

# CSF

## Current Strategy Forum

America's Seapower and Maritime Statecraft

June 11–12, 2024



This year marks the 73<sup>rd</sup> annual Current Strategy Forum (CSF) at the Naval War College in Newport, hosted by the Secretary of the Navy. The first CSF was held on 9 May 1949 under the title “Round Table Talks.” This event offers an opportunity for the Nation’s public servants, scholars, and senior military officers to join the College faculty and students to discuss the future strategy of the United States. Over the years, the CSF has expanded to include a cross section of America’s civilian and military leadership to encourage a wide-ranging debate on national and international security. This year’s theme:

*America’s Seapower and Maritime Statecraft*

The wars in Europe and the Middle East, and the danger of conflict in Asia and the Pacific, underscore the need for clear strategic guidance to provide for the security and wellbeing of the American people and the partners of the United States around the globe. In a speech at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Secretary of the Navy Carlos Del Toro introduced the theme of Maritime Statecraft as a guiding principle for understanding the importance of seapower and maritime strategy in upholding an American-led, rules-based international order. The Secretary underscored the importance of strategy in meeting the challenges ahead for the United States. “I always say that I expect my Admirals and Generals to be skilled warfighters. But more so, I demand that they be strategic thinkers — that they strive first to deter our adversaries and, if called upon, be victorious during times of conflict.” The Naval War College, since its founding by Stephen B. Luce and the teachings of Alfred Thayer Mahan, has led professional military education in developing future leaders to be strategic thinkers.

This year’s forum will seek to understand the role of the United States naval forces and maritime statecraft as part of an overall national strategy to meet the strategic challenges before us.

***“We are here to preserve the peace, respond in crisis, and win decisively in war.”***

Admiral Lisa Franchetti, U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations

# PROGRAM OF EVENTS

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## DAY ONE, TUESDAY, JUNE 11

**0800 Administrative Announcements**

**0805 Welcome and Introduction**

[Rear Admiral Peter A. Garvin, U.S. Navy](#), President, U.S. Naval War College

**0810 Keynote Address: An Interview**

[Mr. Steven V. Brock](#), Senior Advisor to the Secretary of the Navy  
with [Dr. James R. Holmes](#), U.S. Naval War College

**0845 Keynote Address: An Interview**

[Mr. David E. Sanger](#), *The New York Times*  
with [Dr. Derek S. Reveron](#), U.S. Naval War College

**0930 Break**

**0945 Keynote Address**

[Dr. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr.](#), Solarium LLC

**1030 Panel 1: Maritime Statecraft – Past, Present, and Future**

Moderator: [Dr. John H. Maurer](#), U.S. Naval War College

[Dr. Paul M. Kennedy](#), Yale University

[Dr. Toshi Yoshihara](#), Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

[Dr. Emily O. Goldman](#), U.S. Cyber Command

**1200 Keynote Address**

[Vice Admiral Daniel Dwyer, U.S. Navy](#), Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Warfighting  
Development, N7, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations

**1245 Adjourn Day One**

## DAY TWO, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12

**0830 Administrative Announcements**

**0835 Keynote Address**

[Dr. Elizabeth C. Economy](#), Hoover Institution

**0930 Panel 2: Maritime Statecraft – Strategic Challenges before America**

Moderator: [Professor Kathleen Walsh](#), U.S. Naval War College

[Dr. Aaron L. Friedberg](#), Princeton University (virtual)

[Dr. Sarah K. Kirchberger](#), Kiel University

[Dr. Michael E. O’Hanlon](#), Brookings Institution

**1100 Break**

**1115 Keynote Address**

[LtGen Gregg P. Olson, U.S. Marine Corps](#), Director, Marine Corps Staff, Headquarters (virtual)

**1200 Current Strategy Forum Adjourns**



## PRESIDENT, U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

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Rear Adm. Pete Garvin is the fifty-eighth President of the U.S. Naval War College and a career naval aviator. He graduated, with merit, from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1989, with a Bachelor of Science in Aerospace Engineering (Astronautics Track). Garvin graduated from the National War College in 2005 with a Master of Science in National Security Strategy. He is also a 2015 alumnus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies Seminar XXI. Garvin has also completed courses in national and international security, leadership, and strategic thinking at Harvard, Syracuse University, and the University of North Carolina, and served as a military fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

## PROVOST, U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

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**Dr. Stephen J. Mariano** is the provost of the U.S. Naval War College. Prior to that, he was the deputy commandant and dean of the NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy. He also served on the faculties of the School of International Service at American University, National Defense University, the Royal Military College of Canada, and the U.S. Military Academy. He holds a B.A. in mathematics and economics from the University of California, Santa Barbara, an M.A. in national security affairs from the Naval Postgraduate School, and a Ph.D. in war studies from the Royal Military College of Canada.

## SPEAKERS & PANELISTS

(In Order of Appearance)



**Mr. Steven V. Brock** (CAPT, USN, Ret.) is Senior Advisor to Secretary of the Navy Carlos Del Toro. During the Obama Administration, Steve served as Director for Asia Security Affairs at the National Security Council and co-chaired the Interagency Policy Committee tasked with managing the environmental impact of the U.S. military’s global strategic rebalance. In uniform, Steve served for 28 years as a career Naval Intelligence officer, with tours including Chief of Staff of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff’s Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Activity, Operations and Intelligence Briefer to the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Director for Intelligence at the Joint Staff, Assistant Chief of Staff (Information Dominance) for Carrier Strike Group Eleven (NIMITZ Carrier Strike Group), Officer in Charge at the DOD Field Operating Base Europe – Berlin, and Senior Analyst for the United States Seventh Fleet. He additionally served as Military Advisor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations under Ambassadors Richard Holbrooke and John Negroponte. Steve is a Distinguished Graduate of master’s degree programs at Georgetown University and National Defense University, and holds a bachelor’s degree in Marine Engineering from the United States Naval Academy. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Senior Adjunct at RAND, and a fellow of the U.S.-Japan Foundation.



**Dr. James R. Holmes** holds the J. C. Wylie Chair of Maritime Strategy at the Naval War College and served on the faculty of the University of Georgia School of Public and International Affairs. A former U.S. Navy surface-warfare officer, he was the last gunnery officer in history to fire a battleship’s big guns in anger, during the first Gulf War in 1991. He earned the Naval War College Foundation Award in 1994, signifying the top graduate in his class. His books include *Red Star over the Pacific*, an Atlantic Monthly Best Book of 2010 and a fixture on the Navy Professional Reading List. General James Mattis deems him “troublesome.”



**Mr. David E. Sanger** is the White House and National Security Correspondent for *The New York Times*, reporting on President Biden and his administration, with a particular focus on foreign policy and its intersection with technology, politics and superpower conflict. Over President Biden, his administration and the foreign policy, intelligence and military advisers who shape the nation’s national security policy. As a White House reporter, he spends his days (and nights and weekends, alas) interviewing members of the president’s staff or other national security officials, attending speeches and conferences, and talking with critics of the president’s policies. He often travels with the President around the world, sometimes on Air Force One, which looks more luxurious in the movies than it is in reality. Because he focuses on foreign policy and national security issues, he often ranges beyond the White House, interviewing foreign leaders, members of Congress, and academics.

His analytical articles explain the underlying factors that lead to a major decision, or place a major event in a historical frame that gives readers some context of how hard choices are made.

Sanger has worked at The Times for more than four decades, starting two months after he graduated from Harvard. That makes him — for better or worse — one of the longest-serving correspondents, dating back to when the printed paper was our only product. He served as a business correspondent covering the early days of Silicon Valley, and worked on the team that won a Pulitzer Prize for uncovering the causes of the space shuttle Challenger disaster. He was a foreign correspondent and bureau chief in Japan for six years. In Washington, he covered five presidents, from Clinton to Biden, and served on teams that won two other Pulitzers, most recently for uncovering Russia’s role in the 2016 election.

He has written three books, including *The Perfect Weapon: War, Sabotage and Fear in the Cyber Age*, which later became an HBO documentary by the same title. A second documentary, *Year One*, also on HBO, describes the tumultuous first year of the Biden presidency. His latest book is the *New Cold Wars* that focuses on the re-emergence of superpower conflict. He also co-teaches a course at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government entitled “Central Challenges in American National Security, Strategy and the Press.”



**Dr. Derek S. Reveron** chairs the National Security Affairs Department at the U.S. Naval War College. He oversees all aspects of teaching international security, regional studies, and foreign policy analysis. Students learn to assess the future security environment, draft national, military, maritime, and theater strategies, develop concepts and force structure, and assess political, budgetary, bureaucratic, organizational, and leadership factors influencing decision making and implementation of U.S. foreign policy and strategy. He is also a part-time faculty affiliate at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School where he co-teaches strategic problem-solving.

He served on the Rhode Island Cybersecurity Commission. As a governor-appointed commissioner, he worked closely with industry, government, and academia to develop Rhode Island's strategic roadmap to promote resiliency of government operations, incorporate cybersecurity in public schools, and improve information sharing. Additionally, he served on the board of thinkers for the Boston Global Forum, which produced several technology and policy reports in support of G-7 summits that addressed cybersecurity. His 2024 book *Security in the Cyber Age: An Introduction to Policy and Technology* breaks-down how cyberspace works, analyzes how state and non-state actors exploit vulnerabilities in cyberspace, and provides ways to improve cybersecurity.

A retired Navy Captain, he brings 33 years of active and reserve military service with four tours as a commanding officer leading analytic units in support of operations in the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and Latin America, crisis management in the Pentagon's National Military Command Center, and as a special advisor in Afghanistan.

Reveron graduated with distinction from the College of Naval Command Staff and completed the Maritime Staff Operators Course at the U.S. Naval War College. He received an MA in political science and a Ph.D. in public policy analysis from the University of Illinois at Chicago.



**Dr. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr.**, is a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and at the Center for a New American Security, and president of Solarium LLC, a consulting firm. In 1995 he founded the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, which he led for 21 years. His service at CSBA was preceded by a 21-year career in the U.S. Army.

Dr. Krepinevich has served in the Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment, and on the personal staff of three secretaries of defense. He has also served as a member of the National Defense Panel, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Joint Experimentation, the Defense Policy Board, the Congressional National Defense Strategy Commission, the Army Special Operation Command's Advisory Board, the Army Science Board, and as chairman of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel.

Dr. Krepinevich has taught on the faculties of West Point, Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and George Mason University.

His most recent book is *The Origins of Victory: How Disruptive Military Innovation Determines the Fates of Great Powers*. He also authored *The Last Warrior: Andrew Marshall and the Shaping of Modern Defense Strategy*; *7 Deadly Scenarios: A Military Futurist Explores War in the 21st Century*; and *The Army and Vietnam*.

Among his recent articles are "The Eroding Balance of Terror," "The New Nuclear Age," and "The Big One: Preparing for a Long War With China," all published in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. His most recent studies include "Modernizing the Nuclear Triad: Decline or Renewal?" and "Archipelagic Defense 2.0," published by the Hudson Institute.

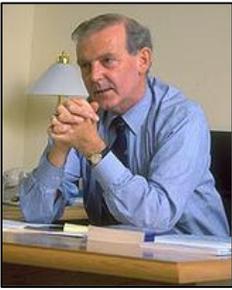
A graduate of West Point and the Naval War College, Dr. Krepinevich holds an M.P.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University. In 2020 Dr. Krepinevich received West Point's Distinguished Graduate Award.



**Dr. John H. Maurer** serves as the Alfred Thayer Mahan Distinguished Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. He is a graduate of Yale College and holds a MALD and PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is the author or editor of books examining the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, naval competitions and arms control between the two world wars, a study on Winston Churchill and British grand strategy. His most recent book is an edited volume of essays published by the Naval Institute Press, *The Road to Pearl Harbor: Great Power*

*War in Asia and the Pacific*. At the College, he served for eight years as Chairman of the Strategy and Policy Department. He teaches in the Advanced Strategy Program and an elective course on Winston Churchill and the history of the two world wars. Before coming to the College, he held the positions of research fellow and executive editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs* at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He served on the Secretary of the Navy John Lehman's special

advisory committee on naval history. In recognition of his contribution to professional military education, he has received the U.S. Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award.



**Dr. Paul M. Kennedy** is the Dilworth Professor of History, founding director of Yale International Security Studies, distinguished fellow of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was made Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 2000 for services to History. He teaches Yale's course "Military History of the West since 1500," as well as numerous seminars on Great Power politics. He has published or edited 19 books on the history of British foreign policy and Great Power struggles. His best-known work, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, has been translated into over twenty languages. Prof. Kennedy's most recent book *Engineers of Victory, history through the eyes of problem-solvers during the Second World War*, was published in 2013. He is currently writing a book about seapower and global transformations during World War II.



**Dr. Toshi Yoshihara** is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA). He was previously the inaugural John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies and a Professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College.

Dr. Yoshihara's latest book is *Mao's Army Goes to Sea: Island Campaigns and the Founding of China's Navy* (Georgetown University Press, 2022). A Japanese translation of *Mao's Army Goes to Sea* was published by Fusosha in 2023. He co-authored, with James R. Holmes, the second edition of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy* (Naval Institute Press, 2018). The book has been listed on the Chief of Naval Operations Professional Reading Program, the Indo-Pacific Command Professional Development Reading List, and the

Commandant of the Marine Corps Professional Reading Program. The first edition of *Red Star over the Pacific* (Naval Institute Press, 2010) was translated in Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, and Germany.

His CSBA publications include *Chinese Lessons from the Pacific War: Implications for PLA Warfighting* (2023); *Rings of Fire: A Conventional Missile Strategy for a Post-INF Treaty World* (2022); *Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing with China's Globalizing Military* (2021); and *Dragon Against the Sun: Chinese Views of Japanese Seapower* (2020). *Dragon Against the Sun* was subsequently translated by Admiral Tomohisa Takei, JMSDF (ret.), the former Chief of the Maritime Staff, and published by a major Japanese press in September 2020.

Dr. Yoshihara is the recipient of the 8th annual Kokkiken Japan Study Award by the Japan Institute for National Fundamentals in July 2021 for his CSBA study, *Dragon Against the Sun*. In 2016 he was awarded the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award in recognition of his scholarship on maritime and strategic affairs at the Naval War College.



**Dr. Emily O. Goldman** serves as a strategist at U.S. Cyber Command and a thought leader on cyber policy. She was cyber advisor to the Director of Policy Planning at the Department of State, 2018–19. From 2014 to 2018 she directed the U.S. Cyber Command / National Security Agency Combined Action Group, leading a team that wrote the 2018 U.S. Cyber Command vision, *Achieve and Maintain Cyberspace Superiority*. She has also worked as a strategic communications advisor for U.S. Central Command and for the Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department. She was a Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Davis, for two decades and has published and lectured widely on strategy, cybersecurity, arms control, military history and innovation, and organizational change. *Cyber Persistence Theory: Redefining National Security in Cyberspace*, co-

authored with Michael Fischerkeller and Richard Harknett, was released by Oxford University Press in May 2022.



**Vice Admiral Daniel Dwyer, U.S. Navy** is a native of Alameda, California, and a graduate of the California Maritime Academy and U.S. Naval War College, where he holds a Bachelor of Science in Marine Transportation, a master's degree in Foreign Affairs and Strategic Studies, and a master's degree in Computer Information Science. Dwyer is also a graduate of the NATO Defense College General Flag Officer and Ambassador course.

Dwyer, a career F/A-18 naval aviator and graduate of the Navy Fighter Weapons School (TOPGUN), has completed eight carrier deployments to the Western Pacific, North Atlantic, Mediterranean, and

North Arabian Sea, supporting Operations Southern Watch, Iraqi Freedom, Enduring Freedom, and New Dawn flying over 75 combat missions.

He has previously commanded Strike Fighter Squadron (VFA) 27; Provincial Reconstruction Team Asadabad, Kunar Province, Afghanistan; Fleet Replacement Squadron (VFA) 106, Carrier Air Wing 8, and Carrier Air Wing 17; as a flag officer Dwyer commanded the Theodore Roosevelt Carrier Strike Group (CSG 9), was the 36th Chief of Naval Air Training (CNATRA), and most recently as commander U.S. Second Fleet, with additional command responsibility of NATO's Joint Force Command Norfolk, and NATO's Combined Joint Operations from the Sea Centre of Excellence.

His major staff assignments include director of Regional Outreach (CJ9) NATO Headquarters, Commander, International Security Assistance Force Kabul, Afghanistan, and director of Aviation Officer Distribution (Pers-43) Naval Personnel Command Millington, Tennessee.

As a flag officer Dwyer served as the chief of staff (CoS) and assistant chief of staff for Strategy, Resources and Plans (N5) for Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe and U.S. Naval Forces Africa and for Commander, U.S. 6th Fleet in Naples, Italy, director of Plans and Policy (J5) for U.S. Cyber Command in Fort Meade, Maryland,

Dwyer began his current role as the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Warfighting Development (N7) in February 2024.

Dwyer was the 1997 Commander Strike Fighter Wing Pacific Adm. Wesley McDonald Junior Officer of the Year and his personal decorations include the Navy Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Air Medal Strike/Flight, Combat Action Ribbon, Battle E (three awards) and has accumulated over 3,800 F-18 flight hours, and over 1,100 carrier arrested landings on 12 different aircraft carriers.



**Dr. Elizabeth C. Economy** is the Hargrove Senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. During 2021-2023, she served as Senior Advisor for China at the Department of Commerce. She previously was C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. She is the author of *The World According to China* (Polity Press, 2021), *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, (Oxford University Press, 2018), which was shortlisted for the Lionel Gelber Prize, a prestigious literary award for foreign affairs books, *By All Means Necessary: How China's Resource Quest is Changing the World* (Oxford University Press, 2014), co-authored with Michael Levi, and the award-winning *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Cornell University Press, 2004; 2nd edition, 2010). Her books have been translated into more than a dozen languages. She has published articles in policy and scholarly journals including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Harvard Business Review*, and op-eds in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*, among others. She is a frequent commentator on national television and radio. Economy serves on the board of managers of Swarthmore College, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group and Council on Foreign Relations. She received her BA with Honors from Swarthmore College, her AM from Stanford University, and her PhD from the University of Michigan.



**Professor Kathleen (Kate) Walsh** is Associate Professor of National Security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College (NWC) where she has taught policy analysis in the National Security Affairs Department since 2006. Walsh is Director of NWC's Asia Pacific Studies Group (APSG), and the founder of an Oceanography & Maritime Security Group (OMSG) expert listserv. Professor Walsh was a founding member of NWC's Faculty Advisory Council (FAC), serving 2021-4, and directs the NSA Department's annual student trip to Washington, DC. Prior to joining NWC, Walsh was a senior consultant to Washington, D.C.-area think tanks including as senior associate at the Stimson Center and senior associate at a D.C.-area defense consulting firm, among other past positions in DC. Her research focuses on China and the Asia-Pacific region, particularly issues of security, technology, innovation and ocean or "blue" economy issues. She is the author of *China's Blue Economy: Evolution and Geostrategic Implications* (Taylor & Francis, 2024), among numerous other publications. She has an M.A. in International Affairs from Columbia University's School of Public & International Affairs, a B.A. in International Affairs from George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs and is a recipient of the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award.



**Dr. Aaron L. Friedberg** is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University and co-director of Princeton's Center for International Security Studies. He is also a counselor to the National Bureau of Asian Research. In December 2023 he was appointed to a second two-year term on the Congressional US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. From 2003 to 2005 he served as a Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs in the office of the Vice President and he was subsequently appointed to the Defense Policy Board.

In 2001-2002 Friedberg was selected as the first occupant of the Henry A. Kissinger Chair at the Library of Congress. He has been a research fellow at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, the Norwegian Nobel Institute, the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., and Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Friedberg is the author of several books and monographs, including *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905* (1988), *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (2000), *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (2011), *Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over U.S. Military Strategy in Asia* (2014), *The Authoritarian Challenge: China, Russia and the Threat to the International Order* (2017). He is the author (with Charles Bustany) of *Partial Disengagement: A New U.S. Strategy for Economic Competition With China* (2019). His most recent book is *Getting China Wrong* (2022).

Dr. Friedberg received his A.B., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.



**Dr. Sarah K. Kirchberger** is the Academic Director of the Institute for Security Policy Kiel (ISPK), a think tank affiliated with the University of Kiel, and also leads its Asia-Pacific Strategy & Security department. She concurrently serves as Vice President of the German Maritime Institute (DMI) and is a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council's Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security. During 2010-2016, she was an Assistant Professor of Sinology at the University of Hamburg, and during 2007-2010 has worked as a naval analyst in the surface vessel division with shipbuilder TKMS.

Kirchberger is the author of *Assessing China's Naval Power: Technological Innovation, Economic Constraints, and Strategic Implications* (Springer, 2015), co-author of *The China Plan: A Transatlantic Blueprint for Strategic Competition* (Atlantic Council, 2021) and co-editor and contributor of *Russia-China Relations: Emerging Alliance or Eternal Rivals?* (Springer, 2022). She occasionally lectures at the German Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the NATO Defense College, has provided briefings to the leaderships of NATO HQ and NATO MARCOM, and has been invited to present at Singapore's MINDEF, at the US National Defense University, U.S. Army War College, U.S. Naval War College, ROC National Defense University, and at the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, UC Berkeley, and Yale among others. In April 2023, she has testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC) on China's undersea warfare.

Her current research focuses on China's undersea warfare technologies; PLAN modernization; China's defense-industrial development, the military-technological co-operation between China, Russia, and Ukraine; EDTs in the maritime sphere; and on the strategic importance of the Taiwan Strait and South China Sea.

Kirchberger holds a M.A. and a PhD in Sinology from the University of Hamburg.



**Dr. Michael E. O'Hanlon** is a senior fellow and holder of the Phil Knight Chair in Defense and Strategy at the Brookings Institution, in Washington, DC. His last book is *Military History for the Modern Strategist*. He has also have written, in recent years, *The Art of War in an Age of Peace*, and *The Senkaku Paradox: Risking Great Power War over Small Stakes*. In 2022, he published a long article at brookings.edu modeling a Chinese blockade of Taiwan followed by a U.S.-led effort to break the blockade; the article is called "Can China Take Taiwan? Why No One Really Knows." He also teaches at Columbia and Georgetown and sits on the Defense Policy Board.



**LtGen Gregg P. Olson** is the Director, Marine Corps Staff, Headquarters, United States Marine Corps. He grew up in Cumberland, RI, Montreal, Quebec, and Westlake Village, CA, and graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1985.

An infantry officer, LtGen Gregg Olson has an additional Military Occupational Specialty as an embarkation officer.

LtGen Olson commanded a rifle company in 2nd Battalion, 1st Marines, and both Headquarters & Service and Weapons Companies in 3d Battalion, 2nd Marines. He commanded 2nd Battalion, 1st Marines during combat in Fallujah in 2004, and the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit during its 2010 deployment.

His staff assignments include S-3 Operations Officer for 3d Battalion, 2nd Marines during Operation SEA SIGNAL (1995), S-3 Operations Officer for 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable) during combat operations in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), and service as G-3 Operations Officer for 1st Marine Division.

LtGen Olson's supporting establishment assignments include staff and ceremonial duties at Marine Barracks, Washington, D.C., Faculty Advisor at Amphibious Warfare School, and Director for Senate Liaison, Office of Legislative Affairs, Headquarters, Marine Corps.

His field grade Joint assignment was as the Assistant Deputy Director for Regional Operations (J-33), J-3, Joint Staff. During that tour, he qualified as a Deputy Director for Operations (DDO) in the National Military Command Center.

As a general officer, LtGen Olson was assigned as Deputy Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Central Command/Commanding General, Marine Corps Forces, Central Command (Forward), Manama, Bahrain. During that tour, he was additionally designated as Commander, Task Force 51/59, Fifth Fleet, U.S. Naval Forces, Central Command.

His Headquarters, Marine Corps service as a general officer includes duties as Director of the Marine Corps' 2016 Quadrennial Defense Review Office and a 2019-2020 assignment as Assistant Deputy Commandant for Plans, Policies, and Operations.

His Joint service as a general officer includes assignment as the Joint Staff's J-5 Deputy Director for Political-Military Affairs, Middle East (DDME), and a tour as the Director of Operations and Cyber, United States Africa Command, Stuttgart, Germany.

LtGen Olson is a graduate of the Amphibious Warfare School, Marine Aviation Weapons and Tactics Lieutenant General Gregg P. Olson Director, Marine Corps Staff, Headquarters, United States Marine Corps Squadron One Weapons and Tactics Instructor Course, the College of Naval Command and Staff, and the National War College.

He is married to a former Navy Nurse Corps officer.



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*686 Cushing Road  
Newport, Rhode Island 02841  
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