

United States Army War College



COMMUNICATIVE ARTS DIRECTIVE

Resident Education Program Class of 2012
Distance Education Program Class of 2013

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

Middle States Accreditation

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COMMUNICATIVE ARTS



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This document contains educational material designed to provide guidance with regard to the writing style and other information and procedures related to communicative arts at the United States Army War College. The content does not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Army.

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Table of Contents

<u>Communicative Arts and Strategic Leadership</u>	1
Critical Reading	1
Active Listening	2
Public Speaking	2
Professional Writing	2
Assessment of Graduate Skills	3
Resident Education Program—U.S. Students	3
Resident Education Program—International Fellows	3
Distance Education Program	3
Assessment of Student Work	4
Oral Presentations	4
Written Work	5
Minimal Assessment Profile	6
Communicative Arts Contacts and Resources	7
<u>Communicative Arts and the Resident Education Program</u>	11
Skill Development Opportunities	11
Critical Reading Skills	11
Active Listening Skills	11
Public Speaking Skills	11
Public Speaking Requirement	12
Professional Writing Skills	13
Extended Writing Projects	14
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	14
Strategy Research Project (SRP)	14
SRP Milestones	15
SRP Myths	16
SRP TDY Travel	16
<u>Communicative Arts and the Distance Education Program</u>	19
Skill Development Opportunities	19
Critical Reading Skills	19
Professional Writing Skills	19
Extended Writing Projects	19
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	19
PEM Milestones	20
Program Research Project (PRP)	20
PRP Milestones	20

<u>Student Awards Program for Excellence in the Communicative Arts</u>	21
Resident Education Program Student Awards	21
CJCS National Defense and Military Strategy Essay Competition	21
Secretary of Defense National Security Essay Competition	21
USAWC REP Research Awards	22
USAWC REP Writing Awards	22
USAWC REP Public Speaking Award	25
Distance Education Program Student Awards	25
USAWC DEP Research Awards	25
USAWC DEP Writing Awards	25
<u>Guide to Writing and Research for Strategic Leaders</u>	27
Terminology	28
Abstract	28
Argument	28
Bibliography	28
Endnotes	29
Endnote Insertion Technique	29
Epigraph	29
Evidence	30
Organization	31
Outline	32
Paraphrase and Quotation	32
Point of View	33
Thesis	33
Voice (Active and Passive)	34
Document Writing	36
Distance Education Program Papers	36
Information Paper	36
Policy Paper	36
Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	37
Strategy and Program Research Projects (SRPs and PRPs)	37
SRP Alternative—International Fellows Diploma Only Candidates	39
Document Formatting	39
Papers	39
SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs	40
SRP, PRP, and PEM Format Check	42
Document Submission	42
Distance Education Program Course Papers	42

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)	42
Program Research Project (PRP)	43
Strategy Research Project (SRP)	44
Submission Requirements for Final SRP Package	44
<u>Rules for Writing and Research</u>	47
Academic Misconduct	47
Copyright	47
Distribution Statements	48
Distribution A	48
Distribution B	48
Distribution G	48
Freedom of Information Act	48
SRP/PRP Availability and Access	49
Human Subjects Research	49
Non-Attribution Policy	49
Plagiarism	50
Security Classification	51
Source Documentation	51
Student Publication	52
<u>Endnote Citation Format</u>	53
Articles in Journals	54
Basic Format	54
Author Information	55
Journal Information	55
Means of Access	55
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive	55
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive	56
Articles in Magazines	56
Basic Format	56
Author Information	56
Magazine Information	56
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 Format	57
Author Information	57

Newspaper Information	57
Means of Access	58
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive	58
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive	58
Books	58
Basic Format	58
Author Information	58
Book Information	58
Book in Series	59
Edition other than First	59
Edited or Compiled Book	59
Means of Access	59
Repeated Reference to Book—Consecutive	59
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	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
Verification of Endnote Style	65
Appendix A: Speed Reading Access Information	67
Appendix B: SRP/PRP Template Instructions	73
Appendix C: SRP/PRP Common Formatting Errors	91
Appendix D: Sample SRP/PRP Cover Letter	95
Appendix E: A Model Short Paper	99
Appendix F: A Model SRP/PRP	109

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

- communicate effectively with intended audiences.
- locate, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate information.
- maximize the efficient organization of ideas and resources.
- see new relationships and possibilities.
- contribute to public discourse as the foundation of democracy.

This directive offers information and guidance helpful to negotiating the academic curricula offered by the REP and the DEP. Both programs share a common mission: to prepare the next generation of strategic leaders for success in an uncertain world. The Resident Education Program is an intensive, largely face-to-face academic venue delivered in a seminar format. The Distance Education Program proceeds at a sustained pace that privileges independent learning through a computer mediated intellectual environment. Both programs, and the faculty who bring them to life, recognize the fundamental role of communicative arts to mission success.

Broadly speaking, communication skills entail (1) information *acquisition* and *analysis* through critical reading and effective listening, and (2) 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.

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).

- All U.S. REP students must complete a public speech and must notify the PAO prior to accepting any invitation to speak publicly (see Public Speaking Requirement).
- International Fellows (IFs) are not required to speak publicly to an external audience. Those who voluntarily accept invitations to speak in a public venue should coordinate the proposed engagement through the IF office prior to speaking.
- DEP students are encouraged but not required to complete a public speech.

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 perhaps 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. The REP culminates in a substantial independent research project: the REP Strategy Research Project (SRP). Students in the DEP have the option to complete a similar independent Program Research Project (PRP) or to pursue an alternative elective.

Assessment of Graduate Skills

Each August, 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

All U.S. resident students are required to complete the Graduate Skills Diagnostic by the completion deadline announced at the beginning of each academic year. The GSD is delivered on-line and takes up to one hour to complete. Diagnostic scores for each student are considered in concert with a readability assessment of student writing competency as reflected in the initial course paper. The readability score is an indication of the clarity and ease with which the writer's ideas and arguments can be accessed by a reader. Papers are rated holistically on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high). Levels 1 and 2 indicate the greatest need for skill development. The combined data are used to help determine ways to assist individual efforts to further develop language facility and research skills.

Resident Education Program—International Fellows

All International Fellows are required to complete the Graduate Skills Diagnostic during their assigned session. The GSD is proctored by faculty, and may be administered in print or electronically as the technology-of-the-day permits. International Fellows have up to 90 minutes to complete the diagnostic. Diagnostic scores for each Fellow are considered in concert with an individualized assessment of writing clarity, effectiveness, and readability. Papers are rated on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high), with levels 1 and 2 indicating the greatest need for skill development. The combined data are used to help determine ways to assist each International Fellow's academic progress and professional development throughout the program of study.

Distance Education Program

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 up to 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 includes 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. Deficiencies with respect to content, however, are the gravest concern 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 that is 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, if not completely. 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.”

Assessment Guidance. CBKs Memorandum 623-1 details that assessment of oral performance centers on presentational Content, Organization, and Delivery with Content being paramount. A presentation in which Content receives an assessment of Needs Improvement or Fails to Meet Standards cannot receive an overall assessment of Meets Standards—even if both Organization and Delivery were Outstanding. The Overall assessment cannot be higher than the Content assessment. Overall assessment equals Content assessment, so long as both Organization and Delivery are assessed at the minimal level of Needs Improvement.

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. It is 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 might be weak or the reasoning and logic noticeable flawed; the organization might be unclear and/or the style (facility with language) deficient. Shortcomings with respect to content 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, if not completely. The content is superficial or soft-headed at best, the organizational scheme is little more than a running litany of thinly connected topics, and the style or 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 details that assessment of written work centers on the Content, Organization, and Style of a paper with Content being paramount. A paper in which Content receives an assessment of Needs Improvement or Fails to Meet Standards cannot receive an overall assessment of Meets Standards—even if both Organization and Style were Outstanding. The Overall assessment cannot be higher than the Content assessment. Overall assessment equals Content assessment, so long as both Organization and Style are assessed at the minimal level of Needs Improvement. Only papers that earn Exceeds Standards or Outstanding in all three areas may be nominated for an award.

Minimal Assessment Profile

The official minimum standard for acceptable academic progress is:

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

Students, however, should strive to exceed minimal standards and not settle for an assessment profile in which two of three areas of competence need improvement.

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 Charlesd.Allen@us.army.mil	717-245-3460
Military Reading List	http://www.carlisle.army.mil/library/bibliographies.htm Click on "Suggested Military Reading List."	
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

Active Listening		
Oral History Program	Thomas L. Hendrix Army Heritage Education Center (AHEC), Bldg. 220	717-245-4427

Public Speaking		
Eisenhower College Series Program	CAPT William G. Davis DNSS, Root Hall C-336	717-245-3238
Military and the Media Faculty Instructor	Carol A. Kerr Public Affairs Office (PAO) Root Hall, Room A118/120 Carol.Kerr@us.army.mil	717-245-4389

Public Speaking for Strategic Leaders Course Director	Larry D. Miller, Ph.D., M.S.S. 717-245-3358 Director & Professor, Communicative Arts Root Hall B-14 Larry.D.Miller@us.army.mil
Public Speaking Requirement (REP)	Christopher W. Fowler, Ph.D. 717-245-4209 Registrar Root Hall, Room B-21
Speaker's Bureau	Suzanne Reynolds 717-245-3845 Public Affairs Office Root Hall, Room A-118/120

Professional Writing	
Effective Writing Lab (REP) Strategic Writing & Discourse	Communicative Arts Office Root Hall B-14
Effective Writing Seminar (DEP)	COL Joel Hillison, Ph.D. 717-245-3994 Director, First Year Studies, DDE Root Hall A-304 Joel.Hillison@us.army.mil
International Fellows Program Writing Instructor	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 Use to identify research topics of interest to DoD.
Purdue Online Writing Lab (OWL)	http://owl.english.purdue.edu/
Reference Citation Information	Turabian, K.L. <i>A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations</i> , 7 th ed. Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2007.
SRP/PRP/PEM Template Instruction & 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

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

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

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 credit.

Speed Reading. The USAWC provides access to The Reader's Edge, a web-based speed reading program designed to enhance reading speed while maximizing comprehension. The brief speed reading lessons and exercises/comprehension tests are particularly useful for learning to quickly cover quotidian reading materials and to preview reference/course materials prior to conducting a more thorough, thoughtful investigation.

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 the military and strategic issues.

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 Series College Program. Students may apply to participate in the elective AA2300 (4 credit hours). 8 to 10 selected students have the opportunity to discuss national security and public policy issues with audiences across the nation. Program participants thoroughly research and prepare 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 by and coordinated with the PAO.

Public Speaking Requirement

Prior to graduation, all U.S. resident students are required to prepare and deliver a speech to a civilian audience not affiliated with the Department of Defense. International Fellows (IFs) are encouraged, but not required, to speak and should inform the International Fellows Program Officers of their intent prior to accepting a speaking engagement.

The Public Speaking Requirement enables students to increase 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 must be able to speak to citizens about significant issues and national challenges, and to share their experiences as defenders of freedom. Speaking to an external group both encourages and enhances essential leader skills.

Each student is responsible for locating and completing a speaking engagement. Many opportunities are available within 50 miles of Carlisle Barracks. Some students choose to undertake speaking engagements elsewhere during holiday visits. Students may speak alone or in pairs (only Eisenhower Series College Program participants may speak in larger groups). Students select topics appropriate to their professional expertise and the audience they wish to address. Presentations should meet the program needs of the audience and reflect the presenter's standing as a USAWC student and member (as applicable) of the United States Armed Forces. Prior to accepting a speaking engagement:

- Discuss the speaking engagement with the FA to determine academic suitability.
- Record the proposal in OASIS for FA approval.
- Notify the Public Affairs Office (PAO) (see CBks Pamphlet 10-1, section 2-9).
- If missing a class or required event, follow procedures outlined in USAWC Administrative Policies and Procedures for Students Faculty and Staff Manual.
- Be prepared to cover travel expenses—they are not reimbursed.
 - Students must use a government vehicle (if traveling a reasonable driving distance).
 - 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.

- Schedule a speaking engagement no later than May 1 and complete it prior to May 31.
- Record the completed engagement in OASIS. Provide a brief summary of the speech, the approximate audience size, and key questions prompted by the speech.
- Your FA will approve the engagement completion in OASIS.

The PAO periodically distributes information about possible speaking opportunities (see also USAWC Speakers Bureau above).

<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

Any public engagement by a USAWC student has the potential to attract media representatives. Consequently, when students speak in public, the remarks are considered to be “on the record,” and may appear in a variety of media outlets. The PAO pamphlet *Speaker’s Bureau: Tips, Tools, and Techniques* offers public speaking preparation guidelines.

Professional Writing Skills

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 offered in September.

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.

Directed Study (Personal Experience Monograph or PEM). Elective AA2205 is a 2 credit hour opportunity to document and record personal military experiences that entail strategic implications for future military leaders and scholars. Students enhance their research, writing, editing, and revising skills through the production of a 6,000 word manuscript.

Strategy Research Project (SRP). The SRP is an institutional requirement for students in the Resident Education Program. The SRP, which carries no credit, is the student's best opportunity to research and explore a topic of strategic importance. Degree seeking students enhance their research, writing, documentation, editing, and revising skills through the production of research paper of at least 5,000 words. International Fellows pursuing only the USAWC diploma may substitute an alternative Strategy Research Project (see SRP Alternative—International Fellows Diploma-Only Candidates). All SRPs (including IF alternative projects) are bound by the SRP Milestones indicated herein.

Extended Writing Projects

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

The PEM is an opportunity to write about professional experiences, emphasizing strategic considerations. It supports the goal of the Chief of Staff of the Army to capture experiences of those who have participated in combat/peace operations or have had unique mission experiences. 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.

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)

The SRP is an opportunity to research and write about a topic of strategic importance. Students choose a topic, team with Project Advisers, conduct research to generate a research-based thesis, and write a carefully documented paper explicating the thesis and exploring its implications. Successful SRPs have the potential to impact the larger community of strategic leaders by making a contribution to what is known about a topic and how it is understood.

Samples are available through the USAWC Library (see appendices). 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 Milestones

Suspense	Milestone	SRP Activity
08 Aug 11	# 1 Begins	Students initiate inquiry, seek PA.
17 Oct 11	#1 Ends	Student enters Intent into OASIS. PA enters contract into OASIS.
18 Oct 11	#2 Begins	Research question/thesis taking shape; bibliography developing; dialogue with PA continues; outline initiated; template is being used.
13 Dec 11		Initial draft of SRP delivered to PA.
19 Dec 11		PA comments and returns SRP to student.
26 Jan 12		Revised draft of SRP delivered to PA.
08 Feb 12	#2 Ends	PA comments and returns SRP to student.
09 Feb 12	#3 Begins	Research and writing continues. PA notifies Comm. Arts if student progress is not satisfactory.
22 Mar 12	#3 Ends	Final SRP delivered to PA—hard copy and disk copy Final Diploma-Only Candidate materials submitted to PA Final SRP Abstract replaces initial Intent. Signature Forms delivered to PA. PA records receipt of SRP in OASIS
Caution: All Students must submit the SRP to the PA by 22 March or face automatic Academic Probation with possible action by the Academic Review Board.		
02 Apr 12		PA nominations for research and writing awards due to Department Chairs.
09 Apr 12		Department nominations for research and writing awards due to Communicative Arts.
16 Apr 12		Departments forward final SRP packages & copy of assessment to Communicative Arts. Format changes due to Communicative Arts. Format check by Communicative Arts.
TBD May 12		Essay competitions at NDU
01 Jun 12		Research and writing awards announced.
09 Jun 12		Awards presentation at Graduation ceremony.

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 does grant 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 TDY Travel

Most SRP research is conducted through resources located at Carlisle Barracks (e.g., books, journals, databases, interviews, and surveys). Some research, however, may require access to resources unavailable at the Barracks (e.g., personal interviews, private collections, specialized library collections, and oral presentations). Because the SRP is vital to student development and strategic studies, Communicative Arts makes some funds available to support SRP travel.

- Eligibility: Enrolled REP Students are eligible to apply for SRP TDY travel support if they:
 - are in good academic standing and are pursuing an SRP that:
 - cannot be completed without travel.
 - would greatly benefit from resources physically removed from the Barracks.
 - has the support and approval for travel from their PA.
- Communicative Arts funding: Limited to TDY expenses (transportation, lodging, meals).
- Additional funding: May be available through the PA's department for travel to conferences or additional expenses:
 - If the PA is affiliated with DDE, AHEC, APFRI, CSL, PKSOI, or another non-REP unit at Carlisle Barracks, the avenue for funding consideration moves through the REP department which houses the student's Faculty Adviser.
 - Conference registration fees are not funded by Communicative Arts, and must be funded by the PA's department or the FA's department in order for TDY travel expenses to be authorized by Communicative Arts.
 - No non-REP units (DDE, AHEC, etc.) provide funding for SRP research related travel.

- Application Procedure for Communicative Arts TDY Travel Funds:
 - Work with your PA and FA to determine whether SRP travel is necessary. Complete the application process early enough to either make (a) travel arrangements or (b) alternative plans should travel funding not be approved.
 - Obtain approval from your PA to apply for travel funds.
 - If appropriate, secure funding approval from your PA's department to cover additional expenses not eligible for Communicative Arts funding.
 - Confirm that participation in the research (e.g. interviewee availability, library access, conference registration) will be possible.
 - Contact the Director, Communicative Arts and request an application. Application will require a clear, concise statement that includes:
 - A one paragraph project travel rationale that includes the nature of project, purpose of travel, and necessity for off-site research.
 - An economical and efficient budget.
 - Confirmation of availability/access to resources/personnel.
 - The PA's approval. (This can be submitted by the PA via email.)
- Application Consideration: The Director of Communicative Arts reviews all applications.
 - Decisions are based on project merit, necessity of travel, and funding availability.
- Notification: As soon as possible, normally within 2 business days of application receipt.
- SRP TDY Procedure: If TDY funding is approved, students must:
 - Complete all required forms (most are available through CBOOnline).
 - Forward each completed form to the appropriate parties for signatures.
 - Approval for travel arrangements will not be granted without the following:
 - U.S. Students:
 - ◆ Student Absence Request Form (626-R-E)
 - ◆ Complete Defense Travel System (DTS) Authorization
 - International Fellows:
 - ◆ Student Absence Request Form (626-R-E)
 - ◆ Contact the Director of the IF Program for additional paperwork.
 - Contact the Communicative Arts Office to make transportation arrangements.
 - Make lodging arrangements. The cost of lodging must not exceed the published government rates for your destination. For travel to:
 - the National Capital Region (NCR), you must make lodging arrangements through the Lodging Success Center (open 24/7).
 - ◆ 1.800.462.7691 (voice)
 - ◆ They provide a hotel confirmation number to make a reservation.
 - non-NCR locations, lodging arrangements may be made directly.
 - Make any other advance arrangements necessary at the TDY location.
 - Save receipts while traveling for any expense equal to or greater than \$75.00.
 - Upon return, complete and submit Travel Voucher via Defense Travel System (DTS).

Communicative Arts and the Distance Education Program

Skill Development Opportunities

Critical Reading Skills

Speed Reading. The USAWC provides access to The Reader's Edge, a web-based speed reading program designed to enhance reading speed while maximizing comprehension. The brief speed reading lessons and exercises/comprehension tests are particularly useful for learning to quickly cover quotidian reading materials and to preview reference/course 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.

Directed Study (Personal Experience Monograph or PEM). Elective DE2245 is a 2 credit hour opportunity to document and record personal military experiences that entail strategic implications for future military leaders and scholars. Students enhance their research, writing, editing, and revising skills through the production of a 6,000 word manuscript.

Directed Study (Program Research Project or PRP). The PRP is an opportunity to research and explore a topic of strategic importance. Students enhance their research, writing, documentation, editing, and revising skills through the production of research paper of at least 5,000 words.

Extended Writing Projects

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

The PEM is an opportunity to write about professional experiences, emphasizing strategic considerations. It supports the goal of the Chief of Staff of the Army to capture experiences of those who have participated in combat/peace operations or have had unique mission experiences. 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.

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*.

PEM Milestones

Suspense	Milestone
01 Nov 12	Topic Approval by Project Adviser (PA)
14 Dec 12	Thesis Statement Approval by PA
15 Feb 13	Abstract and Topic Outline to PA
01 Apr 13	First Draft with Abstract to PA
10 May 13	PEM Completed and Uploaded into OASIS

Program Research Project (PRP)

The PRP is an opportunity to research and write about a topic of strategic importance. Students choose a topic, conduct research to generate a thesis, and write a carefully documented paper explicating the thesis and exploring its implications. Successful PRPs have the potential to impact the larger community of strategic leaders by making a contribution to what is known about a topic and how it is understood.

Samples are available through the USAWC Library (see appendices). 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 Milestones

Suspense	Milestone
01 Nov 12	Topic Approval by Project Adviser (PA)
14 Dec 12	Thesis Statement Approval by PA
15 Feb 13	Outline to PA
01 Apr 13	First Draft with Abstract to PA
10 May 13	PRP with Abstract Completed and Uploaded into OASIS

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 Education Program, Distance Education Program, and Senior Service College Fellows Program. 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 Strategy Research Projects, Program Research Projects, Civilian Research Projects, and Personal Experience Monographs. Student awards are detailed in CBks Memorandum 672-6.

Project Advisers (PAs) nominate exceptional student papers to the appropriate Department Chair or Director for award consideration. Each Department 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. 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.

Papers may be nominated by the PA for award consideration in either of two categories: (1) Research, or (2) Writing. Papers may not be double-nominated, but a paper nominated for a research award that is not selected for that award may migrate to the writing awards competition if: (a) a recommendation to do so is made by the Academic Chair Holder Reviewing Panel, and (b) the paper falls within the length mandated for writing award nominees (5,000-6,000 words). Papers nominated for research awards must make a clear contribution to knowledge.

Resident Education Program Student Awards

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.

Secretary of Defense National Security 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.

USAWC REP Research Awards

Papers nominated for research award consideration are exceptionally well written, offer new insights at the strategic level, and make a contribution to knowledge well above and beyond what might be characterized as a well written “literature review.” In general, they advance new relationships or evaluate old relationships in a fresh light. Papers nominated for research awards must be a minimum of 5,000 words. They 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. Nominating PAs should append a brief note or send an email to the Director of Communicative Arts commenting upon the character of the knowledge contribution associated with the paper.

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: One award for excellent research or writing that addresses a significant historic, contemporary, or future logistics issue.

USAWC REP Writing Awards

Papers nominated for writing awards clarify understanding and articulately review, integrate, and perhaps evaluate the present state of knowledge. They should clearly demonstrate superior communication of ideas through the written word and be well-grounded, interesting, articulate contributions to the discourse on a particular topic or issue. Nominated papers must be a minimum of 5,000 words and a maximum of 6,000 words. Papers outside this range will not be considered without a PA's explanation as to the necessity and benefit of the additional length.

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.

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 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: An award for excellent writing in the area of the information element of national power. Topics can include, but are not limited to, C41, information systems, information management, information 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 military intelligence in national security and defense issues

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: An award for 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: An award for excellent writing concerned with 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: An award for 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: An award for 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 joint employment of airpower in support of national military strategy

USAWC REP Public Speaking Award

The USAWC hosts an annual public speaking competition through which students are invited to demonstrate ability to address, inform, and persuade an audience that includes members of the USAWC community, the public, and a panel of judges. Contestants should clearly 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 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. Winners are recognized at graduation.

Distance Education Program Student Awards

Individuals wishing to be considered for a writing or research award should work closely with the Project Adviser (PA). Submit at least one well-polished draft three weeks prior to the submission of the final paper. This provides faculty with the necessary time to review the document and recommend possible edits and suggestions for improvement.

USAWC DEP Research Awards

Papers nominated for research award consideration are exceptionally well written, offer new insights at the strategic level, and make a contribution to knowledge well above and beyond what might be characterized as a well written "literature review." In general, they advance new relationships or evaluate old relationships in a fresh light. Papers nominated for research awards must be a minimum of 5,000 words. They 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.

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

Papers nominated for writing awards clarify understanding and articulately review, integrate, and perhaps evaluate the present state of knowledge. They should clearly demonstrate superior communication of ideas through the written word and be well-grounded, interesting, articulate contributions to the discourse on a particular topic or issue. Nominated papers must be a minimum of 5,000 words and a maximum of 6,000 words. Papers outside this range will not be considered without a PA's explanation as to the necessity and benefit of the additional length.

AWC Foundation Award for Outstanding Program Research Paper.

- Sponsor: Army War College Foundation
- Focus: National security and defense issues
- Details: Up to ten 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.

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

If one accepts the view that the world is complex and ambiguous, uncertain and potentially volatile, then it is not difficult to envision a relationship between research and strategic leadership. Most authorities recognize the interdependency between what we know (or believe) and the multitude of variables that impact decision-making, including resources, constituencies and human welfare. 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 what we know and how we get that knowledge to the strategic leaders who need it.

“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 of human experience 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 in which we seek 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 and the PRP emerge from different, albeit closely parallel academic tracks, both are capable of generating exceptionally worthwhile knowledge contributions. In preparing course papers and other

academic materials for consideration by faculty, all students are encouraged to adopt a posture of inquiry—find out what is known and then move forward.

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 given research project. See appendices for a sample abstract of an SRP/PRP. SRP/PRP abstracts should be approximately 150 words, and must not exceed 200 words.

Argument

All good papers advance a defensible position, or "argument." The position advanced 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 in which it is frequently used as a soft term for an interpersonal "fight." Thinking of academic writing in terms of well-reasoned arguments facilitates discourse in the marketplace of ideas by elevating our expectations for discourse, thus requiring authors 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. Because it is designed to facilitate quick identification of sources used in a document, a bibliography is presented in alphabetical order, does not include specific reference to the page(s) from which a particular insight is gained, and when used as part of a written work must always be accompanied by endnotes, footnotes, or parenthetical citations in the text. A guide to bibliographic citations is provided on the Communicative Arts Homepage and in the Turabian Manual. *SRPs and PRPs do not include bibliographies.*

Bibliography following endnotes. Students may be directed by the course author or FI to provide a bibliography of all sources cited in a paper and referenced in the endnotes. This type of bibliography immediately follows the endnote section of a paper.

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 that should be consulted. This helps students and faculty to determine what materials are available, how credible those materials are likely to be (based upon the credibility of the author and publication outlet), and what types of information the project is likely to uncover.

Annotated bibliography. A bibliography that includes the addition of a one or two sentence description of each source documented in the bibliography.

Endnotes

Endnotes are the required source documentation format for use in student projects at the USAWC. Endnotes are important to student work both in terms of proper documentation and in terms of critical assessment of written materials. Students should be in the habit of reading the endnotes/footnotes of all documents they encounter.

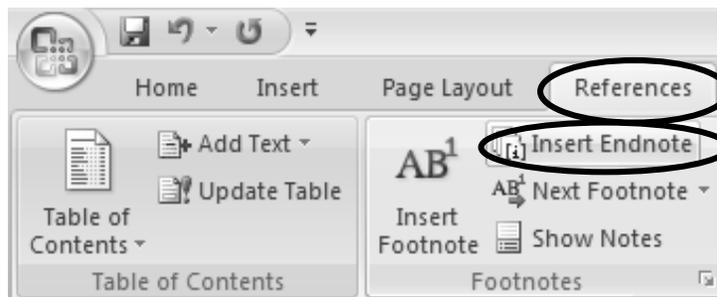
Content Notes. Use of content notes enables authors to include information in a paper that is related to but slightly outside the scope of the paper's argument. Authors of legal research commonly include large numbers of important content notes in their work. As a reader, always read all content notes as they may contain important insights or useful information. As a writer, however, be aware that many readers (including many faculty members) do not, in fact, read content notes, so use them with caution. Individual FIs and PAs may have specific expectations for the incorporation or exclusion of content notes in student work. Consult with your FI or PA regarding expectations in this regard.

Source Documentation Notes. These are the most important endnotes to professional and academic work. See "Source Documentation," "Plagiarism," and "Endnote Citation Format."

Endnote Insertion Technique

To insert endnotes:

1. Place cursor at the end of the text to be cited.
2. Click on the *References* tab and then click on the *Insert Endnote* icon in the *Footnotes* group.



3. The endnote number is automatically inserted and the cursor is moved to the endnote section of the paper so you can enter the citation.
4. Word automatically places a separator line between the end of the paper text and the beginning of the Endnote section. For course papers this is generally fine, however, it does not conform to the SRP/PRP/PEM format. Use of the SRP/PRP Template solves this problem, as the template automatically removes the line.

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, 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 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 that is firmly grounded in evidence—facts, examples, data and literature that can be used in support of a claim or argument. All of the main points and their supporting evidence should be directed toward the development of support for the overall thesis of the paper. 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* mean that the facts are bent to fit the case, rather the author should advocate a reasonable interpretation of the evidence and clearly articulate reasons why that evidence is appropriately interpreted as the author suggests.

Each main point in a paper should be supported by evidence. As 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 to students in the initial phases of their research, they are not in-and-of-themselves considered 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 as 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.

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, and:

- 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.
- may be short, particularly for DEP course assignments (see course directives).

Body of the paper. Following the introduction, the main part of the paper:

- flows from the thesis and presents evidence in support of the thesis
- is generally organized around three or more main points
 - 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
- Utilizes effective transitions between main points

Discussion. Following the body, the discussion section:

- flows from development of the body in relation to the thesis.
- covers arguments presented and literature incorporated in the body of the paper in relation to the paper's thesis
- addresses potential counter arguments not covered previously.
- incorporates considerations of method as appropriate.

Conclusion. The paper's final section:

- drives home the paper's 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.
- 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 elements in common. 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 presents information in the order it will be presented in the paper.

Question Outline. 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 helpful 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 that informs the reader about the intent of your paper 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 for students to master. Paraphrase enables writers to incorporate the ideas of others 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 upon 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 and 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 given 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 can not propose anything themselves). Check with your FI or PA for guidance regarding the point of view expected for a given assignment. PEMs always embrace the first person point of view.

Thesis

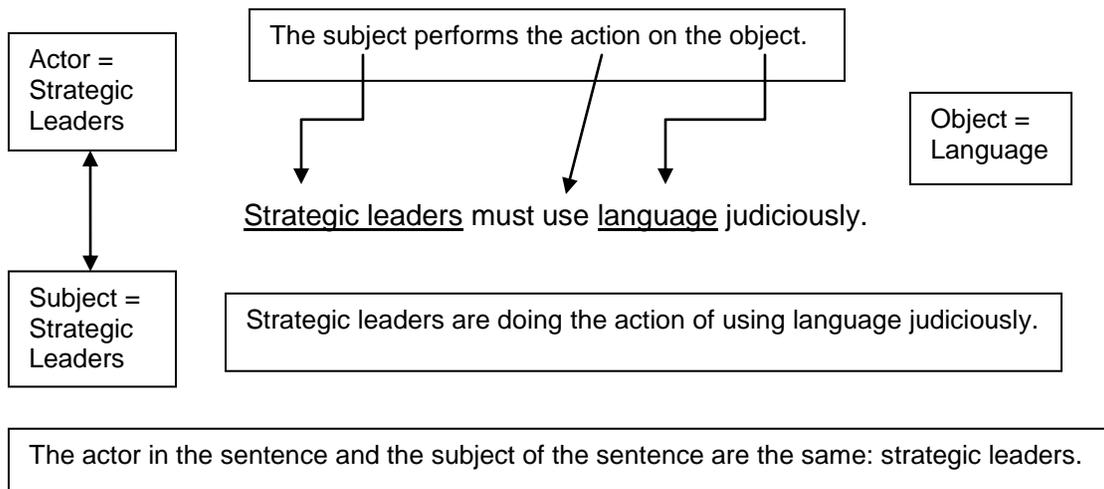
The thesis is the primary argument or overarching position advanced in a paper. The thesis must be carefully articulated near the beginning of the paper. All other information and arguments presented in a paper stem from the thesis. Compelling papers invariably have a strong thesis that advances a particular position on a given topic. The best theses are (a) interesting—they capture the readers' 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" of a paper, chapter or article is a one or two sentence articulation of the thesis. In a book-length project, the term "thesis statement" may not be adequate as the thesis may take 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

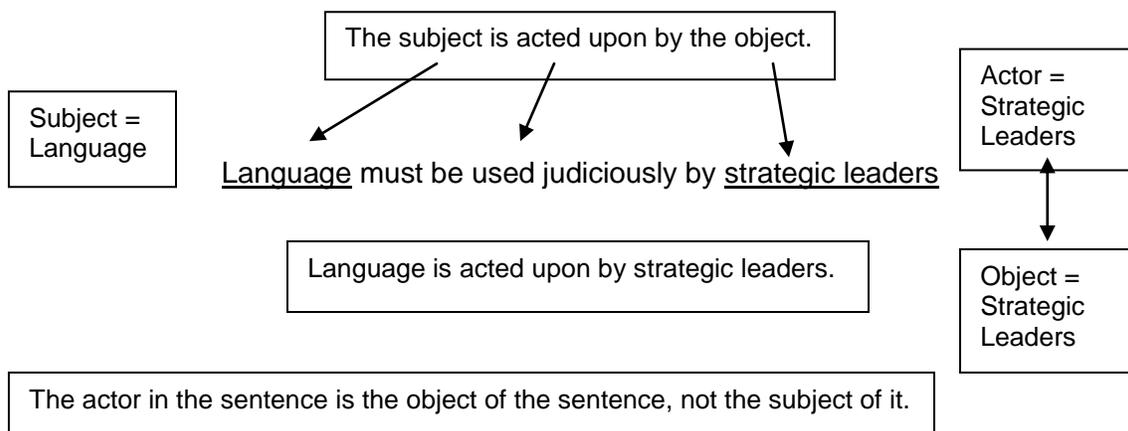
reasonably comprehensive inquiry into a particular topic area. The information discovered and the conclusions drawn during the research process inform the development of the thesis—the *thesis does not direct the research process*. Research flows from the thesis only after enough research has been done that compelling conclusions can be drawn and an effective thesis developed. At the point of thesis development, further research is undertaken to confirm the validity and appropriateness of the thesis and to gather further evidence in support of the thesis.

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. As in that example, 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). 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 that may seem an appealing goal to an author, it is the antithesis of good research and responsible writing.	

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. 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 Writing

Distance Education Program Papers

Basic Guidance.

- Prior to beginning each course, read the entire directive including introductory material for 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 "Plagiarism" section of this directive.

Format.

- Adhere to the instructions provided in each course directive.
- If specific format guidance is not given, follow the format indicated in this directive.

Organization.

- Adhere to the instructions provided in each course directive.
- If no specific organizational guidance is given, use the format indicated under "Outline & Organization" herein (see "Terminology").

Information Paper

An information paper (or "Info Paper") takes a variety of forms. Students should check with the assigning faculty member as to the specific format required for a given assignment. Generally speaking, an information paper is a very brief document (one to two pages) that normally contains the following five 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) the action or desired outcome, and 5) concludes with a brief reinforcement of the purpose and recommended outcome.

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 of a policy paper is to frame an existing problem in a manner that will allow a policymaker to decide the best solution to the problem. The writer must be mindful of the ends-means model and offer possible 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) What is likely to occur if the problem is not addressed, (d) What is currently being done about the problem, (e) Different options for solving/addressing the problem and (f) Which resolution best aligns with the policy maker's objectives. The decision maker should be provided with a succinct recommendation identifying a suggested course of action. Policy papers typically have a specific format found in the organization's SOP. Some formats require source documentation and some do not. Once the preferred format has been identified, however, do not deviate.

Personal Experience Monograph (PEM)

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.

Throughout the PEM, students work one-on-one with a Project Adviser (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, makes suggestions regarding the flow and development of the narrative, and helps position the experiences to inform strategic considerations. The PA also provides detailed comments regarding writing style, organization and clarity. PEMs are written in a first person, narrative style, targeted to an audience of strategic leaders.

Prior to beginning PEM work: (1) Determine the topic and orientation, (2) Seek support of a PA, (3) REP students complete the PEM proposal CBKs Form 193-R-E (CBOnline), (4) DEP students enroll through DDE Elective Program in consultation with their FI.

PEMs must be a minimum of 6,000 words. PEMs are expected to be well written and insightful. Students should use words judiciously. Although there is no maximum length restriction, the PA will provide guidance on acceptable length.

Strategy and Program Research Projects (SRP and PRP)

Pursuing an inquiry-driven model of graduate education entails an opportunity to conduct an independent project focusing upon an important strategic issue or concern. That opportunity is realized structurally through the REP Strategy Research Project (SRP) and the DEP Program Research Project (PRP). Both are individual research and writing ventures that culminate in fresh insight or re-consideration of an event, campaign or problem of strategic significance. While pursuing the project, students receive encouragement and assistance from a seasoned, knowledgeable PA. As Subject Matter Experts (SMEs), the PAs guide students toward becoming fully independent strategic thinkers who generate new and fresh approaches to negotiating significant national security issues.

Degree-seeking REP students must complete an individually authored SRP to graduate. DEP students are required to either enroll in DE2344, DE2345 (PEM) or an online elective course. Students engaged in the SRP or PRP pursue research projects that explore a specific research question or a defined strategic problem. This research effort leads to the production of a paper potentially suitable for award competition and publication. Both the research and paper must be designed, conducted and produced by the student in consultation with his/her 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 encountered during their careers. 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 during the SRP/PRP, 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. Failure to complete the requirement acceptably will prompt a meeting with the Academic Review Board (ARB) and, potentially, disenrollment from the USAWC (CBks Memo 623-1).

Primary Student Responsibilities. All students are responsible for meeting milestones, project requirements, and formatting constraints. Follow the timetables outlined in the SRP or PRP "Schedule and Milestones" that detail the process necessary for successful project completion. In brief, all REP students and all DEP students enrolled in DE2344 must:

- carefully craft a research question.
- identify and secure the support of a PA.
- use the SRP/PRP template for all project writing phases (see appendices). REP students are expected to attend a template seminar hosted by the Computer Education Center.
- follow proper procedures for completion of the SRP or PRP (see below).
- develop a research and writing plan.
- obtain approval for research involving human subjects (if necessary).
- produce an original, insightful document with properly referenced citations.
- maintain contact with the PA throughout the project.

Additionally, *students in the REP must initiate the Intent/Abstract in OASIS before the PA can create the Contract.* Only the PA can complete the Contract.

Primary Faculty Responsibilities. In brief, SRP/PRP advisers (PAs):

- advise students on all aspects of the SRP/PRP process.
- enforce formatting requirements for the SRP/PRP by:
 - understanding formatting requirements for the SRP/PRP.
 - *The CEC provides an introduction to the SRP/PRP template for each seminar.*
 - *Students may obtain assistance in utilizing the template from the CEC.*
 - *The CEC will not format documents for students, nor should faculty expect the CEC staff to perform SRP/PRP formatting and/or proofreading tasks.*
 - requiring students to use the SRP/PRP template from the beginning.
 - reviewing drafts for formatting errors as well as for content and clarity.
 - ensuring the final SRP/PRP draft is properly formatted. *The PA must ensure the document is in the required format and, when it is not, direct the student to make the document conform to the required format.*
- review drafts, commenting as appropriate on student research and writing.
- ensure students follow proper procedures for completion of the SRP or PRP.
- ensure students properly submit the SRP or PRP on time.
 - enforce REP student submission of a *complete* SRP package.
 - ensure DEP students upload a properly formatted PRP document.
- nominate exceptional papers for student awards as appropriate.

Additionally, PAs to REP students are required to complete the OASIS Research Project Contract and other actions required in OASIS.

SRP Alternative—International Fellows Diploma-Only Candidates

Those International Fellows (IFs), who are candidates for the USAWC Diploma, but not the Master of Strategic Studies Degree, are required to complete a Strategy Research Project (SRP) as are those who are seeking the Diploma and the M.S.S. degree. Diploma only candidates, however, may satisfy the requirement through a variety of intellectual and professionally appropriate venues. They are not restricted to an extended writing project (as is required of all U.S. Students and those IFs who are pursuing the M.S.S. degree). Projects must be approved by the PA. The SRP for Diploma seeking students may be a modest written project or may take the form of a regional strategic appraisal, a written and/or oral review of selected strategic materials, a formal oral presentation before an appropriate audience, possibly a translation exercise of some strategic/leadership document (providing the PA or consulting SME has the appropriate language facility to evaluate the project) or some other alternative venue. The project must be strategic in character and appropriate to the student's professional development. The PA is encouraged to share the research proposal with the Directors, International Fellows Program and Communicative Arts.

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 limitation.
 - If properly organized/focused, a question can be answered within the word limit.
 - This format enhances student ability to examine a question and provide a clear, succinct response as prescribed.
- References: Endnotes, properly formatted (see “Endnote Citation Format”).
 - Spacing—Line: 2.0
 - Spacing—Punctuation: One space after terminal punctuation.

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 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 saves 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. Do not attempt to “cut and paste” documents into the template as that may produce unwanted format changes that do not conform to requirements.

- The SRP/PRP template, PEM template, and template instructions are available through the Communicative Arts Homepage, DEP Course DE2344 (PRP), and DEP Course DE2345 (PEM). Instructions for template use are also provided in the appendices.
- The only format difference between the SRP and the PRP is that each project identifies whether the project originates from the REP or DEP.
- The template for the PEM is nearly the same as the template for the SRP/PRP with minor differences on the title page and abstract (see appendices).
- See appendices for a properly formatted exemplar of a final SRP/PRP document.
- 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.

- **PEMs must be a minimum of 6,000 words.** Maximum length is determined by the character of the project and advice of PA.
- **SRPs and PRPs must be a minimum of 5,000 words.** Maximum length is determined by the character of the project and advice of 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.

- 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 stand on its own.
- Abstract – Use the template to format the abstract page.
 - All elements depicted on the abstract page of the model are required.
 - The abstract may not exceed 200 words or 15 lines of text, whichever is less.
 - Word Count: 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 stand on its own.
- 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. Third level headings should be used sparingly.
 - Level one heading: centered, all caps.
 - Level two heading: Left justified, underlined, first letters capitalized.
 - Level three heading: Indent 0.5”, italics, first letter of first word capitalized, period after heading. Text begins on the same line and wraps around as with a normal paragraph.
 - Illustrations (e.g., graphics, tables, maps), if included, must be placed in close proximity to the text referring to the illustration (see *Turabian*) and must be converted to black and white prior to submission.
- Endnotes – Use the template to format endnotes.
- 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 text of the manuscript (see template).

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 the SRP/PRP/PEM 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 appendices to verify that each is formatted correctly, all necessary information is included in the correct form/location, and common errors are avoided, (c) read for spelling and grammatical errors, (d) confirm that the title is consistent throughout all elements of the paper and project (including accompanying forms and database information), (e) add a blank even-numbered page to the end of the document if the document ends on an odd-numbered page, (f) 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, are integrated with the text, and are black and white.

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.
- 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 an specific number of requirements which you must 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 due date.
- Submit 2 forms per guidance form your PA: (1) PEM Reproduction and Distribution Memorandum (CBks Form 100-R-E), and (2) Report Documentation Page Form (SF 298).

<p>Cover Letter—If Exporting (See appendices for sample.)</p>	<p>If the SRP is to be sent to an outside person/agency, provide cover letter to accompany it. Do not use letterhead. Do not include a date. Sign the letter. No more than 5 unofficial copies will be forwarded to external agencies.</p>
<p>CER</p>	<p>PA includes CER with SRP package and delivers to the Communicative Arts Office.</p> <p>The overall evaluation must <u>not</u> exceed the Content evaluation. If nominated for an award, all evaluations must be 4 or higher.</p>

Rules for Writing and Research

Academic Misconduct

Academic misconduct is any activity that tends to compromise the academic integrity of the institution or subvert the educational process. Academic misconduct takes three forms: (1) Cheating, (2) Plagiarism, and (3) Fabrication. *Cheating* involves intentionally “. . . using or attempting to use, or intentionally providing or attempting to provide, unauthorized materials, information” or [inappropriate] assistance in any academic exercise” (See Wayne State University policy on academic integrity: <http://www.doso.wayne.edu/judicial/academic-integrity.htm>). *Plagiarism* refers to taking another’s words or ideas and passing them off as one’s own. *Fabrication* entails the intentional falsification or invention of fake or bogus information or references. An extreme example of academic misconduct came to light when 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). Sooner or later academic dishonesty is always discovered. At the USAWC, extreme cases of academic misconduct, including plagiarism, have resulted in students having their degrees rescinded and their names ground off the bronze plaques honoring graduates. (See CBks Memorandum No. 350-7.)

Copyright

Avoid the reproduction of copyrighted materials. Most U.S. Government publications, including SRP/PRPs, 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 detailed 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 Para. 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. The USAWC, therefore, 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 Statements

A paper's distribution statement determines the manner in which it is stored/referenced, and the audience to which it is made available. All SRPs, selected PRPs, and selected PEMs require a distribution statement. PRPs and PEMs without distribution statements are treated as course papers and, as such, are not released or retained. Distribution is determined in consultation with the PA and must be identified on the appropriate form for each type of paper and SF 298. *Once a distribution code is assigned, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change.* Most SRPs, PRPs, and PEMs should be positioned for unlimited release—Distribution A. Occasionally, due to sensitive the 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.

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, were it to be released to the public, might have the potential to compromise some aspect of national security, personnel safety, and/or ongoing operations. In order for an SRP/PRP/PEM to carry a Distribution B statement, the PA must submit a written justification to the Director of Communicative Arts. The SRP/PRP/PEM and accompanying justification will then be reviewed by appropriate personnel to determine whether the proposed distribution is appropriate. Requests by others for a document carrying a Distribution B release statement shall be processed through the Director of Communicative Arts, USAWC, who will forward the request to the PAO or other personnel authorized to review it. Distribution B carries a Destruction Notice which applies to both classified and unclassified documents.

Distribution G

Do not distribute. Documents are not approved for public release. The original is retained in the USAWC Library for archival purposes. Distribution G documents are available only with approval of the author or under certain provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). In order for an SRP/PRP/PEM to carry a Distribution G statement, the PA must submit a written justification to the Director of Communicative Arts. The SRP/PRP/PEM and accompanying 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/PEM Availability and Access

The USAWC makes all SRPs, selected PRPs, and selected PEMs available through a variety of outlets, those made available are also printed and bound:

- USAWC Library houses Distribution A and B SRPs/PRPs/PEMs.
- USAWC Library Catalog: Distribution A SRPs/PRPs/PEMs are posted for public access.
- Communicative Arts: Distribution A and B SRPs/PRPs/PEMs are available upon request.
- Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC)
 - Distribution A and B papers are forwarded to DTIC for appropriate distribution.
 - Distribution A papers are 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.
- National Technical Information Service (NTIS)
 - Distribution A and B papers are forwarded by DTIC to NTIS.
 - Distribution A papers are available to the public for purchase through NTIS.
 - Distribution B papers are available to eligible audiences for purchase through NTIS.
- Student Authors
 - Students may send a Distribution A SRP/PRP/PEM to an outside agency.
 - Distribution B projects may only be sent by students to government agencies.
 - A sample cover letter is included in the appendices.

Human Subjects Research

The USAWC Institutional Review Board (IRB) must ensure that all research activities involving human subjects are guided by the ethical principles of the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 45, Public Welfare, Department of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health Office for Protection from Research Risks, Part 46, Protection of Human Subjects, 32CFR219.

- Research on human subjects must be approved by the IRB. This applies to all faculty, staff and students who want to use data from human interaction for research.
- Research proposals by faculty and students will be submitted to the IRB Co-Chair, Director of Institutional Assessment.
- External researchers must also comply with guidelines. If the research involves USAWC faculty, students or staff, please contact the Director of Institutional Assessment.
- Categories of review are: Exempt, Expedited, and Full Board Review.

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 responsible research. Plagiarism entails passing off or representing the ideas, words and thoughts of others as if they were your own when they are not. It is a fraudulent misrepresentation—an intellectual deception perpetrated on readers and those invested in the community of ideas. Plagiarism is a serious form of cheating.

- "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).

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 particularly difficult. Cite all sources, including those that have been published, those that have not, 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 most recent version 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." Source citation grounds research, documents research skills, advances credibility, and helps to establish analysis veracity and argument merit.

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 borrowing the ideas/material and paraphrasing in your own words, then provide an endnote. One need not document borrowed material when the material is, generally speaking, common knowledge. 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.

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.
- listing the SRP by an unclassified title and abstract in the OASIS.
- 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 them accurately and in 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 an academic 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 who read your work must be able to verify the evidence offered while tracking the ideas presented.
- referencing previously circulated self-authored works, if any, with proper citations.

Course papers, formal research documents, SRPs, PRPs and PEMs must adhere to the specific style of documentation detailed herein. Students in both the REP and DEP need to become thoroughly familiar with this material, and to follow these guidelines consistently. Each student is personally responsible for properly documenting all sources used in each and every paper he/she writes. Students are expected to be thoroughly familiar with source 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 procedures risk exposure to charges of sloppy research, poor information, bad judgment and even plagiarism. Students, therefore, should not expect reference librarians, FIs, PAs or other USAWC members to do their 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, document, video, interview, etc.) is created, delivered, or accessed, the purpose of citation remains the same. For although sources may be physically printed, electronically delivered, or both, the reference citation provides 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 and bound or transferred to an electronic reader. The main differences are (a) the process of accessing the information—pulling it off a shelf or opening a computer 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. For an electronic document, readers rely on electronic search parameters to locate information, therefore page numbers are not required and are frequently not 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. Electronic delivery, however, complicates the matter somewhat as characters on a screen are more easily changed/updated and one may not be able to locate the exact reference in the exact form that is cited (earlier copies of a webpage, for example, may no longer be available). Thus, the date an electronic document was accessed is essential in reference citations as it provides researchers with important information about the authenticity of the reference and a means of tracking the information if necessary or 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).

Citing references properly is an art requiring both precision and, sometimes, a bit of creativity. In all cases, the goal should be clarity of information for the purpose of 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 references for nearly every kind of source imaginable. To do so, ask the following questions:

- 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 in order for readers to locate the specific source being cited?

Once the similar source-type has been identified and additional information procured, follow the reference citation format for that source-type as closely as possible with additions and subtractions as necessary. If necessary, consult the Turabian Manual which contains additional information about proper documentation styles for a wide variety of sources.

Use this reference citation format for all documents unless otherwise directed by an FI/PA or course directive to help ensure that (a) citations are properly documented, (b) accidental plagiarism is avoided, and (c) each student is prepared to properly format and document the SRP/PRP. Collect all documentation at the time the material is encountered to improve efficiency and reduce the likelihood for errors resulting in plagiarism and/or sloppy scholarship.

In addition to the following reference formats, two additional types of endnote citations are sometimes useful:

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

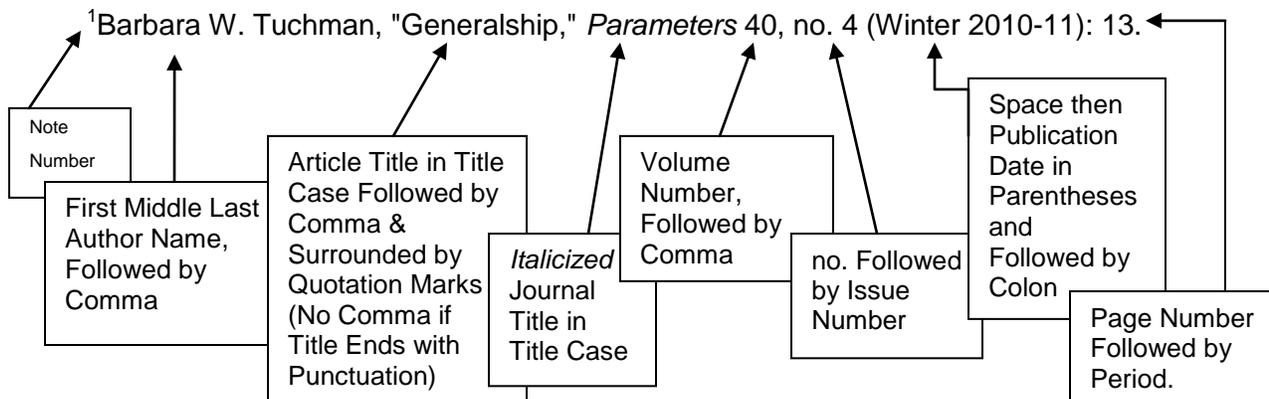
³⁸For background on the Muslim Brotherhood, see John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120-33.

- Endnotes with Multiple Sources: 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.

⁵¹Michael 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).

Articles in Journals

Basic Format



Author Information

List author names 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: 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.

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 as appropriate and continue following the citation format, including appropriate (but not extra) punctuation. (For example, if 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. Citations must be adapted to include information about the means through which the author of a paper accessed each article. For articles 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: (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://intl-mwc.sagepub.com/content/1/1/70.full.pdf+html> (accessed June 24, 2011). Or: *ADA Magazine Online*, May 2001, <http://147.71.210.21/adamag/May%202001/jomni.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 concluded with a period. As in: (Winter 2010): 14, in ProQuest (accessed May 9, 2011).

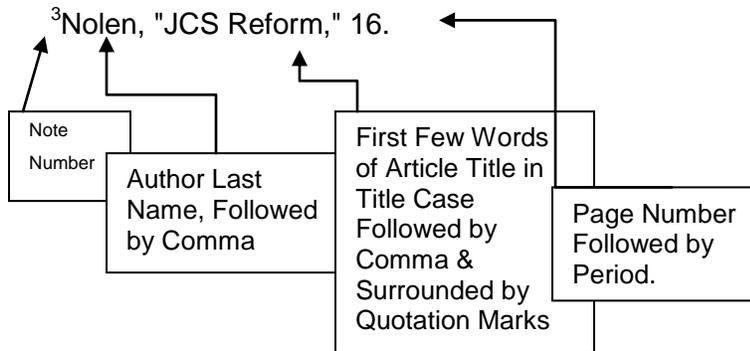
Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive

²Ibid.

Use this form when the second reference to a source is made immediately following the first reference to that source. Use of the term Ibid. saves space and allows for the reader to quickly identify the pattern of sources cited. More than one Ibid. citation can occur in a row, but it can only be used when it directly follows the original source information (or another Ibid. linked to

that source information). Include page information if referencing material not located on the same page as the original material referenced, as: ³Ibid., 49.

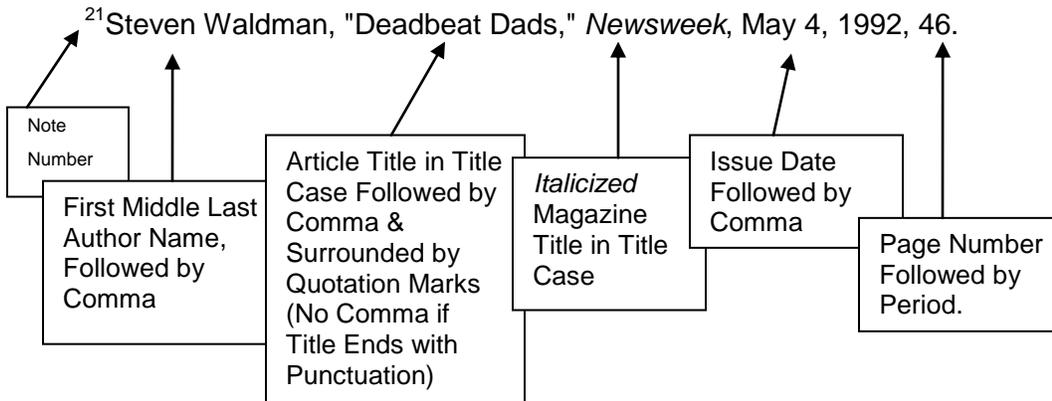
Repeated Reference to Article—Non-Consecutive



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 Format



Author Information

List author names 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, however, include information about the person who conducted the interview in between the article title and the publication title, separated by commas (as in the above example).

Repeated Reference to Article—Consecutive

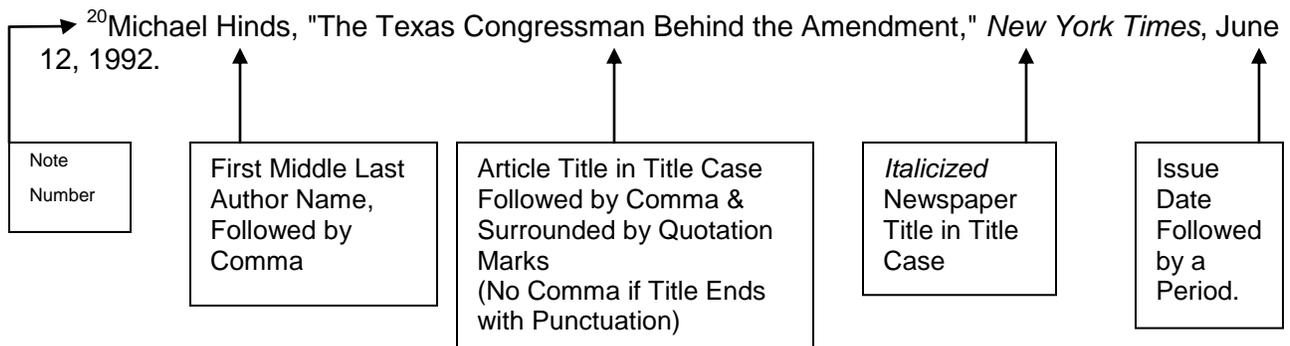
Use *Ibid.* to save space. An explanation is provided under Journal Articles (see above).

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 Format



Author Information

List author names exactly as they appear in the newspaper. Format and details for multiple/missing 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*), or, if the name of 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

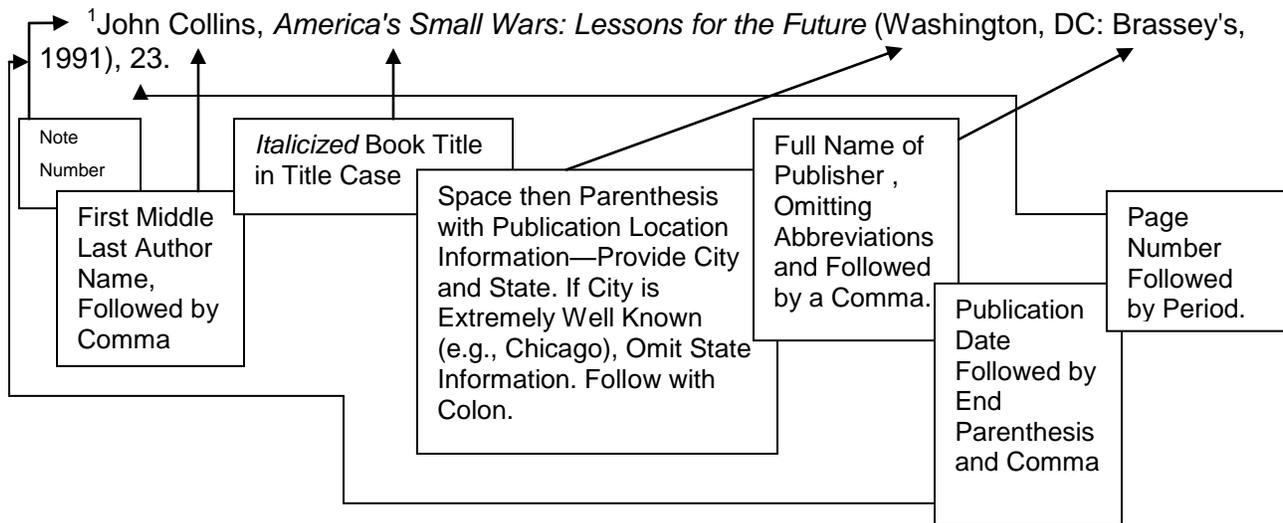
Use *Ibid.* to save space. An explanation is provided under Journal Articles (see above).

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 Format



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. Book publishers provide publication information in a variety of forms. If elements of the publication information are not

included in the book being referenced, they are not required for citation. Simply omit missing information as appropriate and continue following 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. These are 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).

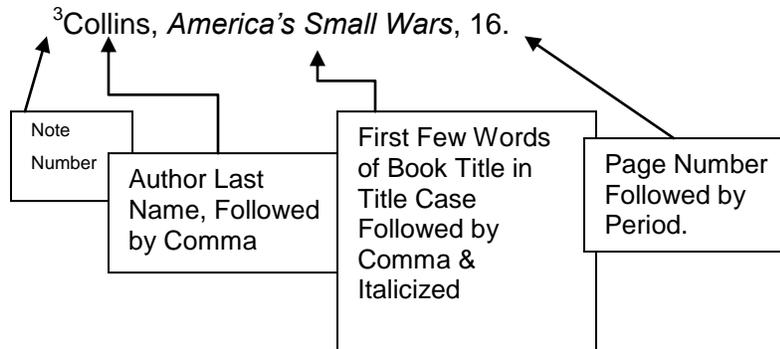
Repeated Reference to Book—Consecutive

²Ibid.

Use this form when the second reference to a source is made immediately following the first reference to that source. Use of the term Ibid. saves space and allows for the reader to quickly identify the pattern of sources cited. More than one Ibid. citation can occur in a row, but it can only be used when it directly follows the original source information (or another Ibid. linked to

that source information). Include page information if referencing material not located on the same page as the original material referenced, as: ³*Ibid.*, 49.

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 Strategy Research Projects, Program Research Projects, and Personal Experience Monographs 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

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, capitalized headline style and italicized. Follow with facts pertinent to the purpose of the entry (e.g., names of actors), and facts necessary to find the reference. Indicate type of media (CD, DVD, etc.) 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=nSmwaLrFgqc> (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 desired or 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 what type of medium was used to communicate the message. Electronic mail, on-line chats, Facebook, and other electronic communications are generally considered suspect and are not scholarly 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.

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

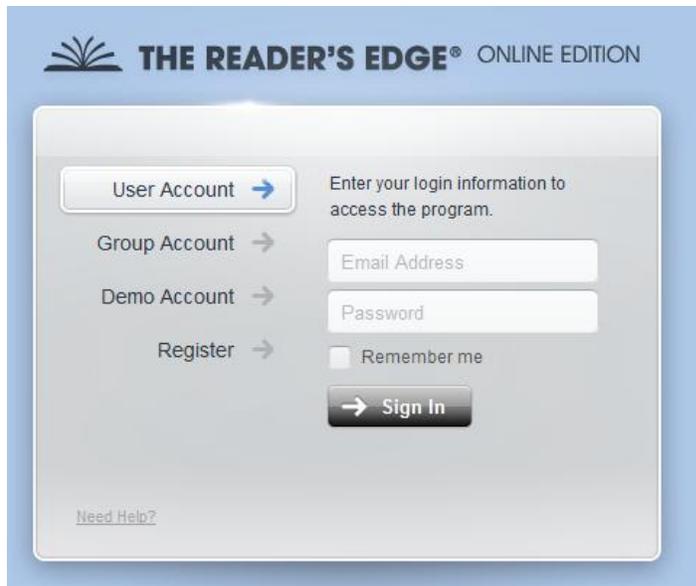
APPENDIX A

Speed Reading Access Information

This appendix contains instructions for accessing speed reading lessons via the Reader's Edge.

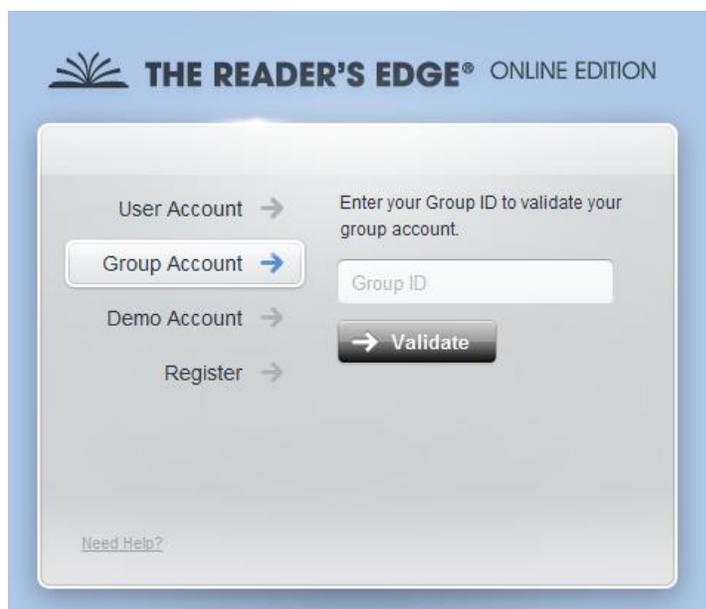
Reader's Edge Speed Reading Course Access Instructions

1. Go to: <http://www.readfasteronline.com/>



The screenshot shows the login interface for 'THE READER'S EDGE® ONLINE EDITION'. On the left, there are four menu items: 'User Account' (highlighted with a blue arrow), 'Group Account', 'Demo Account', and 'Register'. The main area contains the text 'Enter your login information to access the program.' followed by input fields for 'Email Address' and 'Password'. There is a 'Remember me' checkbox and a 'Sign In' button with a right-pointing arrow. A 'Need Help?' link is located at the bottom left.

2. Click "Group Account" to open the "Group ID" box:



The screenshot shows the validation interface for a 'Group Account' in 'THE READER'S EDGE® ONLINE EDITION'. On the left, the menu items are 'User Account', 'Group Account' (highlighted with a blue arrow), 'Demo Account', and 'Register'. The main area contains the text 'Enter your Group ID to validate your group account.' followed by a 'Group ID' input field and a 'Validate' button with a right-pointing arrow. A 'Need Help?' link is located at the bottom left.

3. Enter the Group ID: warcollege
4. Enter your username (as provided) and the initial password: password.



The screenshot shows the login interface for 'THE READER'S EDGE® ONLINE EDITION'. On the left, there are four links: 'User Account', 'Group Account' (highlighted with a blue border and arrow), 'Demo Account', and 'Register'. The main area contains the text 'Enter your username or email and account password to login.' Below this, the 'Group' is set to 'warcollege'. There are two input fields: 'Username or Email' and 'Password'. A 'Remember me' checkbox is present and unchecked. A 'Sign In' button with a right-pointing arrow is at the bottom. A 'Need Help?' link is located in the bottom left corner.

5. You will be prompted to enter your own unique password. Passwords must be a minimum of 4 characters. Please enter a password you will remember.

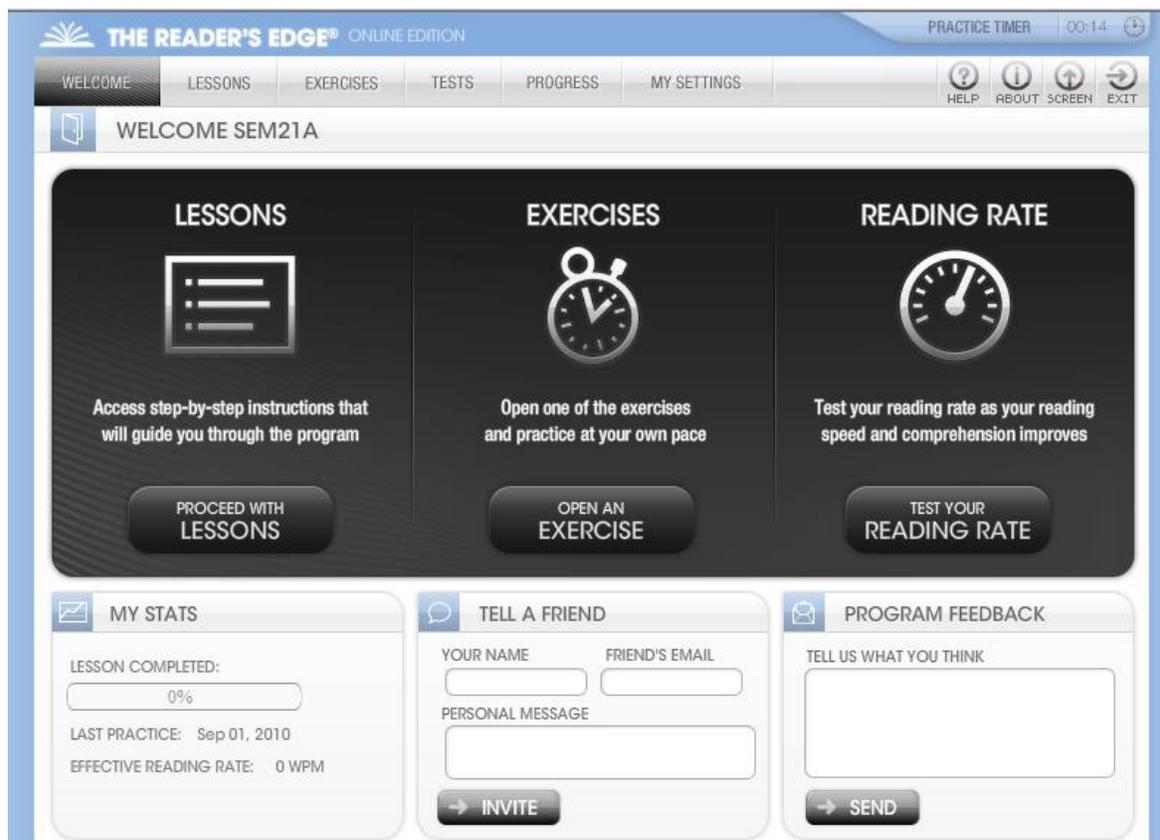


The screenshot shows the 'Update Password' page for 'THE READER'S EDGE® ONLINE EDITION'. The title is 'Update Password'. Below the title, it says 'For security reasons your password cannot be set to 'password'. Enter a new password to continue.' The course ID 'SEM21A' is displayed. There are two input fields: 'New Password' and 'Confirm New Password'. A 'Submit' button with a right-pointing arrow is at the bottom.

- Once password is changed successfully, select "Continue."



- You have successfully accessed the program and may begin.



APPENDIX B

SRP/PRP Template Instructions

All students must utilize the template to precisely format the SRP/PRP. This appendix contains detailed guidance for using the template.

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT
USAWC PROGRAM RESEARCH PROJECT

Choose the appropriate project (SRP or PRP not both)

USING THE SRP/PRP TEMPLATE

Title must be 10 words or less and must be consistent throughout the project.

by

(Student name)
(Branch of Service)

(Project Adviser Name)
Project Adviser

This SRP/PRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. 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

AUTHOR: (Same as title page)

TITLE: Using the SRP/PRP Template ← Same as title page but title case.

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: XX March 2010

WORD COUNT:

PAGES:

KEY TERMS: (Use terms not included in title)

Total pages from title page to last page (all inclusive).

CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Total words body of the text (not including title & abstract pgs).

Enter your abstract here. It must be short and concise. The length is limited to 200 words or 15 lines of text, whichever is shorter. REP Students: the abstract in your final submission and the abstract in the OASIS must match exactly. Be sure to update your early Intent-Abstract (the one you proposed in October) with the final abstract (the updated one submitted with your final paper).

USING THE SRP/PRP TEMPLATE

The SRP/PRP template is a means of ensuring that all SRPs and PRPs are formatted properly and are identical to all other SRP/PRP manuscripts originating at the USAWC. Therefore, *all* Resident Education and Distance Education students must use the SRP/PRP template to format their manuscripts. Use the template from "word one." Do not plan to cut and paste your document into the template as that may result in deviations to form. If you follow these instructions carefully, the template will be easy to use and will save you countless hours in the formatting process.

These instructions contain information regarding the exact format, required pages in the proper sequence, correct page numbering, endnote positioning and proper page breaks for specific manuscript sections. The template document helps you build your SRP/PRP within a formatted framework and you can enter, add, or replace text without having to format sections. (The SRP/PRP format has changed over time, using an older document from the USAWC Library as a model is not recommended. Refer to the model SRP/PRP in the current *Communicative Arts Directive*.) Note that the actual template will contain only SRP or PRP language depending upon which document you are writing.

Your SRP/PRP must be written and saved in Microsoft Word. REP students must provide both an electronic file and a paper copy of the final paper when submitting the completed project. DEP students submit only an uploaded electronic copy of the PRP. If you wish to keep technical problems to a minimum, work exclusively in Word 2007.

Building a Title Page

To build the title page simply replace the areas in parenthesis with your own information (remember to remove the parenthesis). Your title must be brief, descriptive and consist of ten words or less.

Entering an Abstract

The template space for the abstract, like that for the title page, allows you to insert your information inside the parenthesis. Remember that the abstract is limited to 200 words or 15 lines of text, whichever is shorter.

Working with Headings

A heading signals the start of a new section or subsection and identifies the information that will be covered in that section. Headings help readers to see the relationship of the information in that section to other sections of the manuscript.

Use the appropriate style for each heading. The SRP/PRP generally requires only 2 heading levels: the title and one set of subheads. Occasionally a third level heading may be used when it would help facilitate reader understanding. The third level heading must be used sparingly and in consultation with the PA.

- **Level one heading (TITLE)** is centered, all caps and Arial 12 pt font. The title on page 1 is an example of a level one heading.
- **Level two heading (Use for major sections in the body of the paper)** is left justified, underlined and done using title case. Capitalize all major words in the heading as you would for a title. Start the text for that section on the next line with normal paragraph indentation. The heading for this section, Working with Headings, is an example of a level 2 heading.

- **Level three heading (Use sparingly to identify/highlight subsections to the larger—level two—sections)** is *italicized*, indented (as a paragraph), and followed by a period. Capitalize all major words in the heading as you would for a title. Start the text on the same line as the heading. The heading titled "Inserting an Epigraph" on the next page is a level 3 heading.

If you configure your headings using the following steps, all your headings will be uniform and correct.

1. Type the heading.
2. Place cursor in heading text.
3. Click on **Home** tab and then click on the appropriate **Heading** style in the **Styles** group (see Figure 1).

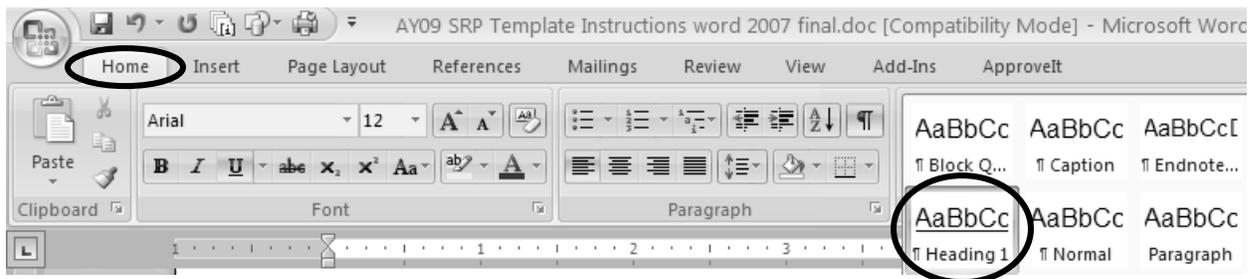


Figure 1. Style Listing

Building the Body of the Paper

Begin by entering your title within the parenthesis exactly as it appears on your cover page. DO NOT use the sub-heading 'Introduction' at the start of your paper. Just begin the paper. Your paragraphs after the title are the introduction. Enter the body of your text within the parenthesis beneath the title. As you type your material, the text will automatically appear properly spaced (verify the style to be paragraph). Pages will be added automatically as you continue to enter text.

Inserting an Epigraph. Epigraphs are discouraged. If deemed exceptionally appropriate, one epigraph, not to exceed two lines of text or 30 words may be positioned at the head of the paper. Place it two lines below the title and two lines above the paper text. An epigraph is presented in single spaced block form. The source of the epigraph will be displayed and noted as follows:

SRP/PRP TITLE

. . . the application of unified statecraft, at the Federal level and in concert with allies and international partners, is critical . . .

—Donald Rumsfeld¹

Start of SRP/PRP text.

Follow the directions below and your epigraph will automatically appear in the correct format. (You can also use these directions to format block quotations within your text.)

1. Place the mouse cursor in the epigraph text.
2. Click on **Home** tab and then click on the **Block Quotation** style in the **Styles** group (see Figure 2).
3. Do the same for the source text except select the **Epigraph Source** style.

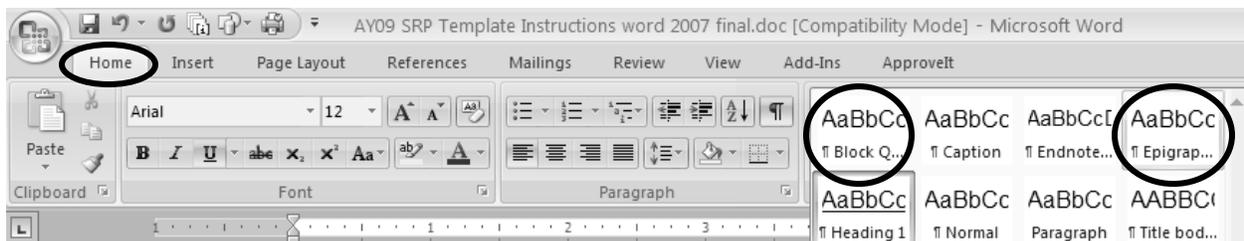


Figure 2. Epigraph Styles

Entering a Source Dash. The long dash in front of a block quotation source is a special symbol. Follow these steps to insert the long dash.

1. Place the cursor in front of the source text.
2. Click on **Insert** tab, then on the **Symbol** icon and then on **More Symbols** (see Figure 3).

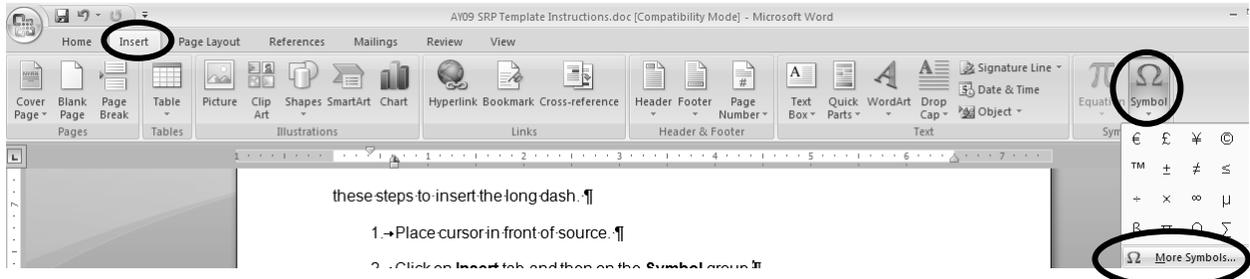


Figure 3. Insert Symbol

3. In the **Symbol** dialog box, click on the **Symbols** tab.
4. Select **Arial** from the **Font** drop down list.
5. Insert **2014** in the **Character code** box and then click on the **Insert** button to insert the symbol.
6. Click on the **Close** button to close the dialog box (see figure 4).

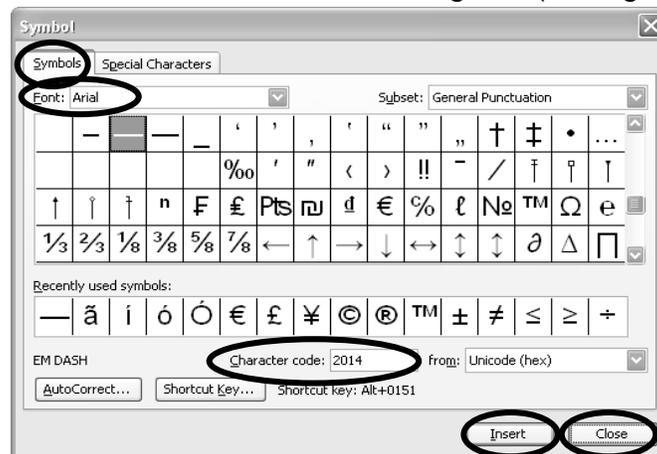


Figure 4. Long Dash

Figures

Figures (illustrations, graphics, charts, maps, etc.), if included, must be placed in close proximity to the text referring to the illustration. The SRP/PRP is printed in black and white, so color graphics and illustrations must be converted to grayscale prior to

submission. For more information on their proper use consult Turabian. Each figure must have a caption in the preset Caption style. Text briefly identifying or explaining your figure must be included in the figure caption. In the SRP/PRP, all figures must be centered. Text may appear above and below the figure, but not adjacent (left or right) of the figure.

Inserting Figures. Use Paste Special to insert an image copied from another file.

1. Copy the figure you will be placing in the template to the clipboard.
2. Place the cursor where the figure is to go within the template.
3. Click on the **Home** tab, then click on the **Paste** icon and then click on **Paste Special** (see Figure 5).

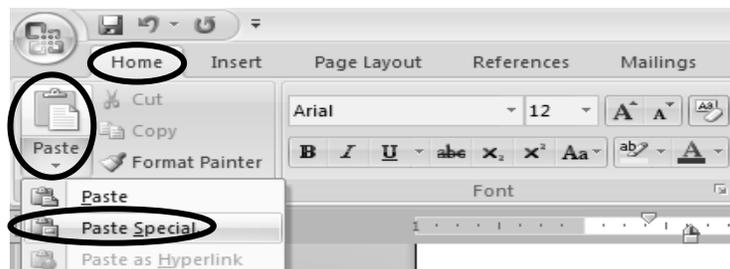


Figure 5. Paste Special

4. In the **Paste Special** dialog box, select **Picture (Windows Metafile)** and then click on the **OK** button to insert the figure (see Figure 6).

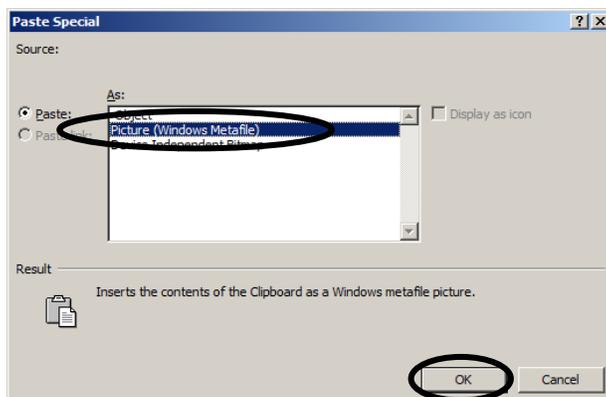


Figure 6. Insert Figure

Developing Captions for Inserted Figures. After inserting your figure (i.e. GIF, JPEG, BMP files), follow these steps to add a caption.

1. When the figure is positioned properly, place the cursor under the image.
2. Type the caption information starting with the word **Figure** and then the number.
3. Place the cursor in the middle of the word **Figure**.
4. Click on the **Home** tab and then click on the **Caption** style in the **Styles** group (see Figure 7).
5. Adjust the position of the caption as needed.

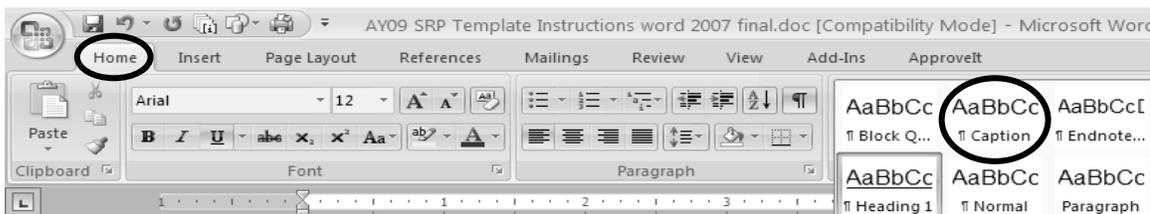


Figure 7. Caption Style

NOTE. If you move the image, you will have to move the caption manually.

Tables

If including tables in your paper, caption them in the same manner as your figures. Like figures, tables must be centered in the body of the text, not at the end of the paper.

After inserting your table, do the following to add a caption.

1. When the table is positioned where you want it, place the cursor under the table.
2. Type the caption information starting with the word **Table** and then the number.
3. Place the cursor in the middle of the word **Table**.

4. Click on the **Home** tab and then click on the **Caption** style in the **Styles** group (see Figure 8).
5. Adjust the position of the caption as needed.

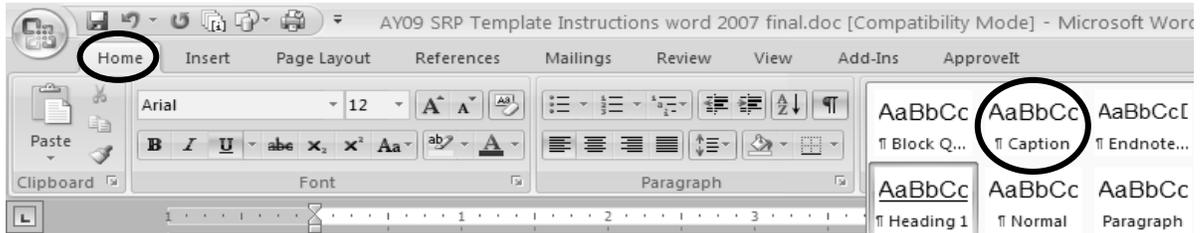


Figure 8. Caption Style

NOTE. If you move the table, you will have to move the caption manually.

Using Block Quotations

Block quotations must be used very infrequently, if at all. If use is necessary, block a quote when it is 3 lines of text or more. To create a block quotation, follow these steps.

1. Type the text of the quotation as a separate paragraph; do not use quotation marks.
2. Place the cursor inside the quotation.
3. Click on the **Home** tab and then click on the **Block Quotation** style in the **Styles** group (see Figure 9).
4. Adjust the position of the caption as needed.

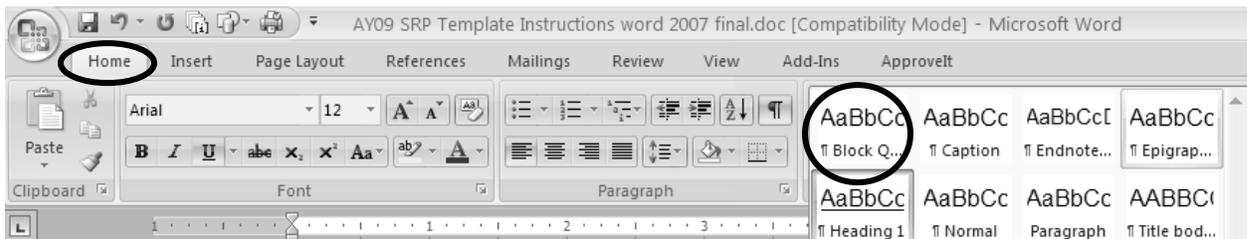


Figure 9. Block Quotation Style

Including Itemized Lists

Information formatted in a list must be numbered ONLY if the list is composed of steps that must be taken sequentially. A bullet in all other cases must precede information in a list. For example, you would:

- List the most important information first.
- Follow with less important information.
- Check to be sure all first letters after the bullets are consistent (all capitals or all lower case on every list that is used in the paper).

Using Other Text Styles

Other text styles are also used in this document (see Table 1).

Paragraph	Normal body text. When “Paragraph” shows in the style box, the text will print in the correct font, with 2.0 line spacing and first-line indentation.
Endnote Text	Automatically applied when you create an endnote using MS Word’s endnote system (described on the next page).

Table 1. Additional Styles

To apply a style, place the cursor in the text – do not highlight the text. Then click on the **Style** box drop down list and select the desired style from the style box.

Creating Endnotes

The process of creating endnotes is the same for all MS Word documents. The default for Word, however, places endnotes at the end of a document with a separator line. The SRP/PRP format places the endnotes two lines after the body of text and without a separator line. The template removes the line for you.

Inserting Endnotes. Building the Endnotes section of the paper is done automatically by MS Word. At the end of the line to be referenced, follow the directions below, you can simply type the citation number (superscripting will be done by MS

Word) and provide your full citation.² The citation will automatically appear under the heading Endnotes in the section so labeled at the back of your document. To insert endnotes, simply follow these steps.

1. Place cursor at the end of the text to be cited.
2. Click on the **References** tab and then click on the **Insert Endnote** icon in the **Footnotes** group (see Figure 10).

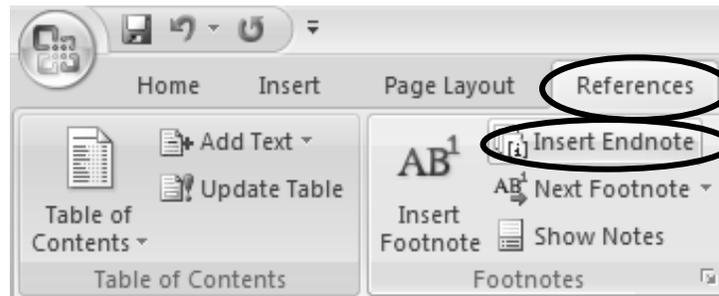


Figure 10. Insert Endnote

3. The endnote number is automatically inserted and the cursor is moved to the endnote section of the paper so you can enter the citation (see Figure 11).

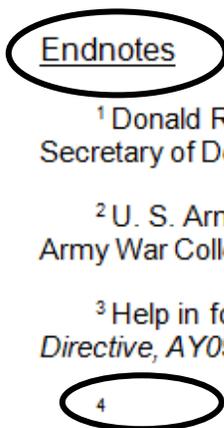


Figure 11. Insert Endnote Citation

Blank Pages

Each major section of a formal paper, when printed, must begin on a right-hand, odd-numbered page. The SRP/PRP template has two blank pages inserted to support

this requirement. A blank page follows the Title page and one follows the Abstract page: both are required and must not be removed. If the last page of the paper ends on an odd-numbered page, you must insert enough blank lines to generate a "blank," even-numbered page after it. Place your cursor at the end of the last endnote and pressing the **Enter** key until the additional page is displayed.

Numbering Pages

The template document's page numbering is set to conform to the pagination requirements in the *Communicative Arts Directive*. The template document will automatically add correctly numbered pages as you enter text.

Citing the Word Count

The word count addresses only the body of your paper. Words contained in tables, charts and other graphics are NOT included. Be careful to highlight only the text of the body. To obtain a word count, click and drag your mouse from the beginning of the body to the end of the body, then click on **Review** tab and then click on **Word Count** icon in the **Proofing** group (see Figure 12).

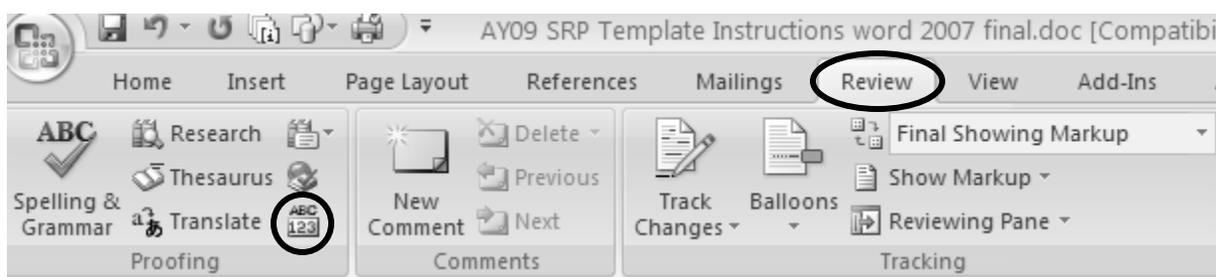


Figure 12. Obtaining the Word Count

The **Word Count** dialog box will appear, note the numbers of words and click on the **Close** button (see Figure 13).

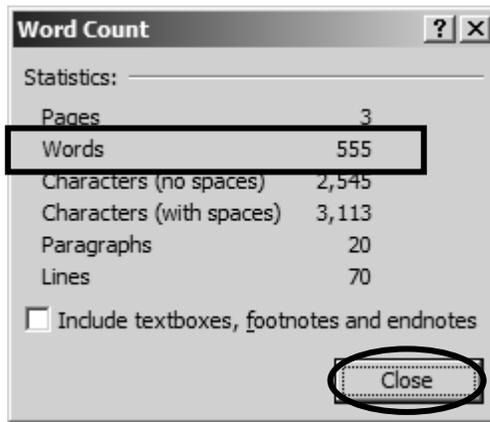


Figure 13. Word Count

Now insert the word count in the appropriate place on the Abstract page.

Citing the Page Count

The page count is the total number of pages for the entire paper from the Title Page to the last endnote entry. To determine the page count, look at the status bar at the bottom left corner of the Word window (see Figure 14). The last number displayed is the total number of document pages.

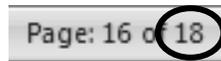


Figure 14. Page Count

Printing the Finished Product

The PRP is submitted electronically, DEP students do not submit a print copy. REP students submit a single-sided print copy of the SRP. Many USAWC printers are set to print double-sided. Change the printer settings before printing your final SRP.

Endnotes

¹ Donald Rumsfeld, *Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 6 February 2006), 92.

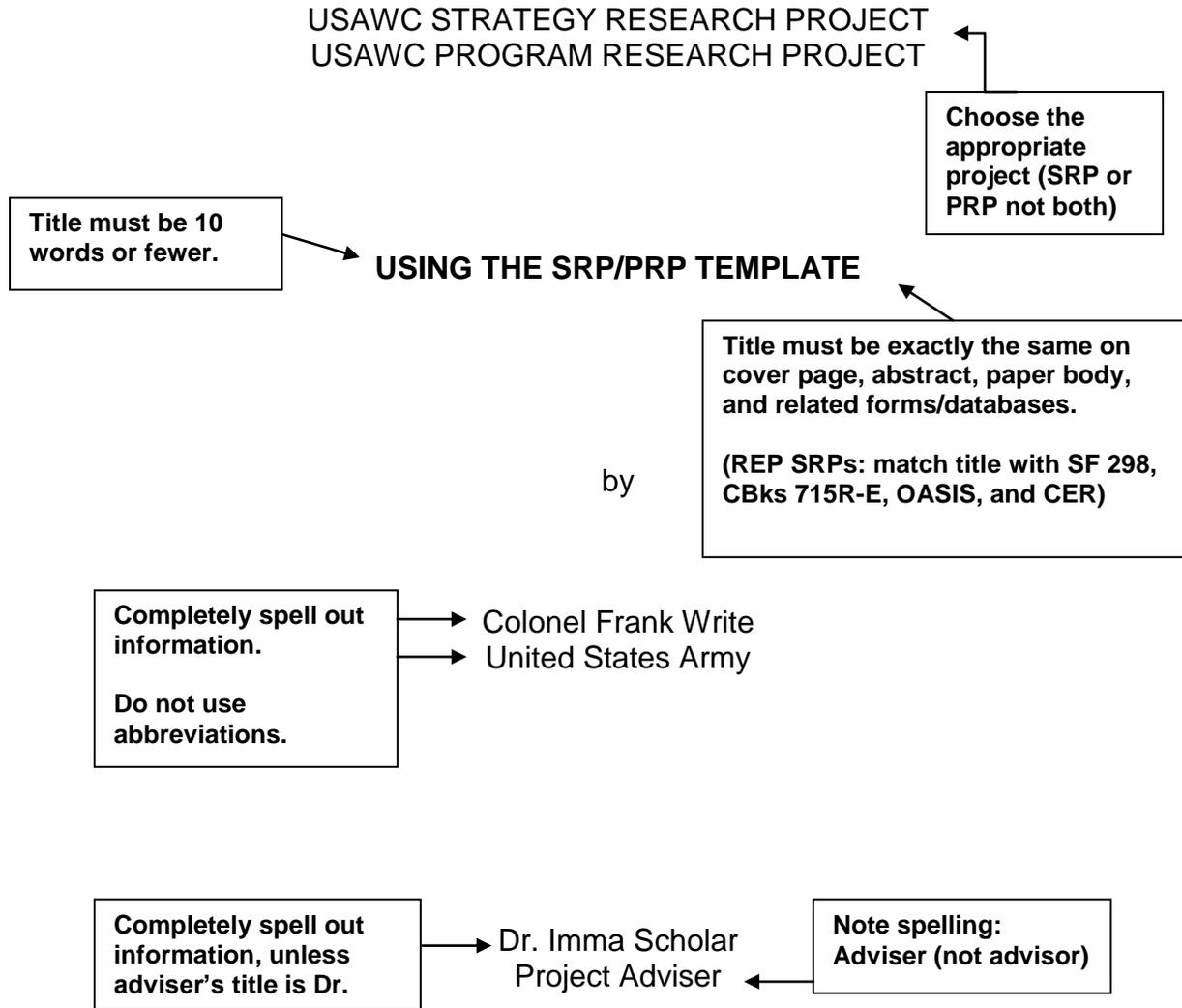
² See the section of this Directive entitled "Guide to Writing and Research" (subsection "endnote citation format") for further information about source documentation and formatting references.

APPENDIX C

SRP/PRP Common Formatting Errors

This appendix provides a quick reference for spotting and correcting common errors to SRP/PRP format.

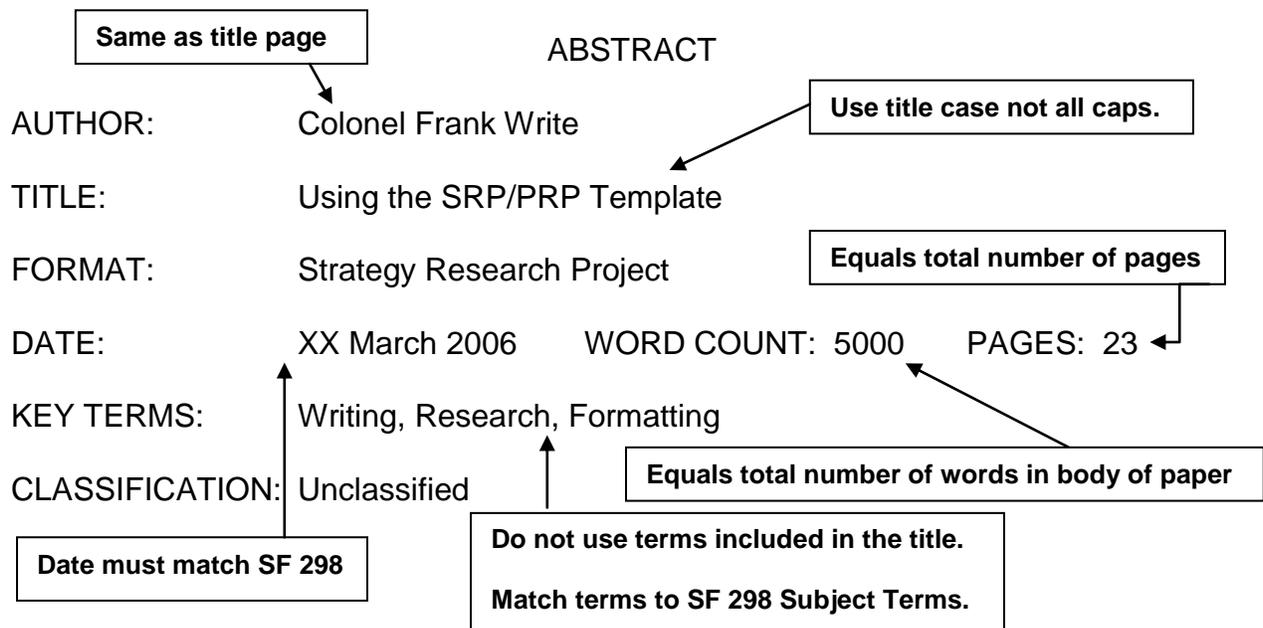
SRP/PRP COMMON FORMATTING ERRORS



This SRP/PRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. 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



Enter your abstract here. Your abstract should be short, concise and **not exceed 200 words or 15 lines of text, whichever is shorter**. The abstract here must exactly match the abstract in Oasis and on the SF 298.

OTHER COMMON MISTAKES

EPIGRAPHS - A single, brief epigraph may appear on the first page of the manuscript between the title and the initial text of the manuscript.

USING BLOCK QUOTATIONS - Block quotations are used if a quotation within the body is 3 lines or more.

INCLUDING ITEMIZED LISTS - Information formatted in a list should be numbered only if the list is composed of steps that must be carried out in sequence. In all other cases, a bullet should precede information in a list.

ADDING AND DELETING BLANK PAGES - Each major section of the SRP/PRP (Abstract and Body), when printed, must begin on a right-hand, odd-numbered page. The blank pages included in the SRP/PRP template are required and should not be removed.

OTHER DOCUMENT ELEMENTS - Document elements such as appendices, glossaries, tables of content, lists of figures and illustrations, acknowledgments, preface statements are to be excluded.

FIGURES - Color graphics and illustrations must be converted to black and white prior to submission. Convert them to "Grayscale" instead.

APPENDIX D

Sample SRP/PRP Cover Letter

If you are planning to export your completed SRP/PRP to an outside agency, you must provide a cover letter to accompany the document. The style, content, and signature block for the cover letter should be tailored to be correspondence from you or your Project Adviser/Faculty Instructor. Use plain bond paper since the cover letter is not official correspondence. Do not use USAWC or any other official letterhead. The letter should be written in Arial, 12 point font with double spaces following the terminal punctuation.

Space for Date Goes Here

Sender's Address
Goes Here

Leave blank space for the date, but do not date the letter. Communicative Arts adds the date when the document is posted (so that the date matches the time sent).

Recipient's Address
Goes Here

Dear (Name or Title of Person being addressed):

Students at the U.S. Army War College prepare a research project on a topic of relevance to national security as part of their program of study. The task is to identify an important strategic issue, conduct relevant research, and analyze salient information. The end-product is an insightful, critical analysis with recommendations for possible courses of action.

The enclosed project may be of particular interest. Should you find it helpful, please use the information/paper as you please but with the following caveat: Because students are encouraged to engage in thoughtful and original analysis, the opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the U.S. Army War College, Department of the Army, or the Department of Defense. In accord with that view, please treat this document as potentially sensitive with regard to public release.

Very respectfully,

James T. Faculty
Project Adviser

or

John R. Student
Rank, Service
USAWC Student

Enclosure

APPENDIX E

A Model Short Paper

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

"U.S. – China Relations: No Need to Fight" earned First Place in the 1500 word "Strategic Article" Competition hosted at Ft. McNair by NDU Press on behalf of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff in May of 2011. The essay will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Joint Forces Quarterly*.

The paper serves as a model and illustrates the character of a short paper that is well-written, well-documented, well-organized, and properly formatted. The REP and DEP frequently require short papers ranging from 500 to 2500 words.

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.

¹¹ Robert 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.

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

¹³ Taylor 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.

APPENDIX F

A Model SRP/PRP

Frewen, John "Harmonious Ocean? Chinese Aircraft Carriers and Australia's U.S. Alliance." Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, May 25, 2009.

This SRP is offered as a model SRP/PRP: strategic in character, solidly organized, ably written and properly formatted. The paper was rated "Outstanding" by the Faculty Instructor and earned First Place in the 2010 Secretary of Defense National Security Essay Competition. The essay was published in *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Issue 59, Fourth Quarter, 2010).

The title page for the paper is in proper SRP format. If this were an PRP, the title page would differ in only one respect. At the top of the page it would say:

USAWC PROGRAM RESEARCH PROJECT

(Use the same format as in the example, but different wording)

The abstract page is exactly the same for the PRP as for the SRP with the exception of the FORMAT line which should be changed to read: Program Research Project.

Page numbers in this Appendix refer to the pages of the Communicative Arts Directive. For proper SRP/PRP page numbering, see the template instructions and "SRP/PRP/PEM Formatting."

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**HARMONIOUS OCEAN? CHINESE AIRCRAFT CARRIERS
AND AUSTRALIA'S U.S. ALLIANCE**

by

Colonel John Frewen
Australian Army

Dr. Paul Kan
Project Adviser

This SRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. 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

AUTHOR: Colonel John Frewen

TITLE: Harmonious Ocean? Chinese Aircraft Carriers and Australia's U.S. Alliance

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 10 March 2010 WORD COUNT: 5,741 PAGES: 36

KEY TERMS: ANZUS, Incidents at Sea, PLA, PLAN, Chinese Communist Party, Pacific Ocean, Maritime Strategy, Tension, White Paper

CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Pronouncements by senior Chinese officials in 2009 have made China's acquisition of aircraft carriers inevitable. Carrier groups will represent a significant increase in Chinese naval capability and will shift the regional *status quo*. Chinese carriers will present Australia a particular dilemma if they create additional tensions with U.S. forces in the Pacific. Australia's national security policy has long been underpinned by its alliance with the U.S. but in recent years China has become Australia's primary trading partner. Australia, therefore, risks being caught between the competing imperatives of security and trade if the U.S. and China are drawn into conflict. This paper considers the implications of a Chinese carrier capability in the Pacific Ocean and the impact to the Australia-U.S. security alliance. Australia should consider not only the military significance of Chinese carriers but their bearing upon perceptions of relative U.S./China pre-eminence, before China's carriers arrive in the Pacific Ocean.

HARMONIOUS OCEAN?

CHINESE AIRCRAFT CARRIERS AND AUSTRALIA'S U.S. ALLIANCE.

East Asia is in many respects the strategic anchor of the entire region in that the vital interests of the world's three most economically powerful states, the U.S., China and Japan intersect...it is in East Asia that continued American supremacy, the rise of China and corresponding Japanese anxiety — all fuelled by a range of national pathologies, painful historical memories, unresolved territorial and maritime disputes — have the potential to collide.¹

—Dr Michael Evans,
Australian Defence College

In March 2009, China's Defense Minister, Liang Guanglie, announced that China will equip the Peoples Liberation Army - Navy (PLAN) with two conventional aircraft carriers by 2015.² China has not previously pursued this capability formally.

Unconfirmed media reporting suggests China will possibly also seek two additional, nuclear-powered, carriers by 2020. China justifies the procurement of carriers as logical for a nation of its size and economic influence, and necessary to defend its interests.³ For the Chinese people, carriers will be the jewels in the crown of a powerful navy, a navy befitting China's rising great nation status.⁴

Having shaken off subjugation by foreign powers during the 18th and 19th Centuries, China is moving rapidly toward the center of the international stage. After 30 years of remarkable economic growth and a reshaping of the world's economic landscape in its favor, China is poised to step into a new, possibly global, era.⁵ Proud of its culture, traditions and rising international status, China views the next 15– 20 years as a “strategic window of opportunity (战略机遇期)” — a time for “national revitalization through continued economic, social and military development.”⁶

China's emerging role in global affairs is, as yet, uncertain. China's has unresolved historical and domestic issues that color her strategic judgments and make her intentions difficult to predict. It is also possible that China is growing and changing in ways the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) cannot control or predict.

Accompanying China's rapid economic growth are burgeoning maritime trade and energy requirements, a growing middle-class, and a rising sense of nationalism.⁷ In addition to these challenges, the CCP faces domestic poverty, rising unemployment, criticism of its own performance, a leadership transition in 2012 and a range of separatist movements.

Of all of these, the CCP's uneasy social contract with its increasingly affluent middle class is most notable.⁸ If the CCP is to retain its one-party rule, it must continue to deliver increasing prosperity and individual convenience, in part, by ensuring China's access to trade and resources, and particularly to oil. Chinese strategists are acutely aware that they could do little in response if the U.S. chose tomorrow to constrict China's maritime access to oil, minerals and markets.⁹ China's concern for its strategic sea lanes, and a sense that great nations have great navies, has drawn it to a carrier force of its own.¹⁰

The appearance of the first Chinese aircraft carrier in the Pacific Ocean will resonate throughout the Asia-Pacific and change the present regional dynamic. In Australia's case, Chinese carriers present a particular conundrum. Australia's Defence and Security policy has been underpinned by its traditional friendship and alliance with the U.S. since World War II. However, since 2007, China has become Australia's primary trading partner.¹¹ Any future tensions or conflict between the U.S. and China in

the Pacific Ocean will place Australia in a potentially invidious position — torn between security and trade.

This paper discusses what Chinese carriers might mean to the Asia-Pacific region and the implications for Australia's long-standing alliance with the U.S., particularly in the event of escalating U.S.-China maritime tensions. Short of open conflict, the greatest risk presented by Chinese carriers is a self-fulfilling prophecy of a U.S.-China Cold War. If conflict rather than accommodation is to mark China's rise, Australia must weigh the relative benefits of the U.S. alliance against other alternatives—such as neutrality or defense self-sufficiency—before being caught in a conflict contrary to its long-term national interests.

Background

Uncontested U.S. primacy in the Asia-Pacific has been a source of great stability for over half-a- century. For instance, between July 1995 and March 1996, the deployment of two U.S. carrier battle-groups (CVBG) to the South China Sea defused escalating tensions between China and Taiwan. At the time, the role of the U.S. carrier groups in the stand-off infuriated the Chinese. This response, and U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry's boast that "while the Chinese are a great military power, the premier—the strongest—military power in the Western Pacific is the United States",¹² contributed to a long-term Chinese determination to counter overwhelming U.S. maritime might.¹³

The Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) began a military modernization program in the 1990s to develop the ability to fight "local wars under modern, high-tech conditions."¹⁴ This process accelerated following the intervention of U.S. carriers over

Taiwan. A study of U.S. tactics in the first Gulf War, and the role of U.S. carriers in the Taiwan dispute, overturned the PLAN's long-standing preference for submarine forces which, until then, had been more prominent in China's naval development.¹⁵ China has since undertaken a range of activities to develop a carrier capability.

In 1992 the CCP authorized a program to study the development of a carrier. The PLAN subsequently acquired four retired aircraft carriers for research purposes (including the former Australian carrier the *HMAS Melbourne*).¹⁶ Another of these four, a former Soviet Kuznetsov class carrier, the *Varyag*, has been refitted in China's Dalian shipyards to "operational" status as a training carrier.¹⁷ It is likely that the PLAN's next step will be to produce of a medium-sized carrier (40 – 60,000 displaced tons) capable of conventional take-off and landing (CTOL) or vertical/short take-off and landing (VSTOL).¹⁸

Although China's shipbuilding industry faces significant challenges in producing carriers, it could deliver a moderately effective indigenous aircraft carrier within a decade.¹⁹ However, it will take China longer than that to acquire a sophisticated and mature carrier capability, comparable to U.S. equivalents. This will require advanced technologies, command and control systems, aviation abilities and ship defenses that will take years to perfect and train with.²⁰ It is unlikely, that China could surpass U.S. technological and naval dominance in any broad sense for decades.²¹ Therefore, the region has the opportunity, albeit fleeting, to prepare for the impact of Chinese carriers.

The Geo-political Reality

China shares borders with 14 countries and has ongoing maritime disputes with a number of them. China's dispute over Taiwan with the U.S. is ongoing,²² as are

disputes with Japan, Malaysia, Vietnam and the Philippines over the Spratly Islands archipelago (which straddles international shipping lanes through the South China Sea) and other contested territories.²³

China also faces internal secessionist movements in Tibet, and from the Uighurs (the East Turkestan Islamic Movement) in Xinjiang. Each of these attracts international criticism of China's human rights record. China is highly sensitive to foreign criticism and interference, and is disgruntled with neighbors who have sought to resolve territorial disputes through international bodies such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the United Nations (UN).²⁴

China's massive economy and domestic affluence depends on foreign trade and a sure supply of energy. Accordingly, energy security and trade are China's paramount maritime concerns. Maintaining a huge merchant marine fleet, and ensuring its freedom of access and security, will be an ongoing challenge for China.²⁵ Satisfying its exponentially rising energy demands in parallel with other burgeoning economies such as India and Brazil will be another.²⁶

Chinese President Hu Jintao has bemoaned China's "Malacca dilemma" which sees up to 40 percent of its imported oil pass through these straits without a concomitant Chinese ability to ensure free passage.²⁷ In response, the Chinese government has adopted a "string of pearls" strategy for the Indian Ocean to reduce reliance on the Malacca Straits. This consists of ports, bases and facilities in friendly countries designed to transport oil and other energy sources via roads and pipelines from the Indian Ocean into China.²⁸ Carriers will be a reassuring capability for the Chinese in this context but a concerning one for other nations.

The sheer size of China's population, markets and economy make her a source of immense potential economic prosperity for many regional nations. These nations have a large stake in China's peaceful rise, just as China has a vested interest in maintaining the conditions that has supported its rise—including the stable international order created by U.S. security efforts over recent decades.²⁹ Economic interdependence can be a positive and stabilizing influence if China continues to need the world as much as the world needs China.³⁰ However, China's suspicions of U.S. motivations³¹ and resistance to formal security arrangements create an unnerving perception of Chinese monolithic unilateralism.

The Asia-Pacific has no binding identity comparable to NATO. Each nation has unique circumstances and interests and it is not possible to define an Asia-Pacific regional perspective.³² In the Pacific, five U.S. defense allies (Japan, South Korea, The Philippines, Thailand and Australia) and close partner, Singapore, remain committed to the U.S. as the guarantor of regional security. What has changed is that China has supplanted the U.S. economically as the major trading partner of each of these nations.

These countries now face what Dr. Michael Evans describes as an "economic-strategic dissonance" whereby their economic prosperity is linked to continuing Chinese growth but is underwritten by the U.S. balancing China's rise.³³ None of these nations want China to become too strong or too weak. An assertive China is a cause for concern yet so is a floundering China that inadvertently exports its instability.³⁴ In essence, China's rise is making the U.S. more, not less, relevant, and there is little risk of U.S. influence waning in the region.³⁵ But, Chinese carriers could change perceptions of U.S. regional pre-eminence.³⁶

Notwithstanding the financial and technological challenges ahead, China's acquisition of a substantive carrier capability appears inevitable.³⁷ China aims to avoid the mistakes of earlier rising powers such as Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan who staked claims to global leadership and directly challenged the dominant powers of the time.³⁸ Instead, China is seeking to shape the global rules, norms and institutions that may affect her economic future.³⁹ Accordingly, one of China's foreign policy objectives is to reassure other countries that her rise does not threaten their economic or security interests.⁴⁰ This will be difficult to achieve within the current CCP context of introversion, sensitivity and intriguing.⁴¹

What Do Chinese Carriers Signify?

Despite President Hu Jintao's assurance that, "For now and in the future, China would never seek hegemony, nor would it turn to military expansion or arms races with other nations,"⁴² Chinese carriers will be an unsettling symbol of China's growing military might for nations in the Asia-Pacific. Carriers represent military power projection in the purest sense, and seem incongruous with China's strict belief in noninterference in the affairs of other states.⁴³

Chinese carriers will compound existing regional concerns about a lack of transparency in Chinese governmental processes,⁴⁴ including uncertainty about the role of the Chinese military in policy making⁴⁵ and China's increasing use of 'soft power' diplomacy to expand its global influence.⁴⁶ Australia's 2009 Defence White Paper called on China to "do more" to explain why its military modernization appears beyond the scope required for a conflict over Taiwan.⁴⁷ At best, uncertainty "dominates the circumstances of China's economic rise".⁴⁸

Chinese leaders argue that, “China is totally transparent in strategic intentions”⁴⁹ and that the U.S. maintains a Cold War mentality with respect to China. The U.S. insists on the right of military aircraft to operate 12 nautical miles from China’s coastline in defiance of China’s stated 200 nautical mile exclusion zone (the same distance the U.S. and Russia maintained off each other’s coasts during the Cold War).⁵⁰ This has created overt animosity between the U.S. Navy and the PLAN for over a decade.⁵¹ Future incidents are likely to be exacerbated by the intervention of a Chinese carrier group.⁵²

In a practical sense, two, or even four, Chinese carriers will not alter the overwhelming military advantage maintained by the U.S. Navy’s eleven sophisticated carrier battle groups. The U.S. experience is that it takes three carriers to maintain one ready for sea. In this light, it will be many years before the PLAN could hope to generate a consistent carrier presence.⁵³ Others argue that the U.S. military will maintain its qualitative military and technological edge, particularly in space, and Chinese carriers will merely become additional targets for U.S. aircraft and cruise missiles.⁵⁴

China is, therefore, also pursuing complementary technological and asymmetric capabilities that could counter, or neutralize, overwhelming U.S. military advantages.⁵⁵ These capabilities, often generically referred to as the “Assassin’s Mace” (杀手锏)⁵⁶ reportedly include anti-ship cruise missiles;⁵⁷ anti-satellite missiles; and stealth, nano and cyber warfare technologies.⁵⁸ The successful Chinese test of anti-satellite missile in January 2007 and the potential for mysterious Chinese capabilities, fuel concerns about China’s strategic intentions.

Some view these technologies as beyond China’s immediate reach or able to be defeated by emerging U.S. capabilities.⁵⁹ Others portend a “technological Pearl Harbor”

(consistent with a Chinese strategic culture which values surprise and deception) in which U.S. command systems are paralyzed or a major platform is destroyed by potent secret weapons.⁶⁰ On balance, it is reasonable to assume that China is seeking capability advantages, as do all military powers, but as yet they have not exhibited any aggressive intent.⁶¹

What Will Chinese Carriers Do?

In 2004, President Hu Jintao expanded the PLAN's role to include "safeguarding China's expanding national interests and ensuring world peace."⁶² This extended the PLAN's focus beyond Taiwan and maritime sovereignty toward protection of China's increasingly important international sea lines of communication (SLOCs). China's role in recent years in international institutions, including supporting UN Security Council Resolutions⁶³ (a shift from the previously strict belief in the 'noninterference in the internal affairs of states) and participation in coalition counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia, supports this intent.

Major General Qian Lihua, Director of the Chinese Defence Ministry's Foreign Affairs Office, has stated, "The question is not whether you have an aircraft carrier, but what you do with your aircraft carrier."⁶⁴ He added that, "unlike another country, we will not use [a carrier] to pursue global deployment or global reach" Instead he described a carrier's purpose as offshore defense.⁶⁵ However, there is little utility for carriers in sea-denial of China's coastal areas or in a direct role in an operation to seize Taiwan, as air power can be projected from the Chinese mainland.⁶⁶

The real utility of carriers is providing air cover for forces conducting sea-control and sea-denial away from China's shores and outside the range of their land-based air

defense. In this context, “PLAN officers speak of developing three oceangoing fleets, one to patrol the areas around Korea and Japan, another to push out to the Western Pacific and a third to protect the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca.”⁶⁷ Chinese carriers could detect and interdict forces in the Pacific Ocean;⁶⁸ ensure sea passage through the Malaccan Straits; or protect string of pearls bases across the length of China’s strategic sea supply routes into the Indian Ocean.⁶⁹

The high risk of losing a carrier to U.S. weapons or provoking an escalating U.S. or regional response (including a nuclear one) makes an aggressive Chinese carrier posture unlikely. However, it is possible that a Chinese carrier group could deter or delay an intervention by U.S. carrier groups, or apply pressure during a stand-off or negotiation, while avoiding direct confrontation.⁷⁰ It is also conceivable, in a conventional sense, that China could achieve some form of limited, local sea dominance against U.S. or coalition naval forces, or win a localized, short, high-intensity naval engagement for strategic advantage. In these circumstances, Chinese carriers would challenge the perception of U.S. maritime dominance in the Pacific.⁷¹

Carriers also offer the CCP the means to posture in ways presently not available to them. Carriers could be used with economic and cultural tools to persuade and coerce, such as protecting blockading ships from air, surface and sub-surface threats.⁷² Furthermore, a carrier might play “smart power” roles, like evacuation operations in support of China’s immense international diasporas or humanitarian interventions.⁷³

In one sense, a carrier group may present China with a “Great Red Fleet” to extend Chinese influence and authority in a manner reminiscent of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt’s “Great White Fleet” of 1907 - 1909. At a minimum, Chinese

carriers herald an increasing presence in the Pacific Ocean that will require an accommodation by the U.S. and other regional nations. Short of the unlikely event of open conflict, Chinese carriers will be as much about perceptions as tactical effect, and will complicate the strategic calculations of others.⁷⁴

The Risks of Chinese Carriers

In 2008, a Chinese admiral offered to the U.S. Commander Pacific Command a division of the Pacific Ocean between the two countries once China has carriers.⁷⁵ In 2009, China hardened its position on the Spratly Islands pushing for bilateral rather than international resolution of the territorial disputes.⁷⁶ Both indicate China's growing diplomatic confidence and a determination to avoid checking of its strategic intentions.⁷⁷

The U.S. is wary of Chinese military intentions in the Asia-Pacific and conscious of regional nations' unease. Militarily speaking, China's procurement of anti-access and area-denial weapons is of most concern.⁷⁸ Strategically, there is a risk for the U.S. that regional nations might shift from U.S.-China fence-sitting to "band-wagoning" with China. As Australian strategist Hugh White asserts, "As the British discovered and as the Chinese discovered, once you lose economic primacy, strategic primacy follows pretty quickly."⁷⁹

U.S. policy will remain a key variable for the region, and U.S. responses to Chinese carriers will be closely watched.⁸⁰ The region will act with confidence if the U.S. remains economically significant and a security guarantor. It will become unsettled if the U.S. is perceived as inadequately committed or if the U.S. engages China insensitively.⁸¹ At worst, an ambiguous U.S. response could trigger a militarily resurgent

Japan⁸² or accelerate the current widespread regional naval modernization into a maritime arms race.⁸³

In 2007, the U.S. Pacific Fleet for the first time had more ships assigned to it than the Atlantic Fleet.⁸⁴ While this is a prudent military contingency response, and reassuring to allies, it can conversely be perceived by China as an aggressive U.S. containment policy. Thereby, hardening China's competitive resolve and potentially provoking an antagonistic strategic response—increasing the likelihood of tensions between the PLAN and the U.S. Navy.⁸⁵ The correct balance will remain difficult to find.

While outright Chinese aggression appears unlikely in the next decade-or-so, Chinese carriers operating in the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean will encounter ships from Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and the U.S.⁸⁶ These nations have competing interests and maintain surveillance on each others' activities. Chinese carriers will increase suspicion and amplify tensions.

A series of attempts to build confidence and develop Chinese and American bilateral agreements have met with little success. None have delivered enduring or effective means of managing crises between the two countries.⁸⁷ It is concerning that no "Incident at Sea" type of agreement exists between the U.S. and China, as existed to defuse tensions between the U.S. and the USSR from 1972. Whether future naval tensions arise from longstanding disputes, from the CCP's exploitation of nationalistic sentiments, or from some apparently trivial event—a Chinese carrier group will raise the stakes (and emotions), and increase the possibility of an incident escalating unintentionally.⁸⁸

The unintended consequences of Chinese carriers pose the greatest threat to regional harmony in the decades ahead. Without an agreement to moderate sea incidents it may be impossible to realize a 'harmonious ocean' between a Chinese carrier-capable navy and other regional navies in the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean.⁸⁹

The Australian Context

Australia shifted its security reliance from Great Britain to the U.S. after the sinking of the *H.M.S Repulse* and the *H.M.S. Prince of Wales* on 10 Dec 1941, just days after Pearl Harbor.⁹⁰ A lack of air cover—and arguably the absence of a carrier permitted this catastrophe. The loss of these two British ships effectively destroyed Singapore's naval protection, just when Australia feared Japan attacking if Singapore fell. This shook Australia and exposed Britain's inadequate commitment to defending its former colony. Ever since, Australia's has looked to the U.S. as its principal security ally.⁹¹

The cultural ties and debt of gratitude to the U.S. run deep in Australia.⁹² The Australia, New Zealand and U.S (ANZUS) Security Treaty of 1951 is a military alliance for cooperate on defense matters in the Pacific region, and which binds Australia and the U.S. to common defense in the event of an attack on either country.⁹³ The treaty has dominated Australian strategic thought since World War II and has, in effect, allowed Australia to forsake a strategy of defense self-sufficiency. Australia has faithfully supported U.S. security endeavors from Vietnam to Iraq and Afghanistan, and benefitted by maintaining a relatively small, albeit professional, defense force.

Once a British colonial outpost, Australia has gradually drawn closer to Asia in population composition and economic focus. Presently, Japan and China are Australia's major export markets and Australia actively seeks a closer relationship with regional organizations such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).⁹⁴ Australia's Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, is the first Western leader fluent in Mandarin. Despite these, recent Australian-Sino relations have been mixed, largely due to Chinese resentment over Australian rules for foreign investment and the tone of Australia's 2009 Defence White Paper –which sets out strategy and military spending priorities for Australia until 2030.

The Defence White Paper identifies China's rise as a challenge but falls short of describing China as a direct threat. However, the inference is not difficult to draw, as the White Paper cautions China that the "pace, scope and structure" of its military build-up appears "beyond that required for a conflict over Taiwan" and cause for regional concern in the absence of further explanation.⁹⁵ The White Paper also announced a surprising increase of 12 submarines, effectively doubling the presently undermanned Australian fleet.⁹⁶ No precise role is offered for these additional submarines other than "sea control including freedom of navigation and the protection of shipping."⁹⁷

These submarines appear intended to deny the maritime approaches to Australia, to protect Australian trade routes and shipping, and, if required, to contribute usefully to a U.S.-led coalition against a maritime force.⁹⁸ The tenor of the White Paper and the submarine fleet expansion angered China while underscoring the enduring centrality of Australia's U.S. alliance.⁹⁹ Prime Minister Rudd has further reinforced

Australia's ongoing security reliance on the U.S. by describing China as a partner and the U.S. as a strategic ally.¹⁰⁰

Australia's conundrum is now two-fold: how to avoid U.S. policy drawing China—and by default Australia—into conflict; and, how to accommodate Chinese interests without undermining the U.S. alliance. An additional challenge is moderating Australian coordination with the U.S. to avoid losing an independent voice with China.¹⁰¹

In the event of escalating U.S./China tensions, Australia could assume different roles. One is trusted middleman, or go-between, working to achieve accommodation over conflict between the two great powers. Australia's close historical and cultural relationship with the U.S. and its growing independent trade and regional ties with China have it uniquely placed to mediate if U.S./China relations soured to the point of *incomunicado*.¹⁰² Evidence of the developing strength of Australia's relationship was recently seen in Chinese Vice Premier Li Keqiang, lavishing "extraordinary praise" on Australia as a partner and friend during a visit to Australia in October 2009, despite the recent frictions in the relationship.¹⁰³

Alternatively, Australia could become marginalized as tensions rise, without the ear of either great nation, particularly if perceived as militarily irrelevant or a military minion of the U.S. Australia requires a sufficiently independent defense policy and an effective level of military deterrence to retain Chinese respect. Presently, Australia does not maintain adequate deterrent capability against a nation of China's might (without U.S. backing) and will remain dependent on support from U.S. capabilities until at least 2030 under the financial constraints of the current White Paper. True defense self-sufficiency poses significant challenges to Australian policy makers.

At worst, Australia could be martyred in a U.S./China conflict if it honors its alliance with U.S. but finds its military capacity seriously degraded and its trade with China suspended. Australia lacks strategic depth in its major platforms and relies on a technological advantage over other regional powers to deter or defend against attack. Being drawn into a conventional force-on-force conflict at sea could be devastating to the Royal Australian Navy. A major Chinese strike (possibly even nuclear) against U.S. installations on Australian soil would be a momentous political test for any Australian government, and beyond Australia's capacity to retaliate decisively. Such a predicament would be compounded if U.S. maritime dominance fell into question as Australia was trying to regenerate major capabilities.

In this regard, the recent Defence White Paper has been criticized as ambiguous by several foreign policy commentators.¹⁰⁴ Australian strategist Hugh White has accused the White Paper of deferring the 'hard decisions' of how to respond to China's rise, and of failing to account for how an eclipse of U.S. primacy might reshape Australia's strategic objectives and operational capabilities. His concern is that Australian self reliance is not realistically considered nor are preparations adequate for escalating tensions between the U.S. and China. Of course, budgetary considerations have guided Australia's present strategy.

Hugh White asked, "Do we stay with the U.S. as it becomes drawn deeper into a competitive relationship with China? I think the answer is quite probably not."¹⁰⁵ His answer is heretical to many, suggesting the almost unthinkable that Australia might remain neutral—or perhaps even side with China—if a conflict with the U.S. were to emerge. While this approach seems a remote possibility in the current political context,

other regional nations may choose to take that path (particularly if it is paved with Chinese largesse). In these circumstances, neutrality or an alternative alliance offer other options for Australia.

An alliance with another regional nation such as Japan—or possibly India—might support a neutral Australian stance but could still result in Australia being drawn into a broadening U.S./China conflict. A new alliance would also struggle to replicate the trust and surety associated with the well-tested U.S. alliance, at least for many decades. Australian full-neutrality could not be considered without actual defense self-reliance.

Australia's 2009 Defence White Paper notes that U.S. nuclear protection 'has removed the need for Australia to consider more "significant and expensive defense options."¹⁰⁶ Although not named, these options could include Australian aircraft carriers and Australian nuclear weapons. Australia relinquished its carrier capability (*HMAS Melbourne*) in 1982 and has never pursued nuclear weapons. There is currently no Australian intention, nor public debate, to acquire either.¹⁰⁷ These capability options could require prominent consideration if China becomes militarily aggressive or if the U.S. signals a withdrawal from the Pacific.

Australia is well positioned to act as middleman during rising tensions between China and the U.S. despite the risk of marginalization. Australia should reinforce its status as a trusted interlocutor and valued independent agent (as evidenced by Australia's regional leadership roles in East Timor and the Solomon Islands) and continue to play a leading regional role in encouraging Chinese transparency. Australia can also champion an "Incident at Sea"-style agreement between China and other

regional nations¹⁰⁸ while continuing to develop military capabilities that are useful to both U.S.-led coalitions and to regional security more broadly.

In the event of an open conflict between China and the U.S., Australia lacks the ability to provide air cover to a maritime force deployed away from its shores and has no independently credible deterrent to a major power, in isolation from the U.S. alliance. To mitigate these risks, Australia requires a more thorough consideration of the underpinnings of defense self-sufficiency, including an Australian carrier capability and nuclear deterrence.

Conclusion

Announcements about China's carrier intentions are the latest manifestation of a growing military and maritime capability that is difficult to interpret but impossible to ignore. As ever, China remains enigmatic. What is certain is that the CCP faces a complex set of challenges to maintain China's rise, to meet its growing trade and energy requirements, and to retain political power. China's expanding interests, and her aircraft carriers, will unavoidably affect Australia's strategic circumstances in the coming decades. Notwithstanding the military capabilities that carriers will afford China, miscalculations or misunderstandings from incidents at sea are the most significant threat to the peaceful inclusion of a carrier-capable Chinese navy in the Pacific Ocean.

Each of the Pacific nations will manage China's carrier ambitions differently but the U.S. response will set the regional tone. For Australia, the choices include retaining U.S. security dependence—thereby risking a form of martyrdom; or pursuing greater defense self-sufficiency. In Australia, the debate about genuine defense self-sufficiency has not been held in any substantial sense. Therefore, by default, the U.S. alliance will

retain its primacy in Australian strategic thought—and Australian military capabilities will evolve in accordance with the intent of the 2009 Defence White Paper—at least, until the time that Chinese carriers are likely to appear.

Despite any good intentions, it appears unlikely that Chinese aircraft carriers will enhance harmony in the Pacific Ocean. There are still at least five years before Chinese carriers appear on the horizon of China's Pacific neighbors. Australia must consider not only the military implication of Chinese carriers but the perceptions that they will create in terms of relative U.S./China pre-eminence. It is best that this thinking is done before China's carriers materialize in the Pacific Ocean. Developing an understanding of the regional perceptions of Chinese carriers will be important to achieving accommodation rather than conflict, and to maintaining stability and confidence in the Asia-Pacific.

Endnotes

¹ Michael Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox: Asia, the United States and the Global Balance of Power in the 21st Century," *Quadrant* 53, no. 9 (September 2009): 3.

² Global Security.org, "Aircraft Carrier Project," *Global Security*, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/cv.htm> (accessed October 18, 2009); Wang Jianfen and Nie Ligao, "Japan Defense Minister's China Visit a Sign of Warming Relations," *China Daily*, March 23, 2009, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-03/23/content_7607571.htm (accessed October 18, 2009).

³ China 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.

⁴ In 1890, the American military theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan published *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, which argued that the power to protect merchant fleets had been the determining factor in world history. Apparently, Chinese and Indian naval strategists read him avidly nowadays. Robert Kaplan, "Center Stage for the 21st Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2009, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64832/robert-d-kaplan/center-stage-for-the-21st-century> (accessed October 20, 2009).

⁵ China's burgeoning economy is likely to be second only to the United States in the coming decades. China has the largest holdings of foreign reserves, the largest national surplus and a massive population of well over one billion people. China is also now a leading member of the Group of 20 (which has usurped the Group of Eight) and has the three largest banks in the

world, positions previously held by the US. Andrew G. Walder, "Unruly Stability: Why China's Regime Has Staying Power," *Current History* 108, no. 719 (September 2009): 257; Evan S. Medeiros, "Is Beijing Ready for Global Leadership?" *Current History* 108, no. 719 (September 2009): 250.

⁶ Medeiros, "Is Beijing Ready for Global Leadership?" 251.

⁷ Chinese nationalistic sentiment has been encouraged to some extent by the CCP and witnessed internationally during proud emotional outpourings the Beijing Olympics in 2008. However, this sense of nationalism has a darker side which has been seen on the internet in bouts of rage against perceived western anti-Chinese bias over issues such as Tibetan independence – by both indigenous Chinese and by some of the large Chinese diaspora. But just as this could be harnessed by the CCP against the West, the CCP fear that this rage could quickly be turned against them if China's economy were to slow or stall or if issues such as corruption, pollution or human rights abuses are not addressed. "Angry China," *Economist* 387, no. 8578 (May 1, 2008): 17.

⁸ It is uncertain how the People's Republic of China (PRC) might respond to domestic challenges to its one party autocracy but diverting attention to foreign issues must be one possibility. Nationalist sentiments driving capability acquisitions such as carriers can cloud judgments and fuel emotions. The CCP may be tempted to take advantage of such a high profile project to bolster its own prestige and use a carrier in high profile tasks, or 'flag waving' exercises that might generate friction with other regional powers. Robert S. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the US Response," *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 64.

⁹ The US is the only power that can control the entire world's oceans and who, if inclined could impede China's flow of trade and energy resources. Aaron L. Friedberg and Robert S. Ross, "Here Be Dragons," *National Interest*, September/October 2009, <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22022> (accessed November 8, 2008).

¹⁰ In 2008, Major General Qian Lihua, Director of the Defence Ministry's Foreign Affairs Office, has stated that, "the navy of any great power...has the dream to have one or more aircraft carrier." Other Chinese Defence Ministry spokesmen have described carriers as, "a reflection of a nation's comprehensive power." Andrew S. Erickson and Andrew R. Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," *Naval War College Review* 59, no. 4 (Autumn 2006): 28; Edward Wong, "China Signals More Interest in Building Aircraft Carrier," *New York Times*, December 24, 2008.

¹¹ "China Emerges as Our Biggest Trade Partner," *The Australian*, May 5, 2007; Hon Simon Crean, "Trade Figures Confirm China and Japan as Top Trade Partners," *Australian Minister for Trade Website*, May 6, 2008, http://www.trademinister.gov.au/releases/2008/sc_033.html (accessed October 18, 2009).

¹² Global Security.org, "Taiwan Strait, 21 July 1995 to 23 March 1996," *Global Security*, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/taiwan_strait.htm (accessed October 18, 2009).

¹³ The PLAN's primary strategic purpose from its inception in 1949 until the mid-1980s was 'coastal defense' to counter an invasion by the Soviet Pacific Fleet. During the 1980s, the PLAN's strategy shifted to 'offshore defense' suited to China's regional maritime interests within

its 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ). The PLAN increasingly appears to be drawn to a strategy of 'distant sea defense' not bound by the geographical constraints of the mainland, but guided rather by China's "maritime needs". China's offshore EEZ areas include the Yellow Sea, East China Sea, South China Sea, the seas around the Spratly Islands and Taiwan, the areas inside and outside of the Okinawa island chain as well as the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, *The People's Liberation Army Navy: A Modern Navy with Chinese Characteristics* (Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, July 2009), 5-6.

¹⁴ Richard Weitz, "Enduring Difficulties in China-U.S. Defense Diplomacy," *Korean Journal of Defence Analysis* 21, no. 4 (December 2009): 394.

¹⁵ This alternative view stemmed from a view that submarines could threaten US carriers whereas Chinese carriers would be a vulnerable target to the US ('floating coffins') — particularly without an escort fleet. There was also a belief that submarines, being less conspicuous, could accomplish much of what a carrier could without alienating or provoking neighboring countries. There has been substantial resistance to pursuing carriers from the PLA and PLAN submariners. Opponents advocate continued focus on anti-access strategies. Erickson and Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," 29; Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism," 75.

¹⁶ The four carriers are: the former Australian carrier *HMAS Melbourne* and three former Soviet carriers, the *Minsk*, *Kiev* and *Varyag*. Erickson and Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," 19; "China: Rusting Carriers May Prove Tea Leaves for Naval Future," *STRATFOR Global Intelligence*, March 8, 2002, in Stratfor (accessed October 18, 2009).

¹⁷ *The Varyag* is likely to be seaworthy between 2010 -2012 for use as a training ship to develop 'basic proficiencies in carrier operations'. In line with this, China has trained 50 pilots on Russian Su-33 carrier-borne fighter carrier take offs and landings and is negotiating with Russia to acquire up to 50 of the Su-33s fighters for the PLAN's Air force (PLANAF). U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, *The People's Liberation Army Navy*, 19.

¹⁸ Hall, *The Blue Water Dragon*, 7.

¹⁹ China has shown some proficiency in the construction of high-end technology commercial shipping, including the Luyang destroyers and Jiankai frigates which "represent a clear advance in hull, propulsion, weapon and combat system design" over their predecessors. But commentators suggest this should 'tempered' by the relatively high dependency on foreign technical assistance and foreign production of technical components. One complex project at the Shanghai Waigaoqiao Shipbuilding, in 2008, required a foreign technical assistance team four times the size of a comparable project in South Korea — and the most complex portions of the ship were scheduled to be completed in Singapore. Additionally, China's capacity to produce products for high-tech and high added-value shipping was described as 'woefully insufficient'. Jane's, "Navy, China," *Jane's Sentinel Country Risk Assessment*, February 3, 2009, in Jane's (accessed October 18, 2009); Michael C. Grubb and Gabriel Collins, "Chinese Shipbuilding: Growing Fast but How Good Is It?" *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 134, no. 3 (March 2008): 46-47.

²⁰ Estimates of when China could produce an indigenous carrier presently range between the Chinese's own ambitious suggestion of commencement as early as 2010 and more conservative estimates suggesting completion of a first carrier around 2020. The PLAN is not yet

considered to have developed a sophisticated ability to integrate command, control and communications systems across a maritime or joint task force. PLAN ships remain vulnerable to attack by the US and her allies because of limitations in targeting, air defense, mine-counter measures (MCM) and anti-submarine warfare (ASW). There is also concern that China's associated doctrine, training and logistics may take some years to mature to a suitable state. Ronald O'Rourke, *The Impact of Chinese Naval Modernization on the Future of the United States Navy* (New York: Novinka Books, 2006), 17-18.

²¹ Friedberg and Ross, "Here Be Dragons."

²² The CCP has criticized US arms sales to Taiwan as recently as December 2009. Ben Blanchard, "China Says Opposed to U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan," *Reuters Online*, December 10, 2009, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE5B90XV20091210> (accessed December 13, 2009).

²³ Complicating these interactions is China's expanded claim to the entire South China Sea under the UN Law of the Sea Treaty, which includes 200 nautical miles of EEZ and Extended Continental Shelves (ECS). China's attempted claim has also ignited new frictions with North and South Korea as well as Indonesia. David Lai, *China's Maritime Quest* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, June 2009), 2.

²⁴ Consequently, the CCP's pronouncements can appear emotionally-charged and fuelled by nationalist sentiment. The unresolved issue of Taiwan has been perceived by Chinese leadership as a 'threat to their pride and authority' and they are most concerned that Taiwanese independence could spur on other separatist movements. U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, *The People's Liberation Army Navy*, 4.

²⁵ 90 percent of China's trade and resources go by sea. Lai, *China's Maritime Quest*, 2.

²⁶ China first became a net oil importer only 16 years ago and, as a latecomer to the market, has had to seek oil from "countries with pariah reputations, war-torn territories and hard-to-extract oil reserves". China is sensitive to charges that it is defying international sanctions or freeloading off U.S. military protection to secure its oil but feels it has little choice. Anthony Kuhn, "China Spends Billions in a Global Spree for Oil," *National Public Radio*, October 27, 2009, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=114178349> (accessed October 30, 2009).

²⁷ Robert Kaplan, "Center Stage for the 21st Century."

²⁸ China is building a large naval base and listening post in Gwadar, Pakistan; a port in Pasni, Pakistan; a fueling station on the southern coast of Sri Lanka; and a container facility with extensive naval and commercial access in Chittagong, Bangladesh. In Myanmar, the Chinese are constructing (or upgrading) commercial and naval bases and building roads, waterways, and pipelines in order to link the Bay of Bengal to the southern Chinese province of Yunnan. The Chinese government is also envisioning a canal across the Isthmus of Kra, in Thailand, to link the Indian Ocean to China's Pacific coast. Kaplan, "Center Stage for the 21st Century." Also discussed in Christopher J. Pehrson, *String of Pearls: Meeting the Challenge of China's Rising Power across the Asian Littoral* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, July 2006).

²⁹ "...the future and destiny of China have been increasingly closely connected with the international community. China cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world, nor can the world enjoy prosperity and stability without China... China is unswervingly taking the road of peaceful development...and endeavoring to build, together with other countries, a harmonious world of enduring peace and common prosperity." Chinese Government, "China's National Defence in 2008," *Chinese Government's Official Web Portal Online*, http://www.gov.cn/english/official/2009-01/20/content_1210227_2.htm (accessed October 20, 2009).

³⁰ It is also argued that it is not rising states such as China but failing states such as Pakistan and North Korea that present the greatest challenge to the US. Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox," 15.

³¹ The CCP particularly fears a US 'soft-containment' policy aimed at promoting democracy in China. Weitz, "Enduring Difficulties in China-U.S. Defense Diplomacy," 390.

³² Dean Cheng, "Asia Facing Interesting Times," *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 55 (4th Quarter 2009): 34.

³³ Dr. Evans further elucidates the confounding relationships which characterize the region through his "Manchurian paradox" premise. Evans contends that most of Asia wants the U.S. to continue as the benign ringmaster balancing China and Japan, while China is reliant on the U.S. to prevent Japanese re-armament and a potential Japan-Taiwan alliance. In turn, the U.S. needs China's assistance in containing North Korean nuclear weapons. Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox," 6.

³⁴ Japan has a rising sense of nationalism and is anxious about a more assertive China. Singapore is anxious about China and general instability in its immediate region. South Korea and the Philippines consider China relatively benign and do not want to aggravate China unnecessarily. Without evidence of aggression, Thailand is ambivalent to Chinese growth. Australia is cautious and wants to avoid being drawn into rivalry with China by US policy. Evan S. Medeiros et al., *Pacific Currents: The Responses of U.S. Allies and Security Partners in East Asia to China's Rise* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2008), xviii - xxiii.

³⁵ In the Asia-Pacific, the U.S. "remains the indispensable global power — the only state that is capable of occupying the role of geopolitical ringmaster." Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox," 15.

³⁶ One commentator has noted that the US may not be the most trusted nation in Asia but it is generally the least *distrusted*, with less baggage than other Asian powers, no territorial aspirations in the region and less subject to intimidation from China. Cheng, "Asia Facing Interesting Times," 33-34.

³⁷ In a practical sense, the US Navy has never faced the type of threat emerging in the PLAN — "a layered maritime capability with medium range anti-ship ballistic missiles and...a long-range anti-access, preventative or pre-emptive strike capability against surface ships, including high-value platforms such as carriers." Peter Brookes, "Flashpoint: The Great Wall Goes to Sea," *Armed Forces Journal*, July 2009, <http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2009/07/4118579> (accessed November 3, 2009).

³⁸ Medeiros, "Is Beijing Ready for Global Leadership," 252.

³⁹ For example, China created the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the China Africa Cooperation Forum and has taken a greater role in the ASEAN Regional Forum. *Ibid.*, 255.

⁴⁰ Other priorities are to maintain a stable international environment to facilitate ongoing domestic reform and development, to reassure other countries that China's rise does not threaten their economic or security interests, to limit containment of China's revitalization, to diversify its access to energy and natural resources, and to avoid Taiwan's independence. China is pursuing these through an increasing range of strategic partnerships and economic diplomacy often referred to as China's burgeoning 'soft power'. *Ibid.*, 251-252.

⁴¹ Since the Bush '42' Administration, the US has taken a conciliatory tone with China but it has not led to stable and ongoing military dialogue. On 26 Oct 2009, media reporting indicated that Xu Caihou, the vice-chairman of the PLA's Central Military Commission, would be the first Chinese military leader to tour several sensitive US military sites including US Strategic Command – the command responsible for nuclear weapons and cyber-warfare. This visit marked the first resumption of military exchanges since the halt declared by China over the sale of US arms to Taiwan in October 2008. Peng Kuang and Li Xiaokun, "Army Leader to Tour US Military Sites," *China Daily*, October 24, 2009, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-10/24/content_8843096.htm (accessed October 30, 2009).

⁴² Announced at the PLAN CHarmonious Ocean 60th anniversary celebrations on 23 April 2009. Richard Weitz, "Global Insights: The Chinese Navy Throws a Party," *World Politics Review*, <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/article.aspx?id=3662> (accessed April 28, 2009).

⁴³ The head of the US delegation at the PLAN 60th celebrations, Admiral Gary Roughhead, in April 2009 said, "If it is not clear what the intent is of the use of an aircraft carrier, I would say that it may cause concern with some of the regional navies and nations." *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Weitz, "Enduring Difficulties in China-U.S. Defense Diplomacy," 393.

⁴⁵ However, it appears that, "The continuously declining number of PLA representatives within the PBSC [CCP Politburo Standing Committee] since the 1990s is a strong indicator of the PLA's weakening influence on the national security policymaking." Joo-Youn Jung contends that China's security policymaking is actually quite similar to other 'normal' nations and increasingly consensual among the CCP civilian leadership. Joo-Youn Jung, "China's National Security Policymaking: Waning Military Representation and Shifting Policy Priorities," *Korean Journal of Defence Analysis* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 82-83.

⁴⁶ Opinions on Chinese intentions range from a belief that China's bureaucracy is grossly inefficient or corrupt, to a China which is geared for aggressive responses to crises and already engaged in a long-term stratagem to avoid another 'century of shame' at the hands of the West. China's bureaucracy appears plagued by structural problems, inefficiencies and rampant corruption. As examples, the gigantic state industrial sector is considered, 'grossly inefficient' and the Chinese state 'obsessive' about measures to ensure political order. The Finance Ministry is politically weak and has little authority to make policy. Security agencies are perceived as 'overly' secretive and riddled with divisions and a lack of coordination. Walder, "Unruly Stability," 257-258; Medeiros, "Is Beijing Ready for Global Leadership?" 253.

⁴⁷ Australian Department of Defence, *Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030*, Defence White Paper 2009 (Canberra, ACT: Australian Department of Defence, 2009), 34.

⁴⁸ Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox," 1.

⁴⁹ Major General Qian Lihua, Director of the Defence Ministry's Foreign Affairs Office, quoted in Kuang and Xiaokun, "Army Leader to Tour US Military Sites."

⁵⁰ "Overkill: China Is Piling up More Weapons Than It Appears to Need," *Economist* 393, no. 8654 (October 22, 2009): 9.

⁵¹ Prior to the incident in 2001 in which a U.S. Navy EP-3A surveillance aircraft collided with a Chinese F-811 fighter (killing the Chinese pilot), the Chinese delegation to a Military Maritime Consultation Agreement (MMCA) meeting complained of increasingly provocative U.S. military flights near China's airspace. As recently as March 2009, U.S. surveillance activity in the South China and Yellow Seas raised Chinese ire and resulted in a series of tense incidents between the *USNS Impeccable* and Chinese ships and aircraft. Furthermore, a U.S. sonar array was damaged in an incident involving the *USNS John McCain* and a PLAN Submarine in June 2009. Weitz, "Enduring Difficulties in China-U.S. Defense Diplomacy," 383.

⁵² Even PLAN pragmatists argue that the pursuit of carriers could undermine China's peaceful rise strategy by emphasizing hard power and antagonizing U.S. hegemony. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism," 72.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁴ Some argue that the risk of losing a carrier could make China more cautious about exercising its maritime might and create an additional benefit of diverting resources from more effective submarine-based access-denial capabilities. Friedberg and Ross, "Here Be Dragons."

⁵⁵ In particular, techniques for paralyzing an enemy's computer networks, to render him deaf and blind during the critical opening phases of a war.

⁵⁶ Commentaries on Assassin's Mace range from dismissive to fearful. Moderates portray the term as overused and comparable to that of 'silver bullet' in English. Alastair Lain Johnston, *Toward Contextualizing the Concept of a Shashoujian (Assassin's Mace)* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Government Department, August 2002), 2, <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~johnston/shashoujian.pdf> (accessed December 1, 2009).

⁵⁷ Including the YJ-62 warhead believed to be an anti-carrier cruise missile. Jonathan Weng, "China's YJ-62 Anti-ship Missile Unveiled," *Military Technology* 30, no. 12 (2006): 117.

⁵⁸ China may also be developing (or already have) powerful high-power microwave (HPM) electro-magnetic pulse (EMP) devices that could be utilized to disable US electronic systems without risking escalation by utilizing a high altitude nuclear detonation to the same effect. In O'Rourke, *The Impact of Chinese Naval Modernization*, 15-16.

⁵⁹ One weapon of particular concern is land-based ASBM with a range of over one thousand five hundred kilometers, which could dramatically degrade U.S. power-projection

capabilities in much of the western Pacific and the South China Sea, thereby undermining the U.S. ability to protect its strategic partners throughout the region. But many obstacles, technical and practical, have created considerable uncertainty about the feasibility of this project among Chinese specialists. Discussed in detail in Friedberg and Ross, "Here Be Dragons."

⁶⁰ The PLA appear to be seeking a combination of space-based and information warfare capabilities to defeat US technological command and control advantages, and a series of anti-shiping weapons to use in concert to negate US superior maritime power projection forces. David Lei, "China's New Multi-Faceted Maritime Strategy," *Orbis* 52, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 139.

⁶¹ Naval academic Xu Qi has gone as far to argue that, "Because China was exposed over a long period to the Confucian school notions of benevolence and justice...China has always pursued peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries, taking the form of a national tradition of goodwill and good-neighborliness." Xu Qi, "Maritime Geostrategy and the Development of the Chinese Navy in the Early Twenty-First Century," *Naval War College Review* 59, no. 4 (Autumn 2006): 50.

⁶² U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, *The People's Liberation Army Navy*, 9.

⁶³ Including supporting UN chapter 7 economic sanctions against Iran and North Korea. Medeiros, "Is Beijing Ready for Global Leadership," 254.

⁶⁴ The Chinese have remained 'open-minded' on the precise definition of what a carrier will do. Possibilities range from amphibious warfare, to helicopter or hybrid carrier, to roles similar to US supercarriers — and it should not be assumed that the Chinese will necessarily seek to replicate carriers in the image of US capabilities. Erickson and Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," 28.

⁶⁵ "China Hints at Aircraft Carrier Project," *Financial Times*, November 16, 2008.

⁶⁶ It is unlikely that a Chinese carrier would play a direct role in an operation to seize Taiwan as the PLA Air force (PLAAF)'s and PLANAF land-based aircraft could likely conduct all required air operations across the narrow Taiwan Strait. Erickson and Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," 23.

⁶⁷ Lei, "China's New Multi-Faceted Maritime Strategy," 3.

⁶⁸ This would include dissuading U.S. carrier strike groups from "closing in on the Asian mainland wherever and whenever Washington would like" or in the case of Taiwan, a carrier could operate in deep-ocean areas to interdict an opposing force during an amphibious landing on the island. Discussed in Kaplan, "Center Stage for the 21st Century"; Ian Storey and You Ji, "China's Aircraft Carrier Ambitions: Seeking Truth from Rumors," *Naval War College Review* 57, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 85.

⁶⁹ Apart from carriers, China is developing additional responses to mitigate this risk. Others are: a strategic petroleum reserve; transcontinental pipelines to Russia and Central Asia; the pursuit of undersea resources close to China's coasts; ...and a deepening strategic relationship with Iran that could provide a bridgehead to the Persian Gulf. Friedberg and Ross, "Here Be Dragons."

⁷⁰ A carrier group might be involved in imposing a blockade for strategic purposes or in a limited engagement where outright defeat could be avoided and from which China's standing might be enhanced. Pressure applied in this way could adversely affect U.S. allies and influence their strategic reasoning. Ibid.

⁷¹ More globally, it is possible that the PLAN could adopt a Soviet style integration of air and undersea warfare, whereby carrier aviation protects nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN) by conducting anti-submarine warfare and providing area denial. This would increase the reach of Chinese strategic missiles and complicate US strategic calculations. Coincidentally, this was a role the Varyag was later given despite being designed for force-on-force operations. Erickson and Wilson, "China's Aircraft Carrier Dilemma," 25.

⁷² O'Rourke, *The Impact of Chinese Naval Modernization*, 22-25.

⁷³ Not having a carrier hindered China's attempts to help with the tsunami relief effort in 2004-5. Reportedly, China 'watched in horror' as Japanese and Indian carriers supported relief efforts and a senior Chinese scholar has described China's inability to sail the South China Sea like the US, Japan and India as 'humiliating'. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism," 66-67.

⁷⁴ Sun Tzu would approve.

⁷⁵ In 2008 Admiral Timothy Keating, commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, reported a conversation, seemingly in jest, in which a senior Chinese naval officer suggested drawing a line down the middle of the Pacific: "You guys can have the east part of the Pacific, Hawaii to the states. We'll take the west part of the Pacific, from Hawaii to China." Discussed in Friedberg and Ross, "Here Be Dragons."

⁷⁶ China maneuvered to stop the Spratly islands being discussed as an agenda item at the ASEAN Leaders Summit in October 2009. Unnamed diplomats at the 2009 ASEAN Leaders Summit were quoted saying, "Beijing didn't want it [the Spratlys] discussed and it wasn't" and "From last week's meeting you'd have no idea we are all privately worried about the potential for conflict down the track..." Greg Torode, "A Diplomatic Victory for China," *The South China Morning Post*, October 31, 2009.

⁷⁷ China has also warned foreign oil companies such as Exxon from completing Spratly Island exploration contracts with Vietnam and the Philippines (to the extent that Washington has 'objected to threats made against US firms'). Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Anti-access and area denial weapons are a cause of concern. We have expressed our concern to the Chinese. We asked them to explain to us their intentions, and they choose not to. It gets to the difference between transparency and intent. Transparency we don't think is sufficient. It is easy enough to see what they have, the weapons they're fielding, the systems that they are building and the training that they're conducting. When we ask them the reasons why they would want to develop area denial weapons, that that seems to us inconsistent with China's stated goal of a peaceful rise and harmonious integration." Admiral Timothy J. Keating, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command and General Burwell B. Bell, Commander, U.S. Forces Korea, "Congressional Hearings - March 12, 2008: HASC Hearing - Fiscal Year 2009 for U.S. Pacific Command and U.S. Forces Korea," 110th Cong., 2nd sess., March 12, 2008, http://www.pacom.mil/speeches/sst2008/080312-hasc-keating_testimony.pdf (accessed December 13, 2009).

⁷⁹ Patrick O'Connor, "Australia: Former Labor PM Keating Denounces Rudd Government's 'Isolationist' Stance on China," *World Socialist Website*, July 10, 2009, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2009/jul2009/keat-j10.shtml> (accessed December 3, 2009).

⁸⁰ "US policy toward China...will have a strong and determining influence as to whether China's rise is stabilizing or destabilizing." Medeiros, *Pacific Currents*, xvii.

⁸¹ The US is likely to pursue two security policy objectives in the Asia-Pacific. Firstly, to maintain US sustained economic, political and military access; and, secondly, to prevent any nation or coalition of nations from concentrating sufficient resources to support or otherwise constitute a regional or global challenge to US and allied interests there." *Ibid.*, 244.

⁸² Historically, Japan is believed to pose a more direct threat to regional security and, as the next most substantial Asian military force after China, Japan might pursue a more assertive regional role if it feels threatened or senses a lessening of US security assurances. *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁸³ There is potentially already a 'quiet arms race already underway. Singapore has expanded its Changi naval base to accommodate US carriers. Australia is acquiring amphibious ships, airwarfare destroyers and expanding its submarine fleet. Evans, "The Manchurian Paradox," 8.

⁸⁴ Included among these were six of eleven aircraft carriers, most of the eighteen Aegis cruisers and destroyers capable of defending against ballistic missiles, and twenty-six of fifty-seven attack submarines. Brookes, "Flashpoint."

⁸⁵ US policy will need to be finely calibrated to accommodate all regional allies. Discussed at length in Medeiros, *Pacific Currents*, xxiv.

⁸⁶ Weitz, "Enduring Difficulties in China-U.S. Defense Diplomacy," 394.

⁸⁷ Among these have been formal consultations, such as the 1998 Military Maritime Consultation Agreement (MMCA), reciprocal military visits and exchanges, joint military exercises, and hotlines between senior officials. The MMCA has been criticized as vague and lacking detail and no meeting related to this agreement was convened during the troubled year of 2007. The PRC periodically cuts military relations or denies U.S. Navy ships permission to visit Chinese ports to signal political displeasure (sometimes without formal explanation). The Chinese did not answer calls on the Presidential hotlines established in 1998 during the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989 or after the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in 1999. The first call on the Defense Ministers' hotline established in 2008 became a lecture by the Chinese against U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Commander USPACOM still has no direct line to his military counterpart. *Ibid.*, 382-387.

⁸⁸ In 2007, the U.S. was outraged when China, in defiance of a seafaring tenet, refused to let two U.S. Navy minesweepers take refuge in Hong Kong to avoid a storm, apparently in protest of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. *Ibid.*, 384.

⁸⁹ Some fear a deliberate CCP strategy to have PLA/PLAN officers to engage in bellicose behavior as a deterrent to future US military actions against China — reinforcing what China perceives as an 'asymmetry of resolve.' As examples, PLAN behavior during the 2001 Hainan Island and 2006 USS Kitty Hawk incidents was aggressive and inconsistent with the declared

policy of a 'harmonious ocean'. Similar behavior by Chinese carrier crews could easily increase the possibility of unintended escalation. Andrew Scobell, "Is There a Civil-Military Gap in China's Peaceful Rise?" *Parameters* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 19.

⁹⁰ The sinking of the H.M.S Repulse and the brand new H.M.S. Prince of Wales on 10 Dec 1941, just days after Pearl Harbor, was the Royal Navy's most notorious defeat during World War II. Ronald O'Rourke, *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Naval Capabilities — Background and Issues for Congress* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, July 17, 2009), 20.

⁹¹ From March 1942, all Australian military forces were placed under the command of U.S. General Douglas MacArthur for the remainder of World War II.

⁹² To this day, the most prominent feature of the Australian Defence Headquarters in Canberra is a large obelisk with an eagle atop commemorating the U.S. dead in the Pacific theatre in World War II.

⁹³ On 14 September 2001, the then Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, invoked the common defense interests of the ANZUS treaty in response to the September 11 attacks on the U.S. This was the first invocation of the treaty since its creation.

⁹⁴ On March 2, 2009, Australia concluded an Agreement establishing the Association of Southeast Asian Nations¹ (ASEAN)-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA).

⁹⁵ Australian Department of Defence, *Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century*, 34.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹⁸ Unlike China, India's rise does not receive specific treatment in the White Paper 2009. However, the Indian Ocean is seen as growing in importance relative to the Pacific Ocean in Australia's maritime strategy. Australia also seeks a clearer picture of India's strategic thought. *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁹ Although not discussed directly in the White Paper, acknowledgement of an emerging Chinese carrier capability at the time the White paper was drafted is possibly inferred in the expansion of the Australian submarine fleet.

¹⁰⁰ Medeiros, *Pacific Currents*, xxii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

¹⁰² Arguably, apart from Japan, no other Asian nation has as close cultural and historical ties to the US as Australia.

¹⁰³ He also stressed the importance of 'enhancing mutual political trust'. Former Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, recently returned from China, also reported that 'everyone has settled down' after recent tensions and that 'we need each other too much to let the friction grow. Rowan Callick, "China Push to Heal Rift in Ties," *The Australian*, October 31, 2009.

¹⁰⁴ O'Connor, "Australia: Former Labor PM Keating Denounces Rudd Government's 'Isolationist' Stance on China."

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Australian Department of Defence, *Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century*, 50.

¹⁰⁷ The Australian public are resistant to nuclear power let alone nuclear weapons. Amanda O'Brien, "Lack of Australian Nuclear Plant Almost Immoral: Peter Cosgrove," *The Australian*, February 4, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ One obstacle to achieving such a treaty is that there may be reticence on the part of the U.S. to pursue a treaty that implies a cold war style bi-polar superpower confrontation between the U.S. and China, or that acknowledges that dangerous incidents may occur.