

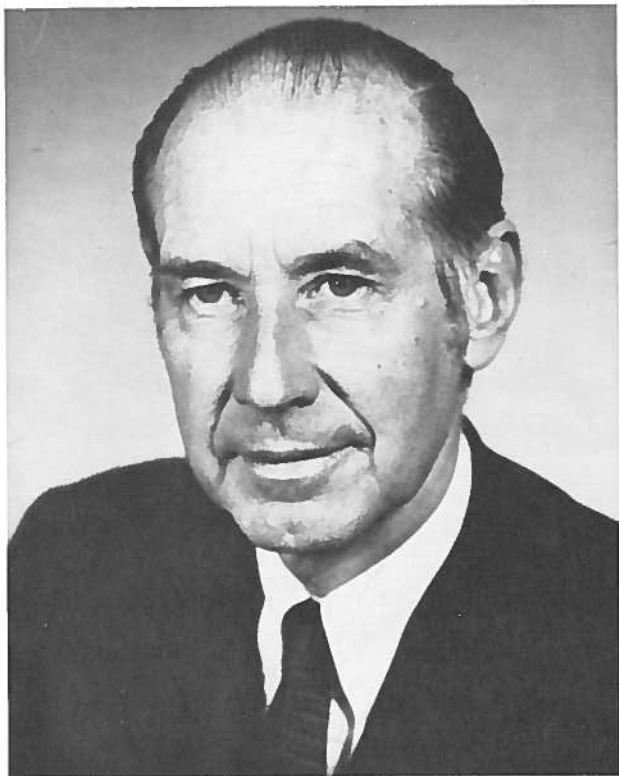


1977

**CURRENT
STRATEGY
FORUM**

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

JUNE 26-29



THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
WASHINGTON

MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Welcome to the Naval War College and the 1977 session of the Current Strategy Forum. As a capstone to the academic year, the Forum brings together students of the College and distinguished civilian and military guests in an exchange designed to stimulate the expression of diverse viewpoints on issues of national import.

This year's Forum will consider the Pacific-Indian Ocean area and discuss the role of U.S. naval forces there in the future. Your qualifications and views will be indispensable to the success of the Forum, because a free exchange of knowledge and ideas leading to an improved understanding of the issues is one of our principal objectives. We anticipate that your contributions, based on a variety of experience and background, and catalyzed by the addresses to be presented, will make the 1977 Forum a most valuable experience for all.

I will be honored to meet you in Newport.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "W. Graham Clayton, Jr." The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.

W. GRAHAM CLAYTOR, JR.
Secretary of the Navy



NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
NEWPORT, R. I. 02840

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

On behalf of the Secretary of the Navy, it is my pleasure and honor to welcome you to the 1977 Current Strategy Forum.

The theme for this year's Forum, "U.S. Policies and Naval Forces in the Pacific, 1977-85," was selected as the basis for an examination of factors affecting future naval requirements in the Pacific-Indian Ocean area. We will look at long-term political, economic and security requirements likely to impact on future U.S. foreign policy and defense decisions. Specifically, our discussions are intended to reveal a preferred set of policies that require a correspondingly preferred set of U.S. naval forces in the Pacific area.

At the College, our mission is to enhance the professional capabilities of our students to make sound decisions in both command and management positions, and to conduct research leading to the development of advanced strategic and tactical concepts for the employment of naval forces. Since the Forum supports our mission and also affords our student officers an opportunity to relate to our distinguished guests, our procedural method will be one of mutually examining alternatives and arriving at sound strategic conclusions. This method will reinforce our teaching, and the Forum will culminate a year-long effort to give our students the best possible preparation for their future professional life.

Thus, we look forward to an outstanding interchange of ideas between our officer students and the esteemed members of the American community who so generously have come to participate in CSF-77.

H. HARDISTY
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy



CURRENT STRATEGY FORUM

THEME: "U.S. POLICIES AND NAVAL FORCES IN THE PACIFIC, 1977-85"

BACKGROUND

In May 1949 the Navy's First Round Table Discussions were held at the Naval War College. Over the years, the title of this annual event was changed to Global Strategy Discussions and then to Current Strategy Forum, but the objective has remained the same. The interchange of views concerning national strategy, the role of the military and the presentation of innovative thought remain fundamental elements of these broadly based discussions. In recent years the Forum has been expanded to take in all Naval War College students including our international students, and a broader spectrum of civilian guests representing more viewpoints and professions. CSF constitutes a capstone of the academic year. It is the earnest intent that these conferences open new channels of thought for students and civilian guests alike.

SCOPE

An appreciation of long-term political, economic, and security environments is crucial to naval force planning for the future. A study of such future environments in the Pacific-Indian Ocean area is particularly timely. Southeast Asia remains in ferment, Northeast Asia—the confluence of Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean and United States national interests—is and promises to be as complex as it is vital; the Indian Ocean has and will increasingly become a key contested commercial avenue; many nations on the Indian Ocean littoral are internally unstable and/or externally insecure; Law of the

Sea agreements or unilateral/regional actions on territorial waters limitations will impact on strategic waterways and on the competition for ocean and seabed resources; access to the substantial land resources of the area will continue to be a major concern; technology and industrialization will produce dynamic changes in power realities between the area's nations and in naval force requirements. CSF-77 will examine these factors with the purpose of linking a preferred set of policies with a preferred set of U.S. naval forces for the area.

METHOD

Each participant will be provided advance reading material germane to the subject, prior to the conference. When the Forum convenes, they will hear five addresses by distinguished speakers, led by the Secretary of the Navy. His keynote address will set the stage for talks highlighting our national interests and the interactions among the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and the United States in the Pacific; the outlook for our security alliances with Japan and South Korea; and, U.S. policy objectives in the Indian Ocean and in Southeast Asia. The theme of each of these speakers will be further developed in seminar discussions by committees composed of Naval War College faculty, students and guests. Each committee will determine and submit its recommended policies and associated naval force levels for tabulation, interpretation, and presentation to the Forum by a rapporteur just prior to the final address on "The Nexus Between U.S. Pacific Policy and Forces."

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

Note: A final detailed schedule will be provided each guest upon arrival at the Naval War College
(All times Eastern Daylight Saving Time)

SUNDAY, 26 JUNE

- - - - Guest arrival and check in at Naval War College
- 1800-2000 - Secretary of the Navy's Reception

MONDAY, 27 JUNE

- 0830 - Welcoming Remarks and introduction of Keynote Speaker by President, Naval War College, Spruance Auditorium
- 0845-0930 - Keynote Address by the Secretary of the Navy, The Honorable W. Graham Clayton, Jr.: "Navy Department Management and Pacific Ocean Policy"
- 1000-1200 - Organizational meetings of committees and seminar discussions
- 1200-1330 - Luncheon
- 1400-1445 - Address: "Triangular Politics: U.S./PRC/Soviet Interaction in the Pacific"
- 1500-1630 - Seminar discussions by committee
- Evening - Dinner/Social event to be decided upon by individual committees

TUESDAY, 28 JUNE

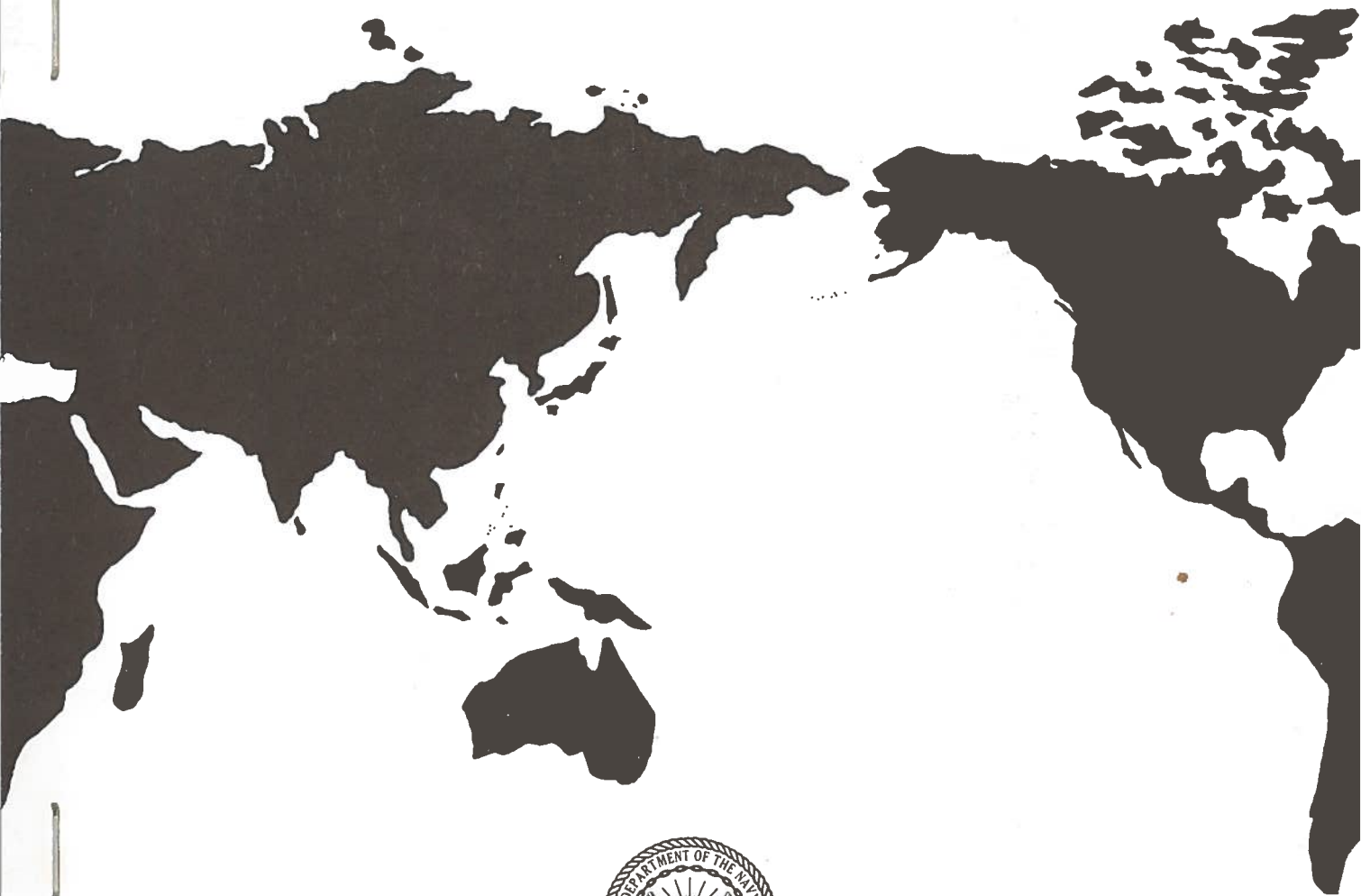
- 0830-0915 - Address: "The Pacific Security Alliances: U.S./Japan and U.S./South Korea-Problems and Prognostication"
- 0945-1200 - Seminar discussions by committee
- 1200-1330 - Luncheon
- 1400-1445 - Address: "Oil and Ambitions: U.S. Policies in the Indian Ocean and in S.E. Asia"
- 1500-1630 - Seminar discussions by committee
- 1900 - Dinner at Commissioned Officers' Mess

WEDNESDAY, 29 JUNE

- 0830-0930 - Recapitulation of Policy/Forces position adopted by each seminar
- 0945-1045 - Address: "The Nexus Between U.S. Pacific Policy and Forces"
- 1100 - Closing Remarks

CURRENT STRATEGY FORUM

26-29 JUNE 1977



**DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS
AND
ROSTER OF PARTICIPANTS**

SECTION III

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF OTHER DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

Charles Burton Marshall was born March 25, 1908, in Catskill, New York. He is the son of Kaleb Carey and Alice (Beeman) Marshall. He attended the University of Texas graduating in 1931 and was awarded a Masters Degree the following year. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1939.

He worked on various newspapers in El Paso and Austin, Texas and Detroit, Michigan. He was an Instructor and Tutor in Government at Harvard University and Radcliffe College between 1938 and 1942. Entering the service in the latter year, he attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Army. After the war he served as a Consultant on the Intergovernmental Commission on Refugees from 1946 to 1947. He was Staff Consultant to the United States House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs from 1946 through 1950 and member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff from 1950 to 1953. He was United States Government Representative at the XIV Conference of the International Red Cross at Toronto in 1952.

After acting as Advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1955 through 1957, he became Research Associate at the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research. He was Visiting Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University in 1965 and 1966, and the Paul H. Nitze Professor of International Politics from 1967 to 1975.

He has been a Fellow of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington Institute for Foreign Affairs, American Political Science Association, and American Society of International Law.

He is the author of: *The Limits of Foreign Policy*, 1954; *The Exercise of Sovereignty*, 1965; *The Cold War, A Concise History*, 1965; *Crisis Over Rhodesia: A Skeptical View*, 1967.

He is married to the former Betty Louise O'Brien and his home is in Arlington, Virginia.

MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ

Morton I. Abramowitz was born in Lakewood, New Jersey, on January 20, 1933. He is the son of Mendel and Dora (Smith) Abramowitz. He graduated from Stanford University in 1953, and Harvard University in 1955, earning a Master of Arts Degree.

He served in the United States Army in 1957, and then worked in the Department of Labor and the Office of Chinese Affairs of the International Cooperation Administration before joining the United States Foreign Service in 1960.

While serving with the Department of State his posts included the American Embassy Taipei, the Foreign Service Institute Language and Area Training School, Taichung, Taiwan, and from 1963 to 1966, the American Consulate in Hong Kong where he was Political Officer.

From 1966 to 1968, Mr. Abramowitz was Special Assistant in the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and from 1969 to 1970, in the Office of the Under Secretary of State. He was a Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic Studies in London in 1971, and in 1972, was designated Deputy Director for Research, East Asia, in the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

In 1973, he became Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and spent part of 1973 and 1974 as the Political Advisor to the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific. Later in 1974, he assumed his present position as Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, Department of Defense.

He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and speaks Mandarin Chinese. He received the Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Award in 1975, and the Secretary of Defense Distinguished Service Award in 1976.

His publications include: Aspects of Taiwan's Economic Growth, China Quarterly, 1963; Moving the Glacier - the Two Koreas and the Powers, Adelphi Paper 80, 1971; Remaking U.S. China Policy, Harvard University Press, 1971 (with Richard Moorsteen); and East Asian Issues and Actors - forthcoming in 1977.

He is married to Sheppie (Glass) Abramowitz and has two children, Michael and Rachel.

DR. DENNIS J. DOOLIN

Dennis J. Doolin was born October 28, 1933, in Omaha, Nebraska, son of Russell J. and Sarah (Pickard) Doolin. He joined the United States Navy in 1950 and served in Korea, China, and Japan. He received five battle stars for his Korean service. He attended the University of San Francisco graduating Summa Cum Laude in 1958, earned a Masters Degree at Stanford University in 1960 and Ph.D. in 1965.

He has been Research Curator, East Asia Collections of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University and later Senior Analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency. From 1969 to 1974 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and from 1974 to February, 1977, was Assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force (International Affairs). Dr. Doolin is currently Professor of Foreign Affairs at the National War College in Washington, D.C.

His writings include: Communist China: The Politics of Student Opposition, Stanford, 1964; Territorial Claims in the Sino-Soviet Conflict, Stanford, 1965; (Editor) Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy: 1898 - 1948, Praeger, 1965; (with Robert C. North) The Chinese People's Republic, Stanford, 1966; (with Charles P. Ridley) The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China, Stanford, 1971; (with Ridley) A Chinese-English Dictionary of Communist Chinese Terminology, Stanford, 1973. He is a contributor to political science journals published in London, Hong Kong, and Paris.

Dr. Doolin speaks Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish. He is a member of The American Political Science Association and the Association for Asian Studies. He spends part of each year in Asia on professional business.

He is married to Aurelia Erskine Brazeal and resides in Washington.

ADMIRAL THOMAS B. HAYWARD, UNITED STATES NAVY

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U. S. PACIFIC FLEET

Thomas Bibb Hayward was born in Glendale, California, on May 3, 1924, son of E. Payson and Martha (Bibb) Hayward. He attended Glendale Junior College and Occidental College, Los Angeles, California and in June 1943, was appointed a Naval Cadet in the V-5 Program of the U. S. Naval Reserve. He entered the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, on appointment from the State of California in 1944. Graduated with the Class of 1948-A on June 6, 1947 (accelerated course due to World War II), he was commissioned Ensign and subsequently advanced in rank to that of Rear Admiral, to date from July 1, 1971, Vice Admiral to date from April 26, 1973, and Admiral to date from August 12, 1976.

Following graduation from the Naval Academy in 1947, he joined the USS ANTIETAM (CV 36) and in September 1948 was detached for flight training at the Naval Air Station Pensacola, Florida. Designated Naval Aviator on July 26, 1950, he was assigned to Fighter Squadron 51, embarked on the USS ESSEX and later the USS VALLEY FORGE. While attached to that squadron, he participated in operations in the Korean area of hostilities, where he flew one hundred and forty-six combat sorties. His plane was damaged by enemy flak and he made a wheels-up crash landing during a mission in 1952.

In January 1954, he reported for test pilot training at the Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, Maryland, and upon completing his training remained there as a Flight Test Project Pilot and Flight Test Project Coordinator. During the period June to September 1956, he attended the Aviation Safety Officers School at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, after which he served with All Weather Fighter Squadron THREE as F-8U Transition Training Project Officer. In August 1958 he reported for instruction at the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island and in December 1959, joined Fighter Squadron 211 as Executive Officer on USS LEXINGTON and continued duty with that squadron until July 1961, when he became Administrative Aide to the Secretary of the Navy.

He was attached to Fighter Squadron 174 from September to December 1963, after which he served as Executive Officer, later Commanding Officer, of Fighter Squadron 103. In July 1965, he assumed command of Attack Carrier Air Wing TEN, which, under his command, operated in the Mediterranean aboard the USS SHANGRI-LA and later aboard the USS INTREPID in the Vietnam area.

From August 1966 to August 1967, he was a student at the National War College, Washington, D.C., and in 1967 received the degree of Master of Science in International Affairs from George Washington University. He was next Commanding Officer of the USS GRAFFIAS (AF29) in support of CTF-77 and Market Time operations off the coast of Vietnam. In August 1968 he reported as Executive Assistant and Naval Aide to the Under Secretary of the Navy, Navy Department. In December 1969 he assumed command of the USS AMERICA (CVA 66), deploying to the SEVENTH Fleet as Flagship to Commander Task Force SEVENTY-SEVEN. With Air Wing NINE embarked, AMERICA supported combat operations from May to November 1970 earning the Meritorious Unit Commendation.

He was promoted to Rear Admiral in November 1970 and reported as Commander Hawaiian Sea Frontier and Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District with headquarters at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with additional duty as Commander Fleet Air, Hawaii and Commander Manned Spacecraft Recovery Forces, Pacific. In the latter capacity, he directed the planning, training, and execution of successful recoveries of APOLLO Spacecraft in the Mid-Pacific. In December 1971 he became Director of the Office of Program Appraisal, Navy Department and on April 26, 1973, reported as Director, Navy Program Planning, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department.

Admiral Hayward assumed command of the U. S. SEVENTH Fleet on June 14, 1975, and embarked in the guided missile cruiser USS OKLAHOMA CITY. On August 12, 1976, he assumed command of the U. S. Pacific Fleet.

His decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit with two Gold Stars, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal with ten Gold Stars and Bronze Numeral 3, the Navy Unit Commendation Ribbon with star and Meritorious Unit Commendation Ribbon.

He is married to the former Peggy Keating of Medford, Massachusetts, and they have two daughters, Mrs. Colleen Hayward Smith and Miss Cynthia-Marie Hayward.

Admiral Hayward is a member of the Society of Experimental Test Pilots.