THE BRIDGE

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NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
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Educate Today. Secure Tomorrow.

IN THIS ISSUE

FEATURE

Alumni of the U.S. Naval War College (USNWC) pose for a photo with Secretary of the Navy Carlos del Toro and RADM Shoshana Chatfield during the 24th International Seapower Symposium (ISS), held at the College in September 2021. Hosted by the Chief of Naval Operations ADM Mike Gilday, ISS provides a forum for dialogue on matters of maritime security and provides opportunities for international heads of navies and coast guards to collaborate and strengthen partnerships.

Every year, over 100 international officers study at the USNWC, and since the College's founding, almost 1600 officers have reached flag rank and nearly 500 served as Chief of Service (Chief of Naval Operations equivalent).

U.S. Navy photo by Chief Mass Communication Specialist Nicholas Brown/Released

Note: The views expressed by authors herein are solely those of the individual authors and do not reflect the position of the NWCF, U.S. Naval War College, the U.S. Navy, or the Department of Defense.

Standing the Watch

OUR NATION'S MANY blessings of freedom, prosperity, and national power are secured by the American men and women who volunteer to serve in our military. Our warfighters represent less than one percent of our Nation's citizens. They come from all demographics and geographies of our United States. They wear the uniform in times of peace and war out of selfless service to their country and countrymen. Across our joint forces, these patriots stand the watch on our behalf.

We have much to be grateful for in their selfless service. We owe them our respect and gratitude for the sacrifices they and their families bear for our freedoms. As a Nation, we owe them the training, leadership, and budgetary funding to achieve their mission to maintain our national security.

The U.S. Naval War College educates our military leaders for senior command responsibility. Many of our senior military leaders, and those of our allied and partner nations, are forged at "The Navy's Home of Strategic Thought" in Newport, Rhode Island. Since inception in 1884, NWC graduates have risen through the ranks to lead our sailors, soldiers, marines, coast guardsmen, and airmen in times of peace, regional conflicts, and world wars. NWC graduates have stood the watch over two centuries—and stand the watch today.

The Naval War College Foundation's sole mission is to support our future leaders through private philanthropic funding. We educate today to secure tomorrow. The NWCF supports the most important national security priorities of the Department of Defense critical to the professional education of our senior officers. Unlike government funding, our support is at the speed of relevance and not hostage to the politics of Congressional budget appropriations to fund priorities ranging from cybersecurity to China maritime studies.

I speak for the Board to say we are proud of our dedicated staff, under CEO Captain George Lang's leadership. They are executing an impactful and relevant strategic plan to support our mission. As our CEO's letter outlines, the NWCF team exceeded operating and financial metrics on all fronts. We are grateful to our former Trustee, Carla Knorowski, who stepped off the Board, to serve in uniform as President & Chief Development Officer, bringing decades of nonprofit leadership to professionalize our fundraising and development for long-term financial impact. We thank our Chief Financial Officer, Victor Stanescu, for professionalizing our financial infrastructure to the highest level of any national 501(c)(3). We also give a special thanks and farewell to Shannon Hammond, our Director of Communications, whose professional, editorial, and aesthetic talents upgraded all NWCF communications, including *The Bridge*. We recruited exceptional talent this year commensurate with the NWCF mission. In a difficult operating and financial environment, our small but mighty staff have stood the watch—and remain on watch to carry on the mission.

It was my honor this year to present the Sentinel of the Sea award to three most worthy recipients on behalf of our NWCF. Our highest award conferred to civilian and military designees, the Sentinel of the Sea recognizes those who have been vigilant to our Nation's security and have demonstrated leadership in support of our Navy and military veterans. We salute two former Secretaries of the Navy, the Honorable Paul R. Ignatius and Ambassador J. William Middendorf II, and veterans advocate without peer, Gary Sinise, for their dutiful service over many decades. These three distinguished patriots stood the watch when it mattered.

I commend our generous donors and members for supporting this mission with private contributions—the lifeblood of our organization. I am particularly grateful to the NWCF leaders, past and present, who have given generously of their time, talent, and treasure as Regional

(U.S. Navy photo/released)

Directors, Officers, and Trustees of the Board. I thank our six new Trustees—all highly accomplished professionals and former Navy officers—for signing on to serve. You set a high bar for all boards of governance. You now have the watch.

I am proud to call out a distinguished Trustee Emeritus and a senior leader at the NWCF: The Honorable David S. Gordon (1938-2021), former Vice Chairman of the Board, and long-serving Trustee supporter, advocate, and friend of us all. David demonstrated exceptional generosity and steadfast dedication to the mission and goals of the U.S. Navy and Naval War College. He was awarded the Department of the Navy Meritorious Public Service Award for his service.

David served many worthy causes and nonprofit organizations in a civic career of volunteerism. He was a mentor and a friend to me and to many others over his productive and generous life. David and his wife, Linda, have been comforting constants in our lives in Newport as pillars of the NWCF and local community. We mourn the passing of our dear friend who did so much in his life to support the Naval War College Foundation. We salute our friend and fellow Trustee and his family. David Gordon stood the watch and fought the good fight. May we follow his exceptional example.

Respectfully,

Philip Bilden
Chairman
Naval War College Foundation

From the President, U.S. Naval War College

Dear Naval War College Foundation Members:

With the 2021-2022 academic year fully underway, I am proud to report that we have been able to transition our residential students back to in-person education at your Naval War College. Through the implementation of coronavirus precautions and lessons learned from the pandemic, we are able to continue to provide world-class educational opportunities to our students. The COVID-19 pandemic brought us many challenges—and I know I need to be careful referring to it in the past tense as we don't know what the future might bring—but I am hopeful that the worst is behind us and that the future will remain bright. The COVID-19 pandemic gave us the opportunity to explore new methods of content delivery and distance education that we would not have normally tried. The lessons we learned about synchronous and asynchronous education delivered electronically to students around the globe will serve us well in the future and will allow us to provide education to an ever-growing population of warfighters.

With on-campus activities resuming, the academic year has taken on many of its old familiarities, though with some twists. In August, classes convened as normal, but with students wearing masks and following CDC recommended guidelines to ensure any outbreaks could be contained. This has worked well to date. The first trimester is now behind us and the second trimester in full swing without any significant setbacks. Our full-time residential students are thriving once again in the classroom and in our Newport community.

In September our International Programs Department flawlessly executed the Twenty-Fourth International Seapower Symposium (ISS). The COVID-19 pandemic had delayed

this event one year, but through rigorous planning and adherence to CDC and DOD protocols, we were able to host 141 delegates from 104 countries, including 75 heads of navy, 16 heads of coast guard and 25 U.S. flag officers. This symposium allowed us to gather with our international partners and discuss important issues and challenges that we face as a global community and for the first time, we supported an entirely virtual program for those who were unable to travel to Newport.

In November, the War Gaming Department (WGD) facilitated the Global 14 War Game, where we gathered dozens of Flag and General Officers from across the Department of Defense to come together in our first large-scale war game since the pandemic. Like with our academics, through a strict adherence to coronavirus protocols, we were able to safely execute this war game so that we could realize the immense benefits of in-person discussion and participation by the primary stakeholders in this problem set.

The College of Maritime Operational Warfare (CMOW) is also back to full capacity with the Maritime Staff Operators Course (MSOC) and Maritime Operational Planners Course (MOPC), providing trained planners and staffers to our numbered fleet staffs and components. Because of the experiential nature of these courses, it was essential to get them fully back in the classroom as soon as possible, and through the efforts of the faculty and staff, this was accomplished without incident. CMOW also piloted our first online Fleet Education Program, which provides training to fleet staff officers that would normally be ineligible to attend one of the in-residence courses.

The College of Distance Education (CDE) has worked this year to increase the number of cohorts, which has significantly decreased the number of prospective students on our wait list. Using lessons learned during the COVID-19 pandemic, CDE has been on the cutting edge of developing methods to deliver academic content. The College of Leadership and Ethics (CLE) has also been busy, recently completing an in-

RADM Chatfield particpates in the Fourth of July parade in Bristol, Rhode Island. (U.S. Navy photo/released)

residence Intermediate Flag and Executive Course (IFLEX) and Advanced Flag and Executive Course (AFLEX) in addition to the Leadership in the Profession of Arms course that is taught to all students.

I would be remiss if I did not recognize our outstanding administrative, operations, facilities, and security departments during these dynamic and challenging times. The adjustments we have made to keep our staff, faculty and students safe in the return to campus have fallen most heavily on those that work tirelessly behind the scenes to ensure our facilities and services are optimized to deliver a first-rate education while following appropriate CDC and DOD guidelines.

As I reflect on how far we've come this academic year, I am deeply grateful to each of you for your support of this institution. Together we have weathered the storm of the COVID-19 pandemic, and through your efforts, we have been able to continue to provide a world-class education for the future leaders of the Navy, our Joint Services, Interagency and International Partners. Your advocacy and support have in no small measure allowed us to support the priorities outlined by Congress and our Joint Leadership to prepare tomorrow's leaders for the challenges they will face in defending this nation. Thank you for your continued support and service to the United States Naval War College.

Sincerely,

RADM Shoshana Chatfield, USN
President
U.S. Naval War College

International Programs' Alumni Return for International Seapower Symposium

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS (CNO) Admiral Michael Gilday opened the 24th International Seapower Symposium (ISS) by welcoming his colleagues from around the world who had gathered together at the U.S. Naval War College (USNWC). "This event is truly special," he said. "135 delegates from 104 different nations, including many Heads of Navy and Coast Guards, are gathered here and virtually to discuss, to debate, to learn and of course, to work together."

In those remarks, Admiral Gilday also made a point to welcome the USNWC International Programs' alumni in attendance. Among the alumni present at this year's ISS were Rear Admiral Mihai Panait, Chief of the Romanian Naval Forces, Commodore Jüri Saska, Commander of the Estonian Navy, and Rear Admiral Oumar Wade, Chief of the Senegalese Navy. For these distinguished leaders, returning to the College for ISS provided them with an opportunity to reflect on their time in Newport and how their Naval War College experience has influenced their careers since graduation.

"I went home with more than I expected," commented Commodore Saska, who attended both the Naval Staff College and the Naval Command College. "Coming from a small nation, it was an eye opening experience for me to learn more about how decisions are made by our much larger neighbors." Saska noted that the learning did not just come from the strategic and operational studies completed as part of his coursework, but also the cultural understanding gained from being immersed in the local Newport community and during the students' travels as part of the Field Studies Program. "Some decisions are influenced by cultural factors, and the program gives you a better understanding of that."

All three officers agreed that their experience at the College changed the way they approach the challenges they face in their operational duties. "The program is designed to help you think. Depending on where you are coming from, the challenges may be the same or perhaps they are different. The College gives us tools to handle them," stated Admiral Wade.

The relationships developed inside and outside of the classroom are in some ways as important as the coursework itself. "By the time you finish the course, you really feel that you have built relationships with people here because you have shared so much together—whether it is sport, food, you name it. The diversity of experiences together creates a closeness with people," shared Admiral Wade.

Admiral Panait has also relied on the relationships he developed with his classmates, citing a collaboration with his Turkish classmate as part of Operation Active Endeavour during which NATO ships patrolled the Mediterranean to deter and defend against terrorist activities after 9/11. "It is an important pillar to have connectivity with friends from the other navies," stated Panait.

Commodore Saska concurred, noting that having common friends often opens doors when trying to make professional connections.

That spirit of friendship and connectivity is why the return of ISS after being delayed in 2020 due to COVID was welcomed by all of the delegates. "It is wonderful to have the opportunity to get together again. There is no substitute for face to face interaction," said Admiral Wade. "The pandemic showed that unity is critical.—collaboration and cooperation is the way forward."

Admiral Panait echoed his colleagues' sentiments, commenting that ISS reflects the "spirit of the Navy." "It is important to be here in order to keep cooperation [among our nations] going," he shared.

Their sentiments were also reflected in the CNO's remarks. "We are united by the ironclad trust among us, and our partnerships transcend beyond just our strategic interests. It is built on shared values, shared history, and a vision of a shared destiny."

"It is wonderful to have the opportunity to get together again. There is no substitute for face to face interaction. The pandemic showed that unity is critical—collaboration and cooperation is the way forward.

— Rear Admiral Oumar Wade, Chief of the Senegalese Navy (pictured with RADM Chatfield, President, Naval War College)

(U.S. Navy photos/released)

One Hundred Years Later: The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921

Timothy Hoyt, Ph.D.

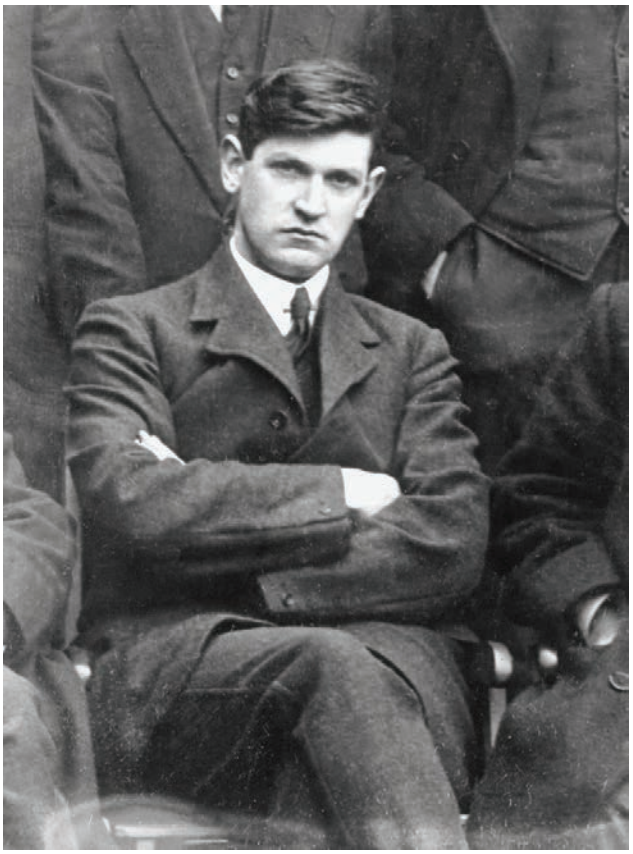
EARLY IN THE MORNING OF 6 DECEMBER 1921, representatives of the British government and the Irish nationalist movement (Sinn Fein) signed an agreement that promised to end over two years of escalating irregular warfare in Ireland. The agreement required ratification in both London and Sinn Fein in Dublin, but it promised—hopefully—to permanently resolve tensions between England and Ireland. Sadly, that promise proved unfulfilled.

The history of Anglo-Irish relations is complicated —England first invaded Ireland in 1166, consolidated its rule after the religious and civil wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, and in 1801 formally annexed the island through the Act of Union. During the 19th century, the largely Catholic/Nationalist population of the island sought greater autonomy, while the Protestant/Unionist minority attempted to bind Ireland more closely to the United Kingdom and the British Empire.

Constitutional efforts to achieve Irish autonomy collapsed with the Home Rule crisis of 1910-1914, when Parliamentary legislation granted very modest domestic authority to an Irish parliament. In response, Unionists in the northern counties of Ireland, with support from the Conservative Party, threatened civil war unless they were exempted from the new law. The crisis was temporarily averted by the First World War, but during that war a failed rebellion by nationalists (the Easter Rising) and a political crisis over conscription in 1918 radicalized the Irish population, which voted in the new Sinn Fein party as a rejection of Home Rule in late 1918.

Sinn Fein won 73 of 105 Parliamentary seats in Ireland, and immediately began a campaign of revolutionary pressure on Britain by refusing to attend Parliament. Instead, those elected members who were not in jail (less than half) met in Dublin to establish the Dail Eireann—an Irish shadow government that challenged British institutions including the legal system. The public was ordered to ostracize the police and security services, who were subjected to an escalating campaign of assassination and terror. In 1920, the campaign expanded to systematic attacks on police installations, and over 500 police stations were eventually burned. The British responded with new centralized intelligence organizations, reinforcing police units by recruiting former British Army soldiers, and (by the end of 1920) martial law in 25% of the island.

The Government of Ireland Act created two new Parliaments in December 1920—one for a Unionist regional government in six Northeastern counties, and the other in the southern 26 counties. Terror increased on both sides—security forces used reprisals and collective punishment, and over 700 civilians were killed between January and July 1921. As the war escalated,



Michael Collins, Director of Organization and Intelligence for the Irish Republican Army, Minister of Finance in the Dail Eireann, briefly Acting President of the Dail (November-December 1920), and one of the five Irish negotiators for the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

Armed anti-Treaty members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Grafton Street, Dublin during the Irish Civil War. (Photo by Walshe/Getty Images)

elections—scheduled for May 1921—took on increasing importance. Overwhelming victories by Unionist parties in the North and by Sinn Fein—running unopposed, as other parties stepped back from the election—in the South confirmed deep divides over the connection with Britain. Faced with an escalating war, and no apparent option for a decisive military solution, the two sides agreed to a truce. This took effect on 11 July 1921, and leaders began the delicate diplomatic interchange that would lead to peace negotiations.

Those negotiations began on 11 October 1921 in London. There were five key areas for debate—trade, finance, defence, the question of Northern Ireland, and the constitutional relationship of the new Irish state to the English Crown. The latter two were particularly thorny.

On the British side, Lloyd George feared for the survival both of his coalition government and of the Liberal Party—so the political stakes were quite high. Many of the negotiators were staunch Unionists who had called for extreme measures against Irish rebels. The Cabinet was committed to maintaining Northern Ireland as a separate political entity, and to keeping Ireland within the Empire. It had some flexibility in terms of Irish political autonomy, international status, and security. Britain's unified position and the implicit threat of renewing terrible and immediate war proved critical advantages in the discussions.

The Irish negotiators were technically "plenipotentiaries", with the authority to sign an agreement on behalf of the Irish people—but none were trained diplomats. Their status was muddied by constraints imposed by Eamon De Valera, President of Sinn Fein. De Valera stayed in Ireland, insisting that the Irish delegates consult him on proceedings. In this way, he hoped to keep control

of the negotiation and limit the pressure that could be put on the Irish side in London. De Valera had already engaged in protracted negotiations with Lloyd George, in person and via the mail.

The most ambitious Irish goals were to achieve a unified Republic, independent and separate from the United Kingdom. De Valera's fallback position was "external association"—a status associated with England, but not part of the Empire. Although he hoped to negotiate re-unification with the northern counties, there were no plans on how to achieve this. It appears that De Valera hoped to force a crisis over Northern Ireland, perhaps exploiting ongoing violence against the Catholic minority there, and when the two sides were at the brink of breaking off talks he would then offer external association as a compromise. He did not, however, make this strategy evident to his negotiating team.

The limits of Irish leverage were quickly made apparent. As Lloyd George had communicated to De Valera before the negotiations, there would be no Republic—the constitutional questions revolved around Ireland's connection with the British Empire, and the relationship between the two Irish parliaments. Irish proposals for a form of external association were rejected immediately. The compromise offered, however, was significant—Dominion Home Rule, with status equivalent to Canada, and significantly greater power over security, foreign affairs, and economics than the 1914 Home Rule Bill. This option, which had been discussed by British leaders since 1919, gave the Irish substantial autonomy but kept them in the Empire.

It also maintained Northern Ireland in the Union—an issue of honor and commitment in the Conservative Party. The British offered a compromise in the form of a border commission. This offered the possibility for the border to be redrawn, with the Free State regaining areas with large Catholic majorities. Irish negotiators, especially Michael Collins (former IRA director of intelligence and Sinn Fein minister of finance), saw this as a means of renegotiating partition, and a stepping-stone to reunification of the entire island in time.

The agreement was signed in the early morning of 6 December, after Lloyd George issued an ultimatum. It granted the Irish Free State Dominion Home Rule within the Empire (including a watered-down oath to the King), maintained two separate Irish parliaments, and permitted the British to continue to garrison several naval bases on the west coast. The Irish delegation took the agreement back to Dublin, where it was immediately and publicly rejected by De Valera. A contentious debate in the Dail Eireann led to a 64-57 vote accepting the Treaty in January 1922, which in turn sowed the seeds for Ireland's tragic and bloody civil war from June 1922 – May 1923.

Given the bitterness over the Treaty, it is useful to consider whether there were any plausible alternatives. The Irish could not defeat Britain militarily—in the Treaty debates, one Irish commander noted that they only had one rifle for every fifty men. Britain's threat of "terrible and immediate war" was an exaggeration—but the British could have reinforced the island and held the major coastal cities, and then decided whether to escalate the war in the interior (Britain's commanding general in Ireland asked how Parliament would react if the army started executing one hundred people a week). Northern Ireland had created robust security forces and adopted repressive security legislation—as Collins would find out in 1922, there was little hope for a successful insurgency in the North. The Republic was not achievable.

Dominion Home Rule, however, proved to be a path to independence, as other Dominions asserted their own autonomy. By 1938, Britain had withdrawn from bases in the Free State, and in 1949, Ireland withdrew from the Commonwealth and declared itself a Republic. As Collins had argued, the Treaty was a stepping-stone on the path to a Republic, which gave Ireland "the freedom to be free". The one area Ireland might have gained more was through the Boundary Commission—when it met, it actually argued for transferring some parts of the Free State to the North (certainly not what Collins had intended). The issue of partition, however, remains unsettled, and has risen again due to Brexit. In every generation, the Irish Republican Army has re-emerged in some form, waging campaigns in 1939-45, 1956-62, and 1969-98 (the Troubles). As Carl von Clausewitz reminds us in his epic *On War*, in war the result is rarely ever final. 100 years after the Treaty, what Irish Republicans could not achieve through politics, some continue to try to achieve through violence.

Dr. Timothy D. Hoyt is a professor of Strategy & Policy at the U.S. Naval War College, where he holds the John Nicholas Brown Chair of Counterterrorism.

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