

# U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts:

Introduction, Background and Analyses

Peter M. Swartz  
with Karin Duggan



MISC D0026421.A1/Final  
December 2011

CNA is a not-for-profit organization whose professional staff of over 700 provides in-depth analysis and results-oriented solutions to help government leaders choose the best courses of action. Founded in 1942, CNA operates the Institute for Public Research and the Center for Naval Analyses, the federally funded research and development center (FFRDC) of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps.

CNA Strategic Studies (CSS), created in 2000, conducts high-quality research on and analysis of issues of strategic, regional, and policy importance. CSS' analyses are based on objective, rigorous examination and do not simply echo conventional wisdom. CSS provides analytic support to U.S. Government organizations and the governments of partner countries. CSS also maintains notable foundation-sponsored and self-initiated research programs. CSS includes a Strategic Initiatives Group, an International Affairs Group, and a Center for Stability and Development.

The Strategic Initiatives Group (SIG) looks at issues of U.S. national security, and military strategy, policy and operations, with a particular focus on maritime and naval aspects. SIG employs experts in historical analyses, futures planning, and long-term trend analysis based on scenario planning, to help key decision makers plan for the future. SIG specialties also include issues related to regional and global proliferation, deterrence theory, threat mitigation, and strategic planning for combating threats from weapons of mass destruction.

The Strategic Studies Division is led by Vice President and Director Dr. Eric V. Thompson, who is available at 703-824-2243 and on e-mail at [thompson@cna.org](mailto:thompson@cna.org). The executive assistant to the Vice President and Director is Ms. Rebecca Martin, at 703-824-2604.

**The principal author of this study thanks especially Karin Duggan for graphic assistance; Loretta Ebner for administrative assistance; Gregory Kaminski, Laurie Ann Lakatos, and Rhea Stone for library assistance; and Dana Smith and Anwar Fry for production assistance. A full listing of substantive contributors can be found in Peter M. Swartz and Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts: Introduction and Background: Volume I*, (D0026421.A1, December 2011). A full listing of all volumes in the CNA Navy Strategy series can be found on the inside back cover of this document.**

Approved for distribution:

December 2011



Dr. W. Eugene Cobble, Jr.  
Director, Strategic Initiatives Group

This document represents the best opinion of the author at the time of issue. It does not necessarily represent the opinion of the Department of the Navy.

Approved for public release. Distribution unlimited.

Copies of this document can be obtained through the Defense Technical Information Center at [www.dtic.mil](http://www.dtic.mil) or contact CNA Document Control and Distribution Section at 703-824-2123.

**Copyright © 2012 CNA**

This work was created in the performance of Federal Government Contract Number N00014-11-D-0323. Any copyright in this work is subject to the Government's Unlimited Rights license as defined in DFARS 252.227-7013 and/or DFARS 252.227-7014. The reproduction of this work for commercial purposes is strictly prohibited. Nongovernmental users may copy and distribute this document in any medium, either commercially or noncommercially, provided that this copyright notice is reproduced in all copies. Nongovernmental users may not use technical measures to obstruct or control the reading or further copying of the copies they make or distribute. Nongovernmental users may not accept compensation of any manner in exchange for copies. All other rights reserved.

## Contents

CNA

◆ Dedication . . . . .	2
◆ Overview & description . . . . .	2
◆ Purpose . . . . .	5
◆ Study origins & sponsorship . . . . .	9
◆ Approach & methodology . . . . .	10
◆ Caveats & limits . . . . .	13
◆ What are “capstone” documents? . . . . .	16
◆ Terminology & definitions: major issues . . . . .	20
◆ Can/should the US Navy have a strategy? . . . . .	41
◆ Kinds of policies & strategies . . . . .	45
◆ Pre-1970s US Navy capstone documents . . . . .	47

1

CNA

◆ Actual document texts: Sources. . . . .	58
◆ Analyzing capstone documents: Issues identified . . . . .	60
◆ Appendices: Documents, leaders, study contributors . . . . .	96

2

## Dedication

CNA

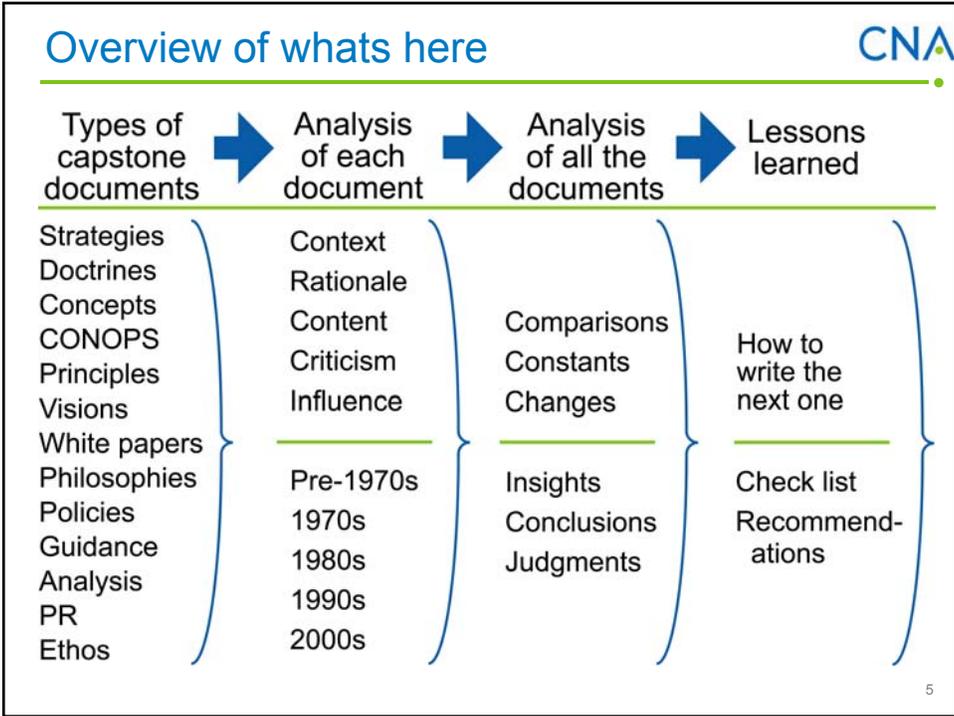
- ◆ Five OPNAV Strategy & Concepts Branch (N513) staff officers died or were severely wounded in the line of duty in the Al Qaeda attack on the Pentagon, September 11, 2001
  - ◆ CAPT Bob Dolan USN
    - ◆ Branch head
  - ◆ LCDR Bill Donovan USN
  - ◆ LCDR Pat Dunn USN
  - ◆ LCDR Dave Williams USN
  - ◆ LT Kevin Shaeffer USN
- ◆ This study is respectfully dedicated in their honor

## 30-40 Capstone Documents: 1970-2010

CNA

Project SIXTY & Missions of the U.S. Navy	Sep 1970, Mar-Apr 1974
Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy, NWP 1 (5)	Dec 1975-May 78
Sea Plan 2000	Mar 1978
CNO Strategic Concepts & Future of U.S. Sea Power	Jan, May 1979
The Maritime Strategy (8)	Nov 1982-May 1990
The Way Ahead	Apr 1991
The Navy Policy Book	May 1992
... From the Sea	Nov 1992
NDP 1: Naval Warfare	Mar 1994
Forward...From the Sea	Oct 1994
Navy Operational Concept (NOC)	May 1997
Anytime, Anywhere	Nov 1997
Navy Strategic Planning Guidance (NSPG) (2)	Aug 1999 & Apr 2000
Sea Power 21 & Global CONOPS	Jun 2002
Naval Power 21 ... A Naval Vision	Oct 2002
Naval Operating Concept for Joint Operations (NOCJO)	Apr 2003
Fleet Response Plan (FRP)	May 2003
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 08	Apr 2006
Naval Operations Concept (NOC)	Sep 2006
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10	Sep 2007
A Cooperative Strategy for 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Seapower	Oct 2007
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10 (Change 1)	Nov 2007
Navy Strategic Guidance ISO PR 11	May 2009
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 12	Oct 2009
Naval Operations Concept (NOC)	May 2010
NDP 1: Naval Warfare	Aug 2010
Navy Strategic Plan ISO POM 13	Oct 2010

4



- ## What this is
- CNA
- ◆ A study of the development of US Navy strategy and policy, 1970-2010
    - ◆ By analyzing content & context of official Navy strategy & policy documents
    - ◆ In briefing slide format. Unclassified.
    - ◆ In seventeen volumes (this is the introductory volume)
    - ◆ Parsed by decade (1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s)
    - ◆ With some discussion of pre-1970 documents & 2011 events
    - ◆ Comparisons & analyses
    - ◆ Recommendations: How to write the next one
- 6

## Analysis of each document

CNA

- ◆ What was it?
- ◆ Why was it written?
- ◆ What was going on at the time?
- ◆ What documents did it cite?
- ◆ What other documents had influence at the time?
- ◆ How was it written?
- ◆ What were its key ideas?
- ◆ What did it say that was new?
- ◆ What did it leave out?
- ◆ What has been written about it?
- ◆ For what was it criticized?
- ◆ What was its influence & why?

7

## Substance (vs. form): Slides w/ blue borders

CNA

- ◆ What were its key ideas?
- ◆ What did it say that was new?
- ◆ What did it leave out?

8

## What else is here? *Context* for each decade CNA

- ◆ Comprehensive surveys of
  - ◆ The global system; world events
  - ◆ The nation: US political, economic, opinion trends
  - ◆ US national security policies; planned & actual adversaries
  - ◆ Defense, services, Navy budgets & manpower trends
  - ◆ Allied, joint & US Navy operational command structures
  - ◆ US national security & defense documents
  - ◆ USN deployment strategy, ops, exercises, forces
  - ◆ USN status, force level numbers & capability trends
    - ◆ Incl. organizational development, sealift, basing, Merchant Marine, shipbuilding, key individuals, Navy-relevant policy literature, ONI public documents
  - ◆ USN relations w/ USMC, USCG, USAF, USA, foreign navies
    - ◆ Incl. relevant developments within each service

9

## Purpose of this study

CNA

- ◆ To identify, organize & present data (and context) on development & influence of USN capstone documents, 1970-2010
- ◆ To analyze the data and make comparisons, judgments & recommendations to inform current and future USN capstone document efforts

10

## Why this study? And why now?

- ◆ USN developed a “New Maritime Strategy” (2005-07)
- ◆ As part of development process, USN wanted:
  - ◆ Record of previous such endeavors
  - ◆ Useful insights drawn from that record
- ◆ Subsequently, USN wanted:
  - ◆ Record of development of “new maritime strategy” itself
  - ◆ Record of development of four 2009/2010 documents derived from new maritime strategy
  - ◆ Documents useful for educating USN pol-mil officer sub-specialty community in their field

11

## The utility of looking at the record

The past is our best guide to the future.

Actually, the past is our only guide to the future; it is the sole source of evidence. Since the future, by definition and the laws of physics, has yet to happen, any and every claim about the future is guesswork; it is theory, speculation.

If history, by your choice, is a closed book to you, and the future -- the focus of your interest -- has yet to happen, what remains? The answer is the present and the lessons you derive from your personal life experience. These aids to wisdom are unlikely to be impressive.

Colin Gray, “Coping with Uncertainty: Dilemmas of Defense Planning” *Comparative Strategy* (2008)

12

*“I believe in the power of our past to inspire and instruct.”*

ADM Michael Mullen, USN  
Chief of Naval Operations  
22 July 2005  
U.S. Naval Academy  
Annapolis, Maryland

- ◆ Help USN better understand why it is what it is today
- ◆ Help foster thinking about appropriate USN roles in the future
- ◆ Help inform USN decisions on formulation and dissemination of new capstone documents
  - ◆ Identify stages in document development, dissemination
  - ◆ Give range of USN options & choices; “best practices”
- ◆ Provide context, perspective to USN staff officers
- ◆ Provide a basis for more sophisticated analyses

## What study drafts have already done (I)

- ◆ Helped inform USN decisions on formulation and dissemination of new capstone documents
  - ◆ E.g.: *Naval Operations Concept 2010*
- ◆ Provide context, perspective to USN staff officers
  - ◆ E.g.: OPNAV N51, N00X, N00Z
- ◆ Used by USN CNO Transition Team (2010)

15

## What study drafts have already done (II)

- ◆ Provided a basis for more detailed analyses
  - ◆ Dr. John Hattendorf's edited NAVWARCOL volumes on US naval strategy in 1970s, 1980s, 1990s
  - ◆ Ph.D. dissertations by
    - ◆ CAPT Peter Haynes USN
    - ◆ Larissa Forster (Switzerland)
    - ◆ Sebastian Bruns (Germany)
    - ◆ Amund Lundesgaard (Norway)
  - ◆ Simultaneous and subsequent CNA studies

16

## Study origins: 14 April 2005

- ◆ “3/1 Strategy Workshop” at Lockheed Martin offices
  - ◆ POC: CAPT Robby Harris USN (Ret)
    - ◆ Director, Advanced Concepts
  - ◆ To inform “3/1 Strategy” construct
- ◆ Original request
  - ◆ Look at
    - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy (1982-9)*
    - ◆ *... From the Sea (1992)*
    - ◆ *Forward ... From the Sea (1994)*
  - ◆ Answer questions
    - ◆ What were they?
    - ◆ What prompted these initiatives?
    - ◆ What was the Effect?
    - ◆ Keys to Success?
- ◆ But . . . we found that there were many more

17

## Study sponsorship

- ◆ OPNAV N51 (2005-7)
- ◆ Under Secretary of the Navy Robert Work (2010-11)

18

## Analytic approach

- ◆ Understand the question
- ◆ Develop appropriate methodology to answer the question
- ◆ Gather data: Documents, interviews, workshops
  - ◆ Use only unclassified & declassified sources
- ◆ Find patterns in the data
- ◆ Analyze the patterns & make comparisons
- ◆ Make judgments & recommendations
- ◆ Keep unclassified, for wide distribution & broad potential advisory/educative effects

19

## What questions does this study answer?

- ◆ Original question:
  - ◆ What should the U.S. Navy do to ensure its next capstone documents are successful?
- ◆ Refined questions:
  - ◆ What should decision-makers and authors consider when drafting Navy capstone documents?
    - ◆ What are the right questions to answer?
    - ◆ What past best practices have been identified?
  - ◆ What has been the Navy's recent prior experience in drafting capstone documents?

20

## Methodology

CNA

- ◆ Empower an experienced analyst/ SME
- ◆ Conduct extensive naval, academic literature review
- ◆ Conduct interviews & personal correspondence
- ◆ Conduct conference, workshops. Surface data, issues
- ◆ Draft, present strawman briefs, as “murder boards”
- ◆ Provide updated briefs & circulate successive drafts within wide network, for review & criticism
  - ◆ Include sponsors, USN, retired USN, outside USN
- ◆ Develop typologies from data & analyses
- ◆ Improve data and analysis; develop recommendations
- ◆ Socialize approach, findings prior to final publication

21

## Study analyzes documents

CNA

- ◆ There is a range of options to choose from in organizing an analysis of the evolution of strategic-level thinking
  - ◆ Ideas
  - ◆ Events
  - ◆ Personalities
  - ◆ Documents
- ◆ This study focuses on & is organized by *documents*
- ◆ Why? Designed principally to help future US Navy strategic-level document-writers & contributors

22

## Study format: Slides

- ◆ Why slide format?
  - ◆ Slides are the *lingua franca* of the practicing US Navy strategy & policy community, and those who support & comment on US Navy policy & strategy
  - ◆ Document began as a briefing
  - ◆ Original intent: Publish an annotated briefing
    - ◆ I.e.: Each page to have a slide on top, with explanatory text on bottom
  - ◆ Slide numbers grew as more data & analyses were included
  - ◆ Number of slides and time & funding limitations eventually precluded annotation
- ◆ Limitations
  - ◆ Provides only a (detailed) skeleton; lacks flesh & muscle

## Methodological difficulties

- ◆ Proof of document “success” is impossible
- ◆ Too many interacting military, political, bureaucratic, economic & human factors to track
- ◆ Impossibility of untangling all relationships
- ◆ Difficulty in finding data
  - ◆ Very sparse and unbalanced literature
- ◆ Difficulty in finding *accurate* data
  - ◆ Memories can be thin reeds
- ◆ Precise parallels between past & present & *future* are speculative

## Caveat: The Navy is about ops, not documents (I)

---

- ◆ Essence of post-WW II US Navy is *operations*
  - ◆ Specifically: Global forward operations in peacetime, crises & war
- ◆ Most post-WW II US Navy officers most of the time have been at-sea operators, or direct enablers of operations, not desk-bound “scribes”
- ◆ Focus of study, however, is on *documents*, not operations
- ◆ Necessarily focuses on USN officers as “scribes”
- ◆ No intent to slight importance of activities of operators, or of scribes when on operational tours, in contributing to US Navy & to the Nation

25

## Caveat: The Navy is about ops, not documents (II)

---

“We believe in command, not staff.

We believe we have ‘real’ things to do.”

Admiral Arleigh Burke USN  
Chief of Naval Operations (1955-1961)

26

## Caveat: The Navy is about ops, not documents (III) CNA



27

## Study focus: Strategic level of war CNA

- ◆ Levels of war
  - ◆ Strategy
  - ◆ Operations
  - ◆ Tactics
- ◆ Inter-related
  - ◆ Strategy *requires* tactics (“top-down” construct)
  - ◆ Tactics *can enable* strategy (“bottom-up” construct)
- ◆ USN operators mostly focus on tactical level at sea
- ◆ Study focus, however, is on *strategic* level of war

28

## Limits of this study (I)

- ◆ Study cannot definitively ensure or predict future “success:” What will “work” & what won’ t
- ◆ It also cannot definitively explain what “worked” in the past
  - ◆ Valid measures of effectiveness (MOEs) difficult to identify, calculate & compare
  - ◆ Each situation had important unique characteristics
  - ◆ Few past efforts to measure “success” beyond anecdotes
  - ◆ Past data on “success” missing, uneven &/or uncertain

29

## Limits of this study (II)

- ◆ Study does not focus on:
  - ◆ Allied, coalition, national security, defense, joint or other service or agency strategies and documents
  - ◆ Except as they relate to US Navy capstone strategy & concept documents
- ◆ Study does not provide full texts of each document
  - ◆ Available in related Naval War College “Newport Paper” series
- ◆ Limitations due to classification of some documents
  - ◆ Many documents have been declassified
  - ◆ Some documents remain classified, which limits UNCLAS description & analysis

30

## Limits of this study (III): Classification

Project SIXTY	Declassified
Missions of the U.S. Navy	UNCLAS
NWP 1 (Rev. A): Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy	UNCLAS
Sea Plan 2000	UNCLAS Exec. Summary; study still SECRET
Future of U.S. Sea Power; CNO Strategic Concepts	UNCLAS; Strategic Concepts still TOP SECRET
The Maritime Strategy	Some UNCLAS; SECRET versions declassified
The Way Ahead	UNCLAS
The Navy Policy Book	UNCLAS
... From the Sea	UNCLAS
Naval Doctrine Pub (NDP) 1: Naval Warfare	UNCLAS
Forward ... From the Sea	UNCLAS
Navy Operational Concept (NOC)	UNCLAS
Anytime, Anywhere	UNCLAS
Navy Strategic Planning Guidance (NSPG) I & II	NSPG I still SECRET; NSPG II UNCLAS
Sea Power 21 & Global CONOPs	UNCLAS
Naval Power 21: A Naval Vision	UNCLAS
Naval Operating Concept for Joint Operations (NOCJO)	UNCLAS
Fleet Response Plan (FRP)	Largely UNCLAS
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 08	Two versions: UNCLAS; still SECRET
Naval Operations Concept (NOC) 2006	UNCLAS
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10	Still SECRET
A Cooperative Strategy for 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Seapower	UNCLAS
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10 (Change 1)	Still SECRET
Navy Strategic Guidance (NSG) ISO PR 11	Still SECRET
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 12	Still SECRET
Naval Operations Concept (NOC) 2010	UNCLAS
Naval Doctrine Pub (NDP) 1: Naval Warfare	UNCLAS
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 13	Still SECRET

31

## What are “capstone documents?”

- ◆ Criteria
  - ◆ General, over-arching “Washington-level” documents
  - ◆ Convey fundamental beliefs about the application of US naval power
  - ◆ Intended to inform USN subordinate commands & documents
    - ◆ “Ref A”
  - ◆ CNO involvement, visibility, signature
    - ◆ A couple of exceptions
- ◆ Self-descriptions are of little help
  - ◆ “Strategies,” “concepts,” “visions,” “strategic plans,” etc.
  - ◆ Few formal definitions
  - ◆ Even formal definitions change over time

32

## 30-40 Capstone Documents: 1970-2010

CNA

Project SIXTY & Missions of the U.S. Navy	Sep 1970, Mar-Apr 1974
Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy, NWP 1 (5)	Dec 1975-May 78
Sea Plan 2000	Mar 1978
CNO Strategic Concepts & Future of U.S. Sea Power	Jan, May 1979
The Maritime Strategy (8)	Nov 1982-May 1990
The Way Ahead	Apr 1991
The Navy Policy Book	May 1992
. . . From the Sea	Nov 1992
NDP 1: Naval Warfare	Mar 1994
Forward...From the Sea	Oct 1994
Navy Operational Concept (NOC)	May 1997
Anytime, Anywhere	Nov 1997
Navy Strategic Planning Guidance (NSPG) (2)	Aug 1999 & Apr 2000
Sea Power 21 & Global CONOPS	Jun 2002
Naval Power 21 . . . A Naval Vision	Oct 2002
Naval Operating Concept for Joint Operations (NOCJO)	Apr 2003
Fleet Response Plan (FRP)	May 2003
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 08	Apr 2006
Naval Operations Concept (NOC)	Sep 2006
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10	Sep 2007
A Cooperative Strategy for 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Seapower	Oct 2007
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 10 (Change 1)	Nov 2007
Navy Strategic Guidance ISO PR 11	May 2009
Navy Strategic Plan (NSP) ISO POM 12	Oct 2009
Naval Operations Concept (NOC)	May 2010
NDP 1: Naval Warfare	Aug 2010
Navy Strategic Plan ISO POM 13	Oct 2010

33

## No in-depth analysis here of: (I)

CNA

- ◆ Unsigned & aborted draft efforts, e.g.:
  - ◆ *Won if by Sea* (1990)
  - ◆ *The Strategic Concept of the Naval Service* (1992)
  - ◆ *NDP 3: Naval Operations* (1995-6)
  - ◆ *Power and Influence . . . From the Sea*
  - ◆ *2020 Vision* (1996)
  - ◆ *Naval Operational Concept* (1997)
  - ◆ *4X4 Strategy* (1998)
  - ◆ *Beyond the Sea . . .* (1998-9)
  - ◆ *Maritime Strategy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (1999-2001)
  - ◆ *Navy Strategic Planning Guidance 2001* (2000)
  - ◆ *21<sup>st</sup> Century Navy* (2000)
  - ◆ *3/1 Strategy* (2005)
  - ◆ *Naval Operating Concept* (2006)

34

## No in-depth analysis here of: (II)

CNA

- ◆ 2 USN “Transformation Roadmaps” (2002, 2003)
- ◆ 3 USN-USCG “National Fleet” policy statements (1998, 2002, 2006)
- ◆ CNO Guidance (CNOGs) & Navy Objectives
- ◆ ONI products (e.g., *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*)
- ◆ Influential in-house USN studies & analyses
- ◆ Unofficial efforts

35

## No in-depth analysis here of: (III)

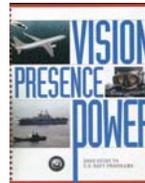
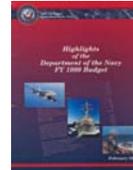
CNA

- ◆ USN annual “Capstone” communications to the Congress
  - ◆ Annual Navy “Posture Statements” (through FY 2000, & resumed)
  - ◆ Navy testimony before Congress
  - ◆ Annual Navy *Program Guides* (since 1993)
  - ◆ Annual Navy “Budget Highlights” documents

36

## Posture statements; Program guides; Budget highlights

CNA



37

## Posture Statements & Program Guides (I)

CNA

- ◆ Annual general pubs justifying Navy overall budget requests to Congress
- ◆ First chapter normally presented Navy policy & strategy
  - ◆ Often reprinted verbatim or paraphrased current USN capstone document
  - ◆ But not always comprehensive (e.g.: FY 07 *Program Guide*)
- ◆ Reflect current CNO & OPNAV thinking
- ◆ Short-term influence: one year; but opportunity for continuity

38

## Posture Statements & Program Guides (II) CNA

- ◆ Last glossy Navy *Posture Statement*: for FY 2000
  - ◆ SECDEF Rumsfeld cancelled all glossy service posture statements for FY 2001 & later
  - ◆ But still published as initial CNO FY budget testimony
- ◆ 1st annual Navy *Program Guide (Force 2001)* published for FY 93
  - ◆ Became *Vision...Presence...Power* in FY 1998
  - ◆ Became *Sea Power for a New Era* in 2006
  - ◆ No program guide published in 2008 for FY 09
    - ◆ Printed copy OBE due to 2008 DDG-1000 decisions
  - ◆ 2009 & 2010 editions titled simply *Navy Program Guide*

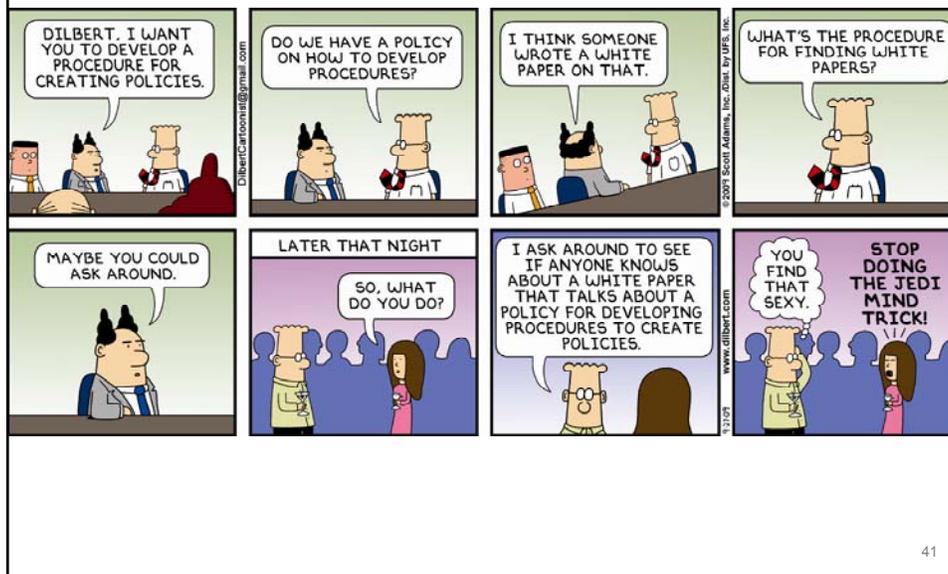
39

## Terminology & definitions: Difficult issues CNA

- ◆ This study
  - ◆ Identifies & acknowledges the issues
  - ◆ Does not address these issues definitively
- ◆ Worthy of further study & analysis

40

## Identifying the right terminology



## Terminology: USN capstone documents

- ◆ At least 35 “capstone” strategy & concepts documents since 1970
  - ◆ Some explicitly said they were “strategy” or “strategic”
    - ◆ E.g.: *The Maritime Strategy*, *Navy Strategic Plan*
  - ◆ Some explicitly said they were “visions” or “concepts”
  - ◆ Others said they were something else, but contained important elements of *strategy* or *vision*
    - ◆ E.g.: “Navy Policy Book, Fleet Response Plan”
- ◆ Most—even those labeled “strategy”—have occasioned debates as to whether or not they really were “strategies”

## Were capstone documents “strategies”? CNA

- ◆ Or were they
  - ◆ “Doctrines”?
  - ◆ “Concepts”?
  - ◆ “Strategic concepts”?
  - ◆ “Concepts of operations (CONOPS)”?
  - ◆ “Principles”? “Mission statements”? “Missions”?
  - ◆ “Visions”?
  - ◆ “White Papers”?
  - ◆ “Philosophies” or “styles” of warfare?
  - ◆ “Policies”? “Guidance”? “Strategic plans”?
  - ◆ “Analysis”?
  - ◆ “Navy stories”? “Narratives”? “Ethos”? “Creeds”? “Core values”? “Charters”?
- ◆ Definitions differ – & change over time – for each

43

## Terminology: Authorities & reality CNA

- ◆ Agreed DOD joint definitions
  - ◆ Joint Pub 1-02 *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (2007)
  - ◆ Evolves over time. Continuously updated
  - ◆ Missing some definitions; in other Joint Pubs however
- ◆ Navy definitions
  - ◆ NTRP 1-02 *Naval Supplement to the DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (2006)
  - ◆ Superseded NWP 1-02 (1995) & NWP-3 (pre-1995)
- ◆ Navy usage
  - ◆ Often at variance with formal joint & Navy definitions



44

## The Navy and terminology (I)

- ◆ US Navy never rigorous in its approach to policy/ strategy/ concepts terminology
  - ◆ Definitions considered dull, unimportant
- ◆ Individual idiosyncratic approaches abound (and change over time)
- ◆ Generally little knowledge or appreciation of existence of joint – and even Navy – official definitions
- ◆ Strong contrast to Joint Staff & US Army approach
  - ◆ Definitions considered important, useful, necessary
  - ◆ Included in Gen Martin Dempsey USA list of issues important to the US Army: “Getting the words right” (2010)

45

## The U.S. Navy & terminology (II)

- ◆ “When I use a word . . . it means just what I choose it to mean . . .”

Humpty Dumpty

In Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass*



46

## The U.S. Navy & terminology (III)

CNA

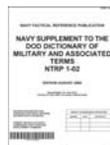
- ◆ The record:
  - ◆ Terminological disinterest, disregard, unawareness,
- ◆ E.g.:
  - ◆ USN leaders variously termed . . . *From the Sea* (1992):
    - ◆ A “white paper”
    - ◆ A “vision”
    - ◆ A “strategic concept”

47

## Terminology: Scattered among sources (I) CNA

- ◆ Example #1: “Missions & capabilities” (in 2009)
 

◆ Sea control operations	Joint	
◆ Power projection		Navy
◆ Maritime power projection	Joint	
◆ Forward presence		Navy
◆ Strategic deterrence	Joint	
◆ Humanitarian assistance/DR	-----	----
◆ Humanitarian & civil assistance	Joint	
◆ Foreign HA, Foreign DA	Joint	
◆ Maritime security operations (MSO)	-----	----
◆ Maritime interception operations (MIO)		Navy

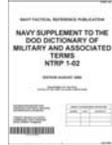


48

## Terminology: Scattered among sources (II) CNA

### ◆ Example #2: “Warfare tasks” (in 2009)

- |                          |       |      |
|--------------------------|-------|------|
| ◆ Strike warfare         |       | Navy |
| ◆ Amphibious operations  | Joint |      |
| ◆ Anti-air warfare       |       | Navy |
| ◆ Anti-submarine warfare | Joint |      |
| ◆ Anti-surface warfare   | ----- | ---- |
| ◆ Surface warfare        | Joint |      |
| ◆ Mine warfare           | Joint |      |
| ◆ Naval special warfare  |       | Navy |
| ◆ Electronic warfare     | Joint |      |
| ◆ Information operations | Joint |      |



49

## What is “strategy”? (I) CNA

*The concept of “strategy” has proven notoriously difficult to define. Many theorists have attempted it, only to see their efforts wither beneath the blasts of critics*

*. . . . Straightforward definitions go fundamentally astray, for strategy is a process, a constant adaptation to shifting conditions and circumstances in a world where chance, uncertainty, and ambiguity dominate.*

Williamson Murray & Mark Grimsby  
 “Introduction: On Strategy”  
*The Making of Strategy* (1994)

50

## What is “strategy”? (II)

- ◆ Enormous literature. Numerous definitions

- ◆ Definitions evolve & diverge

The art and science of developing and using political, economic, psychological, and military forces as necessary during peace and war, to afford the maximum support to policies, in order to increase the probabilities and favorable consequences of victory and to lessen the chances of defeat.

Joint Pub 1-02 (1994)

A prudent idea or set of ideas for employing the instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve theater, national, and/or multinational objectives.

Joint Pub 1-02 (2008)

This definition is bureaucratically appealing, politically correct, and relatively useless.

Gabriel Marcella & Steven Fought  
“Teaching Strategy in the 21st Century”  
*JFQ* (1<sup>st</sup> qtr 2009)

51

## What is “strategy”? (III)

- ◆ *Strategy* = plan of action

- ◆ Choosing & using certain *Means* → in chosen *Ways*  
→ to achieve certain specific *Ends*
  - ◆ In a given *Context*

52

## What is a “Navy strategy”?

- ◆ The US Navy’s theory about how its forces contribute to US national security
  - ◆ A set of concepts & arguments
- ◆ It should coherently enumerate, think through, lay out, & ideally *prioritize*:
  - ◆ Maritime components of threats to the nation
  - ◆ Strategies those threats are likely to employ
  - ◆ Reasons why these threats & strategies are salient
  - ◆ Optimal potential Navy operations to counter those threats & strategies
  - ◆ Reasons how & why these operations will work

53

## “Navy,” “naval” & “maritime” strategy

- ◆ All include “how the U.S. Navy is/should be used”
- ◆ *Naval* strategy sometimes also means “include USMC”
- ◆ *Maritime* strategy sometimes means “include USCG”
  - ◆ Maritime industries believe it should include them too
- ◆ *Maritime strategy* has also meant “a type of total national strategy”
  - ◆ As opposed to a *continental strategy*

54

## “Naval Strategy:” The formal Navy definition

*The use of naval forces (including naval aviation and Marine forces) to achieve naval objectives determined by national strategy, with the overall objective of controlling the seas and denying to an enemy the use of those sea areas important to enemy operations*

- ◆ Virtually unchanged in 20+ years
  - ◆ NTRP 1-02 *Navy Supplement to the DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Aug 2006)
  - ◆ NWP 1-02 *Navy Supplement to the DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Jun 1995)
  - ◆ NWP 3 (Rev. D) *Naval Terminology* (Feb 1985)
- ◆ Exclusive focus on sea control

## “Strategy” & “doctrine” (I)

- ◆ Most of these documents are closer to “doctrine” than “strategy”
  - ◆ “Doctrine” is
    - ◆ Abstract, conceptual & general
    - ◆ Official and authoritative (Directive in joint system, US Army)
  - ◆ “Strategy” has a particular context
- ◆ USN formally says “doctrine” is an essential bridge between “strategy” & “Tactics, Techniques & Procedures” (TTP) (NDP 1 *Naval Warfare* (1994))

## “Strategy” & “doctrine” (II)

- ◆ “Strategy” is a far more positive term in USN than “doctrine”
  - ◆ USN officers “wary of doctrine.” “What little doctrine the Navy has, it ignores in favor of operational flexibility”
    - ◆ CAPT Wayne Hughes USN (Ret), *Fleet Tactics*
  - ◆ “To the naval strategist, the combination of definitions and doctrine becomes rather toxic”
    - ◆ CAPT Roger Barnett USN (Ret), *Navy Strategic Culture* (2009)
  - ◆ Few USN mechanisms to ensure knowledge of doctrine
  - ◆ Strong contrast w/ joint system & other services, esp/ US Army
  - ◆ But 1<sup>st</sup> study of doctrine was USN (Dudley Knox, 1915)

57

## “Strategy” & “doctrine” (III)

- ◆ “Navy “wariness” re: doctrine not solely a US phenomenon

“Over the course of their histories, most Commonwealth navies have acquired reputations for their aversion to written doctrine”

Aaron P. Jackson, opening sentence in *Keystone Doctrine Development in Five Commonwealth Navies: A Comparative Perspective* (2010)

58

## “Strategy” & “concepts” (I)

- ◆ Dictionary definition of *concepts*: “General ideas”
- ◆ Joint forces definition of *concepts*: “Future-oriented; “beyond the FYDP”
  - ◆ Innovative, debatable, unvalidated
  - ◆ As opposed to *doctrine* (Current, authoritative)
- ◆ Actual Navy usage: Closer to dictionary than joint usage
  - ◆ Sister service usage tracks with Joint definition
- ◆ “Operational”, “operating” & “operations” *concepts*
  - ◆ Have specific, future-oriented meanings in joint usage
  - ◆ Navy view has been that they are closer to “capstone doctrines”

59

## “Strategy” & “concepts” (II)

- ◆ Navy striving to develop an approach to “concepts” reflecting the joint force approach (2009-11)
  - ◆ OPNAVINST 5401.9 *Navy Concept Generation and Concept Development Program* (Feb 2010)
    - ◆ “A concept is a notion or statement of an idea with an expression of how something might be done; a visualization of future operations . . .”
  - ◆ *Navy Warfare Development Command, Guide for Navy Concept Generation and Concept Development Program* (Feb 2010)
    - ◆ Similar to OPNAVINST
    - ◆ Superseded by Jun 2011 edition
    - ◆ But content of various *Naval Operations Concepts* often has not conformed to these definitions

60

## “Strategy” & “concepts” (III)

CNA

- ◆ “Those who think about naval matters are, for the most part, entirely at ease with concepts and quite uninterested in definitions”

CAPT Roger Barnett USN (Ret)

Navy Strategic Culture: Why the Navy Thinks Differently (2009)

- ◆ But his idea of a “concept’ is itself not in conformance with contemporary joint usage
  - ◆ “Concepts are abstract, indistinct, and malleable”
  - ◆ Closer to common dictionary usage

61

## “Strategy” & “strategic concepts”

CNA

- ◆ “Strategic concept”
  - ◆ Popularized by Samuel Huntington in 1954
  - ◆ Periodically used by Navy and naval commentators
  - ◆ No official joint definition
- ◆ Some Navy “strategy” documents may really be “strategic concepts”
  - ◆ *A Cooperative Strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Seapower* (2007)

62

## “Strategy” & “concepts of operations”

CNA

### ◆ Concept of operations (CONOPS)

A verbal or graphic statement that clearly and concisely expresses what the joint force commander intends to accomplish and how it will be done using available resources. The concept is designed to give an overall picture of the operation

JP 1-02, *DOD Dictionary* (2008)

### ◆ Fleet Warfighting CONOPS

A written document specifying how the Fleet will employ current capabilities . . . to effectively and efficiently perform the missions assigned by the Combatant Commander (CCDR) to naval forces

COMUSFLTFORCOMINST 5401.1A  
*Fleet Concept of Operations (CONOPS)  
Development* ( Mar 2009)

63

## “Strategy” & “principles”

CNA

- ◆ Universally accepted, self-evident truths. Axioms.
- ◆ To inform, for better understanding. Not directive.
- ◆ Navy leaders have often put forth their own sets of “principles” (often calling doctrine “principles”)
- ◆ USN has had little recent interest in classic “principles of war”
- ◆ A few exceptions:
  - ◆ NWP 10 *Naval Warfare* (1950s) included “Principles of War”
  - ◆ NDP1 *Naval Warfare* (1994) included “Principles of War”
  - ◆ RADM John Morgan interest (2003)
    - ◆ Yielded essay contest, book, articles

64

## “Strategy” & “vision”

- ◆ Term borrowed from American corporate business usage
  - ◆ Popular in 1990s
  - ◆ Future-oriented, like concepts
  - ◆ Short, succinct, inspiring statements of what an organization intends to become & achieve at some point in the future. Broad, all-inclusive, forward-thinking intentions.
  - ◆ The image of an organization’s goals before it sets out to reach them. Describes aspirations for the future, without necessarily specifying the means that will be used to achieve desired ends.
  - ◆ May be as vague as a dream or as precise as a goal or a mission statement

## “Strategy” & “white papers”

- ◆ Term borrowed from UK usage
  - ◆ Authoritative report outlining government policy & proposed actions
  - ◆ Play specific roles in UK politics & government policy
  - ◆ Not part of normal US government usage
  - ◆ But term sometimes applied to US Navy capstone documents to lend them authority

## “Strategy” & “philosophies of warfare” (I) CNA

- ◆ “Philosophies,” “styles,” “types” of warfare
- ◆ Usually discussed in pairs, as polar opposites
- ◆ One pole often used as a “straw man”
  - ◆ Annihilation vs. attrition
  - ◆ Attrition vs. maneuver
  - ◆ Attrition vs. effects-based operations (EBO)
  - ◆ Conventional vs. nuclear (or strategic)
  - ◆ Conventional vs. unconventional (or guerrilla)
  - ◆ Irregular vs. regular (or conventional)
  - ◆ Asymmetric vs. symmetric
  - ◆ “3-block war,” hybrid war vs. single-type

67

## “Strategy” & “philosophies of warfare” (II) CNA

- ◆ “Attrition warfare” vs. “maneuver warfare”
- ◆ Characterized USMC writings
  - ◆ Late 1980s onward
- ◆ Adopted in several subsequent Navy & naval capstone documents
- ◆ Large literature analyzing “maneuver vs. attrition”
- ◆ Terms defined as “philosophies” in *Navy Supplement to Joint Pub 1-02 (NTRP 1-02)*
  - ◆ Not part of US joint lexicon (*Joint Pub 1-02*)
- ◆ *Naval Doctrine Pub 1: Naval Warfare (2010)*
  - ◆ “Doctrine,” but “describes our operating philosophy”

68

## “Strategy” & “policy” (I)

- ◆ Current usage:
  - ◆ Politicians make “policy”
  - ◆ Generals & admirals make “strategy”

Strategy is the art of applying power to achieve objectives, within the limits imposed by policy

Gabriel Marcella & Stephen Fought  
“Teaching Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”  
*JFQ* (2009)

## “Strategy” & “policy” (II)

I know of no way to make a sharp, easy distinction between policy & strategy. They blend & overlap. Both provide guidance for plans & operations.

Policy . . . provides guidance under which officials work to attain an effect desired.

Policy must dominate strategy; strategy influences policy

RADM (Ret) Henry Eccles  
“Strategy – The Theory & Application”  
*Naval War College Review* (1979)

## “Strategy” & “policy” (III)

CNA

- ◆ Another usage
  - ◆ “Strategy” as “operational,” for “warfighting”
  - ◆ “Policy as “administrative,” for “management”
  - ◆ Reflecting the dual DOD chains of command

. . . I try to separate military strategy from policy. Military strategy needs a specific enemy and, though developed in peacetime, is applied during war. . . . I do not expect a global conflict so the issue before us today seems more one of naval policy.

CNO ADM Frank Kelso USN  
SASC Confirmation Hearings (1990)

## “Strategy” & “guidance”

CNA

- ◆ USN has used term in at least two ways:
  - ◆ Annual CNO direction in building or refining the Program Objectives Memorandum (POM)
    - ◆ *Navy Strategic Planning Guidance* (1999, 2000)
    - ◆ *Navy Strategic Guidance in support of PR 11* (2009)
      - ◆ Similar direction also found in *Navy Strategic Plans*
    - ◆ Contained elements of strategy
    - ◆ Audience is chiefly DON Washington-area military & civilian staff charged with POM & budget development
  - ◆ Periodic statements of CNO intentions & planned way ahead
    - ◆ *CNO Guidance (CNOG)*
    - ◆ (Similar to CJCS, CMC, other service leader usage)
    - ◆ Audience was entire US Navy, especially staffs
- ◆ No official joint or Navy definition for “guidance”

72

## “Strategy” & “analysis” (I)

CNA

- ◆ Analysis (in a military context):
  - ◆ A tool to assist in decision-making
  - ◆ Usually conducted to yield specific answers to specific questions, e.g.:
    - ◆ How many ships to buy?
    - ◆ How many weapons of what kind to use?
- ◆ To achieve that level of specificity, analysts make *assumptions*
  - ◆ Usually much more narrow & specific than those of strategists
- ◆ Strategists & analysts often disagree on assumptions
- ◆ SECDEF McNamara-era emphasis on analysis had continued in OSD ever since
  - ◆ Somewhat discredited following use measuring/claiming Vietnam War “success”

73

## “Strategy” & “analysis” (II)

CNA

- ◆ SECNAV Claytor, USN Woolsey, later SECNAV Lehman saw them as antithetical (late 1970s/1980s)
  - ◆ “Strategy” often equated w/ “professional military judgment”
  - ◆ Believed OSD emphasis on quantitative policy analysis devalued, eviscerated strategy & “intellectual audacity”
  - ◆ Saw aspects of campaign analysis as pernicious
    - ◆ “How much is enough?” = “the wrong question” for navies
    - ◆ Downplayed analytic focus on scenarios & marginal changes
    - ◆ Preferred to use lessons from historical experience
    - ◆ Saw need for flexibility in face of uncertainty
    - ◆ Emphasized role of naval forces in seamless transitions from peace to crises to war
  - ◆ Also saw “analysis” as cover for OSD subjective judgment
- ◆ Then “Peaceful coexistence” (1990s & 2000s)
  - ◆ Campaign analyses central to USN programming in 2000s

## “Strategy” & “analysis” (III)

CNA

One of the great heresies of our time, the cult of “systems analysis . . . Instead of a tool, it *became* the decision process

The grafting of the systems analysis cult onto the navy had a particularly unfortunate effect. Given the overwhelming engineering bent of the naval officer corps and the effects that Rickover’s obsession with engineering was having throughout the navy, the seeds of systems analysis found naval waters most hospitable, and they grew like hydrilla, choking off strategic thinking.

The result of these trends was the disappearance within the navy itself of any coherent rationale for the navy and its historic mission. One looks in vain through the congressional testimony of the late 1960s and 1970s for a consistent intellectual case for the navy. . . . Things that could be quantified, put into statistics, and massaged by computers became the total product of the Department of the Navy headquarters.

John F. Lehman, Jr. (SECNAV 1981-7)  
*Command of the Seas* (1988)

## “Strategy” & “The Navy Story” or “Narrative” CNA

- ◆ Drafters often conflated “strategy” with developing a “Navy Story” or “narrative” for external public relations
- ◆ Some documents were designed to increase public and congressional understanding of and support for the Navy
- ◆ Terming them “strategies” and “strategic concepts” was seen as giving them a respectability that furthered this aim
- ◆ “Story” or “narrative” is also a document-crafting *technique*
  - ◆ Flow from a beginning through a middle to a successful ending
  - ◆ Most notably used in *The Maritime Strategy* (1980s)

76

## “Strategy” & “Ethos”

- ◆ “Institutional ethos”
  - ◆ Term borrowed from organization theory
  - ◆ The largely informal rules of an organization:
    - ◆ Its history, cultural values, norms, taboos
- ◆ “Navy Ethos” (Nov 2008)
  - ◆ USN’s “distinguishing character, culture, guiding beliefs”
  - ◆ Short statement of values
  - ◆ CNO ADM Roughead directed, in *CNOG 2007-8*
  - ◆ Product of Navy-wide solicitation for inputs
  - ◆ Criticisms: Too long, not focused enough on combat
  - ◆ Not claimed as part of 2007-9 capstone document “trifecta”

## “Strategy” & “Creed”

- ◆ Creed
  - ◆ A statement of belief – usually religious belief
- ◆ “Sailor’s Creed” (1993; 1994 rev, 1997 rev)
  - ◆ An institutionally-developed personal statement

- ◆ I am a United States Sailor.
- ◆ I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America and I will obey the orders of those appointed over me.
- ◆ I represent the fighting spirit of the Navy and all who have gone before me to defend freedom and democracy around the world.
- ◆ I proudly serve my country’s Navy combat team with Honor, Courage and Commitment
- ◆ I am committed to excellence and the fair treatment of all.

## “Strategy” & “Core Values Charter”

CNA

- ◆ Charter
  - ◆ A written instrument, usually a grant, contract, or guarantee of rights
- ◆ *Navy Core Values*
  - ◆ CNO ADM Kelso promulgated (Oct 1992)
    - ◆ In the wake of “Tailhook 91” incident
- ◆ *Department of the Navy Core Values Charter*
  - ◆ 1996; re-issued 1999, 2005, 2008
  - ◆ Signed by successive SECNAVs, CNOs, CMCs

A broad framework which outlines those key principles embodied in our Core Values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment . . . they shape our standards and define our priorities/ ethos

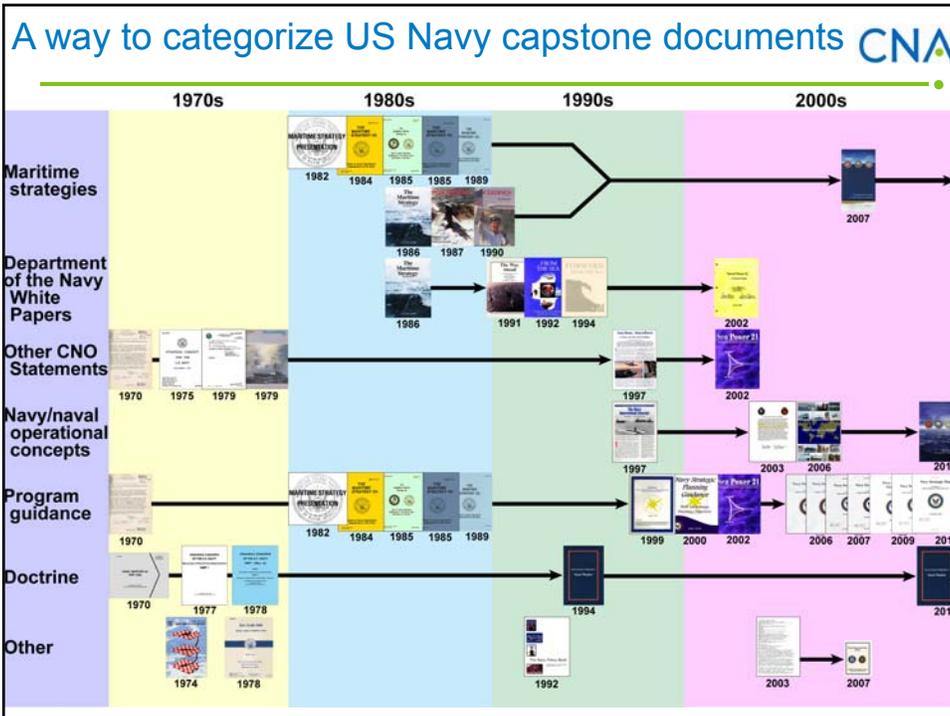
79

## This study’s approach

CNA

- ◆ Does not further analyze debates on nature of strategy, concepts, vision, doctrine, story, etc.
- ◆ Lines between policy & strategy, strategy & operations, strategy & doctrine, etc. can be fuzzy
- ◆ This study acknowledges the issues involved, but does not focus on definitional rigor, to more clearly show context and sweep of US Navy thinking

80



## Can/should the USN have a strategy? CNA

- ◆ **Yes.** It's the service's responsibility to:
  - ◆ Describe & amplify on global maritime aspects of national military strategy
  - ◆ Recommend changes and professional judgments
  - ◆ Organize, train & equip coherently, now and in future
- ◆ **Others often don't agree**
  - ◆ Joint Staff, combatant commander staffs
  - ◆ Civilian & military defense specialists
  - ◆ Believe services can have "visions," "policies," "doctrines," etc., but not "strategies"
  - ◆ "Strategy" = domain of joint staffs

## Why strategies, concepts & visions? (I)

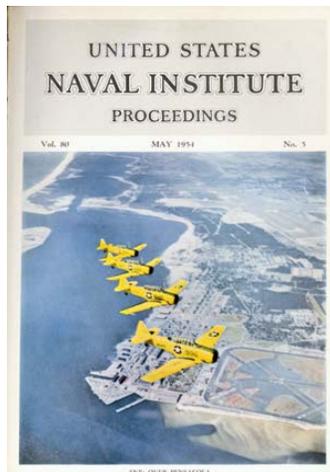
CNA



83

## Why strategies, concepts & visions? (II)

CNA



Samuel P. Huntington\*  
“National Policy and the  
Transoceanic Navy”  
US Naval Institute *Proceedings*  
(May 1954)

\*Age 27

84

### Why strategies, concepts & visions? (III)

The fundamental element of a military service is its purpose or role in implementing national policy. The statement of this role may be called the *strategic concept* of the service.”

If a military service does not possess such a concept, it becomes purposeless, it wallows about amid a variety of conflicting and confusing goals, and ultimately it suffers both physical and moral degradation.”

Samuel Huntington (1954)

85

### Why strategies, concepts & visions? (IV)

If a service does not possess a well-defined strategic concept, the public and the political leaders will be confused as to the role of the service, uncertain as to the necessity of its existence, and apathetic or hostile to the claims made by the service upon the resource of society.

A military service capable of meeting one threat to the national security loses its reason for existence when that threat weakens or disappears. If the service is to continue to exist, it must develop a new strategic concept related to some other security threat.

Samuel Huntington (1954)

## Why strategies, concepts & visions? (V)

CNA

- ◆ Two audiences:
  - ◆ “The public and the political leaders”
  - ◆ The “military service” itself

Samuel Huntington (1954)

## The four functions of (grand) strategies

CNA

- ◆ A guide for the allocation of scarce resources
- ◆ Helps complex organizations coordinate their activities
- ◆ Communicate interests to others (potential adversaries, allies & friends)
- ◆ Permit criticism & correction; organize public discourse; allow for policy evaluation

—Barry R. Posen

“A Grand Strategy of Restraint”

in *Finding Our Way: Debating American Grand Strategy*  
(June 2008)

## Kinds of policies (and strategies)

- ◆ Declaratory policy/ strategy (our topic)
- ◆ Deployment strategy
- ◆ Planned employment strategy
- ◆ Actual employment strategy
- ◆ Acquisition strategy
- ◆ Personnel and training strategy

### Issues:

- ◆ Which, if any, leads others?
- ◆ Alignment

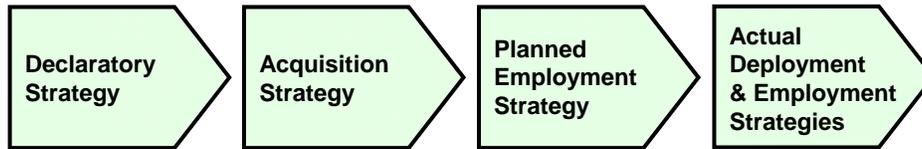
## Declaratory strategy/ policy

- ◆ Proclamations and official descriptions of US Navy policy and strategy announced by the US Navy leadership
- ◆ What the US Navy leadership wants others – inside and outside the Navy – to know and believe about the Navy’s policy intentions, as a component of the U.S. government
- ◆ Central vehicle: “Capstone documents”

## Parallel tracks vice sequencing

CNA

It's less like this...



...And more like this



...with limited feedback

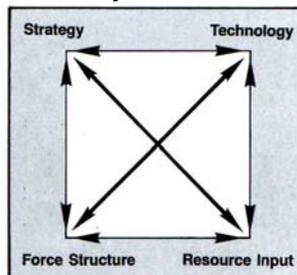
91

## Strategy as a determinant of naval power

CNA

- ◆ Strategy/policy/concepts/doctrine etc. is **a determinant** of national naval power, **not the determinant**
- ◆ CAPT John Byron's construct: Four determinants\*
  - ◆ **Strategy**
  - ◆ **Resource input**
  - ◆ **Force structure**
  - ◆ **Technology**

Each drives & is driven by the other 3



\*US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Jan 1987)

92

## Why start with 1970?

CNA

- ◆ Familiar. Spans living USN memory.
- ◆ An obvious, traceable trail of successive CNO involvement, commitment, & visibility begins
- ◆ US naval power vocabulary transformed in 1970
- ◆ Not to say that there were no USN strategies/ concepts/ visions/ strategic plans etc. before 1970

93

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (I) CNA

- ◆ 1775 Continental Congress resolutions (Oct-Nov 1775): Interdiction
- ◆ 1775-6 Continental Congress Naval Committee & Naval Commissioners orders: Interdiction
- ◆ 1777-83 Captain John Paul Jones correspondence
- ◆ 1798+ SECNAV *Reports to the Congress*
- ◆ 1800s: Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson & USN supporters writings
- ◆ 1812: Navy captains letters to SECNAV Hamilton
  - ◆ Especially Commodores Rodgers & Decatur
- ◆ 1821 Captain Elliot et al. in Fortifications (Bernard) Board report on coast defense

94

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (II)

- ◆ 1830s Naval officer *Naval Magazine* articles
- 1851: USN officer reports to SECNAV on coast defense strategy
  - ◆ Esp. Dupont *Report on National Defences*
- ◆ 1861: CAPT Dupont & Blockade Board
- ◆ 1861-5: SECNAV Mallory (CSA): commerce-raiding & homeland defense
- ◆ 1870s: Admiral Porter: Commerce-raiding & homeland defense
- ◆ 1874+ US Naval Institute *Proceedings* articles

95

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (III)

- ◆ 1881-2 Admiral Rodgers et al., Naval Advisory Board reports
- ◆ 1885+: Naval War College lectures, papers, games
- ◆ 1889: SECNAV Tracy *Report to the Congress*
- ◆ 1890 Navy Dept. *Report of the Policy Board*
- ◆ 1890s+ Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan writings
  - ◆ Sea power through decisive battle fleet action
- ◆ 1890s-1930s: Color Plans

96

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (IV) CNA

- ◆ 1900-50: General Board of the Navy
  - ◆ Strategy & policy studies & memoranda
  - ◆ *U.S. Naval Policy* (1922)
- ◆ 1900s: *War Plan Black* (vs. Germany)
- ◆ 1916: RADM Bradley A. Fiske, *The Navy as a Fighting Machine*
  - ◆ Forward fleet ops
- ◆ 1920s & 30s:
  - ◆ *War Plan Orange* (vs. Japan)
  - ◆ *F.T.P. 143, War Instructions, 1934*
  - ◆ Army-Navy “Rainbow Plans” (1939-40)

97

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (V) CNA

- ◆ 1940s: World War II
  - ◆ CNO ADM Harold Stark, “Plan Dog”
    - ◆ Germany first
  - ◆ U.S. Pacific Fleet, *Pacific Fleet Tactical Orders & Doctrine* (PAC 1) (Jun 1943)
  - ◆ U.S. Fleet, *Current Tactical Orders & Doctrine* (USF 10A) (Feb 1944)
  - ◆ COMINCH ADM Ernest J. King, *F.T.P. 143(A) War Instructions, United States Navy, 1944* (Nov 1944)
    - ◆ Context:
      - ◆ Global offensive
      - ◆ Membership in new Joint Chiefs of Staff

98

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (VI)CNA

### ◆ Mid-late 1940s: Cold War & containment (I)

#### ◆ At first:

“People in the navy did not know very much about strategy . . . That’s why we did not have any organization to lay out the navy’s case or defend ourselves . . . We suffered from a lack of knowledge within the navy of what the navy was all about . . .”

Reminiscences of Admiral Arleigh Burke

#### ◆ Then emergence of a coherent global, offensive “transoceanic” strategy vs. Soviet Union

- ◆ Quick response, protracted war, nuclear strikes, persistent combat-credible forward presence
- ◆ Initial focus on Mediterranean theater, NATO ally support (1949)
- ◆ Fleet balance: Shift from PAC to LANT

99

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (VII)CNA

### ◆ Mid-late 1940s: Cold War & containment (II)

- ◆ JCS PINCHER war plan vs. USSR (1946)
- ◆ SECNAV James Forrestal, *Policy of the United States Navy* (Jan 1947)
- ◆ DCNO (OPS) VADM Forrest Sherman, “Presentation to the President” (1947)
- ◆ CNO FADM Chester Nimitz, *“The Future Employment of Naval Forces”* (1947)
- ◆ CNO FADM Chester Nimitz, *USF-1, Principles and Applications of Naval Warfare: United States Fleets* (May 1947)
  - ◆ Capstone of new post-war USN *United States Fleets* doctrine & tactics pub series
- ◆ General Board of the Navy (CAPT Arleigh Burke), *National Security and Navy Contributions Thereto Over the Next Ten Years* (1948)

100

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (VIII)

- ◆ 1950s: Continued Cold War
  - ◆ Naval strategy diffused
    - ◆ Soviet Union still the principal threat
    - ◆ Limited wars
    - ◆ “Finite” (or “minimum”) nuclear deterrence
    - ◆ Naval alliances & foreign military assistance
    - ◆ Regional presence
      - ◆ East Asia & Mediterranean focus
    - ◆ Anti-submarine warfare (ASW) focus
    - ◆ “Continental” (homeland) defense
  - ◆ Numerous naval technological transformations
    - ◆ Nuclear power & weapons, jet aircraft, helicopters, missiles, angled carrier decks, mirror landing systems, steam catapults, undersea surveillance systems, etc.

101

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (IX)

- ◆ CNO ADM Robert Carney (1953-1955)
  - ◆ Significant USN strategic thinker & writer
  - ◆ Outlook profoundly shaped by World War II
    - ◆ Continuous Atlantic & Pacific theater operational experience
  - ◆ Wrote & published often: To US Navy officer corps
    - ◆ “The Principles of Sea Power,” U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Aug 1953)
    - ◆ “Role of the Navy in a Future War,” *Naval War College Review* (Jun 1954)
    - ◆ “Always the Sea,” *Proceedings* (May 1955)
    - ◆ “Sea Power’s Enduring Influence,” *Proceedings* (Jul 1955)
    - ◆ “Principles of Sea Power,” *Proceedings* (Sep 1955)
  - ◆ Chartered OPNAV Long-Range Objectives Group (OP-93)

102

## 200 years of USN “capstone documents” (X) CNA

- ◆ CNO ADM Burke (1955-1961)
  - ◆ Significant USN strategic thinker
  - ◆ But no “capstone” documents
    - ◆ Exception: *Origins of United States Navy Doctrine* (Apr 1960) (pamphlet)
  - ◆ OPNAV Long-Range Objectives Group (OP-93) did studies & annual *Long Range Objectives Statement*
  - ◆ “Burke made no public or radical restatements of national or naval strategy or policy, nor did he require the staff of the CNO to produce one . . . he understood that creating real capability would do more for the service than articulating strategies that national policy was not ready to accommodate, and that the Navy was not yet ready to implement”.

CAPT/ Dr. David Alan Rosenberg (2010)

103

## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (I) CNA

- ◆ NWP doctrinal & tactical pub series superseded USF series
- ◆ Evolving *NWP 10* series superseded *USF 1*
  - ◆ May 1954 *NWP 10*
    - ◆ Same date as Samuel P. Huntington, “National Policy and the Transoceanic Navy” article in US Naval Institute *Proceedings*
  - ◆ 1956-60 *NWP 10* (Changes 1-4)
  - ◆ Nov 1961 *NWP 10(A)*
  - ◆ Apr 1970 *NWP 10(B)*



## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (II)

CNA

- ◆ Signed by RADM
  - ◆ ADCNO, Fleet Ops & Readiness
  - ◆ Roughly equivalent (in 2010) to N31
  - ◆ (Contrast w/ later CNO signatures on NWP 1 & NDP 1)



## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (III)

CNA

- ◆ Contents
  - ◆ Concepts of national power, national security, sea power
  - ◆ Control of the seas
  - ◆ Organization for US national security
  - ◆ DON organization
  - ◆ Types of naval operations
    - ◆ An ever-evolving list
    - ◆ 1970 edition included riverine warfare, domestic HA/DR
  - ◆ Regional security arrangements
  - ◆ Principles of War (through 1960)

106

## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (IV)

CNA

- ◆ “The basic publication of the NWP series”
  - ◆ “Presents the basic principles of sea power and naval warfare and the broad aspects of the naval operations which are generally necessary to conduct naval warfare”
  - ◆ “An authoritative reference for experienced officers and a suitable text for . . . junior officers and midshipmen”
- NWP 10*      May 1954
- ◆ “A source for general information on the Navy as part of the national security establishment & on naval warfare”

*NWP 10(B)*      Apr 1970

107

## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (V)

CNA

### ◆ Types/aspects of naval operations

#### ◆ *NWP 10* w/ changes (1960)

- ◆ Striking force operations
- ◆ Naval air operations
- ◆ Amphibious operations
- ◆ Submarine operations
- ◆ Mining operations
- ◆ Air defense operations
- ◆ Anti-submarine operations
- ◆ Mine countermeasures operations
- ◆ Control & protection of shipping
- ◆ Scouting operations
- ◆ Base defense operations
- ◆ Logistics operations
- ◆ Support operations
- ◆ Blockading operations
- ◆ Search and rescue operations

#### ◆ *NWP 10(B)* (1970)

- ◆ Strike force operations
- ◆ Amphibious operations
- ◆ Anti-air warfare
- ◆ Anti-submarine warfare
- ◆ Mining and mine countermeasures
  
- ◆ Riverine operations
- ◆ Support operations
- ◆ Surveillance and blockading
- ◆ Search and rescue
- ◆ Domestic emergency operations

108

## Naval Warfare: NWP 10 series (VI)

CNA

- ◆ *NWP 10(B)*:
  - ◆ Emphasis on “control of the seas”
  - ◆ “Projection of power,” “deterrence” & “presence” mentioned only occasionally, in passing
  - ◆ Provided “domestic emergency operations” policy
    - ◆ No mention of foreign disasters or humanitarian assistance ops
  - ◆ “Blockade” discussed as a discreet & important naval operation

109

## 1960s interlude (I)

CNA

- ◆ Focus more on PPBS than on drafting strategy
  - ◆ SECDEF McNamara management initiatives
  - ◆ OPNAV focus on **campaign analysis**
    - ◆ E.g.: *CYCLOPS* ASW I, II, III; *War at Sea* I & II, ASWFLS
- ◆ Focus more on current combat ops, regional contingencies, nuclear strategy, than on planning future global war vs. Soviets
  - ◆ Vietnam War ongoing: Strike & in-country COIN ops
  - ◆ Crises: East Europe, Middle East, Caribbean, Far East
  - ◆ Soviets achieving strategic nuclear weapons parity with US
  - ◆ US global naval preponderance; limited Soviet Navy threat
- ◆ Continued fleet focus on absorbing revolutionary systems & tactics developed & introduced in 1950s

## 1960s interlude (II)

CNA

- ◆ Compartmentalization & bifurcation of USN strategic thinking vs. Soviets
  - ◆ Anti-Soviet SSBN warfare decoupled from other aspects of anti-Soviet naval warfare
  - ◆ Anti-Soviet SSBN warfare discussed only at highest levels of classification, & within only a few USN communities (submarines, NAVFACs, intel, etc.)
  - ◆ Reinforced USN fragmentation by “union” community
- ◆ CNOs: ADMs Anderson, McDonald, Moorer
  - ◆ ADM Moorer went on to become CJCS
- ◆ Few flag officer strategy books, articles
- ◆ OPNAV Long-Range Objectives Group (OP-93) *Long Range Objectives Statements* superseded as internal Navy strategy & policy statements by OP-06 *Navy Strategic Study* (mid-1960s)

## 1960s interlude (III)

CNA

- ◆ But . . .
  - ◆ RADM Henry Eccles’ s *Military Concepts and Philosophy* (1965)
  - ◆ RADM J.C. Wylie’ s *Military Strategy: A General Theory of Power Control* (1967)
  - ◆ OP-06 *Navy Strategic Studies* (TS) (from mid-1960s)
  - ◆ A few CNO-signed US Naval Institute *Proceedings* articles
  - ◆ NWP 10 *Naval Warfare* updates
- ◆ Strike, AAW, ASW, inshore warfare improvements

## 1960s: Some literature on the period

- ◆ Alain Enthoven & K. Wayne Smith, *How Much is Enough?* (1971)
- ◆ CDR Linton Brooks, “An Examination of Professional Concerns of Naval Officers” *Naval War College Review* (Jan-Feb 1980)
- ◆ Richard Hegmann, “In Search of Strategy: The Navy and the Depths of the Maritime Strategy” (Ph.D. diss. 1991)

113

## 1960s: Naval policy & strategy literature (I)

- ◆ Hanson Baldwin, *The New Navy* (1964)
- ◆ Robert Herrick, *Soviet Naval Strategy: Fifty Years of Theory and Practice* (1968) (resisted)
- ◆ CAPT (Ret) Daniel Carrison, *The United States Navy* (1968)
- ◆ Analyses of World War II experience
  - ◆ E.B. Potter & FADM (Ret) Chester Nimitz, *Sea Power* (1960)
  - ◆ Samuel E. Morison, *History of U.S. Navy in World War II* (1947– 62)
  - ◆ Bernard Brodie, *Guide to Naval Strategy* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) (1965)

114

## 1960s: Naval policy & strategy literature (II)

- ◆ Focus on bureaucratic politics, civil-military relations
  - ◆ Samuel Huntington, *The Common Defense* (1961)
  - ◆ Paul Hammond, *Organizing for Defense* (1961)
  - ◆ Robert Albion & Jennie Pope, *Forrestal & the Navy* (1962)
  - ◆ Demetrios Caraley, *Politics of Military Unification* (1966)
  - ◆ Vincent Davis, *Postwar Defense Policy & the U.S. Navy* (1966) & *The Admirals' Lobby* (1967)

115

## Actual document texts: Sources (I)

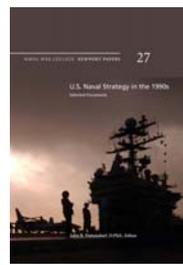
- ◆ Can be found in a series of Naval War College Press “Newport Papers” (NP)
- ◆ Seeds planted by CNA work
- ◆ Naval War College Press editor Carnes Lord had vision & created the opportunity
- ◆ Naval War College professor & noted maritime historian Dr. John Hattendorf edited

116

## Actual document texts: Sources (II)

- ◆ 3 volumes published to date
  - ◆ *U.S. Naval Strategy in the 1970s* (NP #30) (2007)
  - ◆ *U.S. Naval Strategy in the 1980s* (NP #33) (2008)
    - ◆ Co-edited with CAPT Peter M. Swartz USN (Ret)
  - ◆ *U.S. Naval Strategy in the 1990s* (NP #27) (2006)
- ◆ 4<sup>th</sup> volume forthcoming
  - ◆ *U.S. Naval Strategy in the First Decade of the Twenty-first Century* (2012?)

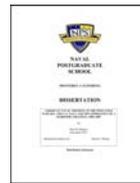
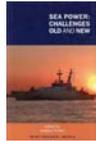
## Actual document texts: Sources (III)



Hattendorf  
U.S. Naval  
Strategy in  
the 1st  
Decade of  
the 21st  
Century  
(forthcoming)

## Analyses of 1990s, 2000s documents texts CNA

- ◆ “The United States Navy Since President Ronald Reagan,”
  - ◆ Kenneth Hagan & Michael T. McMaster
  - ◆ In *Sea Power: Challenges Old and New* (Australia) (2007)
- ◆ *US Navy Strategy and Force Structure After the Cold War*
  - ◆ Amund Lundesgaard
  - ◆ Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies (2011)
- ◆ “American Naval Thinking in the Post-Cold War Era: The U.S. Navy & the Emergence of Maritime Strategy, 1989-2007”
  - ◆ CAPT Peter Haynes USN
  - ◆ Ph.D. dissertation, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey (2011)



119

## Analyzing capstone documents: Issues CNA

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Overall judgments</li> <li>◆ Why weren't they similar?</li> <li>◆ What can they influence?</li> <li>◆ Have they been “successful”?</li> <li>◆ How to measure “success”?                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Measuring outputs &amp; inputs</li> </ul> </li> <li>◆ Factors contributing to success</li> <li>◆ Secondary consequences</li> <li>◆ Reciprocal causality</li> <li>◆ CNOs matter</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CNO goals</li> <li>• Why no impact?</li> <li>• Impediments to overcome</li> <li>• Links to fleet operations</li> <li>• Links to USN budget requests</li> <li>• Who should do what?</li> <li>• Why so many documents?</li> <li>• Better analysis needed</li> </ul> |
|---|--|

120

## Overall judgments

- ◆ USN has not lacked for capstone documents
  - ◆ At least 25 over the full careers of current USN leadership
- ◆ They often matter
- ◆ They usually spawn further debate
- ◆ “Success” is hard to measure
- ◆ There is no consistent, agreed system, formula, format, or process for producing these documents, or the ideas in them.

## Why weren't they all similar?

### Question:

- ◆ Why such a mix of strategies, vision, policies, doctrines, etc.?

### Answer:

- ◆ Different eras & different problems require different kinds of documents
- ◆ Different CNOs have different needs
- ◆ US Navy generally indifferent to nomenclature issues

## What can they potentially influence?

CNA

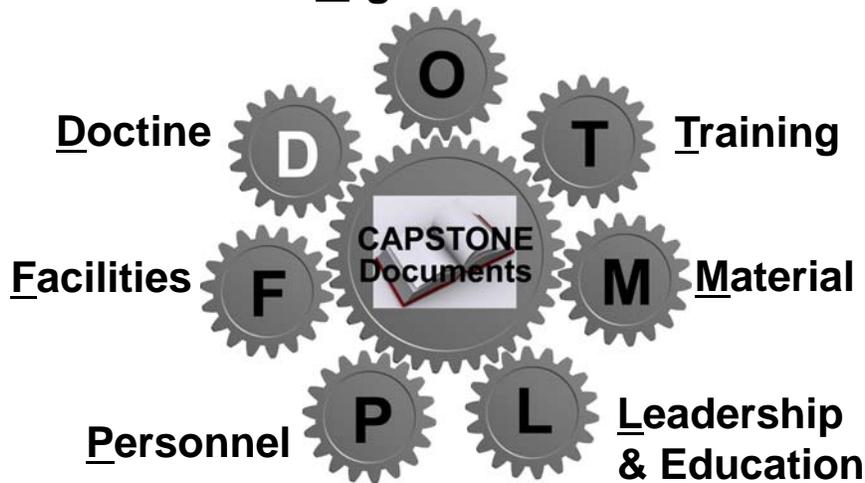
	Inside U.S. Navy	Inside U.S. government	Adversaries	Allies
Policy & Grand Strategy	✓	✓	✓	✓
Employment Strategy (OPS & Training)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Acquisition Strategy	✓	✓	✓	✓
Morale, confidence, unity of effort	✓	✓	✓	✓

123

## What can they potentially influence? DOTMLPF

CNA

### Organization



124

What can they potentially influence? DOTMLPF 

- Doctrine
- Organization
- Training
- Material
- Leadership & education
- Personnel
- Facilities

- ◆ Developed for analyzing operational deficiencies
- ◆ Acronym gained currency within DOD in 2000s
- ◆ Capstone documents can help ensure consistency

125

What did they help influence? DOTMLPF 

<u>◆ Helped influence</u>	⇒	<u>DOTMLPF re:</u>
◆ <i>Project SIXTY</i>	⇒	Sea control
◆ <i>Missions of the Navy</i>	⇒	Forward presence
◆ <i>Sea Plan 2000</i>	⇒	Power projection
◆ <i>The Maritime Strategy</i>	⇒	Forward operations
◆ <i>. . . From the Sea</i>	⇒	Joint littoral projection
◆ <i>NDP 1: Naval Warfare</i>	⇒	Navy-Marine Corps team
◆ <i>Forward . . . From the Sea</i>	⇒	Forward presence
◆ <i>Seapower 21</i>	⇒	Sea Shield, FORCEnet
◆ <i>Fleet Response Plan</i>	⇒	Readiness to surge
◆ <i>Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower</i>	⇒	Maritime Security Ops, Humanitarian Assistance, International engagement

126

## What can capstone documents do?

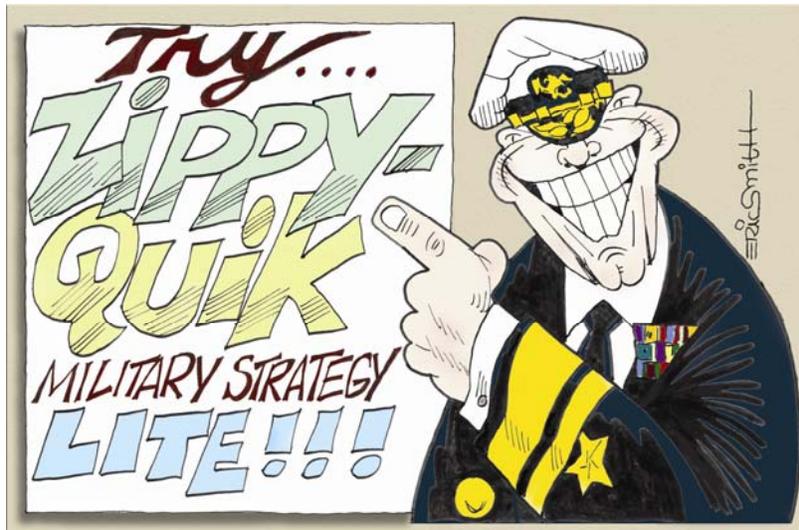
CNA

- ◆ If “successful”, they can:
  - ◆ Create or contribute to a “general climate of opinion” re: present & future purposes, uses, & forces of the Navy
    - ◆ Borrows from Dr. Warner R. Schilling’s analysis of the role of Congressional oversight
  - ◆ Build or reinforce consensus & unity within the Navy
  - ◆ Avoid (to paraphrase Dr. Samuel Huntington):
    - ◆ Confusion by the American public and its political leaders as to the Navy’s role
    - ◆ Uncertainty as to the necessity of the Navy’s existence
    - ◆ Apathy or hostility to the Navy’s claims upon the resources of society

127

## Have the documents been “successful”?

CNA



Copyright © 2007, Proceedings, U.S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, Maryland  
(410) 268-6110 [www.usni.org](http://www.usni.org)

128

## Have the documents been “Successful?” CNA

- ◆ How to measure?
- ◆ What factors made for success?
- ◆ Issues:
  - ◆ Measuring outputs: Very difficult
  - ◆ Measuring inputs: Easier
  - ◆ Secondary effects of documents
  - ◆ The problem of reciprocal causality

129

## Measuring outputs CNA

- ◆ What is “success”?
- ◆ How do you measure it?
- ◆ Two models
  - ◆ Barry Posen: Four functions of grand strategies
  - ◆ Raphael Cohen: Three metrics to observe doctrine’s effects

130

## Four functions of (grand) strategies

CNA

1. A guide for the allocation of scarce resources
2. Helps complex organizations coordinate their activities
3. Communicate interests to others (potential adversaries, allies & friends)
4. Permit criticism & correction; organize public discourse; allow for policy evaluation

—Barry R. Posen  
“A Grand Strategy of Restraint”  
in *Finding Our Way: Debating American Grand Strategy*  
(Jun 2008)

## Three metrics to observe doctrine's effect

CNA

1. Who reads it?
  - ◆ Target audience?
  - ◆ Others?
2. Who quotes it?
  - ◆ How often?
  - ◆ What forum?
3. Does it substantially change anything?
  - ◆ Hard to determine causality
  - ◆ Difficulty of quantifying relationships
  - ◆ What and how to measure?
  - ◆ Competing causal explanations of outcomes
  - ◆ Anecdotal reflections

--Raphael Cohen  
“A Tale of Two Manuals”  
*Prism* (Dec 2010)

## Outputs: How measure “Success?” (I)

- ◆ Effect on joint, DOD, national security, & allied policy & strategy
- ◆ Retain/regain/enhance USN freedom to shape its own destiny
- ◆ Have desired effect on the adversary/adversaries
- ◆ Become central message & *lingua franca* of USN policy- and decision-makers & their staffs
  - ◆ Resource for OPNAV documents, flag officer speeches & testimony
  - ◆ Real influence or “lip service”?

133

## Outputs: How measure “Success?” (II)

- ◆ Influence USN programmatic decisions
  - ◆ Usually stated as a goal; rarely achieved
  - ◆ Legacy programs, OSD guidance, technology push are primary program drivers
  - ◆ Hard for Navy strategy/concepts/policy/doctrine to compete as influence
  - ◆ Hard to discern cause and effect due to complexity of intervening layers of processes
  - ◆ But, NSPGs & Navy Strategic Plan attempt(ed) to measure

134

## Outputs: How measure “Success?” (III)

CNA

- ◆ Increase integration of USN platforms, systems & communities
- ◆ Influence fleet operations, exercises, war games, training & analyses
- ◆ Stimulate internal USN conceptual & strategic thinking & debate
- ◆ Better USN reputation for intellectual thought
  - ◆ Within DOD & externally

135

## Outputs: How measure “Success?” (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Effect on subsequent documents
  - ◆ Mostly positive in the past
  - ◆ But some negative reactions
    - ◆ *Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy vs. Project SIXTY*

136

## Caveat

CNA

“In the other services, when you make a policy decision, the debate stops. In the Navy, when you make a policy decision, the debate starts”



ADM Stanley R. Arthur  
VCNO (1992-95)

137

## Measuring inputs

CNA

- ◆ Four naval experts re: Alignment is “success”
- ◆ Government Accountability Office (GAO)
  - ◆ Identified 6 major characteristics of a strategy
  - ◆ Identified 27 element of those characteristics
- ◆ Library of Congress Congressional Research Service (CRS)
  - ◆ Identified 9 considerations in evaluating strategies
- ◆ Harvard University Olin Institute
  - ◆ Identified 7 lessons from case studies
- ◆ CNA research, workshops, interviews, & other solicited expert inputs
  - ◆ Factors contributing to “success”
  - ◆ Checklist

138

## 4 experts re: Alignment as “success”

CNA

### ◆ Contrasting views

◆ George Baer &  
Joe Bouchard:

Alignment with national policy

◆ Roger Barnett  
& Sam Bateman

also: Alignment with Navy strategic culture

◆ Sam Bateman

also: Convincing to politician appropriators  
also: Persuasive to friends & allies & credibly  
threatening to potential adversaries

- ◆ Is such “success” a sufficient criterion?
- ◆ Should USN have **not** written documents in 1970s?
- ◆ How can documents shape the future if they are tied to current culture?
- ◆ How can this “success” be measured?

## GAO: Desirable characteristics of a strategy

CNA

- U.S. Congress’s General Accounting Office (GAO) has developed & used a set of desirable characteristics for national strategies (2004)
  - Consulted public & private sector sources
  - 1<sup>st</sup> published & used in:
    - *Combating Terrorism: Evaluation of Selected Characteristics in National Strategies Related to Terrorism* (GAO-04-408T) (Feb 2004)
  - Subsequently used in:
    - *Defense Management: Comprehensive Strategy and Annual Reporting Are Needed to Measure Progress and Costs of DOD’s Global Posture Restructuring* (GAO-06-852) (Sep 2006)
    - *Maritime Security: National Strategy and Supporting Plans Were Generally Well-Developed and Are Being Implemented* (GAO-08-672) (Jun 2008)
    - *Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance: DOD Needs a Risk-Based Approach to Enhance Its Maritime Domain Awareness* (GAO-11-621) (Jun 2011)

140

## GAO: 6 desirable characteristics of a strategy

- I. Purpose, scope & methodology
- II. Problems, risks & threats
- III. Goals, objectives, activities & performance measures
- IV. Resources, investments & risk management
- V. Organizational roles, responsibilities, & coordination mechanism
- VI. Integration among & with other entities

141

## GAO: 6 desirable characteristics of a strategy

In other words...

- I. Why was it produced? What's the scope of its coverage? What's the process by which it was developed?
- II. What problems & threats is it directed toward?
- III. What's it trying to achieve? What steps will achieve those results? What priorities, milestones, and performance measures gauge results?

142

## GAO: 6 desirable characteristics of a strategy



- IV. What' ll it cost? What are the sources & types of resources & investments needed? Where should resources & investments be targeted by balancing risk reductions & costs?
- V. Who will be implementing the strategy? What' ll their roles be compared to others? What mechanisms coordinate their efforts?
- VI. How does the strategy relate to other strategies' goals, objectives & activities? To subordinate levels and their plans to implement the strategy?

143

## GAO: The 27 elements of a strategy (I)



- I. Purpose, scope & methodology
  - 1. Identify the impetus that led to the strategy being written
  - 2. Discuss the strategy' s purpose
  - 3. Define or discuss key terms, major functions, mission areas or activities
  - 4. Discuss the process that produced the strategy
  - 5. Discuss the assumptions or principles & theories that guided the strategy' s development

144

## GAO: The 27 elements of a strategy (II)

CNA

### II. Problems, risks & threats

6. Discuss or define the problems the strategy intends to address
7. Discuss the causes of the problems
8. Discuss the operating environment
9. Discuss the threats at which the strategy is directed
10. Discuss quality of data available, e.g.: constraints, deficiencies, unknowns

145

## GAO: The 27 elements of a strategy (III)

CNA

### III. Goals, objectives, activities, & performance measures

11. Address overall results desired, “end state”
12. Identify strategic goals & subordinate objectives
13. Identify specific activities to achieve results
14. Address priorities, milestones, & outcome-related performance measures
15. Identify process to monitor & report on progress
16. Identify limitations on progress indicators

146

## GAO: The 27 elements of a strategy (IV)



### IV. Resources, investments & risk management

17. Identify what the strategy will cost
18. Identify the sources & types of resources or investments needed
19. Address where resources or investments should be targeted to balance risks & costs
20. Address resource allocation mechanisms
21. Identify risk management principles and how they help implementers prioritize & allocate resources

147

## GAO: The 27 elements of a strategy (V)



### V. Organization roles, responsibilities, & coordination mechanism

22. Address who will implement the strategy
23. Address lead, support and partner roles & responsibilities of specific organizations
24. Address mechanisms and/or processes for parties to coordinate efforts
25. Identify processes for resolving conflicts

148

VI. Integration among & with other entities

- 26. Address how the strategy relates to strategies of other organizations, *horizontally*
- 27. Address integration with relevant documents from higher authority & subordinate organizations, *vertically*

- U.S. Congress's Library of Congress Congressional Research Service (CRS) has developed & used a set of considerations for evaluating strategies (2008)
- Published & used in
  - *CRS Report for Congress: National Security Strategy: Legislative Mandates, Execution to Date, and Considerations for Congress* (May 7, 2008; updated Jul 28, Sep 23, Dec 15)

## CRS: 9 considerations for evaluating strategies

1. Frequency
2. Synchronization of timelines
3. Clear relationships among strategic documents
4. Prioritization
5. Roles & responsibilities
6. Fiscal constraints
7. Competition of ideas
8. Intended audience
9. Timeframe

151

## CRS: 9 considerations for evaluating strategies

1. Frequency
  - ◆ How often should strategies be changed and updated?
2. Synchronization of timelines
  - ◆ Are superior & subordinate strategies issued in a logical sequence?
3. Clear relationships among strategic documents
  - ◆ Are types of strategy documents sufficiently different from each other to warrant separate publication?

152

2

4. Prioritization

- ◆ Are objectives and missions prioritized?

5. Roles & responsibilities

- ◆ Do strategy documents assign responsibilities for carrying out missions?

6. Fiscal constraints

- ◆ Has the strategy been fiscally constrained?

153

7. Competition of ideas

- ◆ Was the strategy created through a competition of ideas?
- ◆ Is an alternative document also being published to provide a competitive mechanism, once the strategy is published?

8. Intended audience

- ◆ Who is the intended audience?
- ◆ Has the strategy been classified appropriately for its audience?

9. Timeframe

- ◆ Does the strategy address the current situation or the future?

154

## Harvard Univ. Olin Institute: 7 Lessons Learned (I)

- ◆ 2 conferences held on uncertainties in military & strategic planning
- ◆ 11 historical case studies examined
  - ◆ Included Andrew Krepinevich, “Transforming to Victory: The U.S. Navy, Carrier Aviation, and Preparing for War in the Pacific”
- ◆ Derived 7 Lessons Learned
  - ◆ In Talbot Imlay & Monica Duffy Toft, “Conclusion: Seven Lessons about the Fog of Peace,” in Imlay & Toft (eds.), *The Fog of Peace & War Planning: Military & Strategic Planning under Uncertainty* (2006)

155

## Harvard Univ. Olin Institute: 7 Lessons Learned: II

- ◆ Seek multiple viewpoints as inputs: Civilian & military, domestic & foreign
- ◆ Balance both short-term & long-term perspectives & desired effects in planning
- ◆ Hedge your bets: Balance your forces & your R & D
- ◆ Be flexible in identifying friends & foes
- ◆ Prepare effectively for allied planning & operations
- ◆ One dominant power can make for more effective alliance planning, but resentments must be managed
- ◆ Be adaptable: Avoid rigid plans, unrealistic goals, & undesirable side effects. Reconsider assumptions.

156

## CNA: Factors contributing to “Success” (I) CNA

- ◆ From CNA research, workshops, interviews:
  - ◆ No competing USN “capstone documents”
    - ◆ One capstone document at a time
  - ◆ CLAS & UNCLAS versions
  - ◆ Satisfy a real need by OPNAV, fleet & nation
  - ◆ Show how all NCCs & fleet commanders fit
  - ◆ Time release of the document for maximum impact
  - ◆ Tie to national policy & joint & coalition strategy, explicitly & implicitly

157

## CNA: Factors contributing to “Success” (II) CNA

- ◆ From CNA research, workshops, interviews:
  - ◆ Acknowledge joint, sister service & allied relationships
  - ◆ Push or real buy-in by the CNO. CNO signs
  - ◆ Continuity across CNO terms
  - ◆ Real buy-in by cross-section of senior OPNAV & Fleet flags
    - ◆ One or two champions not enough
  - ◆ USMC buy-in
  - ◆ Simplicity & power of title, core elements, structure
    - ◆ Reduce central message to a few simple concepts

## CNA: Factors contributing to “Success” (III) CNA

- ◆ From CNA research, workshops, interviews:
  - ◆ Plan dissemination; seize all distribution opportunities
  - ◆ Start with a briefing, then wide multi-media distribution
  - ◆ Relate to Navy as a whole, not just a collection of individual communities, but ensure all important communities are addressed to ensure buy-in
  - ◆ Ensure threat characterizations are supported by Intel community & administration
  - ◆ Build on what came before OR lead/reflect changes

159

## CNA: Factors contributing to “Success” (IV) CNA

- ◆ From CNA research, workshops, interviews:
  - ◆ Use plain English
    - ◆ What the Fleet, the Congress, the public, allies, & adversaries understand
  - ◆ Involve all USN intellectual institutions in some fashion:
    - ◆ OPNAV, CEP, ONI, SSG, NWC academics & War Gaming Center, NPS, NWDC, US Naval Institute, CNA, etc.,
    - ◆ Especially Naval War College:
      - ◆ For substance & for cachet
  - ◆ Choose specialists as drafters
  - ◆ Allocate sufficient manpower & dollar resources

160

## CNA: Factors contributing to “Success” (V) CNA

- ◆ From CNA research, workshops, interviews:
  - ◆ Tough internal criticism, discussion, debate, at AO & flag levels
    - ◆ Know how to handle attacks
    - ◆ Incorporate valid ideas
    - ◆ Stick to your guns
  - ◆ Consider effects on adversaries

161

## Secondary Consequences (I) CNA

- ◆ Influence on other services
  - ◆ USN routinely briefs to other service colleges
- ◆ Often strong influence on allied & coalition naval thinking
  - ◆ Affects their support for USN
  - ◆ Affects how they present themselves to their own parliaments, ministries of defense
  - ◆ USN routinely briefs strategies & concepts at ISS, Navy talks, etc.

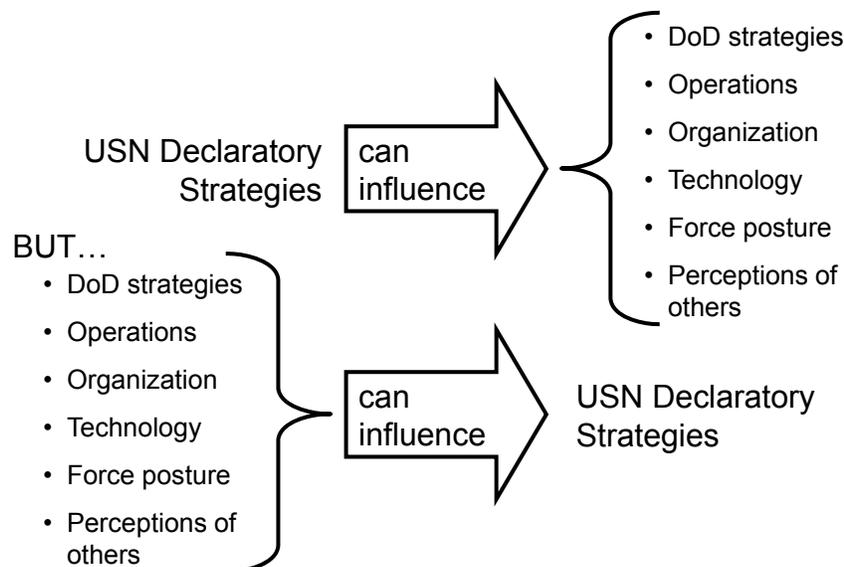
162

## Secondary Consequences (II)

- ◆ Influence on civilian national security specialists & academia
  - ◆ Reflected in education of next generation of policy wonks (including USN officers in graduate education)
- ◆ Influence on adversaries
- ◆ Influence on contractors
- ◆ Open debate on US naval policy and strategy

163

## Problem: Disentangling “reciprocal causality”



164

## Reciprocal causality: Strategies & force goals (I)

- ◆ Do capstone documents **drive** or **justify** force goals?
  - ◆ Classic “chicken and-egg” issue
- ◆ On surface, they seem to **justify** them, *ex post facto*
  - ◆ Force goal announcements often **precede** publication of capstone documents
    - ◆ “600-ship Navy” goal preceded *Maritime Strategy* publication
    - ◆ 451-ship DOD “Base Force” goal preceded *The Way Ahead & . . . From the Sea*
    - ◆ 346-ship “Bottom-Up Review” goal preceded *Forward . . . From the Sea*
    - ◆ 313-ship CNO goal preceded *A Cooperative Strategy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

165

## Reciprocal causality: Strategies & force goals (II)

- ◆ Truth is more complicated
  - ◆ Same ideas & concepts often drive both force level goal decisions & capstone document contents
  - ◆ Force levels & capstone documents are developed at different paces
    - ◆ Force level goal decisions are often driven by tight deadlines mandated by external authorities
    - ◆ Capstone documents normally originate from internal USN tasking.
      - ◆ Deadlines can & do slip
      - ◆ Need for internal USN inclusiveness lengthens capstone document development processes
  - ◆ Some capstone documents try to drive the **next round** of force level goal development
    - ◆ . . . *From the Sea* preceded “Bottom Up Review” (BUR) (1993)
    - ◆ *A Cooperative Strategy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* preceded “QDR 2009”

166

## CNOs usually matter . . . A lot

CNA

- ◆ CNO has 2 main roles
  - ◆ Provide professional naval advice to President, SECDEF, CJCS, SECNAV, other chiefs
  - ◆ Craft Navy program & budget recommendations
- ◆ Timing & nature of CNO capstone document involvement is a vital contributor to success
- ◆ Each CNO has taken a different approach

167

## SECNAVs *sometimes* matter

CNA

- ◆ Examples
  - ◆ Claytor & *Sea Plan 2000*
  - ◆ Lehman & *The Maritime Strategy*
  - ◆ O' Keefe & *...From the Sea*
  - ◆ Dalton & *Forward...From the Sea*
  - ◆ Danzig abortive initiatives
  - ◆ England & *Naval Power 21*
  - ◆ Winter speech at ISS 2007

168

## Goals of a CNO capstone document (I)

CNA

- ◆ Internal to the Navy
  - ◆ Show linkages among current initiatives
  - ◆ Lend coherence to USN force structure
  - ◆ Build internal USN consensus, cohesion & esprit
  - ◆ Integrate internal USN communities
  - ◆ Focus exercise, war gaming, experimental, education, training efforts

169

## Goals of a CNO capstone document (II)

CNA

- ◆ External to the Navy
  - ◆ Demonstrate that USN leadership is:
    - ◆ Thoughtful
    - ◆ Consistent with national & joint policy
    - ◆ In step with or ahead of the times
    - ◆ Highly trustworthy tool of national policy
    - ◆ Has a compelling rationale for its desired new procurements
    - ◆ Unified
  - ◆ Give sister & allied services a sense of how best to partner with USN
  - ◆ Contribute to deterrence and perception management of potential adversaries
  - ◆ Shape and leverage national security policy documents

170

## Why don't documents have more impact? (I) CNA

- ◆ Three alternative hypotheses presented
  1. Does not matter for the current fight
  2. It is all about timing and politics
  3. Bureaucratic culture
    - ◆ His own preference as an explanation
  
- ◆ “More guidance is not always more value added”

--Raphael Cohen  
“A Tale of Two Manuals”  
*Prism* (Dec 2010)

171

## Why don't documents have more impact? (II) CNA

- Hypothesis #1: Does not matter for the current fight
- ◆ Tends to be “one war behind”
  - ◆ And even when it serves to document & institutionalize changes that have already been made ( combating institutional memory loss), it may well not be heeded either
- Hypothesis # 2: It is all about timing and politics
- ◆ Needs supportive leaders
  - ◆ Requires a “pressing need,” e.g.: linkage to world events & operations

172

## Why don't documents have more impact? (II)

### Hypothesis #3: How accepting is the bureaucratic culture?

- ◆ Organization's cultural attitudes toward doctrine (and other forms of capstone thinking)
  - ◆ Are they routinely considered "roadmaps" or simply "background information" and "just another resource"?
- ◆ But they can help outsiders understand the organization better
- ◆ Inter-agency products reflect brokered consensus compromises, & don't ensure equal acceptance across all signatories.

173

## Impediments to overcome (I)

- ◆ Opposition on substantive grounds: "Wrong strategy" or "Wrong vision"
- ◆ Other influences drive force structure decisions beside USN strategies or visions
- ◆ Warfare/platform communities retain power
- ◆ Administration changes
- ◆ Next USN strategy/concept follows too soon
- ◆ Low relevance to actual fleet ops
- ◆ Navy leadership changes

174

## Impediments to overcome (II)

CNA

- ◆ Joint system opposed to “service strategies”
- ◆ Lack of USN appreciation of influence of these documents
- ◆ USN officer focus often tactical vice strategic
- ◆ USN “wariness of doctrine”
- ◆ Internal USN “turf” issues
- ◆ Fear of debate and discussion
- ◆ Navy-Marine Corps issues

175

## Impediment to overcome (III)

CNA

- ◆ “Practically the entire OPNAV organization is tuned, like a tuning fork, to the vibrations of the budgetary process... {T}here is a vast preoccupation with budgetary matters at the expense of considering planning, or readiness or requirements, or operational characteristics or any of the other elements contributing to the ability of the Fleets to fight.”

—OP-03G (Fleet Ops) memo  
To OP-090 (Program Planning)  
(Sep 1970)

176

## Impediment to overcome (IV)

CNA

- ◆ “I felt that no office in the Navy Staff could effectively draft any sort of NOC – whether Navy or naval – because CNO’s Title 10 responsibilities always got in the way. In other words, every document produced by the Navy Staff had to support the Navy’s programming and budget message, which in effect meant justifying on-going programs. That had the effect of stifling conceptual innovation . . . “front end” innovation like developing the NOC should be at the Naval War College, not the Navy Staff.”

—CAPT (Ret) Joe Bouchard  
OPNAV N513 (1995-7)  
(Mar 2006 e-mail)

- ◆ But . . . USN views CNO & OPNAV as more authoritative than NAVWARCOL; & certainly more than NAVDOCCOM or NWDC

177

## Sporadic fleet demand for/ influence on documents

CNA

- ◆ Some important exceptions:
  - ◆ 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet post-Vietnam/PRC experience led to Hayward *Future of U.S. Seapower*
  - ◆ Submarine force, numbered fleet ops & exercises influenced *The Maritime Strategy*
    - ◆ In turn, *The Maritime Strategy* influenced fleet deployments
  - ◆ DESERT STORM experience influenced . . . *From the Sea, NDP 1*
  - ◆ OEF and OIF surge experience influenced *Fleet Response Plan*
    - ◆ In turn, *Fleet Response Plan* altered fleet deployment strategy
  - ◆ *A Cooperative Strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Seapower* reflected post-9/11 real-world HA/DR, maritime security ops
- ◆ But...all “Washington” documents have been initiated & drafted by recent (& future) fleet sailors & operators

178

## Why so few links to the fleet?

CNA

- ◆ Fleet operations are directed by SECDEF, CJCS, CINCs/CCDRs & their staffs
- ◆ **Not** directed by SECNAV or CNO or OPNAV
- ◆ SECNAV, CNO & OPNAV are focused on Navy programs, budgets, acquisition, relations with USMC, & fostering Navy institutional unity
  - ◆ Documents usually reflect this focus
- ◆ Navy POM processes – unlike those of other services – are mostly conducted within OPNAV
  - ◆ To the extent that capstone documents are seen as part of the POM process, their drafting reflects this

179

## Links to USN budget requests

CNA

- ◆ **Issues:**
  - ◆ To link explicitly or not
  - ◆ One document or a family documents
  - ◆ Presentations to Capital Hill
    - ◆ The SECNAV Lehman “tripartite” message
    - ◆ Stand-alone strategy presentations

180

## Who should do what re: USN strategy?

CNA

- ◆ CNO?
- ◆ OPNAV N3/N5?
- ◆ CNO special assistants?
- ◆ USFF?
- ◆ Navy component commanders (NCCs)?
- ◆ Naval War College?
- ◆ Navy Warfare Development Command?
- ◆ Contractors?
- ◆ U.S. Naval Institute?

181

## Why so many documents?

CNA



DILBERT: (c) Scott Adams/Dist. by United Feature Syndicate, Inc.<sup>82</sup>

## Why so many documents? (I)

- ◆ Conditions change
- ◆ National policies & strategies change
- ◆ Personalities change
- ◆ It was ever thus:
  - ◆ *War Plan Orange*
    - ◆ 27 versions in 36 years

## Why so many documents? (II)

- ◆ Conditions change
  - ◆ Ending of the Vietnam War
  - ◆ Iran Revolution & Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
  - ◆ Gorbachev regime in USSR
  - ◆ End of the Cold War
  - ◆ Tiananmen Square incident
  - ◆ Desert Storm victory
  - ◆ Taiwan Straits crisis
  - ◆ USS *Cole* (DDG-67) terrorist attack
  - ◆ Al Qaeda attacks on America
  - ◆ Extension of the wars in Afghanistan & Iraq
  - ◆ Economic conditions change

## Why so many documents? (III)

CNA

- ◆ National policies & strategies change
  - ◆ 8 Presidential administrations
  - ◆ Numerous Presidential directives & “doctrines”
  - ◆ Numerous treaties & changes in US public law
  - ◆ 14 National Security Strategies (since 1987)
  - ◆ 4 roles and missions reviews (since 1989)
  - ◆ 5 National Military Strategies (since 1992)
  - ◆ 2 announced Nuclear Posture Reviews (since 1994)
  - ◆ 2 National Defense Strategies (since 2005)
  - ◆ 3 Quadrennial Defense Reviews (since 1997)
  - ◆ Numerous PPBS guidance & other DOD directives
  - ◆ Numerous JSPS documents & joint doctrine pubs
  - ◆ Other defense reviews

185

## Why so many documents? (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Personalities change
  - ◆ 8 U.S. Presidents
  - ◆ 13 Secretaries of Defense
  - ◆ 11 Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
  - ◆ 15 Secretaries of the Navy
  - ◆ 11 Chiefs of Naval Operations
  - ◆ 20+ DCNOs for Plans, Policy & Operations (OP-06/N3/N5)
  - ◆ 30+ Directors, Strategy, Plans & Policy (OP-60/N51/N5SP)
  - ◆ 35+ Strategy branch heads (OP-605C/603/N513/5SC)
  - ◆ 100+ Other thoughtful, activist OPNAV VCNOs, Special Assistants, DCOSs, ACOSs, Division Directors, Branch Heads, Deputies, Action Officers, Contractors
  - ◆ 17 Naval War College Presidents; 100s of professors
  - ◆ NAVDOCCOM & NWDC commanders & staff officers

186

## Better analysis needed: I. Assessment

CNA

- ◆ This was a merely an introduction to assessment issues
- ◆ More rigorous analyses could prove helpful
- ◆ E.g., assess influence & impact of each on:
  - ◆ USN ops, plans, training recommendations & decisions
    - ◆ By the President, SECDEF, CJCS, CCDRs
    - ◆ By USN commanders
  - ◆ USN force structure recommendations & decisions
    - ◆ By the Congress, President, SECDEF, OSD
    - ◆ By OPNAV
- ◆ One updated document ( '80s) vs. several ( '90s)
  - ◆ Which is more effective approach?
  - ◆ Don't the times drive this?

187

## Better analysis needed: II. MOEs

CNA

- ◆ How to measure success?
  - ◆ Budget share?
  - ◆ Operational effectiveness?
  - ◆ Acquisition-operations alignment?
  - ◆ Favorable press reports?
  - ◆ Preservation of autonomy?
  - ◆ Richness of the debate?
  - ◆ Other?

188

### Better analysis needed: III. Processes

- ◆ Need to flesh out each case study
- ◆ Discuss strategic planning processes
- ◆ Disentangle causes and effects

### Better analysis needed: IV. Expansion

- ◆ Go farther back in time
- ◆ Trace USMC experience
- ◆ Trace USA, USAF, USCG, joint experiences
- ◆ Trace foreign experiences

## Appendices

CNA

- ◆ Presidents
- ◆ National security directives
- ◆ National security strategies
- ◆ Secretaries of Defense
- ◆ National defense strategies
- ◆ Defense reviews
- ◆ Nuclear posture reviews
- ◆ Functions papers
- ◆ Chairmen of the JCS
- ◆ National military strategies
- ◆ Joint visions
- ◆ Capstone joint doctrine pubs
- ◆ Roles and missions reports
- ◆ Secretaries of the Navy
- ◆ Chiefs of Naval Operations
- ◆ Plans, Policy & Operations DCNOs
- ◆ OPNAV Strategy & Policy Directors
- ◆ OPNAV Strategy Branch heads
- ◆ Contributors to this effort

191

## Presidents & national security directives (I) CNA

- ◆ Nixon/Ford administrations (1969-74, 1974-77)
  - ◆ National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs)
  - ◆ National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs)
- ◆ Carter administration (1977-81)
  - ◆ Presidential Review Memoranda (PRMs)
  - ◆ Presidential Directives (PDs)
- ◆ Reagan administration (1981-9)
  - ◆ National Security Study Directives (NSSDs)
  - ◆ National Security Decision Directives (NSDDs)
- ◆ G. H. W. Bush administration (1989-93)
  - ◆ National Security Reviews (NSRs)
  - ◆ National Security Directives (NSD)

192

## Presidents & national security directives (II) CNA

- ◆ Clinton administration (1993-2001)
  - ◆ Presidential Review Directives (PRDs)
  - ◆ Presidential Decision Directives (PDDs)
- ◆ G.W. Bush administration (2001-09)
  - ◆ National Security Presidential Directives (NSPDs)
- ◆ Obama administration (2009- )
  - ◆ Presidential Study Directives (PSDs)
  - ◆ Presidential Policy Directives (PPDs)

193

## National Security Strategies (NSSs) (I) CNA

- ◆ President Ronald Reagan (1981-9)
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Jan 1987)
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Jan 1988)
- ◆ President George H.W. Bush (1989-93)
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Mar 1990)
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Aug 1991)
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Jan 1993)

194

## National Security Strategies (NSSs) (II)

CNA

- ◆ President William Clinton (1993-2001)
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (Jul 1994)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (Feb 1995)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (Feb 1996)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy for a New Century (May 1997)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy for a New Century (Oct 1998)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy for a New Century (Dec 1999)*
  - ◆ *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age (Dec 2000)*

195

## National Security Strategies (NSSs) (III)

CNA

- ◆ President George W. Bush (2001-9)
  - ◆ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (Sep 2002)*
  - ◆ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (Mar 2006)*
  
- ◆ President Barack Obama (2009- )
  - ◆ *National Security Strategy (May 2010)*

196

## Secretaries of Defense

- ◆ 1969 Melvin Laird (R)
- ◆ 1973 Elliot Richardson (R)
- ◆ 1973 James Schlesinger (R)
- ◆ 1975 Donald Rumsfeld (R)
- ◆ 1977 Harold Brown (D)
- ◆ 1981 Caspar Weinberger (R)
- ◆ 1987 Frank Carlucci (R)
- ◆ 1989 Richard Cheney (R)
- ◆ 1993 Leslie Aspin (D)
- ◆ 1994 William Perry (D)
- ◆ 1997 William Cohen (D)
- ◆ 2001 Donald Rumsfeld (R)
- ◆ 2006 Robert Gates (R/D) (to 2011)

## National Defense Strategies

- ◆ SECDEF Donald Rumsfeld (2001-6)
  - ◆ *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America* (Mar 2005)
- ◆ SECDEF Robert Gates (2006-2011)
  - ◆ *National Defense Strategy* (Jun 2008)

## Defense reviews

CNA

- ◆ Bush/Cheney/Powell
  - ◆ “Base Force” review (1990)
- ◆ Clinton/Aspin
  - ◆ *Report on the Bottom-Up Review (BUR)* (Oct 1993)
- ◆ Clinton/Cohen
  - ◆ *Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR)* (May 1997)
- ◆ Bush/Rumsfeld
  - ◆ *Quadrennial Defense Review Report (QDR)* (Sep 2001)
  - ◆ *Quadrennial Defense Review Report (QDR)* (Feb 2006)
- ◆ Obama/Gates
  - ◆ *Quadrennial Defense Review Report (QDR)* (Feb 2010)

199

## Nuclear posture reviews & policies (I)

CNA

- ◆ Nixon/Ford/Schlesinger
  - ◆ National Security Decision Memorandum (NSDM) 242: *Policy for Planning the Employment of Nuclear Weapons* (Jan 1974)
- ◆ Carter/Brown
  - ◆ Presidential Directive (PD) 59: *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy* (Jul 1980)
- ◆ Reagan/Weinberger
  - ◆ National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 13: *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy* (Oct 1981)
- ◆ G.H.W. Bush/Cheney
  - ◆ *Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNI)* (Sep 1991)

200

## Nuclear posture reviews & policies (II)

CNA

- ◆ Clinton/Perry
  - ◆ *Nuclear Posture Review* (Sep 1994)
  - ◆ Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 60: *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy Guidance* (Nov 1997)
- ◆ GW Bush/Rumsfeld
  - ◆ *Nuclear Posture Review* (Dec 2001)
- ◆ Obama/Gates
  - ◆ *Nuclear Posture Review* (Apr 2010)

201

## DOD DIRs 5100.1 (“Functions papers”)

CNA

- ◆ SECDEF McElroy, *Functions of the Armed Forces and the Joint Chiefs of Staff* (Dec 1958)
- ◆ SECDEF Brown, *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Jan 1980)
- ◆ SECDEF Weinberger, *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Apr 1987)
- ◆ SECDEF Weinberger, *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Sep 1987)
- ◆ SECDEF Rumsfeld, *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Aug 2002)

202

## Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

CNA

- ◆ 1970 ADM Thomas Moorer USN
- ◆ 1974 Gen George Brown USAF
- ◆ 1978 Gen David Jones USAF
- ◆ 1982 GEN John Vessey USA
- ◆ 1985 ADM William Crowe USN
- ◆ 1989 GEN Colin Powell USA
- ◆ 1993 GEN John Shalikashvili USA
- ◆ 1997 GEN Hugh Shelton USA
- ◆ 2001 Gen Richard Myers USAF
- ◆ 2005 Gen Peter Pace USMC
- ◆ 2007 ADM Michael Mullen USN (to 2011)

203

## National Military Strategies

CNA

- ◆ ADM William Crowe USN (1985-9)
  - ◆ *National Military Strategy* (classified) (Aug 1989)
- ◆ GEN Colin Powell USA (1989-93)
  - ◆ *National Military Strategy of the United States* (Jan 1992)
- ◆ GEN John Shalikashvili USA (1993-97)
  - ◆ *National Military Strategy of the United States of America: A Strategy of Flexible and Selective Engagement* (1995)
  - ◆ *National Military Strategy of the United States of America: Shape, Respond, Prepare Now: A Military Strategy for a New Era* (1997)
- ◆ GEN Hugh Shelton USA (1997-2001)
- ◆ Gen Richard Myers USAF (2001-5)
  - ◆ *National Military Strategy of the United States of America: A Strategy for Today; A Vision for Tomorrow* (2004)
- ◆ Gen Peter Pace USMC (2005-7)
- ◆ ADM Michael Mullen USN (2007-11)

204

## Joint visions

CNA

- ◆ GEN John Shalikashvili USA (1993-7)
  - ◆ *Joint Vision 2010* (Jul 1996)
- ◆ GEN Hugh Shelton USA (1997-2001)
  - ◆ *Joint Vision 2020* (Jun 2000)
- ◆ Gen Myers USAF (2001-5)
  - ◆ *Joint Operating Concepts* (Nov 2003)
- ◆ Gen Peter Pace USMC (2005-7)
  - ◆ *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations, Version 2.0 (CCJO)* (Aug 2005)
- ◆ ADM Michael Mullen USN (2007-11)
  - ◆ *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations, Version 3.0 (CCJO)* (Jan 2009)

205

## Capstone Joint Doctrine Pubs

CNA

- ◆ GEN Colin Powell USA (1989-93)
  - ◆ Joint Pub 1, *Joint Warfare of the US Armed Forces: "Joint Warfare is Team Warfare"* (Nov 1991)
- ◆ GEN John Shalikashvili (1993-7)
  - ◆ Joint Pub 1: *Joint Warfare of the Armed Forces of the United States* (Jan 1995)
- ◆ GEN Hugh Shelton (1997-2001)
  - ◆ Joint Publication 1: *Joint Warfare of the Armed Forces of the United States* (Nov 2000)
- ◆ Gen Richard Myers USAF (2001-5)
- ◆ Gen Peter Pace USMC (2005-7)
  - ◆ Joint Publication 1: *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (May 2007)
- ◆ ADM Michael Mullen USN (2007-11)
  - ◆ Joint Publication 1: *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (May 2007) (Ch 1 Mar 2009)

206

## Roles & missions reports

CNA

- ◆ CJCS ADM William Crowe USN
  - ◆ *Roles and Functions of the Armed Forces: A Report to the Secretary of Defense* (Sep 1989)
- ◆ CJCS GEN Colin Powell USN
  - ◆ *Report on the Roles, Missions and Functions of the Armed Forces* (Feb 1993)
- ◆ Commission on the Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces (CORM)
  - ◆ *Directions for Defense* (May 1995)
- ◆ SECDEF Robert Gates
  - ◆ *Quadrennial Roles and Missions Review Report* (Jan 2009)

207

## Secretaries of the Navy (1969-2009)

CNA

- ◆ Jan 1969 John Chaffee
- ◆ May 1972 John Warner
- ◆ Apr 1974 J. W. Middendorf
- ◆ Feb 1977 Graham Claytor
- ◆ Oct 1979 Edward Hidalgo
- ◆ Feb 1981 John Lehman
- ◆ May 1987 James Webb
- ◆ Mar 1988 William Ball
- ◆ May 1989 H. L. Garrett
- ◆ Jun 1992 Daniel Howard (a)
- ◆ Oct 1992 Sean O'Keefe
- ◆ Jan 1993 ADM Frank Kelso (a)
- ◆ Jul 1993 John Dalton
- ◆ Nov 1998 Richard Danzig
- ◆ Jan 2001 Robin Pirie (a)
- ◆ May 2001 Gordon England
- ◆ Jan 2003 Susan Livingstone (a)
- ◆ Feb 2003 H.T. Johnson (a)
- ◆ Oct 2003 Gordon England
- ◆ Dec 2005 Dionel Aviles (a)
- ◆ Jan 2006 Donald Winter
- ◆ Mar 2006 B.J. Penn (a)
- ◆ Jun 2009 Ray Mabus

208

## Chiefs of Naval Operations (1970-2010)

CNA

- ◆ Jul 1970 ADM Elmo Zumwalt
- ◆ Jun 1974 ADM James Holloway
- ◆ Jul 1978 ADM Thomas Hayward
- ◆ Jun 1982 ADM James Watkins
- ◆ Jul 1986 ADM Carlisle Trost
- ◆ Jun 1990 ADM Frank Kelso
- ◆ Apr 1994 ADM Jeremy M. Boorda
- ◆ May 1996 ADM Jay Johnson
- ◆ Jul 2000 ADM Vern Clark
- ◆ Jul 2005 ADM Michael Mullen
- ◆ Sep 2007 ADM Gary Roughead (to 2011)

## OPNAV DCNOs for Operations, Plans & Strategy

CNA

- ◆ 1971 VADM Frank Vannoy\*
- ◆ 1973 VADM George Talley\*
- ◆ 1975 VADM Joseph Moorer\*\*
- ◆ 1977 VADM William Crowe\*\*
- ◆ 1980 VADM Sylvester Foley\*\*
- ◆ 1982 VADM Arthur Moreau\*\*
- ◆ 1983 VADM James A. Lyons, Jr.\*\*
- ◆ 1985 VADM Donald Jones\*\*
- ◆ 1986 VADM Henry Mustin\*\*
- ◆ 1988 VADM Charles Larson\*\*
- ◆ 1990 VADM Robert Kelly\*\*
- ◆ 1991 VADM Leighton Smith\*\*
- ◆ 1994 VADM Paul Reason\*\*
- ◆ 1996 VADM James Ellis\*\*
- ◆ 1998 VADM Thomas Fargo\*\*
- ◆ 1999 VADM Robert Natter\*\*
- ◆ 2000 VADM Timothy Keating\*\*
- ◆ 2002 VADM Kevin Green\*\*
- ◆ 2004 VADM John Morgan\*\*\*
- ◆ 2008 VADM Douglas Crowder
- ◆ 2009 VADM Bruce Clingan

Black = OP-06  
Blue = N3/N5

\* DCNO for Plans & Policy  
\*\* DCNO for Plans, Policy & Operations  
\*\*\* DCNO for Information, Plans & Strategy

210

## OPNAV Directors for Strategy & Policy

CNA

- 1970 RADM Donald Engen\*
- 1971 RADM Joseph Moorer\*
- 1972 RADM Billy Holder\*
- 1973 RADM Jack Shanahan\*\*
- 1975 RADM Richard Paddock\*\*\*
- 1976 RADM Robert Hanks\*\*\*
- 1977 RADM Robert Hilton\*\*\*
- 1979 RADM Powell Carter\*\*\*\*
- 1979 RADM Arthur Moreau\*\*\*\*
- 1981 RADM Robert Kirksey\*\*\*\*
- 1983 RADM Dudley Carlson\*\*\*\*
- 1983 RADM Ronald Marryott\*\*\*\*
- 1984 RADM Jerome Johnson\*\*\*\*
- 1985 RADM T. J. Johnson\*\*\*\*
- 1985 RADM William Pendley\*\*\*\*
- 1986 RADM John Calhoun\*\*\*\*
- 1987 RADM Ronald Eytchison\*\*\*\*
- 1988 RADM P.D. Smith\*\*\*\*
- 1991 RADM Edward Baker\*\*\*\*
- 1992 RADM Scott Redd
- 1993 RADM Philip Dur
- 1994 RADM John Mazach
- 1997 RADM Edward Moore
- 1997 RDML John Byrd
- 1998 RDML Joseph Sestak
- 2000 RDML Miles Wachendorf
- 2002 RDML Eric Olson
- 2003 RDML Van Mauney
- 2004 RDML Charles Martoglio
- 2006 RDML Philip Cullom
- 2007 RDML Kevin Donegan
- 2008 RDML Robert Thomas
- 2010 RDML David Woods
- 2011 RDML Michael Smith

Black = OP-60  
Blue = N51  
Green = N5SP

\* Strategic Plans & Policy  
\*\* Strategic Plans, Policy & Nuclear Systems  
\*\*\* Strategic Plans, Policy, Nuclear Systems & NSC Affairs  
\*\*\*\* Strategy, Plans & Policy

211

## OPNAV Strategy branch heads

CNA

- c1971 CAPT Fred Stalder\*
- c1972 CAPT R.C. Allen\*
- c1974 CAPT C.F. Horne (SWO)\*
- c1976 CAPT Peter Easton\*
- 1976 CAPT Paul Skarlatos (VF)\*
- 1978 CAPT Robert Kennedy (VS)\*\*
- 1979 CAPT Craig Campbell (VP)\*\*
- 1979 CAPT William Garrett (SS)\*\*
- 1980 CAPT Betsy Wylie (Gen)\*\*
- 1982 CAPT P.D. Smith (VP)\*\*
- 1983 CAPT Roger Barnett (SWO)\*\*
- 1984 CDR James Stark (A) (SWO)\*\*
- 1984 CAPT Larry Seaquist (SWO)\*\*
- 1985 CAPT Thomas Daly (SWO)\*\*
- 1986 CAPT Philip Boyer (SS)\*\*
- 1988 CAPT P. Deutermann (SWO)\*\*
- 1988 CAPT Jerry Murphy (SWO)\*\*
- 1988 CAPT Michael Martus (SWO)\*\*
- 1989 CAPT E. R. Diamond (SWO)\*\*
- 1991 CAPT Patrick Curry (VP)\*\*
- 1993 CDR Joseph Sestak (SWO)\*\*
- 1995 CDR Joseph Bouchard (SWO)\*\*
- 1997 CDR Frank Pandolfe (SWO)\*\*
- 1998 CDR Sam Tangredi (SWO)\*\*
- 1999 CDR Philip Cullom (SWO)\*\*
- 1999 CDR Steve Lott (A) (SWO)\*\*
- 2000 CDR Robert Dolan (SWO)\*\*
- 2001 CAPT C. Will Dossel (A) (VAW)\*\*
- 2002 CAPT Thomas Klepper (VP)\*\*
- 2003 CAPT Thomas Mangold (SWO)\*\*
- 2005 CDR Paul Nagy (A) (SWO)\*\*\*
- 2006 CDR Peter Haynes (A) (VAW)\*\*\*
- 2006 CDR Paul Nagy (A) (SWO)\*\*\*
- 2006 CAPT William Personius (HC)\*\*\*
- 2006 CDR Paul Nagy (A) (SWO)\*\*\*\*
- 2007 CAPT Douglas Venlet (SWO)\*\*\*\*
- 2008 CAPT Victor Addison (METOC)\*\*\*\*
- 2009 CAPT Mark Montgomery (SWO)
- 2010 CAPT Stuart Munsch (SS)
- 2011 CAPT Kevin Brenton (SS)

Red = OP-605C Blue = N513  
Black = OP-603 Green = N5SC

\* Strategic Concepts (section) \*\* Strategy & Concepts  
\*\*\* Strategy & Concept Development  
\*\*\*\* Strategic Concepts

212

## Contributors to this effort (I)

CNA

- ◆ CAPT Dennis Anderson USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Philip Ballard
- ◆ CAPT Roger Barnett USN (Ret)
- ◆ LtCol R. Benbow USMC (Ret) (CNA)
- ◆ CDR Steve Benson USN (Ret)
- ◆ LtCol John Berry USMC (Ret)
- ◆ CAPT Joe Bouchard USN (Ret)
- ◆ Dr. Tom Bowditch (CNA)
- ◆ CAPT Linton Brooks USN (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Mitch Brown USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Sebastian Bruns
- ◆ Mr. Curtis Buckles
- ◆ CAPT Steve Burich USN
- ◆ CAPT John Byron USN (Ret)
- ◆ RDML Bill Center USN (Ret)
- Dr. Eugene Cobble (CNA)
- CAPT Bud Cole USN (Ret)
- Mr. Tim Colton
- Dr. Greg Cox (CNA)
- Hon. Seth Cropsey
- RDML Philip Cullom USN
- CDR Steve Deal USN
- CAPT Dick Diamond USN (Ret)
- CDR John Dickmann (Ret)
- CDR Tom Disy USN
- CDR Lee Donaldson USN
- CAPT Will Dossel USN (Ret)
- CAPT Mike Dunaway USN (Ret)
- Mrs. Loretta Ebner (CNA)
- Col Tom Ehrhard USAF (Ret)
- 

213

## Contributors to this effort (II)

CNA

- ◆ LCDR Teresa Elders USN
- ◆ LCDR Tom Emerick USCG
- ◆ LT John Ennis USN
- ◆ CAPT Craig Faller USN
- ◆ CDR Eric Fino USN
- ◆ CAPT Jamie Foggo USN
- ◆ Dr. Norman Friedman
- ◆ Dr. Hank Gaffney (CNA)
- ◆ Mr. Mike Gerson (CNA)
- ◆ CDR Paul Giarra USN (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Neil Golightly USNR (Ret)
- ◆ Col Brad Gutierrez USAF (Ret) (CNA)
- ◆ CAPT John Hanley, USNR (Ret)
- ◆ Ms. Gia Harrington
- ◆ CAPT Robby Harris USN (Ret)
- Dr. John Hattendorf
- CAPT Bradd Hayes USN (Ret)
- CAPT Peter Haynes USN
- LtCol Frank Hoffman USMCR (Ret)
- RADM Jerry Holland USN (Ret)
- ADM James Holloway III USN (Ret)
- Dr. Tom Hone
- CAPT Wayne Hughes USN (Ret)
- CAPT Spence Johnson USN (Ret)
- Mr. Greg Kaminski (CNA)
- Mr. John Kaskin
- Dr. Catherine Kelleher
- CDR Steve Kelley USN
- Mr. John Kennedy
- Dr. Ken Kennedy (CNA)

214

## Contributors to this effort (III)

CNA

- ◆ Mr. Eric Labs
- ◆ Ms. Laurie Ann Lakatosh (CNA)
- ◆ Ms. Catherine Lea (CNA)
- ◆ CAPT Ed Long USN (Ret)
- ◆ RDML Don Loren USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Amund Lundesgaard
- ◆ CAPT Bill Manthorpe USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Mike Markowitz (CNA)
- ◆ Mr. Bob Martinage
- ◆ CAPT Rod McDaniel USN (Ret)
- ◆ RADM Mike McDevitt USN (Ret) (CNA)
- ◆ CDR Bryan McGrath USN
- ◆ CAPT Ken McGruther USN (Ret)
- ◆ CAPT John McLain USN
- ◆ LT Ed McLellan USN
- ◆ RADM Eric McVadon USN (Ret)
- Dr. Sal Mercogliano
- Mr. Ed Miller
- CAPT Vance Morrison USN (Ret)
- CAPT Al Myers USN (Ret)
- CAPT Judy (Holden) Myers (Ret)
- CDR Paul Nagy USN
- Mr. Ron O'Rourke
- Dr. Mike Palmer
- Ms. Margie Watson Palmieri
- RDML Frank Pandolfe USN
- CDR John Patch (Ret)
- CAPT Jim Patton USN (Ret)
- RADM Bill Pendley USN (Ret)
- Dr. Dave Perin (CNA)
- Dr. Peter Perla (CNA)

215

## Contributors to this effort (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Hon. Robin Pirie
- ◆ CDR Mike Pocalyko USN (Ret)
- ◆ Dr. Bruce Powers
- ◆ Dr. Mike Price (CNA)
- ◆ Mr. Fred Rainbow
- ◆ Col Robyn Read USAF (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Steve Recca USN (Ret)
- ◆ Dr. Matt Robinson (CNA)
- ◆ CAPT John Rodegaard USNR
- ◆ CAPT Dave Rosenberg USNR
- ◆ CAPT Pat Roth USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Jeffrey Sands
- ◆ Ms. Kristine Schenck
- ◆ CAPT Brian Scott USN
- ◆ CAPT Larry Seaquist USN (Ret)
- ◆ Mr. Jim Seerden
- VADM Joe Sestak USN
- Mr. Adam Siegel
- CAPT Mike Simpson USN
- CAPT Ed Smith USN (Ret)
- Mr. Tim Smith
- RADM Jim Stark USN (Ret)
- VADM Jim Stavridis (USN)
- RADM Joe Strasser USN (Ret)
- Ms. Rhea Stone (CNA)
- CAPT Bruce Stubbs USCG (Ret)
- CDR Cappy Surette USN
- CDR Ken Szmed USN
- CAPT Sam Tangredi USN
- CAPT George Thibault USN (Ret)
- Dr. Eric Thompson (CNA)

216

## Contributors to this effort (V)

- ◆ VADM Emmett Tidd USN (Ret)
- ◆ Dr. Geoffrey Till
- ◆ VADM Pat Tracey USN (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Jim Tritten USN (Ret)
- ◆ Dr. Scott Truver
- ◆ ADM Stansfield Turner USN (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Harlan Ullman USN (Ret)
- ◆ CAPT Gordan Van Hook USN
- ◆ Mr. Lee Wahler
- ◆ CDR Stan Weeks USN (Ret)
- ◆ CDR Mark Werner (Ret)
- ◆ Hon Francis J. West
- ◆ Mr. Bob Wilhelm
- ◆ MajGen Tom Wilkerson USM (Ret)
- ◆ CAPT John Williams USNR (Ret)
- ◆ UNDERSECNAV Bob Work
- ◆ CAPT Rob Zalaskus USN



## CNA studies on U.S. Navy strategies and their context

- Swartz, Peter M., *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategy, Policy, Vision and Concept Documents: What to consider before you write one*, (CQR D0020071.A1/Final, March 2009).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1970-2010): A Brief Summary*, (MISC D0026437.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts: Introduction, Background and Analyses*, (MISC D0026421.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (1970-2010): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts: Volume I*, (MISC D0026417.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (1970-2010): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts: Volume II*, (MISC D0026417.A2/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1970-1980): Strategy, Policy, Concept, and Vision Documents*, (MISC D0026414.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (1970-1980): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts*, (MISC D0026418.A1/ Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1981-1990): Strategy, Policy, Concept, and Vision Documents*, (MISC D0026415.A1, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (1981-1990): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts*, (MISC D0026419.A1/Final (December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1991-2000): Strategy, Policy, Concept, and Vision Documents*, (MISC D0026416.A2/Final, March 2012).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (1991-2000): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts*, (MISC D0026420.A2/Final, March 2012).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (2001-2010): Strategy, Policy, Concept, and Vision Documents*, (MISC D0026241.A2/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *The U.S. Navy in the World (2001-2010): Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts*, (MISC D0026242.A2/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., and Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1970-2010): Comparisons, Contrasts, and Changes: Volume I*, (MISC D0026422.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1970-2010): Comparisons, Contrasts, and Changes: Volume II*, (MISC D0026423.A1/Final, December 2011).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Michael C. Markowitz, *Organizing OPNAV (1970-2009)*, (CAB D0020997.A5/2Rev, January 2010).
- Swartz, Peter M., with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy – U.S. Air Force Relationships 1970-2010*, (MISC D0024022.A4/1Rev, June 2011).

These documents supersede Peter M. Swartz with Karin Duggan, *U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies & Concepts (1970-2009)*, (MISC D0019819.A1/Final, February 2009).

MISC D0026421.A1/Final



4825 Mark Center Drive, Alexandria, VA 22311-1850 703-824-2000 [www.cna.org](http://www.cna.org)