

great naval empire across the Pacific. It was originally inspired . . . by anxiety about our position as an Asiatic power.”²⁰ While trying to maintain the balance of power in Asia, the US should understand how a conflict with China might develop. Such knowledge will help make it possible to work with China to minimize potential conflicts. Kenneth Waltz notes: “the search for causes [of conflict] is an attempt to account for differences.”²¹ Differences could include competing spheres of influence, competition for resources, and disagreement over the rules of the system and who makes them, as well as issues of pride and prestige. Of these differences and issues, the last may be the most important and dangerous: Taiwan. In 1968, Morgenthau assessed the issue of Taiwan as being the “most likely *casus belli* between the United States and China.”²² Knowing this, can the U.S. work with the Chinese and Taiwanese to ameliorate tensions and move towards a political settlement, while sustaining a vibrant democracy in Taiwan?

There is no need to fight with China. As President Obama has said, the “relationship has not been without disagreement and difficulty. But the notion that we must be adversaries is not pre-destined.”²³ President Nixon was more hopeful and specific: “We must now ensure that the one quarter of the world’s people who live in the People’s Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies but our friends.”²⁴ We do not have a choice on whether we will deal with China, but we do have a choice on *how* we deal with China.

The Chinese will not get President Nixon’s third observation with regard to what China wants – U.S. out of Asia – the U.S. is also a Pacific nation. While always preparing for the possibility of conflict, the U.S. needs to identify choices which engage the Chinese, establish confidence and enhance security, while binding the Chinese to

the international system. The adversarial tenets and predictions by conflict theorists are to be closely interrogated, albeit not wholly ignored. We need to educate our future senior military leaders, not with a diet of hyperbolic enemy images, but, rather, with a broad base in International Relations and a realistic understanding of China's potential role, power, and challenges. We must be careful that a narrow focus on offensive realism and power transition theories does not merge with a the wrong-headed belief that war is inevitably interested in us. As Robert Jervis so wisely notes: "Expectations of peace close off important routes to war."²⁵ We should not let a constructed enmity lead us down the wrong route to our future with China.

Endnotes

¹ These words are commonly attributed to Leon Trotsky, however, the authenticity of that attribution is subject to dispute. The words, nevertheless, convey meaning.

² Barack Obama, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, May 2010), 43.

³ James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), <http://www.nytimes.com/books/first/m/mann-face.html> (accessed February 15, 2011).

⁴ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Opinion: The Balance of Power Delusion," *Foreign Policy*, no. 7 (July 1, 1972): 56.

⁵ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Geostategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2001): 9.

⁶ Bijian Zheng, "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸ U.S. National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008): 49.

⁹ Robert D. Kaplan, "The Geography of Chinese Power," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 3 (June 2010): 24.

¹⁰ Hans Morgenthau, "The United States and China," *International Studies* 10, no. 1

(January 1, 1968): 23.

¹¹Robert Jervis, "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace, Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2001," *The American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (March 1, 2002): 2.

¹²John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001): 402.

¹³Taylor M. Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (December 2010): 509.

¹⁴Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2010* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2010), 29-33.

¹⁵Obama, *National Security Strategy*, 43.

¹⁶Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959): 88.

¹⁷Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise," 506.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 510.

¹⁹Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Roots of America's China Policy," *The China Quarterly*, no. 10 (April 1, 1962): 46.

²⁰Nicholas J. Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics, the United States and the Balance of Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942): 155.

²¹Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, 29.

²²Morgenthau, "Roots of America's China Policy," 26.

²³U.S. Department of Defense, "Background on the Secretary of Defense Trip to China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea: January 9 – January 14, 2011" http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0111_gates1/china.aspx.

²⁴Richard M. Nixon, "Resignation Speech," August 8, 1974, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/character/links/nixon_speech.html.

²⁵Jervis, "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace," 3.

Model Course Paper—DEP

AY 2009 Course: DE 2205: Regional Issues and Interests

Assigned Question:

One of the principal challenges to U.S. interests in the Americas continues to be narcotics trafficking. First, identify the specific characteristics of narcotics trafficking in the region, and explain how it affects U.S. national interests. Second, examine the impact of narcotics trafficking in Colombia and Mexico, two of the larger and more important nations in the region. Third, evaluate the successes and failures of U.S. strategy in Colombia as implemented by Plan Colombia and its follow-on policy, the Andean Counter-drug Initiative (ACI). Finally, examine the Merida Initiative for Mexico, which has been compared to Plan Colombia, and assess its likelihood of successfully combating narcotics trafficking in Mexico. (2250 words +/- 10%)

Narcotics Trafficking: A Strategic Challenge

[2444 words]

The entrance of illicit narcotics into the United States, largely through the southern border, has become an increasingly serious domestic problem since the mid-to-late 1960s. Increased narcotics trafficking, coupled with Transnational Criminal Organizations (TCOs) and associated violence, has elevated the problem to near crisis proportions jeopardizing U.S. national interests and regional security.¹

This paper identifies the major characteristics of narcotics trafficking between Colombia, Mexico, and the United States and explains how it affects U.S. national interests. In addition, the impact of narcotics trafficking activities, particularly in Colombia and Mexico, will be examined. Colombia is the prime source for the cocaine entering the U.S., and Mexico, with whom we share a 1969 mile-long border, is the primary conduit. The essay also evaluates the successes and failures of Plan Colombia and the Andean Counter-drug Initiative (ACI) as strategic efforts to redress the problem as well as the Merida Initiative which seeks to combat narcotics trafficking in Mexico.

While primary concern lies with the major characteristics of narcotics trafficking within Latin America broadly conceived,² illicit activity across sovereign borders is fundamentally motivated by the desire for money and power, where “power” refers to “the capacity to direct the decisions and actions of others.”³ Illegal drug activity represents a world-wide 400 billion dollar a year industry with the U.S. contributing an estimated \$60 billion in annual sales.⁴ Over 22 “million Americans aged 12 and older . . . were classified” as substance dependent in 2004⁵ and an estimated “13 million Americans still buy illicit drugs on a regular basis.”⁶ The economic cost associated with drug abuse within the U.S probably exceeds \$110 billion annually.⁷ Human costs associated with crime, disease, addiction and death are quite real, yet difficult to meaningfully quantify. These unfortunate statistics and patterns exist notwithstanding President Richard Nixon’s 1972 “War on Drugs” and the 1986 National Security Directive No. 221 wherein President Ronald Reagan elevated drug enforcement to a national security priority. Michael Shifter recently observed that despite a tenfold increase in expenditures by the U.S. government to combat drug trafficking in Latin America over the past 25 years, “. . . drug prices have fallen and the drug market remains remarkably robust.”⁸ Moreover, and the latest bad news: coca and cocaine production in the Andean region set a new record in 2007.⁹

What then are the major characteristics of illicit narcotics trafficking in Latin America and how does it impact U.S. national interests? Two related, but somewhat separate collections of elements warrant consideration. The first has to do with the antecedent circumstances that constitute what can be characterized as “fertile ground”

for drug lords and TCOs while the second entails consideration of the operant activities and characteristics of the traffickers themselves and their organizations.

Trafficking in illicit narcotics can be profitable and potentially attractive when numerous factors come together either by design or happenstance. Assuming a climate and geography capable of sustaining product cultivation at very low cost, illicit drug entrepreneurs require poverty, i.e., access to very poor people (preferably those facing extreme poverty or those susceptible to threats and violence, or who may actually be drug addicted themselves). Narcotics traffickers will favor and seek to exploit weak civil societies accustomed to rampant government corruption, wherein they have the ability to corrupt or, more brutally, simply eliminate government officials as needed (as is suggested by the infamous question “silver (plata) or lead (plomo)?”). Drug cartels are inclined to seek and take control of ungoverned areas and insure that they remain that way. Further, illicit narcotic traffickers require access to assorted personnel (often youth or youth gangs) and equipment/materials (chemicals and arms) with which to process the product while protecting it from possible intruders. And finally, illicit traffickers seek to move freely about the country while exploiting legitimate channels of commerce as conduits through which to transport drugs to market. Smuggling and concealment are frequently aided by access to conventional traffic avenues and modes of trade, especially so when the destination country contains a relatively large population that is similar in language and/or appearance.¹⁰

In addition to fertile ground, illicit narcotics trafficking is characterized by well organized and well armed groups who routinely use violence, corruption, extortion, kidnappings and terror tactics with virtual impunity to protect their product, expand their

influence, and secure markets while generally advancing their ends. Narcotics' trafficking in Colombia continues to fund and enable three major illegally armed groups: FARC, ELN and AUC. While some, such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), can trace their genesis to a political foundation "as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party,"¹¹ the larger and present day reality is that lure of profit through criminal activity has displaced any ideologically driven political agenda that may have once existed. While the primary destination for the illicit narcotics lies outside state borders, the jockeying for territory, control, and freedom of movement within Latin American countries demonstrates "a direct relationship between drugs and the criminal violence that has skyrocketed in country after country"¹² to such a degree that elected leaders frequently are unable to provide fundamental security for either citizens or officials. In the case of FARC, for example, Colombian President Alvaro Uribe was able to leverage the events of 9/11 in the United States so as to realign U.S. funds (earmarked for drug crop fumigation and drug interdiction through Plan Colombia) to "train an elite squadron of Colombian counterinsurgency troops" to enhance security under the umbrella of a new "narco-terror calculus."¹³

Mexico, a major drug producer in its own right (particularly heroin, marijuana, and methamphetamine), is also the primary transit route through which 70 to 90 percent of illicit drugs enter the U.S.¹⁴ Like Colombia, Mexico is characterized by cartels, gangs and drug trafficking organizations whose members and affiliates are fully capable of and well schooled in violence, corruption, kidnapping, extortion and murder. Three of the seven major cartels (Sinaloa, Juarez, and Valencia) have formed a cooperative and mutually beneficial alliance dubbed "The Federation."¹⁵ Mexican cartels tend to mirror

organized crime syndicates as they maintain over 40 subordinate cells throughout the U.S. to distribute drugs while cultivating relationships with prison and street gangs already operating in the U.S.¹⁶ In addition to importing drugs into the U.S., Mexican cartels have been linked to arms trafficking, auto theft and kidnapping as they smuggle profits back into Mexico.¹⁷

Illicit narcotics' trafficking and associated activities by ungoverned non-state actors operating principally from within the borders of sovereign states, especially those proximate to the U.S., constitutes a significant threat to U.S. national interests. National interests, commonly categorized as (1) defense of the homeland, (2) economic prosperity, (3) promotion of values and (4) favorable world order, constitute "perceived needs and aspirations" while simultaneously expressing "desired end states."¹⁸ The most vital U.S. national interest continues to be the prevention, deterrence, and reduction of the likelihood of a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons attack on the U.S. population. It seems somewhat unlikely, however, that dedicated narcotics traffickers would intentionally inflict massive destruction on their highly profitable U.S. market. Yet, illicit narcotics trafficking and associated violence creates and operates in an environment that readily accommodates non-state actors committed to inflicting massive damage to the U.S. citizenry. Thus, tolerance of the seedbed and larger environment in which drug trafficking organizations thrive constitutes an open invitation to politically motivated terrorist activity. In fact, areas of Latin America and the Caribbean basin are considered "highly likely bases for future terrorist threats."¹⁹ Second, the undermining of struggling Latin American democracies (i.e., those with minimal functional democratic infrastructures such as courts, schools, markets, medical

facilities, etc.) by uncontrolled, unregulated and increasingly powerful transnational drug organizations threatens to drain limited resources while continuing to fracture the degree of regional stability that presently exists thus damaging U.S. interests in through maintaining stable and democratic governments throughout the region. Globalization and the nurturance of mutually beneficial economic interdependencies throughout the region ought to help maintain a favorable regional order while strengthening economic prosperity—two exceedingly important U.S. interests. Unfortunately, however, addressing those interests will become considerably more challenging due to continued widespread poverty throughout the region, personal security challenges in many areas, crime, increasingly powerful drug lords, and growing political drift by important nation-states. This unfortunate litany of challenges occurs while U.S. resources are largely channeled to support operations in the Middle-East.²⁰ While economic development is an important U.S. interest with regard to Latin America, the simple reality is that the “illicit drug trade has a substantial negative impact on all aspects of development.”²¹ Finally, the U.S. must continue to promote and support human rights initiatives and the rule of law at every opportunity. A troublesome paradox is afoot with regard to human rights issues, however. On the one hand military authorities throughout Latin America have improved, albeit not perfect, records in the area of human rights violations (fewer violations)²² yet illicit narcotics trafficking continues to prosper and does so in the wake of more frequent and violent assassinations, torture, beheadings, and even human killings in the name of sport.²³

Given multinational concern over the flow of illicit drugs from Colombia and Mexico into the United States, an accord was initiated in 1999. Plan Colombia was the

brainchild of former Colombian President Andres Pastrana. The six year plan sought to “end the country’s 40-year old armed conflict, eliminate drug trafficking, and promote economic and social development.”²⁴ Originally the plan was to be financed to some degree by the international community, although the U.S. has been and continues to be the primary external supporter through the Andean Counterdrug Initiative (ACI). While the two parties have made some adjustments over time—most particularly authorization to divert funds from eradication and interdiction to support for Colombia’s security forces—the primary U.S. objective has been to stem the flow of illegal drugs while promoting peace and economic development in the region.²⁵ Colombia’s primary objectives include promoting peace, economic development, and increased security with tacit recognition that success in attaining the primary objectives is inherently intertwined with the ability to deal effectively with drug traffickers.²⁶

Documentation of progress is almost always difficult and subject to interpretation. The case, however, was made that the drug flow was being interdicted to a measurable extent and the drug crops eradicated via both aerial fumigation and manual removal. Aerial fumigation has an environmental down side as the sprayed substance may damage the soil, other crops or possibly compromise the health of farmers and others who might be exposed.²⁷ Other indicators of success through 2004 included enhanced and more visible security, reduced kidnappings, lower rates of homicide, and fewer massacres. Generally, curtailing activities by the three major armed groups in the country was less successful, but there was allegedly some partial success in bringing about a demobilization of the rightist paramilitary group the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia and in reducing the ranks of leftist Revolutionary Armed Forces of

Colombia (FARC). Curiously, reports on internally displaced persons (IDP) were conflicting with government reports showing a decrease (37%) while at least one human rights group claimed a 39% increase. There was evidence of increased economic confidence which tended to parallel improved security and evidence of diminished corruption and enhanced sensitivity to the rule of law and human rights.²⁸

The March 2008 report "Improving Policy and Reducing Harm" by the International Crisis Group reiterates and reinforces many of the claims and findings noted in the January 2006 "Plan Colombia: A Progress Report" by the Congressional Research Service (CRS). Yet, there is at least one difference of concern. The CRS report does not provide any information on Colombian efforts to substitute coca eradication with alternative crop possibilities for peasant farmers. Thus, while the coca crop may be successfully destroyed, the peasants are either left with no prospects or those prospects simply go unrecorded, which is to say not valued. A program to periodically pay families to keep their land clear of coca crops, as noted in the International Crisis Group report, is modestly innovative, but will fail as a long term corrective.²⁹

On balance Plan Colombia has achieved its objectives, but more so for the Colombians than for the U.S. The U.S. focus was on eradication and interdiction and while there is compelling evidence of both effort and success, the bottom line is that addressable aspects of the root cause of the drug cultivation problem, i.e., the economic aspects, have not been well or meaningfully attended. What the U.S. has requested and helped to accomplish comes much closer to simply "muddying up the coca stream" when what we need is a comprehensive and humane effort to assist in "diverting and re-channeling the waters."

Anne Patterson, the Former Ambassador to Colombia, provided a comprehensive and detailed history of Plan Colombia and associated progress.³⁰ She recognized problems, acknowledged shortcomings and raised concerns, but overall was positive about what had been accomplished and what was possible in the foreseeable future. There is reason to be guardedly optimistic that the next six year plan, “Strategy for Strengthening Democracy and Promoting Social Development,” will be more successful, primarily because the U.S. task has been characterized as “working with Colombia” as the country assumes greater responsibility for the counternarcotics program.

The Merida Initiative was prompted by the illicit drug trafficking and violence along the U.S. – Mexican border and the desire by both countries to enhance their respective domestic law enforcement efforts. The arrangement, as proposed, is largely bilateral and intended to facilitate “regional cooperation that addresses transnational crime,” primarily related to trafficking in illicit drug and arms.³¹ The Initiative has been likened to Plan Colombia, although Mexico does not harbor large left and right wing insurgent groups. Mexican President Felipe Calderon has made law and order a very high priority and his administration plans to spend 7 billion dollars on law enforcement in the next few years.³² In major respects the “heavily armed, narco-border” problem is fully shared. The U.S. brings the “demand side” of the drug equation while serving as the “supply side” of the weapons equation. Officials in Mexico estimate that nearly 90 percent of the guns they confiscate originate in the U.S.³³ No data are available at this time regarding implementation of the Initiative. The initiative seems to be ill conceived or at least under articulated. Addressing the drug trafficking problem seems to be largely viewed in terms of equipment and enforcement protocols. Drugs and weapons are very real and they

are closely interconnected. Yet just how this proposal will be implemented remains unclear. The U.S. has an opportunity to work with a close neighbor in addressing a shared concern. That this effort is likely to be successful and mutually beneficial seems highly improbable at this time.

Endnotes

¹ Max G. Manwaring, *A Contemporary Challenge to State Sovereignty: Gangs and Other Illicit Transnational Criminal Organizations in Central America, El Salvador, Mexico, Jamaica, and Brazil*. (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2007). The label Transnational Criminal Organization characterizes well structured, highly organized groups, including street gang, “. . . Mafia families, illegal drug traffickers, warlords, terrorist, and insurgents . . .” bent upon replacing liberal democracy and the rule of law with criminal anarchy designed to facilitate commercial profit and maximum freedom of movement (territorial control) for TCO members.

² Mexico is within North America and Colombia lies in South America. COL Alberto Mejia of the Colombian Army, USAWC International Fellow, Class of 2008, advised that “Latin America” is largely a U.S. linguistic construction that “no one from ‘Latin America’ uses,” but is generally understood as an overly stereotypic way of referring to the many groups, people and sovereign states that lie to the south of the U.S. border.

³ Charles W. Freeman, Jr., as cited by Gabriel Marcella, “National Security and the Interagency Process” in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy* (2nd edition), J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., ed.

⁴ See Diane Leduc and James Lee, “Illegal Drugs and Drug Trafficking,” revised February 2003; available from <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/bp435-e.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 April 2008.

⁵ Infoplease, “Colombia: Economy,” available from <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/world/A0857441.html>; Internet; accessed 23 April 2008.

⁶ Dian Leduc and James Lee.

⁷ See Lee Rensselaer and Raphael Perl (see note 12) as cited by Dian Leduc and James Lee.

⁸ Michael Shifter, “Latin America’s Drug Problem,” *Current History* 106 (February 2007):58 [database on-line]; available from ProQuest; accessed 21 March 2008.

⁹ International Crisis Group, “Latin American Drugs I: Losing the Fight,” *Latin America Report N°25*, 14 March 2008, Executive Summary.

¹⁰ Peter Reuter, “Can Production and Trafficking of Illicit Drugs be Reduced or Merely Shifted?” *Policy Research Working Paper 4564*, The World Bank Development Research Group Macroeconomics and Growth Team, March 2008. Reuter provides an informative overview of

many of the characteristics and circumstances that serve to enable illicit drug activity. He points out that the 2000 U.S. Census established “9 million residents born in Mexico . . . and while . . . [t]he figure for Colombia was only 600,000 . . . [it] was twice as many as for any other South American nation.” (See Reuter, note 26.)

¹¹ Connie Veillette, “Colombia: Issues for Congress,” *CRS Report for Congress*, updated 4 January 2006, 3. FARC is the largest and oldest guerrilla insurgency in Colombia. The other two major groups, both involved in narcotics trafficking, are the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC).

¹² See Michael Shifter.

¹³ Michael Bustamante and Sebastian Chaskel, “Colombian’s Precarious Progress,” *Current History*, 107 (February 2008), 78.

¹⁴ Michael Shifter, 106.

¹⁵ The Tijuana cartel and the Gulf cartel have also formed an alliance which, somewhat ironically, occurred while the respective leaders of the organizations were serving time in prison (See Colleen W. Cook, “Mexico’s Drug Cartels,” *CRS Report for Congress*, 16 October 2007, 1).

¹⁶ Colleen W. Cook, 5-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ See H. Richard Yarger and George F. Barber, “The U.S. Army War College Methodology for Determining Interests and Levels of Intensity,” Adapted from Department of National Security and Strategy, Directive Course 2: *War, National Policy & Strategy* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1997, 118-125.

¹⁹ Jim Stavridis, “We’re All in this Together,” *American Quarterly* 1 (Fall 2007): 35 [Database on-line]; available from ProQuest; accessed 23 April 2008.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ See Diane Leduc and James Lee, 9.

²² Connie Veillette, “Plan Colombia: A Progress Report,” *CRS Report for Congress*, updated 11 January 2006, 12-13.

²³ Alex Crowthers, Strategic Studies Institute, also commented on the improving human rights violation record (fewer military violations throughout the region). See Max Manwaring, 23-33 for elaboration on TCO violence in Mexico.

²⁴ Connie Veillette, 1. The initial plan expired at the end of 2005. The 2007-2013 six year plan is titled: Strategy for Strengthening Democracy and Promoting Social Development.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Ibid., 6-7.

²⁸ Ibid., 12-13.

²⁹ International Crisis Group, "Latin American Drugs II: Losing the Fight," *Latin America Report N°25*, 14 March 2008, 17.

³⁰ Anne W. Patterson, "Counternarcotics Strategy in Colombia," U.S. Department of State, Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Washington, DC, April 24, 2007; available from <http://www.state.gov/p/inl/rls/rm/83654.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 April 2008.

³¹ Media Note, Office of the Spokesman, U.S. Department of State, Joint Statement on the Merida Initiative: A New paradigm for Security Cooperation, Washington, DC, 22 October 2007; available from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2007/oct/93817.htm>; Internet; accessed 13 April 2008.

³² Economist.com, "Just don't call it Plan Mexico," 25 October 2007; available from http://www.economist.com/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=10024653; Internet; accessed 24 April 2008.

³³ WOLA.ORG – The Washington Office on Latin America, "The Merida Initiative and Citizen Security in Mexico and America," 19 March 2008; available from http://www.wola.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=viewp&id=668&Itemid=2; accessed 24 April 2008.

Model PEM—Abridged

The passages in this section demonstrate effective use of framing firsthand experience within a strategic context. PEMs are written in first person narrative style. Excerpted from:

Hort, John J. "The Battle for Sadr City: The Tipping Point in Operation Iraqi Freedom," *Personal Experience Monograph* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2010).

In mid March 2008 Shia militia under the control of Muqtada Al Sadr began a progressively intense series of indirect and direct fire attacks against the Iraqi government and U.S. forces. Originating principally out of the densely populated Sadr City Baghdad district and Basrah, the attacks, while initially minor, were a direct attempt to reassert political and military influence over the Iraqi government. On the 24th of March, sensing a real strategic threat to his government, Prime Minister Nouri Kamal al Maliki ordered combat operations against the Jaysh al Mahdi (JAM) militia in Basrah. This offensive operation in Basrah commonly known as *Charge of the Knights* had the opposite effect in Baghdad. JAM militia and other sympathetic Shia extremists desiring to divert governmental resources and attention away from Basrah initiated offensive combat operations of their own throughout Baghdad. Shia militia openly attacked and overran Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) check points around Sadr City and other parts of Baghdad. Additionally, JAM began launching a barrage of 107mm and 122mm indirect rocket attacks against the International Zone (IZ), home to the Government of Iraq (GOI) and the U.S. Embassy. What followed was the Battle for Sadr City. For the next two months U.S. forces partnered with Iraqi ground forces fought the Mahdi Army in the most constricted urban terrain found anywhere in Iraq.

The Battle for Sadr City as the name implies had strategic, operational, and tactical ramifications for both the Maliki government and the U.S's counterinsurgency

efforts. Success or failure in Iraq's most populated district would very likely determine the future of the Iraqi government and the U.S.'s vision for conflict resolution. The resulting lessons learned described in this essay result from my personal experiences as the 3rd Brigade, 4th Infantry Division Brigade commander, charged with defeating the JAM uprising. In an effort to provide focus and clarity, this monograph will discuss the background leading up to the March 2008 kinetic operations followed by an overview of the battle for Sadr City with embedded lessons learned covering the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war.

...

On the morning of 24 March, JAM launched a Baghdad wide surprise attack against ISF checkpoints in or near Shia population centers. At the time of the attack, I was attending an Adimayah district council meeting located in the Old Minister of Defense (nicknamed Old MOD) compound, also the home to the 11th IA division HQs. In attendance were leaders from the 3BCT Provisional Reconstruction Team (PRT) and Adimayah Iraqi local city council members. At approximately 1030, during the course of our discussion, my Personal Security Detachment (PSD) Officer slipped a note stating that all the IA check points around Sadr City were under attack and taking heavy machinegun and RPG fire. At first I questioned the notes validity on "all checkpoints" under attack. Thinking the report possibly inflated or exaggerated, I requested source clarification and additional information. We did not have long to wait. Within seconds, the 11th IA leadership also in attendance received a similar report and hastily departed the meeting. Ten 11th IA and 1st NP checkpoints around Sadr City were in fact under JAM attack. Within minutes all had either been over run or were barely hanging on.

What started as another 3BCT stability and security focused day, quickly digressed into a much more sinister and complex problem – Sadr had lifted the cease fire and was openly attacking the ISF. This day, unbeknownst to us, would mark the start of almost two months of some of the heaviest urban combat ever witnessed in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

The first task at hand was situational awareness on all Sadr City Check Points (CPs). Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) footage and reports from my subordinate units confirmed that half the CPs were either occupied by JAM or the ISF had simply fled leaving weapons and vehicles behind. One CP in particular had four Boyevaya Mashina Pekhotys (BMPs) and an assortment of ISF weapons now under the Mahdi Army's control. UAV footage on another CP guarding the eastern entrance into Sadr City indicated that both ISF platoons (approximately 60 Soldiers) had been captured by JAM and their company commander killed. The CPs that were still intact, according to the 11th IA, were about to be over run unless coalition support arrived quickly.

While the surprise of the attack left the ISF reeling, the U.S. response in regaining the initiative was just as decisive. With Multi-National Division Baghdad (MNDB) support, we issued quick orders directing 1-68 and 1-2 SCR to re-seize all lost check points and reinforce those CPs under JAM and Special Groups assault. 12th Combat Aviation Brigade with 3ACR AH 64Ds gunships supported both battalions and were instrumental throughout the day in air to ground engagements on JAM and Special Groups targets. At approximately 1330, ground elements from 1-2 SCR and 1-68 AR systematically began to retake all CPs under JAM control or reinforce those that still maintained some form of ISF presence. Heavy fighting around all the CPs ensued

throughout the afternoon lasting into the early evening hours. By nightfall, the Brigade had regained all lost CPs and was jointly occupying those still under tenuous ISF control. JAM had withdrawn back into Sadr City with losses calculated between 10 and 12 enemy militia fighters. We also estimated that at least 100 44th IA Soldiers were being held by the Mahdi Army deep in Sadr City along with approximately 150 newly issued ISF M16s, several medium machine guns, and about 5000 rounds of small arms ammunition.

Under sporadic JAM probing fire U.S. squads and platoons spent the night reinforcing all Sadr City check points. Meanwhile the 11th IA struggled to make sense of the day's surprise attack. What was certain from our perspective was that very few Iraqi units fought that day. Most abandoned their post or simple gave up. Our suspicions on JAM intimidation and ISF infiltration proved to be a valid concern. In fact, it would take the 11th IA days if not weeks to fully recover. When they did return however, they proved to be a much different fighting force that helped change the course of the battle.

...

On 16 May, the GOI and the Sadrist block brokered a cease fire - largely due to JAM's inability to continue the fight. The cease fire guaranteed ISF unimpeded access to all of Sadr City and for all practical purposes disbanded JAM as a military threat. Four days later, two Iraqi army brigades deployed uncontested north of the wall and through population support systematically began removing large ammunition militia stockpiles and detaining militant leaders. The JAM cache sites alone were some of the largest ever recovered in Baghdad. Iraqi Special Operations Forces (ISOF) also initiated almost nightly raids inside Sadr City against senior JAM, Special Groups, and Hezbollah

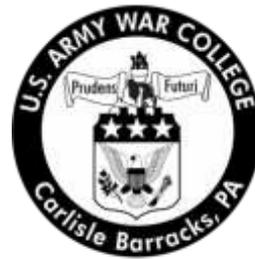
leadership further dismantling this once national menace. As a result, attacks throughout Baghdad fell to a post 2003 low and remained that way throughout the rest of our deployment. What started as an almost impossible mission, ended with the ISF and GOI controlling the largest militia holdout in Iraq. For the first time since 2003, Sadr City was no longer under the JAM umbrella. The Iraqi government was now in charge and asserting its authority and security responsibilities in an area that had seen very little governance for many many years. The Battle for Sadr City, while largely fought at company and platoon level achieved strategic results and arguably changed the course of the war for the GOI. Without a doubt, U.S. heavy armor, infantry, engineers, aviation, and precision technology won the battle. But perhaps what emerged as an even greater victory was a much more confident and capable Iraqi military and GOI now willing to secure their own population - without fear from intimidation or extremist influences. Was The Battle for Sadr City the tipping point in winning the war? My thoughts are yes; however, time will only tell.

Model Research Paper

China: The Awakened Dragon

by

Colonel Viet X. Luong Senior
Service College Fellow United
States Army



United States Army War College
Class of 2012

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT: A

Approved for Public Release Distribution
is Unlimited

This manuscript is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Senior Service College Fellowship. The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. **PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.**

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) xx-03-2012		2. REPORT TYPE CIVILIAN RESEARCH PROJECT		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE China: The Awakened Dragon				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Colonel Viet X. Luong				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University Encina Hall, C223 Stanford, CA 94305-6165				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College 122 Forbes Avenue Carlisle, PA 17013				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution A: Approved for Public Release. Distribution is Unlimited.					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT While Chinese leaders continue to tout the clarity of China's strategic intentions, China's pursuit of advanced military capabilities, including anti-access and force projection, offers a different perception. China prospered while the United States has been engulfed in Afghanistan and Iraq, America's longest war to date. On the home front, the war inarguably contributed to an economic crisis and a divided nation. Meanwhile, China has experienced tremendous growth, not only economically, but also militarily. China, spurred by recent economic success, continues to pursue greater military capabilities to protect its resources and extend its influence. If this trend continues, China and the United States may be on track for increased tension in the future. This paper examines China's strategic intentions and military capabilities. It also looks at current U.S. strategic engagement with China and concludes with some policy recommendations.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Strategic Culture, Congagement, Taiwan, U.S.—China Policy					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UNLIMITED	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 26	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	b. ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	c. THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (Include area code)

USAWC CIVILIAN RESEARCH PROJECT

China: The Awakened Dragon

by

Colonel Viet X. Luong
United States Army

Dr. William J. Perry
Project Adviser
Stanford University
Center for International Security and Cooperation

Dr. William T. Johnsen
U.S. Army War College Adviser

This CRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Senior Service College Fellowship. The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

Abstract

Title: China: The Awakened Dragon
Report Date: xx March 2012
Page Count: 26
Word Count: 4970
Subject Terms: Strategic Culture, Congagement, Taiwan, U.S.—China Policy
Classification: Unclassified

While Chinese leaders continue to tout the clarity of China's strategic intentions, China's pursuit of advanced military capabilities, including anti-access and force projection, offers a different perception. China prospered while the United States has been engulfed in Afghanistan and Iraq, America's longest war to date. On the home front, the war inarguably contributed to an economic crisis and a divided nation. Meanwhile, China has experienced tremendous growth, not only economically, but also militarily. China, spurred by recent economic success, continues to pursue greater military capabilities to protect its resources and extend its influence. If this trend continues, China and the United States may be on track for increased tension in the future. This paper examines China's strategic intentions and military capabilities. It also looks at current U.S. strategic engagement with China and concludes with several policy recommendations.

China: The Awakened Dragon¹

China's rapid military modernization will allow the People's Republic of China (PRC) to achieve its goals of making "major progress in military modernization by 2020" and "capable of winning informationized wars by the mid 21st Century."² According to a leading China scholar, while this may mean that China's leaders are not planning to win wars against military powers like the United States until 2050, the PRC will have superiority over many nations well before then.³ To address China's meteoric rise, both economic and military, rather than taking a piecemeal approach, the United States needs a more comprehensive U.S.—China policy. Without a more effective U.S. policy, China's continued pursuit of advanced military capabilities and aggressive extension beyond China's traditional zone of influence may lead to military confrontations with the United States and its allies in the Pacific.

An open U.S.—China military conflict, especially one that could lead to nuclear weapons, would undoubtedly be cataclysmic. As such, neither side is likely to pursue such a course of action. On the other hand, by 2020 China will likely possess the operational and strategic capabilities to resolve militarily the Taiwan issue or other emerging territorial disputes. Whether and how the PRC leadership might exercise these capabilities remains an open question; however, historically, China has often resorted to the use of force.⁴ While Chinese leaders tout the clarity of China's peaceful strategic intentions, China's pursuit of naval carriers, advanced stealth aircraft and anti-satellite missiles offer a very different perception; thereby, putting in question the clarity of China's strategic intentions.

The Chinese Strategic Culture

The Chinese have long been masters of strategic thought, as numerous examples of China's strategic culture clearly demonstrate. The philosophies of Confucius and Sun Tzu have heavily influenced Chinese military and strategic thinking, and Chinese military theorists often argue that this influence leads China to be militarily cautious and defensive, even in the face of conflict. According to one analyst, China's preference of stratagem over war is a hybrid of Confucius' peaceful harmony and Sun Tzu's advocacy of diplomacy over war.⁵ Over the years, PRC leaders have repeatedly stressed the Chinese proclivity for peace and harmony and China has consistently inculcated the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" into its foreign policy.⁶ Along the same lines, in 2010 a leading Chinese diplomat, Bao Bingguo, noted that the "path of peaceful development" is "the pursuit of harmony and development at home as well as the pursuit of peace and cooperation in our external relations."⁷

Despite China's efforts to portray itself as a peaceful nation, PRC actions in the last several decades do not always support such claims. In fact, leading China scholars have fiercely debated this very issue.⁸ When assessing Chinese strategic culture, analysts predominantly fall into two main groups. One group views China as a deeply strategic, culturally defensive nation, while the other group asserts that a realpolitik offensive mindset guides both policy makers and foreign policies.⁹ Certain leading scholars among the latter group also describe China's strategic culture as "strategic parabellum" or a combination of "Confucian and parabellum," which leads to an offensive realist grand strategy.¹⁰ However, in her work *Chinese Strategic Culture and Policy Decision-Making: Confucianism, Leadership, and War*, Huiyun Feng argued that

while the advocates conclude, “China has always been, and will continue to be a revisionist power,” her research, on the other hand, concludes “. . . Chinese leaders are likely to exhibit strategic defense rather than offensive preferences. At times of threats to vital interests, however, force is wielded in righteous response.”¹¹

Chinese author Nie Hongyi’s 2009 article in the Chinese *Journal of International Politics* offered a different perspective to Feng’s. Nie challenged M. Taylor Fravel’s theory that a rising power’s domestic stability drives its actions.¹² Fravel maintains that when a state is domestically unstable, it is prone to adopt a “concessionary approach” to territory disputes to stabilize its domestic political power. To dispute Fravel’s claims, Nie cited several case studies where China had adopted a concessionary stance during the same period the PRC was using a hard-line stance against India.¹³ Nie concluded, “The analysis of the logic behind China’s selection of policies towards neighbour states with which it shares land borders reveals the hard-line approach to expansionary powers, and concessionary approach towards status quo states.”¹⁴

Perhaps a more accurate hypothesis on the duality of Chinese strategic culture is Andrew’s Scobell’s theory of “Chinese Cult of Defense.” Scobell argues that China’s strategic culture is dualistic, a hybrid of Confucian-Mencian harmony and risk aversion coupled with realpolitik tendencies.¹⁵ To justify offensive actions during crises, Chinese military theorists often characterize offensive actions as falling under the concept of active defense.¹⁶

Chinese Perception of Sovereignty and Friction in Disputed Territories

The concept of active defense by itself is not alarming. However, as China’s influence increased along with its strategic reach, what the Chinese consider

“sovereign” has grown to encompass the South and East China Seas, including multiple disputed territories.¹⁷ According to some Pentagon analysts, this perception of sovereignty poses risks to U.S. interests in the Pacific.¹⁸

Consequently, Chinese claims of “indisputable sovereignty” and assertiveness in the Pacific raises concern. While China’s view of Taiwan as part of its historical sovereign territory is hardly contested outside Taiwan, Chinese claims to disputed territories, which include four groups of contested islets and atolls, have led to confrontations.¹⁹ These confrontations occurred despite Chinese rhetoric in the late 1990s through the early 2000s about China adopting a more peaceful approach to resolving territorial disputes. The PRC even signed the 2002 Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, and subsequently conducted a joint resource survey of natural resources around the Spratly Islands with Vietnam and the Philippines.²⁰ This cooperative spirit failed to last and PRC actions after 2005 suggest that China has become increasingly confrontational.²¹

China’s Military Modernization

Rationalized by protecting its stated core interests and expanding sovereign territory, China may continue to justify aggressive actions under the “active defense” of “sovereign territories.” To ensure the capabilities needed for successful military power, the PRC has undertaken a rapid military modernization.

China’s military modernization program in the last decade, supported by a relatively surging economy and expanding defense sector, has allowed China to effectively narrow much of the technology gap and will likely allow the PRC to achieve regional hegemony in the near future.²²

Buoyed by strong economic growth, Pentagon analysts estimated China's military budget increased an average of 12.1% annually from 2000 to 2010.²³ In 2011, the PRC announced a 12.7% increase in its military budget to \$91.5 billion; however, according to Pentagon analysts the actual budget is closer to \$180 billion.²⁴ Even at the announced spending of \$91.5 billion, China still ranks second in the world in annual defense spending.

According to some researchers, China's decelerating economy may not have a large impact on future defense spending. As the global economic crisis continued, a financial analyst noted in December 2011 that China's 2011 GDP growth would exceed 9%. Although not the double-digit figures of the previous decade, it still represents significant growth.²⁵ While predicting the growth of China's economy throughout this next decade is difficult, Morgan Stanley forecasted that the Chinese economy will begin to decelerate, but with a "soft landing" between 7.7 and 8.4 percent in 2012.²⁶ Regardless of whether this level of predicted growth is accurate or possibly even as slow as five percent, one analyst concluded, "China will be able to maintain or even increase its military spending."²⁷ Thus, given the economic forecasts, the PLA will still be able to continue its modernization program.²⁸

These conditions have allowed for great strides in China's defense sector for further growth in defense spending for among other things, space and missile technology, 5th generation fighter aircraft, nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers, anti-ship ballistic missiles, and large amphibious assault ships.²⁹ According to RAND researchers, these efforts were also China's response to U.S. military transformation.³⁰

Indeed, the 2010 Defense White Paper provided hints of a balanced modernization approach. Published in March 2011, the Defense White Paper for 2010 outlined four national defense goals:³¹

- Safeguarding national sovereignty, security, and interests of national development.
- Maintaining social harmony and stability.
- Accelerating the modernization of national defense and armed forces.
- Maintaining world peace and stability.

Beyond these general statements of Chinese interests and intent, the paper emphasized that “China strives to build, through its peaceful development, a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity” and “national defense policy that is defensive in nature.”³² The paper also addressed building joint systems and accelerating the development of high tech weaponry.³³

To this end, according to the 2010 China Defense White paper, the PLA Army (PLAA) is making “great progress” in its mechanization and digitization processes while improving its combat systems, to include light, heavy, amphibious, and airborne assault forces. Of the 1.2 million PLAA force, roughly 400,000 are deployed in the three military regions (MRs) directly across the straits from Taiwan.³⁴ The Pentagon also reports that as of December 2010, the military regions opposite Taiwan possessed 1000-1200 short-range ballistic missiles, many of which are highly accurate, with ranges beyond 185 kilometers. This impressive array also contained the YJ-62 anti-ship cruise missile (ASCM) and the DH-10 land attack cruise missile, both Chinese made.³⁵ Additionally,

China is developing an anti-ship ballistic missile, the DF-21D, with an extended range beyond 1500 km, which can threaten moving ships, including aircraft carriers.³⁶

The 2010 China White Paper also highlighted key developments in the PLA Navy (PLAN) and PLA Air Force (PLAAF). Under the White Paper, the PLAN focuses on “accelerating” the modernization of its combat forces, enhancing its ability conduct counter-attack and deterrence, and developing capabilities to conduct “operations in distant waters and countering non-traditional security threats.”³⁷ To support this goal, the PLAN has upgraded its submarine fleet, which may have up to 35 new conventional and nuclear submarines currently in service.³⁸ The surface force is also undergoing significant transformation. The PLAN currently deploys about 75 large surface combatants, 55 amphibious ships, and 85 small combatants, including several domestically produced Luyang II-class and Luzhou-class surface combatants.³⁹ Equally interesting is China’s pursuit of a carrier fleet. Pentagon analysts believe that China is pursuing an indigenous aircraft carrier program based on the design of the former Soviet Kusnetsov Hull-2. If this is correct, China could have its first indigenous carrier by 2015.⁴⁰ Granted, an operational carrier fleet will take many years to realize; however, this strategy is another sign that China’s ambitions may lie beyond local waters.

Like the PLAN, the PLA Air Force (PLAAF) also has made significant progress. According to one analyst, in addition to accelerated acquisition of fourth-generation combat aircraft, China may have several 5th generation tactical aircraft programs on-going.⁴¹ In January 2011, China pointedly unveiled the J-20 stealth fighter during Defense Secretary Robert Gates’ visit to Beijing.

In addition to sustained PLAN and PLAAF modernization, China is making great strides in space and cyber capabilities. According to some U.S. DOD analysts, the 2010 cyber intrusion of numerous computer systems around the world, including those of the U.S. government, originated from China.⁴² This capability allows the PLA to target command and control systems, disrupt logistics during a conflict and collect information and intelligence prior to hostilities.

Also in 2010, China launched 15 satellites into space. These were combinations of navigation, remote sensing, communications, and meteorological systems. Pentagon analysts believe the navigation satellites will give China a regional network by 2012 and a global one by 2015. They also assert that China is producing in parallel, “a multi-dimensional program to limit or prevent the use of space-based assets by adversaries during times of crisis or conflict.”⁴³

To keep up with this accelerated military modernization, China requires a strong technology sector. Despite the enormous technology gap that existed between the United States and China a mere decade ago, China’s emerging research, development, and production capabilities, coupled with reforms and innovation, have resulted in several impressive domestically produced high-tech systems. China was able to close the gap through foreign acquisitions and capitalizing on dual-use technology. When this technology is not available commercially or through academic research, China uses its intelligence services to acquire information through illicit means.⁴⁴

U.S.—China Policy

U.S.—China policy has shifted over the years. In the six decades since Mao’s victory over the Nationalists, U.S. policy for China has transitioned from containment, to

alignment, and finally “conengagement.” After the 1949 communist victory that ended the Chinese Civil War, the United States implemented a strategy of containment. This strategy entailed not only physical isolation, but also economic and diplomatic isolation of China. The main goals of the strategy were to slow China’s growth, cause it to expend resources on domestic issues, and propagate Sino-Soviet tensions.⁴⁵

The Korean War heightened tensions between the United States and China. In addition to freezing Chinese assets and imposing a total trade embargo, the United States actively sought international political sanctions and condemnation of China.⁴⁶ Truman further infuriated China when he ordered the 7th Fleet into the Taiwan Straits to protect Taiwan and allegedly prevent Taiwan from attacking the mainland. To the Chinese, this was a flagrant violation of Chinese sovereignty.⁴⁷ Most significant, this action helped create the “two Chinas” dilemma.⁴⁸

Based on where China is now, it is difficult to assess to what extent the containment strategy has worked. Critics of this strategy assert that, while the policy delayed PRC goals after the war; overall, it largely failed because by isolating China, this policy “ensured that Sino-American relations would remain poisoned for the next 15 years.”⁴⁹ According to one observer, the relationship between the United States and China went from “rancorous coexistence to virulent.”⁵⁰ Another author added that the United States during this period “forgot the sound geo-political, economic, and ethical basis of their historic desire for China’s wellbeing by adopting a policy to prevent a strong, prosperous China.”⁵¹ One thing for certain is that the containment strategy prevented high-level communication between the two governments and despite minimal

contacts between mid-level officials, diplomatic relations remained non-existent, and along with it any meaningful cooperation.⁵²

By the late 60s, U.S. leaders began to realize the ineffectiveness of the containment strategy and called for a broad shift. In 1969, the Sino-Soviet border conflict provided a great opportunity for the Nixon administration to deepen U.S. ties with China, moving into a relationship some scholars describe as a “strategic alignment.” Under this new relationship, the goal shifted from weakening to strengthening China. The United States, despite some reservations, began selling dual-use systems such as ground stations for satellite televisions, civilian aircraft, and computers.⁵³

In 1973, the Soviets again threatened to attack China. The United States offered China assistance in the form of “supplying equipment and other services.”⁵⁴ But, despite stronger language for commitment, U.S. leaders chose not to normalize U.S.—PRC relations due to strong domestic political opposition.

U.S.—China relations remained much the same for the next few years until President Jimmy Carter came into office. Under his leadership, normalization with China became a priority.⁵⁵ The Soviets were again on the move. According to Henry Kissinger, “Soviet pressures in Africa and the Middle East convinced the President to opt for rapid normalization with China, by what amounted to the quest for a de facto strategic alliance.”⁵⁶

In 1979, the Carter administration adopted the “One China” policy, recognizing Beijing as the sole government of China and severing official ties with Taiwan.⁵⁷ In

response to the winding down of American diplomatic presence in Taiwan, the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979.⁵⁸

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan; thereby drawing China and the United States even closer. In addition to several visits by high-ranking officials, President Carter authorized the addition of several more dual-use nonlethal military systems, including over-the-horizon radar, aircraft, and communications hardware.⁵⁹ These high level visits facilitated increased military-to-military exchanges. In a historic move, PLA General Geng Biao and Deputy Chief of the General Staff General Liu Huaqing visited the United States in 1980. In return, Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering William Perry led a U.S. delegation to Beijing in September of the same year. During his visit, Under Secretary Perry informed the Chinese that the U.S. government had approved over 400 licenses for dual-use and military support items. However, China was experiencing internal and economic issues. In addition, Chinese industries were unprepared to accept a large volume of high technology. Although the meeting did not result in increased Chinese acquisition of U.S. technology, it paved the way for increased military-to-military relations.⁶⁰

The policy of alignment continued without major change under the subsequent Reagan administration. In 1983, Defense Secretary, Casper Weinberger visited Beijing and facilitated a series of exchanges between Chinese and U.S. military officers and civilian officials.⁶¹ This improved alignment lasted for much of the decade and helped create a more positive perception of China among the American populace.

Unfortunately, two important events in 1989 compelled U.S. leaders to rethink the engagement strategy with China: the PLA massacre of students at Tiananmen and the

fall of the Berlin Wall that marked the beginning of the end for the Soviet Union. These two key events helped define U.S. China policy for the next two decades, during which scholars have referred to as the period of “Congagement.”⁶² On one hand, Tiananmen raised serious doubts about China’s domestic policy and questioned how two decades of engagement had failed to draw China any closer to a liberal democracy. On the other hand, U.S. leaders believed that a strategy of engagement would help prevent future conflict and draw China into a new international order as a “member in good standing.” After all, by the early 1990s, China had emerged as a major player in global affairs.⁶³

Despite the fallout of Tiananmen, engagement became the policy of the Bush administration and largely, became central to the Clinton administration’s strategy.⁶⁴ U.S.—China engagement blossomed under the Clinton administration, but with mixed results. Although candidate Clinton criticized the George H. W. Bush administration for “coddling China,” less than two years after taking office, President Clinton signed an executive order implementing a policy very similar to that of President Bush.⁶⁵

By summer 1993, despite several issues (for example, China’s underground nuclear testing and sale of M11 missile technology to Pakistan) that called into question the effectiveness of a policy of engagement, President Clinton nonetheless pressed on with an even more aggressive policy of “comprehensive engagement,” a strategy designed to increase China’s stakes in international affairs. China gained most favored nation status and eventually entry into the World Trade Organization.⁶⁶ Under these circumstances, the Chinese economy exploded, but the PLA also benefited. The obvious gain is the mutual economic benefits; however, “comprehensive engagement” also allowed China access to advanced U.S. technology. To realists, this technology

has allowed China to close the military capabilities gap with the United States, and thus, contributing to the PLA modernization of today.⁶⁷

Despite the continued optimism in the Clinton administration, the Taiwan Strait incident in 1996 put this strategy in question. To dissuade Taiwanese voters from supporting the pro-independence party, the PRC fired two missiles into the Taiwan Straits. In response, the United States sent two carrier battle groups to the area. Instead of diplomatic dialogue, the Chinese met the response with strong rhetoric. According to some sources, the Chief of PLA Intelligence allegedly told an American that the United States had to decide whether it was worth “sacrificing Los Angeles to defend Taiwan.”⁶⁸ Once again, the United States had underestimated China's views on Taiwan.

The Taiwan incident and subsequent fallouts such as cessation of diplomatic visits also forced U.S. leaders to take a closer look at China's intentions and military modernization.⁶⁹ As a result, intelligence and Department of Defense agencies assessed Chinese military capabilities. The results indicated that China was undergoing major military build-up.⁷⁰

Based on the perceptions of a rising PRC military threat, U.S. leaders began to bolster American military presence in the Western Pacific and strengthened ties with their traditional allies in the Pacific. In addition, the Clinton administration sought to slow the growth of China's military through the restrictions on the sale of dual-use technology and banning the sale of lethal weapons and munitions to China. Despite opposition from U.S. technology firms, these initiatives lasted through the Clinton administration and continued under President George W. Bush. Interestingly, this new “containment”

strategy occurred side by side with continued healthy U.S.—China trade relations, which scholars sometimes refer to as a strategy of “conengagement.”⁷¹

“Conengagement” has continued during much of the Obama administration. During President Obama’s first year in office, there was renewed optimism in China—U.S. engagement. In this vein, Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg publicly advocated a policy of “Strategic Assurance.” Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also called for resuming military-to-military engagements and increasing cooperation on areas of mutual interest. During her official visit to Beijing, she indicated that the United States would not allow issues sensitive to the PRC, like human rights, to interfere with more pressing issues such as climate change, the global economic crisis, and security. At the same time, President Obama refused to meet the Dalai Lama. Critics saw the combination of these actions as appeasement towards China.⁷²

A year after implementing “Strategic Assurance,” the Obama administration realized that open engagement had little impact on influencing Chinese behavior.⁷³ China continued to behave forcefully towards its Pacific neighbors and exercised an oppressive domestic policy. In 2010, the Obama administration did an about face. Secretary Clinton harshly criticized China for censoring the internet and cyber-surveillance. Following suit, President Obama met with the Dalai Lama. As far as the Chinese are concerned, these issues are purely domestic issues, and therefore, they are solely within China’s purview to resolve.⁷⁴

President Obama also announced that his administration would attempt to reform export control systems, including tightening controls on advanced American technology. More importantly, the President announced the sale of F-16s to Taiwan. As

seen from discussion of previous experiences of U.S. administrations, any U.S.—Taiwan bilateral actions have resulted in strong reactions from China. Since 1949, China has made it clear to the United States that reunification with Taiwan had been consistently atop China's priorities. Thus, if engagement remains a U.S. policy, then the decision to upgrade Taiwan's F-16 fleet was probably not the best choice. This action resulted in Chinese suspension of military-to-military ties.⁷⁵

Additionally, a U.S. decision to conduct a joint exercise with South Korea in response to North Korea's sinking of the South Korean ship, the Cheonan constituted a provocation from the Chinese perspective. As Major General Luo Yuan of the PLA Academy of Military Sciences pointed out: the proximity of the exercise area to Beijing, the significance of the Yellow Sea as a historical invasion route into mainland China, and most importantly, the exercise violated the UN Security Council's call for restraint following the incident all irritated China.⁷⁶

Finally, only two months after this incident, the United States supported Japan's position over an incident near the Senkaku Islands and its aftermath. Despite the Chinese's aggressive response, one author noted that while the United States and Japan joined forces to protest against China's alleged retaliatory detention of Japanese Fuji Corps workers and the possible PRC disruption of Japan's access to rare earth materials, Japan and the United States omitted that Japan's detention and indictment of the Chinese trawler captain in the same incident may also have contributed to the tensions.⁷⁷

According to some observers, 2010 marked the return to "Congagement."⁷⁸ At the very least, the sum of all these actions, especially in a relatively short period of time,

led U.S. Ambassador to China John Huntsman to comment that the United States and its allies may have been trampling “. . .on a couple of China’s core interests.”⁷⁹

While it may be too early to determine whether the Obama administration’s China policy will fail or succeed, the events of the last two years should provide enough data for continued refinement of the policy, and when required, drive adjustments to policy choices. Highlighted by numerous challenges, the Obama administration’s China policy is certainly on a rocky path for the time being. Despite these challenges, President Obama and his senior leaders should stay on course and continue to pursue a comprehensive engagement strategy with China.

Recommendations and Conclusion

In spite of the low possibility, a U.S.—PRC military confrontation in the Pacific would have significant political and economic implications. As such, the United States should focus on deterring and preventing a future military conflict in the Pacific. At present, it seems like there are few choices outside of “congagement.” While it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of this approach, it is reasonably safe to presume that there are risks involved—the most dangerous of which would be provoking China into a military confrontation. That said, some form of containment must occur to halt or mitigate China’s expansionism. At the same time, the United States has little choice but to return to engagement as a means to assist China’s transition to a more responsible world leader and major stakeholder. In implementing the next version of “congagement,” U.S. policy should not vacillate from one extreme (political/military containment) to another (unilateral concessions). Policy should utilize a mix of incentives and

disincentives to help shape Chinese action and China's emergence as a responsible regional and global partner.

In pursuing a future China policy, the United States should build upon existing policies outlined in the *2011 National Security Strategy of the United States* to develop a positive, constructive, and comprehensive relationship with China:

- Welcome a China that takes on a responsible leadership role in working with the U.S. and international community to advance priorities like economic recovery, climate change, and non-proliferation.
- Encourage China to make choices that contribute to peace, security, and prosperity.
- Use established Strategic and Economic Dialogue to address a broader range of issues and improve communication between militaries.
- Encourage continued reduction in tension between PRC and Taiwan.⁸⁰

To assist China's transition to a responsible leadership role, the United States should also expand beyond the initiatives outlined in the *National Security Strategy*, to include cooperation in peacekeeping, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism, and humanitarian/disaster relief. China has shown the willingness to cooperate in several of these areas and the United States should facilitate future dialogue.

In encouraging China to make responsible choices, U.S. leaders must consider several issues. First, despite the rise of China's military capabilities and the likely reduction in the U.S. military budget and ground forces, the United States must maintain superiority in military capabilities, especially in military technology. This means that the United States must maintain a credible deterrent, as well as a force capable of

protecting U.S. interests in the Pacific in the event deterrence fails. In doing so, the United States must also remain cognizant of China's core interests, and weigh the consequences of operating in China's EEZ and holding exercises in China's claimed territorial waters. Second, the U.S. should enhance ties with India, as well as traditional allies in the Pacific, thereby instilling confidence in its allies and partners. Finally, the United States must respect China's sovereignty. This does not mean that the United States should abandon the issues of human rights or censorship; however, U.S. leaders should limit open criticism of China over issues the latter considers domestic.

To foster a broader Strategic and Economic Dialogue to address a broader range of issues and improve communication between militaries, the United States must identify more opportunities for meaningful dialogue. While there has been an increase in strategic engagements by U.S. and Chinese national leaders under the Obama administration, meaningful military-to-military engagements seem to have lagged.⁸¹ Granted, a series of incidents has occasionally delayed or even derailed the process, but the United States should press for considerably expanded military exchanges between respective professional military education systems.⁸² Better mutual understanding and relationship-building would contribute to increased trust in the future.

Finally, to "encourage continued reduction in tension between the PRC and Taiwan," the United States must remain committed to its obligation to defend Taiwan, as well as other U.S. regional allies, while simultaneously respecting China's concerns. This delicate balance will not be easy to sustain. However, without the ability to defend a regional ally, or perception thereof, U.S. relationships with its other allies in the region will suffer. Moreover, Chinese leaders may perceive a U.S. weakness that they believe

they can exploit. Consequently, despite the risk to future U.S.—China strategic dialogue, the United States must ensure Taiwan has the ability to defend itself. At the same time, the United States should maintain, as its main PRC-Taiwan goal, the task of encouraging the PRC and Taiwan to continue on a path of peaceful resolution.

Bringing all of these recommendations to fruition will be no small task. China is already a military regional power and economically a global power. Future Chinese choices will have regional and global implications. As long as the balance of power favors the United States, the goals of outlined in the *2011 National Security Strategy* may be achievable. However, should China attain military, economic, and diplomatic parity, the United States may have significantly less ability to influence China's actions. Consequently, the United States must stay actively engaged in the Pacific to ensure China lives up to its promise of "peaceful rise." For now, "congagement" seems to be the right policy. The difficult part will be in the art of implementing that policy. By using a balanced approach, U.S. leaders will be able to adjust the rheostat across the diplomatic information, military, and economic spectrum based on changing conditions, Chinese counteractions, and opportunities. In the end, if this approach works, so would China's peaceful rise. The dragon has awakened and the U.S. must be able to deal with it effectively.

Endnotes

¹ The text presented here is an abbreviated version of the original CRP. This version was submitted to the CJCS National Defense and Military Strategy Essay Competition hosted by NDU Press in May 2012. The paper placed seventh in a field of twenty six. The original paper is available through DTIC in its entirety.

² People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, *China's National Defense in 2006* (Beijing: People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, December 2006), http://www.oss.net/dynamaster/file_archive/070102/

afddd85e6782a64dafd3f49ea6bfb9f/2006%20White%20Paper%20on%20PRC%20National%20Defense.pdf (accessed January 17, 2012).

³ Richard D. Fisher, *China's Military Modernization: Building for Regional and Global Reach* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 67.

⁴ China has been involved in minor skirmishes and major battles with six of its neighbors since WWII: Korea (1950-53), India (1962), Russia (1969), Vietnam (1979, 1988), the Philippines (1995), and Taiwan (1949, 1956, 1958, 1995, 1996). See Richard D. Fisher, *China's Military Modernization: Building for Regional and Global Reach*, 41.

⁵ John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Imagined Enemies: China Prepares for Uncertain War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 22.

⁶ People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, *China's National Defense in 2010* (Beijing: People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, March 31, 2011), http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node_7114675.htm (accessed November 29, 2011).

⁷ Susan V. Lawrence and Thomas Lum, *U.S.—China Relations: Policy Issues* (Washington DC: U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, January 12, 2011), 7.

⁸ Huiyun Feng described in her work the arguments of other leading China scholars such as Alastair Johnston, Thomas Christensen, and Robert Ross. Feng summed up that while scholars' assessments varied (China's strategic culture as strategic parabellum or a combination of Confucian and parabellum) their conclusions are the same: China has always been, and will continue to be a revisionist power. Huiyun Feng, "Is China a Revisionist State?" *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2 (2009): 314-334.

⁹ Huiyun Feng, *Chinese Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Decision-Making* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 31.

¹⁰ Feng concludes that "scholars supporting the argument that Chinese aggressive behavior has cultural and philosophical roots either agree that the strategic parabellum culture is at the root of China's grand offensive strategy or propose that two strategic cultures, parabellum and Confucian, direct Chinese strategic behavior. According to Alastair Johnston, a strategic parabellum culture emphasizes offensive strategy and "quan bian", or absolute flexibility and sensitivities to changing relative capabilities. The strategic parabellum culture is the complete opposite of the Confucian-Mencian culture which advocates non-violent means in solving conflicts. Huiyun Feng, "Is China a Revisionist State?" 314. See also Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 5-56.

¹¹ Huiyun Feng, "Is China a Revisionist State?", *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 314.

¹² Although Nie's work is focused on Chinese responses to territorial disputes and not Chinese Strategic Culture, it also explained Chinese offensive actions for Feng's case studies. Of course, his study focuses on not so much on the nature of China's leaders and domestic situation, but instead, the status of its adversaries during these conflicts. Nie Hongyi, "Explaining

Chinese Solutions to Territorial Disputes with Neighbour States,” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2 (2009): 490.

¹³ Nie asserted that during the same period the PRC were implementing a hard-line stance with India, China was also adopting a concessionary approach for resolving border disputes with Myanmar, Pakistan, Nepal, Mongolia, and Afghanistan. *Ibid.*, 490.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 497.

¹⁵ The Mencian-Confucian paradigm advocates concessionary and non-violent approaches as opposed to offensive strategies. See Andrew Scobell, *China and Strategic Culture*, Strategic Studies Institute Monograph (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, May 01, 2002), 3.

¹⁶ The concept is “Active Defense” is not new. In 1955, Mao considered active defense “China’s Guiding Principle.” This concept continues to resonate with prominent PLA thinkers like Peng Guangqian and Yao Youzhi and in PLA classrooms. Additionally, according to PLA theorist, Wang Wenrong, the PLA have shifted to the offensive in all conventional local conflict since 1949 in the name of “active defense.” John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Imagined Enemies: China Prepares for Uncertain War*, 22.

¹⁷ In the South China Sea China claims sovereignty over four groups of islands: Paracels, Spratlys, Macclesfield Bank, and Pratas. Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Taiwan also in part, lay claim to the same. In the East China Sea, China is involved in a sovereignty dispute with Taiwan and Japan over the Senkakus. Susan V. Lawrence and Thomas Lum, *U.S. China Relations: Policy Issues*, 27-28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ In June 2010, PRC Fisheries Administration’s ship, the Yuzheng 311, confronted an Indonesian patrol boat after the latter seized a Chinese fishing vessel operating near Indonesia’s Natuna Islands. The Yuzheng 311 forcibly compelled the patrol boat to release the fishing vessel. In the course of the stand-off, The Yusheng 311 used aggressive tactics, including pointing its main guns at the Indonesian patrol boat. Repeating a similar pattern in September 2010, Chinese Fisheries officials detained nine Vietnamese fishermen near the Paracels Islands, causing a diplomatic incident. In addition, PRC confrontations also occurred in the East China Sea. Currently, China is involved in a dispute with Japan over the Senkaku Islands. *Ibid.*

²⁰ National Institute for Defense Studies, *East Asian Strategic Review 2011* (Tokyo: National Institute for Defense Studies, May 2011), 120, http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/east-asian/pdf/2011/east-asian_e2011_04.pdf (accessed January 15, 2012).

²¹ China’s confrontations were not limited to its Asian neighbors. In March 2009, China interfered with the USS *Impeccable*’s surveillance operations near Hainan Island. Although in international waters, a PLAN intelligence ship, a Fisheries Administration vessel, a State Oceanographic Administration patrol boat, and two fishing trawlers surrounded the *Impeccable*, forced it to halt, and also tried to snag its towed acoustic array sonar. As a result, the United States lodged a formal complaint against China after the incident. *Ibid.*, 123. See also Jerome A. Cohen and John M. Van Dyke, “China’s EEZ: A U.S.–China Danger Zone,” *U.S. Asia Law Institute*, December 7, 2010, <http://usasiafaw.org/?p=4667> (accessed March 23, 2012).

²² Despite the enormous technology gap that existed between the U.S. and China a mere decade ago, China's emerging research, development, and production capabilities, coupled with reforms and innovation, have allowed China to close the gap. Susan V. Lawrence and Thomas Lum, *U.S.—China Relations: Policy Issues*, 6.

²³ Robert M. Gates, *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*, (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 2011), 41.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

²⁵ Sam Ro, "Morgan Stanley: The Complete Guide to China's Economy in 2012 and 2013," *Business Insider*, December 1, 2011, <http://www.businessinsider.com/morgan-stanley-complete-guide-to-chinas-economy-2011-12> (accessed December 13, 2011).

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Kristen Gunness also concluded that even with an annual economic growth rate at 5 percent in the future and mounting social pressures, "best estimates are that the PLA will receive the funding it needs and will likely not have to substantially cut military programs in the future." Gunness also cited that RAND Analysts, based on a 2005 study, predicted PRC Defense budget in 2025 at \$180 billion. However, according to the Pentagon current analysis, the PRC actual 2011 defense budget is already at \$180 billion. Kristen Gunness, "Building a Modern Military: The Economic Crisis and Its Impact on the Chinese People's Liberation Army," *Brookings Northeast Asia Commentary*, no. 26, February 2009, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2009/02_china_military_gunness.aspx (accessed December 13, 2011).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ James C. Mulvenon et al. *Chinese Responses to U.S. Military Transformation and the Implications for the Department of Defense* (Santa Monica: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2006), 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xii.

³¹ *People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, China's National Defense in 2010.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Pentagon sources indicate that much of the PLAA force modernization has occurred in these MRs, to include the Type 99 third generation main battle tank and modern amphibious assault vehicles. Robert M. Gates, *Annual Report to Congress*, 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3

³⁷ People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, *China's National Defense in 2010*, 7.

³⁸ Fisher, *China's Military Modernization: Building for Regional and Global Reach*, 148.

³⁹ Armed with numerous long-range surface to air missiles, these destroyers provide outstanding air defense protection, particularly when the fleet is deployed outside the umbrella of shore units. An array of maritime strike aircraft, capable of deploying ASCMs, would provide additional air defense augmentation to these destroyers. Robert M. Gates, *Annual Report to Congress*, 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴¹ Fisher, *China's Military Modernization: Building for Regional and Global Reach*, 232.

⁴² Robert M. Gates, *Annual Report to Congress*, 6.

⁴³ For example, in 2007, China shot down one of its own satellites with an SC-19 anti-satellite (ASAT) missile. *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁴ The 2010 China Defense White Paper declared that the PRC achieved its goals for national defense science, technology, and industry set forth in the Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2006-2010 and "advanced core competence of defense related industries have been built." *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (New York: Norton, 2010), 64.

⁴⁶ James I. Matray, "Beijing and the Paper Tiger: The Impact of the Korean War on Sino-American Relations" *International Journal of Korean Studies* XV, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 160.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 157-158.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ China had five aims after the Korean War: National Security, China as Preeminence Nation in Asia, Reunification, Status as World Power, and "Equal Partner" with the United States. *Ibid.*, 160-166.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁵¹ Warren I. Cohen, *America's Response to China: A history of Sino-American Relation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 180-195.

⁵² Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 64.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 79.

⁵⁵ Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), 349-350.

⁵⁶ In 1978, President Carter sent his National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski to China. Brzezinski found the Chinese receptive. Despite optimism on both sides, the United States and China had to work out several differences. China's conditions for normalization remained withdrawal of American forces from Taiwan, establishing diplomatic relations with Beijing, and ending the defense treaty with Taiwan. In a compromise, Carter and Deng agreed to a "One China" policy with the peaceful resolution to the Taiwan issue. Deng also acquiesced to the unspecified arms sales to Taiwan. Ibid., 350.

⁵⁷ Arthur Waldren, "What the One China Policy Really Means." *Asian Wall Street Journal Online*, <http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/asia/what-the-one-china-policy-really-means-article/> (accessed April 6, 2012).

⁵⁸ The act sought to promote "peace, security, and stability in the Western Pacific" and "the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan." This law also allows the United States to "provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character; and maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan. Taiwan Relations Act, Public Law 96-8, *Online*, <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/tra02.htm> (accessed, April 6, 2012).

⁵⁹ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 82.

⁶⁰ Kevin Pollpeter, *U.S.–China Security Management: Assessing the Military to Military Relationship* (Santa Monica: RAND Project Air Force, 2004), 9-11.

⁶¹ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 85.

⁶² Ibid., 88.

⁶³ Ibid., 90.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Charles A. Goldman, *Managing Policy Toward China Under Clinton: The Changing Role of Economics* (Santa Monica: RAND Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, July 1995), 4.

⁶⁶ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 92-93.

⁶⁷ Richard D. Fisher, *China's Military Modernization: Building for Regional and Global Reach*, 97-111.

⁶⁸ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 97.

⁶⁹ Despite the initial diplomatic fallout, PRC Defense Minister Chi Hao Tien visited the United States in December 1996. During this visit, Minister Chi Hao Tien had private office calls with President Clinton and Defense Secretary William Perry. He also received full military honors at the Pentagon. "Tentative Engagement," *PBS NewsHour*, December 17, 1996, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/july-dec96/china_12-17.html (accessed April 6, 2012).

⁷⁰ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 98.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 115.

⁷³ It is worthwhile to note that a year is an extremely short time to assess the effects of an engagement. Many factors, including domestic pressure, may very well drive a shift in strategy.

⁷⁴ Nina Hachigian and Winny Chen, "President Obama's Progressive Policy: Assessing the U.S.—China Relation Today and What Lies Ahead", Center for American Progress, (May 2010): 4.

⁷⁵ William Wan, "Pressure Builds for F-16 sales to Taiwan." *Washington Post Online*, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/pressure-builds-for-f-16-sale-to-taiwan/2011/07/01/gHQAdAPLyH_story.html (accessed March 26, 2012).

⁷⁶ "Why China Opposes U.S.—South Korean Military Exercises in the Yellow Sea," *People's Daily Online*, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90780/91342/7069743.html> (accessed March 26, 2012).

⁷⁷ Sourabh Gupta, "China-Japan Trawler Incident: Reviewing the Dispute Over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Waters," *East Asia Forum*, December 6, 2010, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2010/12/06/china-japan-trawler-incident-review-of-legalities-understandings-and-practices-in-disputed-senkakudaiouyu-waters/> (accessed March 25, 2012).

⁷⁸ Aaron L. Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 115.

⁷⁹ Nina Hachigian and Winny Chen, "President Obama's Progressive Policy: Assessing the U.S.—China Relation Today and What Lies Ahead," 4.

⁸⁰ Barack H. Obama, *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: The White House, May 2010), 42.

⁸¹ Robert M. Gates, *Annual Report to Congress*, 16.

⁸² The U.S. Congress limits the scope of mil to mil in the Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2000, barring "inappropriate exposure" to various subjects. As such, the law has to

change to allow for professional military education exchanges. Susan V. Lawrence and Thomas Lum, *U.S. China Relations: Policy Issues*, 25.

Index

Major Topics and Terms

A

Abstract, 23, 32, 41, 73, 74, 76, 84, 115

Academic Misconduct, 45

Argument, 32

Assessment, 3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 48, 82

Awards, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29, 69

B

Bibliography, 19, 32

C

Citations, 57, 58, 59

Civilian Research Project, 3, 18, 19, 20, 31, 46, 47, 48, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 135

Copyright, 45

D

Distribution Statement, 25, 44, 46, 47, 52, 74, 75

E

Endnotes, 32, 33, 40, 42, 53, 54, 66, 73, 84, 90, 101, 135

Epigraph, 33, 81

Evidence, 33, 35

H

Human Subjects, 47

I

Information Paper, 68, 69

International Fellows, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 69, 71, 74, 75

M

Milestones, 14, 20, 23

N

Non-Attribution, 48

O

Organization, 4, 5, 6, 21, 25, 34, 82, 101, 128

Outline, 21, 23, 35

P

Paraphrase, 36, 81

Personal Experience Monograph, 3, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 33, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 104

Plagiarism, 21, 33, 45, 48, 49, 50

Point of View, 36

Policy Paper, 37

Program Research Project, 3, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80

Project Adviser, 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 58, 62, 63, 64, 74, 85, 101, 102, 104, 110, 113, 137

Public Speaking, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 17, 29, 69, 70, 82

Q

Quotation, 36, 60, 80

S

Security Classification, 50

Source Documentation, 33, 51

Speed Reading, 7, 21, 67, 69, 70

Strategy Research Project, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 31, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 62, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80

T

Template, 11, 13, 14, 22, 23, 40, 41, 42, 44, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81

Thesis, 23, 37

V

Voice, 37, 39