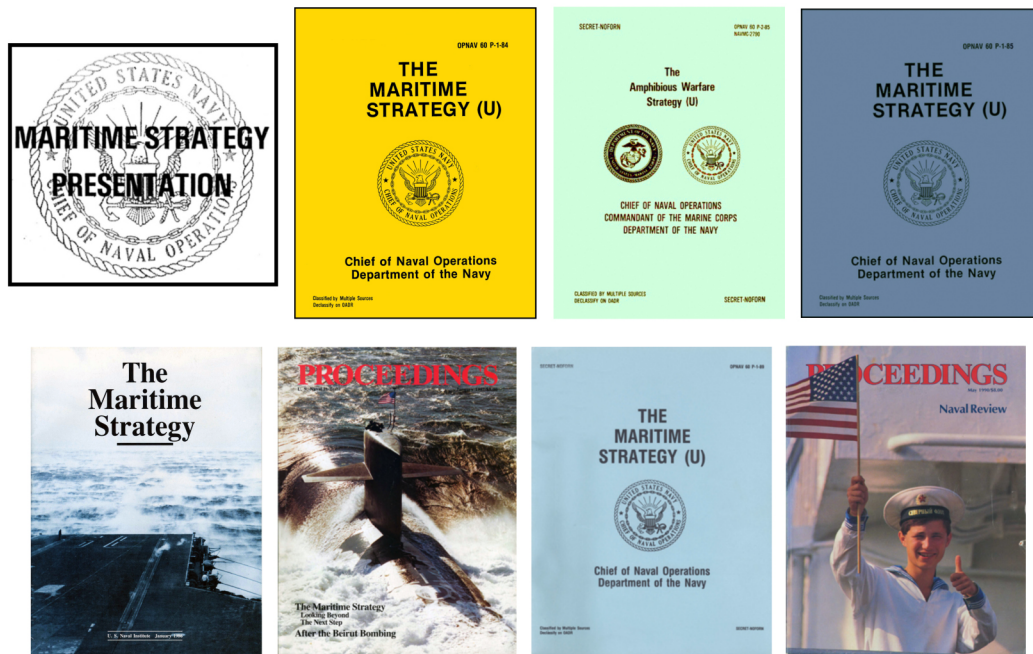


U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts (1981-1990): Strategy, Policy, Concept, and Vision Documents

Peter M. Swartz
with Karin Duggan



MISC D0026415.A1/Final
December 2011

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Approved for distribution:

December 2011



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Director, Strategic Initiatives Group

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 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (UNCLAS booklet)
 - ◆ “Looking Beyond the Maritime Strategy” (UNCLAS article)
 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub revision)
 - ◆ “Maritime Strategy for the 1990s” (UNCLAS article)
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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Signed by:
 - ◆ CNO ADM James D. Watkins
 - ◆ CNO ADM Carlisle A.H. Trost
- ◆ *Amphibious Warfare Strategy* signed by:
 - ◆ CNO ADM James D. Watkins
 - ◆ CMC Gen Paul X. Kelley
- ◆ “600-ship Navy” companion piece signed by:
 - ◆ SECNAV John F. Lehman, Jr.



2

ADM James D. Watkins (CNO Jun 1982-Jun 1986) CNA

- ◆ Nov 1982 *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET brief)
(Unsigned)
- ◆ May 1984 *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub)
- ◆ Jun 1985 *The Amphibious Warfare Strategy*
(SECRET pub)
- ◆ Nov 1985 *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub rev.)
- ◆ Jan 1986 *The Maritime Strategy*
(UNCLAS US Naval Institute *Proceedings*
insert)



3

ADM James D. Watkins (CNO Jun 1982-Jun 1986) CNA

- ◆ 1st Submariner CNO since ADM Nimitz (1945-7)
- ◆ Served under President Reagan, SECDEF Weinberger, SECNAV Lehman
- ◆ Had been CNO ADM Hayward's VCNO
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy*
 - ◆ Developed by his flag officers & staff, in 1st 2 years in office
 - ◆ During last 2 years, he embraced and used it, himself
 - ◆ By end of his term, he considered it his chief legacy

4

ADM James D. Watkins (CNO Jun 1982-Jun 1986) CNA

- ◆ Signature programs:
 - ◆ Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
 - ◆ Influential advocate at national policy level
 - ◆ Navy OPTEMPO & PERSTEMPO rules
- ◆ Became Bush administration Secretary of Energy (1989-93)
- ◆ Biography: Frederick Hartmann, *Naval Renaissance: The U.S. Navy in the 1980s* (1990)

5

ADM Carlisle A. H. Trost (CNO Jul 1986-Jun 1990) CNA

- ◆ Jan 1987 “Looking Beyond the Maritime Strategy” (UNCLAS USNI *Proceedings* article)
- ◆ Feb 1989 *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub revised)
- ◆ May 1990 “Maritime Strategy for the 1990s” (UNCLAS USNI *Proceedings* article)



6

ADM Carlisle A. H. Trost (CNO Jul 1986-Jun 1990) CNA

- ◆ Submariner
- ◆ Had been Olmsted Scholar (U of Freiburg)
- ◆ Provided continuity; served during transitions:
 - ◆ Reagan-to-Bush; Weinberger-to-Carlucchi-to-Cheney; Lehman-to-Webb-to-Ball-to-Garrett
- ◆ Signature policy as CNO:
 - ◆ Mobilizing & maintaining tough US government resistance to Soviet diplomatic offensive to impose limitations on USN through new naval arms control measures
- ◆ Visited Soviet Union (Oct 1989)

7

ADM Carlisle A. H. Trost (CNO Jul 1986-Jun 1990) CNA

- ◆ Significant Navy program oversight and analysis experience (OP-96; OP-090)
- ◆ Had participated in development of *The Maritime Strategy* as VADM (OP-090)
- ◆ As CNO, endorsed staff & fleet initiatives to promulgate & test *The Maritime Strategy*
- ◆ Sought at times to “bring the debate indoors”
- ◆ Periodically tasked and signed out updated concepts, within original *Maritime Strategy* framework, including “the last word” in 1990

8

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Overview

- ◆ Signed by CNOs ADMs Watkins & Trost
- ◆ Coordinated with SECNAVs & CMCs
- ◆ Primary targets: Numerous, esp. USN officers, Soviets
- ◆ Billed as a “strategy”
- ◆ Drafted in OPNAV Strategic Concepts Branch (OP-603)
- ◆ 8+ SECRET, UNCLAS, & “higher classification” versions. Multi-media. Long documents & short articles.
- ◆ Key idea: The U.S. Navy makes a strategic difference
 - ◆ Across the Peace-Crisis-War spectrum
 - ◆ In 3-phase global forward offensive campaign vs. Soviet Union, allies & clients, as part of joint, allied global war
- ◆ Laid out uncertainties
- ◆ Highly influential

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ What it was (I)

- ◆ Billed as a “Strategy”
 - ◆ US Naval Institute styled 1st UNCLAS version a “White Paper”
- ◆ “Maritime component of national military strategy”
- ◆ CNO ADM Watkins called it a “strategic vision” in his sidebar to his *Proceedings* article
- ◆ Consolidation of existing thinking. Not a vision
- ◆ Explanation of use of current forces
- ◆ Told a story; provided a narrative

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ What it was (II)

- ◆ Published: Multi-media:
 - ◆ 1st 2 years: SECRET briefing (lingua franca of the Pentagon)
 - ◆ Later: SCI, SECRET, UNCLAS briefings, pubs; US Naval Institute *Proceedings*, *International Security*, journal articles; book (Norman Friedman); video
 - ◆ Included 8 successive CNO-signed official versions
 - ◆ SECRET versions: 70 to 87 to 70 to 51 pages
 - ◆ *Amphibious Warfare Strategy*: 47 pages
 - ◆ UNCLAS versions: 40 pages; then 4 & 9 pages
 - ◆ Central CNO Watkins article: 16 pages
 - ◆ Cited but not reprinted verbatim in annual *CNO Reports* (“posture statements”)
 - ◆ A “work in progress” throughout its lifetime

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Why it was written (I)

- ◆ To achieve consensus within Navy on USN rationale
- ◆ To show USN vital relevance to conflict with Soviets, primarily through forward, global, offensive, joint & allied naval operations, especially in Pacific, on European flanks, & against Soviet ocean bastions
- ◆ To deter Soviets through communicating to them USN capabilities & intentions
- ◆ To show fit between Reagan Administration national security policies & USN recommended strategy, especially to Congress
- ◆ To underpin arguments for the Reagan Administration “600-ship Navy” building program, especially CVNs
- ◆ To influence development of USN POMs and budgets

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Why it was written (II)

- ◆ To incorporate new intelligence community view of Soviet naval capabilities & intentions
- ◆ To counter SECNAV Lehman arguments that USN officer corps had no strategy
- ◆ To educate the OPNAV staff on wider world of joint & USN intelligence, strategic plans & policy
 - ◆ Driver for OP-06 AO drafters
- ◆ To vet fleet & CNO SSG operational & tactical-based inputs
- ◆ To identify & spur internal Navy addressal of “uncertainties”
- ◆ Primary targets: Numerous, but esp. USN officer corps

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Context (I)

- ◆ CNOs ADMs Watkins (1982-86) & Trost (1986-90) (submariners)
- ◆ VCNO ADM Small (1981-3)
- ◆ USN ASW prowess peaked
- ◆ Agreed new US intelligence on Soviet Navy
- ◆ New systems & tactics entering fleet, especially AAW, ASW, ASUW, strike

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Context (II)

- ◆ CWC concept institutionalized in the fleet
- ◆ Naval Strike Warfare Center (“Strike U”) established at NAS Fallon (1984)
- ◆ USN SEAD capabilities improved
- ◆ Maritime Defense Zones created (1984)
- ◆ Soviet submarines becoming progressively quieter
- ◆ USN FLEXOPS deployment policy (1982-5)
- ◆ USN OPTEMPO & PERSTEMPO goals (from 1986 on)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Context (III)

- ◆ Navy Long Range Planners Conferences & unofficial “Navy Study Groups”
- ◆ OP-00X (Long-Range Planning) created (1980)
 - ◆ USN Long-Range Planners Conferences (1985-9)
- ◆ Advanced Technology Panel (ATP) re-directed (1981)
- ◆ SECNAV Lehman shut down OPNAV campaign analysis & Net Assessment efforts (1981)
 - ◆ OP-96 (Systems Analysis) became OP-91 (Program Resource Appraisal)
 - ◆ OPNAV Office of Net Assessment abolished

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Context (IV)

- ◆ NAVWARCOL Center for Naval Warfare Studies (CNWS) (created 1981)
 - ◆ Director: Bob Murray
- ◆ CNO ADM Hayward created Strategic Studies Group (SSG) under CNWS (1981)
 - ◆ Director: Former UNDERSECNAV Bob Murray
 - ◆ “To make captains of ships into captains of war”
 - ◆ SCI access; well-funded & staffed
 - ◆ SSG I SCI games yielded preferred USN CONOPs (1982)
 - ◆ Defeat Soviets at sea, combined arms, attrite SSBNs
 - ◆ Widely briefed to USN leadership
- ◆ NWC Global War Games continued, expanded
 - ◆ Focus on superpower war (through 1988)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Context (V)

- ◆ Context shifted during 1980s
 - ◆ Phase I: 1981-1986
 - ◆ Phase II: 1986-1988
 - ◆ Phase III: 1988-1990
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* reflected these shifts
 - ◆ 1st, 2nd, 3rd, Amphibious, UNCLAS editions (1982-6)
 - ◆ UNCLAS article (1987)
 - ◆ 4th edition, UNCLAS article (1989, 1990)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (VI): Phase I: Early 1980s (thru Jan 1986)
- ◆ 1st ed. *Maritime Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty (1979)
 - ◆ Formal USN Freedom of Navigation challenge ops (FONOPS) (from 1979)
 - ◆ Increased USN visibility in late Carter Admin. defense plans, due to emerging salience of SWA (1979-81)
 - ◆ Congress put CVN-71 into FY 80 budget (1979)
 - ◆ President Carter did not veto this time
 - ◆ “Carter Doctrine”: US use of force in Gulf (1980)
 - ◆ Desert One debacle (1980)
 - ◆ New RDJTF included significant USN forces
 - ◆ Polish “Solidarity” Crisis; martial rule (1980-81)
 - ◆ US voters repudiated Carter administration (Nov 1980)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (VII): Phase I: Early 1980s (thru Jan 1986) (cont)
- ◆ 1st ed. *Maritime Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ New Reagan administration(1981-89)
 - ◆ New SECDEF Weinberger
 - ◆ New SECNAV Lehman (1981-87)
 - ◆ Large defense budget increases; soaring U.S. gov’ t deficit spending
 - ◆ Anti-Soviet policies, rhetoric
 - ◆ UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (1982)
 - ◆ President rejected LOS seabed mining terms; would not sign
 - ◆ CNO ADM Hayward expanded OPNAV OP-095 mandate from ASW to encompass all Navy warfare areas (1980)
 - ◆ Moved responsibility for naval warfare program planning from OP-96 to OP-095.
 - ◆ OP-96-led Naval Warfare CPAMs became OP-095-led Naval Warfare Appraisals (initially, for POM-83, in 1980)
 - ◆ OP-96 retained responsibility for readiness, sustainability, support CPAMs

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (VIII): Phase I: Early 1980s (cont)
- ◆ 2nd & 3rd eds. *Maritime Strategy* (1984-5); UNCLAS ed. (Jan 1986)
 - ◆ UK-Argentine Falklands War (Apr-Jun 1982)
 - ◆ RN SSN sank Argentine cruiser
 - ◆ Argentine air-launched anti-ship *Exocet* missile sank RN destroyer
 - ◆ Small-scale real-world ops in Middle East & Caribbean
 - ◆ Libya a/c shoot-down (1981); Grenada intervention (1983), Lebanon intervention (1982-3); Med hijacker force-down (1985); US assistance to Central American anti-communist forces
 - ◆ Terrorist incidents
 - ◆ Shiites destroyed USMC, French barracks in Beirut (1983)
 - ◆ Covert Libyan mining of Red Sea choke points (1984-5)
 - ◆ Hezbollah hijacked TWA flight. USN diver killed (1985)
 - ◆ Libyans, PLF hijacked *Achille Lauro* cruise ship (1985)
 - ◆ PRC hostility to Soviets; fear of Soviet amphibious invasion

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Context (IX): Phase I: Early-1980s (cont)

- ◆ US economy in recession; pulling out of from Nov 1982)
- ◆ High U.S. government deficit spending
- ◆ Reagan defense budget increases (1981-5); included 600-ship Battle Force goal
- ◆ DON annual budgets, USN force levels rising
 - ◆ USN in 1981: 490 battle force ships
 - ◆ USN by 1987: 568 battle force ships
- ◆ Some unfavorable Navy publicity (1985)
 - ◆ “\$600 toilet seat” acquisition scandal
 - ◆ Item in question was actually entire shroud assembly for P-3 a/c
 - ◆ Walker family Navy spy ring arrested for spying for Soviets
 - ◆ Naval intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard arrested for spying for Israel

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Context (X): Phase I: Early-1980s (cont)

- ◆ President Reagan “Evil Empire” speech (Mar 1983)
- ◆ Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) (1983)
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins, RADM Holland, CAPT Brooks, etc.
- ◆ US deployed GLCMs & IRBMs to Europe (1983)
 - ◆ Triggered so-called Soviet Navy “analogous response” Delta II-class SSBNs deployed off US coasts (1984-7)
- ◆ Soviets shot down ROK civilian airliner KAL-007 (1983)
- ◆ Soviet “Able Archer” NATO exercise war scare (1983)
- ◆ President Reagan re-elected (1984)
- ◆ Push for increased US jointness
 - ◆ Standup of USCENTCOM (1983), USSPACECOM (1985),
 - ◆ USN vainly opposed all

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Context (XI): Phase II: Mid-1980s (1986-8)

- ◆ UNCLAS CNO ADM Trost Maritime Strategy article (1987)
 - ◆ US economy growing
 - ◆ But “Black Monday” US stock market crash (Oct 1987)
 - ◆ Gorbachev became GS CPSU (1985)
 - ◆ Reagan-Gorbachev Geneva summit meeting (Nov 1985)
 - ◆ Reagan-Gorbachev Reykjavik summit meeting (Oct 1986)
 - ◆ Failed to agree on arms control & SDI

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XII): Phase II: Mid-1980s (1986-8) (cont)
- ◆ UNCLAS CNO ADM Trost Maritime Strategy article (1987)
 - ◆ INF negotiations led to INF Treaty (1985-7)
 - ◆ Eliminated all IRBMs & GLCMs on both sides
 - ◆ 1st nuclear agreement w/ intrusive inspections
 - ◆ Reagan to Gorbachev: “Tear down this wall” (1987)
 - ◆ Increased Soviet push for naval arms control agreements limiting US Navy
 - ◆ Gorbachev “Murmansk Speech” pro-Arctic arms control (Oct 1987)
 - ◆ PRC no longer feared Soviet invasion (from 1985)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XIII): Phase II: Mid-1980s (1986-8) (cont)
 - ◆ Continued small-scale real-world ops in Middle East
 - ◆ Libya strikes (1986); Persian Gulf “Tanker War” ops (1984-8)
 - ◆ USN force levels stable; DON budgets peaked (1985) & plateaued (1985-88)
 - ◆ USN in 1987: 568 battle force ships (post-Vietnam War peak)
 - ◆ USN in 1989: 565 battle force ships
 - ◆ Push for increased US jointness continued
 - ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act 1986
 - ◆ Standup of USSOCCOM & USTRANSCOM (1987)
 - ◆ USN vainly opposed all
 - ◆ Continued terrorist incidents
 - ◆ Libyans bombed US-frequented Berlin disco (1986)
 - ◆ Iran-Contra Affair: NSA VADM Poindexter resigned (1986)
 - ◆ Commander, US Third Fleet shifted flag from ashore HQ to USS *Coronado* (AGF 11) (1986)
 - ◆ USN 6-month routine forward deployment length rule imposed (1986)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XIV): Phase III: Late-1980s (1988-90)
- ◆ 4th ed. *Maritime Strategy* (1989)
- ◆ UNCLAS Maritime Strategy article (1990)
 - ◆ George H.W. Bush elected president (Nov 1988)
 - ◆ New administration (Jan 1989)
 - ◆ Rapid SECNAV turnovers
 - ◆ John Lehman (resigned 1987)
 - ◆ James Webb (1987-88)
 - ◆ Resigned to protest SECDEF Navy force level cuts & de facto abandonment of 600-Ship Navy goal
 - ◆ Will Ball (1988-89)
 - ◆ Lawrence Garrett (1989-92)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XV): Phase III: Late-1980s (1988-90) (cont)
 - ◆ Soaring U.S. government deficit spending
 - ◆ US Navy force levels, DON annual budgets dropping
 - ◆ USN in 1989: 566 battle force ships
 - ◆ USN in 1990: 547 battle force ships
 - ◆ Continued small-scale real-world ops
 - ◆ “Tanker War” (1984-8); Libya a/c shoot-down (1989); Panama intervention (1989-90); Liberia embassy protection, NEO(1990)
 - ◆ Soviet Navy warships bumped USN FONOPS warships in Black Sea (1988)
 - ◆ International Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts (SUA) against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XVI): Phase III: Late-1980s (1988-90) (cont)
 - ◆ Continued Soviet push for naval arms control agreements limiting USN
 - ◆ Continued terrorist attacks
 - ◆ Naples USO bombing. USN sailor killed (1988)
 - ◆ Libyans bombed PANAM flight over Scotland (1988)
 - ◆ Arab terror attack on cruise ship south of Athens (1988)
 - ◆ Spate of unfavorable USN publicity
 - ◆ USS *Vincennes* (CG-49) shoot-down of Iranian airliner (1988)
 - ◆ Former National Security Advisor VADM John Poindexter USN indicted for role in Iran-Contra Affair (1988)
 - ◆ USS *Iowa* (BB-61) turret explosion, investigation (1989)
 - ◆ US Naval Academy sexual harassment scandal (1989)
 - ◆ Female midshipman chained to a urinal

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Context (XVII): Phase III: Late-1980s (cont)
 - ◆ PLA occupied some Spratly Islands; PLAN defeated Vietnamese Navy in South China Sea battle (1988)
 - ◆ Soviet retreat from Afghanistan (1988-9)
 - ◆ Non-Communist government in Poland (1989)
 - ◆ PLAN deployed 1st SSBN, launched 1st SLBM (1988)
 - ◆ PRC Tiananmen Square massacre (Jun 1989)
 - ◆ US suspended all arms sales and military contacts with China
 - ◆ US, Soviets agree to avoid future Black Sea FON incidents (Sep 1989)
 - ◆ CNO ADM Trost visited Soviet Union (Oct 1989)
 - ◆ Berlin Wall down (Nov 1989)
 - ◆ Operation *Just Cause* (Panama) (1989-90)
 - ◆ Bush-Gorbachev at-sea “Malta Summit” (Dec 1989)
 - ◆ CFE Treaty signed; Germany reunified (1990)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Cited references (I)
 - ◆ Alliances & treaties
 - ◆ US Reply to NATO Defense Planning Questionnaire (DPQ)
 - ◆ NATO CONMAROPS (1981, 1985, 1988)
 - ◆ Title 10 of the U.S. Code
 - ◆ National Security Decision Directives (NSDDs)
 - ◆ NSDD-32 *U.S. National Security Strategy* (Mar 1982)
 - ◆ Superseded PD 18 *US National Strategy* (Aug 1977)
 - ◆ NIE 11-15-82/D *Soviet Naval Strategy* (Mar 1983)
 - ◆ NIE 11-15-89 *Soviet Naval Strategy and Programs toward the 21st Century* (Jun 1989)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Cited references (II)
 - ◆ *Defense Guidance* (DG)
 - ◆ *Joint Strategic Planning Document* (JSPD)
 - ◆ *Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan* (JSCP)
 - ◆ Unified & specified commander (CINC) plans
 - ◆ CNO-CSAF MOA (1982)
 - ◆ CNO-CCG MOA (MARDEZ) (1984)
 - ◆ CSA-CSAF MOA (1985)
 - ◆ *Escort Requirements Study* (1982)
- ◆ Included annotated bibliography (1986)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (I)
 - ◆ NATO MC 14/3 *Overall Strategic Concept for the Defense of the NATO Area* (1968)
 - ◆ NATO MC 48/3 *Measures to Implement the Strategic Concept for the Defense of the NATO Area* (1969)
 - ◆ Flexible response
 - ◆ Robert Komer et al., *Alliance Defense in the 1980s (RAND)* (Nov 1976)
 - ◆ NSDM 344 “Navy Shipbuilding Program” (1977)
 - ◆ Last Carter Administration budget (1981)
 - ◆ Turnaround: Call for strong carrier strike force (for SWA)
 - ◆ President Reagan “Evil Empire” speech (Mar 1983)
 - ◆ DOD Dir 5100.1 *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Successive editions: Jan 1980, Apr 1987, Sep 1987)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (II)
 - ◆ Stockholm Agreement (CSBMs) (1986)
 - ◆ Included naval CSBMs when linked to ground ops
 - ◆ Superseded by Vienna Document (1990)
 - ◆ US-USSR Dangerous Military Activities (DMA) Agreement (1989)
 - ◆ 1st Reagan *National Security Strategy* (1987)
 - ◆ 2nd Reagan *National Security Strategy* (1988)
 - ◆ NIE 11-15-84/D *Soviet Naval Strategy and Programs through the 1990s* (Mar 1985)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (III)
 - ◆ New SECDEF *Planning Guidance for Contingency Planning* (1980+)
 - ◆ SECDEF “Weinberger Doctrine” of “Full Force” (1984)
 - ◆ 6 requirements to be met before US forces committed
 - ◆ Major contributions by Military Assistant LTG Colin Powell USA
 - ◆ Reaction to disastrous USMC intervention in Lebanon (1983)
 - ◆ *Forces for Unified Commands* memorandum (Feb 1987)
 - ◆ JCS Pub 26 *Joint Doctrine for Counter Operations* (includes JFACC) (1986)
 - ◆ CINC & Navy component plans & CONOPS
 - ◆ ADM Long PACOM Campaign Plan (1982)
 - ◆ CINC CONOPS briefs to CJCS GEN Vessey (1982)
 - ◆ Iklé, Holloway et al, *Discriminate Deterrence* (1988)
 - ◆ DOD, *Soviet Military Power* (10 editions, 1981-1991)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (IV)
 - ◆ *Project SIXTY* (1970)
 - ◆ NWP 1 (1978)
 - ◆ *Sea Plan 2000* (1978)
 - ◆ “The Future of US Sea Power” (1979)
 - ◆ SECNAV John Lehman, “Rebirth of U.S. Naval Strategy,” *Strategic Review* (Summer 1981)
 - ◆ Other SECNAV Lehman speeches interviews, articles, testimony (1981+)
 - ◆ Strategic Studies Group (SSG) reports & briefings (1982-89)
 - ◆ Esp. Owens-Cebrowski SSG I game brief (1982)
 - ◆ DON, *Lessons of the Falklands* (1983)
 - ◆ “DON Lift 1” & “DON Lift 2” studies (1983, 1990)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (V)
 - ◆ CSFL/C2F/CJTF 120 “Fighting Instructions” (1982-89)
 - ◆ CINCPACFLT & other fleet “Fighting Instructions”
 - ◆ CNA studies
 - ◆ Soviet Navy policy, strategy & doctrine studies
 - ◆ E.g.: Jamie McConnell, “Strategy & Missions of the Soviet Navy” (1978)
 - ◆ *Outer Air Battle* study (1981-3)
 - ◆ *Northern Region Warfare Assessments* campaign analyses (1983-6)
 - ◆ USN presence & responses to crises studies
 - ◆ USN outer air battle studies
 - ◆ Offensive Mining Study
 - ◆ ADM Gorshkov, *Sea Power of the State* (English translation) (1979)
 - ◆ Navy Strategic Planning Experiment (NSPE) “Maritime Balance Study” (1979)
 - ◆ David Rosenberg, *Historical Perspectives in Long-Range Planning in the Navy* (1980)

37

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (VI)
 - ◆ FM 1-1 *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force* (1984)
 - ◆ JCS Pub 26 “*Joint Doctrine for Theater Counterair Operations (from Overseas Land Areas)*” (1986)
 - ◆ *Omnibus Agreement for Command and Control of Marine TacAir in Sustained Operations Ashore* (1986)
 - ◆ Col John Warden, *The Air Campaign* (1988)
 - ◆ US Army FM 100-5 *Operations* (1982, 1986) (AirLand Battle)
 - ◆ USMC, *Small Wars Manual* (reprint of 1940 ed.) (1987)
 - ◆ FMFM 1 *Warfighting* (1989)

38

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (VII)
 - ◆ Paul Nitze et al, *Securing the Seas* (1979)
 - ◆ RADM (Ret) Henry Eccles, *Military Power in a Free Society* (1979)
 - ◆ OSD/NA *Navy Strategic Planning Experiment* “Maritime Balance study” (1979)
 - ◆ J. A. Williams, “Strategies & Forces of the USN” (1981)
 - ◆ Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave* (1980)
 - ◆ Alva Bowen, Ron O’ Rourke CRS reports

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (VIII)
 - ◆ Gen Sir John Hackett
 - ◆ *The Third World War, August 1985* (1978)
 - ◆ *The Third World War, The Untold Story* (1982)
 - ◆ Tom Clancy
 - ◆ *The Hunt for Red October* (1984)
 - ◆ *Red Storm Rising* (1986)
 - ◆ Movie “Top Gun” (1986)
 - ◆ Cher, USS *Missouri* (BB-63) music video “If I Could Turn Back time” (1989)

40

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (IX)
 - ◆ Col John Boyd, briefings on defense reform, maneuver warfare, OODA Loop (1980s)
 - ◆ James Fallows, *National Defense* (1981)
 - ◆ Barry Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain and Germany Between the World Wars* (1984)
 - ◆ COL Harry Summers, *On Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ Bill Lind, *The Manoeuvre Warfare Handbook* (1985)
 - ◆ Carl Builder, *Army in the Strategic Planning Process* (1986)
 - ◆ Will become *Masks of War* (1989)
 - ◆ SEN Gary Hart & Bill Lind, *America Can Win: The Case for Military Reform* (1986)

41

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Context: Other contemporary publications (X)
 - ◆ Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision* (1971)
 - ◆ Morton Halperin et al., *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (1974)
 - ◆ ADM (Ret) Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., *On Watch* (1976)
 - ◆ Barry Blechman & Stephen Kaplan, *Force without War* (1978)
 - ◆ CAPT Wayne Hughes, *Fleet Tactics* (1986)
 - ◆ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1987)
 - ◆ RADM Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia and its Effect upon International Politics* (1900)

42

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written (I)
 - ◆ An organic process. No master POA&M
 - ◆ Socialization throughout Navy staffs of “Sea Strike”, *Sea Plan 2000*, ADM Hayward strategy, SSG I briefings, new intelligence assessments, Global War Game insights, new PACOM/PACFLT & LANTCOM/LANTFLT warfighting concepts, etc. (1978-82)
 - ◆ Initial SECNAV Lehman pronouncements on strategy (1981-2)
 - ◆ “Strategy . . . had to be my business”
 - ◆ “Strategy is the logical set of allocations and priorities that guide how the Navy Department spends its money and trains its people”
 - ◆ “Hail the Return of Strategy” speech (NAVWARCOL 1981)

43

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written (II)
 - ◆ ENS David Rosenberg USNR *Project SIXTY* analysis for CDR Harlan Ullman (OP-965) (Jul 1982)
 - ◆ Showed utility of such a document
 - ◆ VCNO ADM Bill Small Aug 1982 tasker: A document to kick off/ inform OPNAV POM-85 force structure decisions
 - ◆ Based on “Bottom-up” fleet inputs: ADMs Long/ Hayward/ Train PACOM/PACFLT & LANTCOM/LANTFLT war plan concepts of operations
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins initially a customer, not an author
 - ◆ Personalities (& interactions): Many (West, Hayward, Train, Long, Lehman, Murray, Inman, Haver, Hay, Watkins, Small, Ullman, Moreau, Lyons, Mustin, Larson, Pendley, etc.)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written (III)
 - ◆ “Hand-picked” OPNAV Strategy & Concepts Branch (OP-603) drafted & briefed successive unsigned SECRET briefings, revisions (Fall 1982 through Fall 1983), to lead POM-85 & -86 development discussions
 - ◆ Widely vetted. Inputs:
 - ◆ Existing CINC & NCC OPLAN & CONPLAN CONOPs
 - ◆ Intel community, SSGs 1 & 2, NWC Global War Games
 - ◆ Fleet experience & inputs: Operations, exercises, advanced trng
 - ◆ CNA: Analyses, tactics, Sovietology
 - ◆ Perception management: Bill Manthorpe
 - ◆ OPNAV OP-095 (To ensure “fit” with POM development)
 - ◆ Formal CNO-signed SECRET document finally gelled by May 1984

45

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written (IV)
 - ◆ Debated in unofficial DC-area “Navy Study Group” (1983-5) convened by CDR Jim Stark (Ph.D. Fletcher)
 - ◆ Various UNCLAS briefs, articles written in 1985
 - ◆ Naval War College UNCLAS Maritime Strategy seminar with proponents & leading academic critics (Apr 1985)
 - ◆ Esp. CAPT Linton Brooks (pro); Dr. John Mearsheimer (con)
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins tasked OP-00K to draft UNCLAS version (published Jan 1986)
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins announced drafting of UNCLAS version at International Seapower Symposium (ISS) in Newport RI (Nov 1985)
 - ◆ Anti-SSBN ops, rationale not explicit until CNO ADM Watkins decision Dec 1985

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written (V)
 - ◆ Efforts at higher levels of classification
 - ◆ Spin-off strategies drafted
 - ◆ Strategy conferences with USA & USAF
 - ◆ USN-initiated strategy officer exchange w/ USA, USAF
 - ◆ Semi-official history published
 - ◆ Annotated bibliography tracked & debated issues
 - ◆ Related unofficial outside publications actively encouraged

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written: Drafters (I)
 - ◆ Initial Nov 1982 SECRET brief to kick off POM-85 development
 - ◆ Principal drafters: CDR Spence Johnson (Fletcher MA); LCDR Stan Weeks (American U Ph.D.)
 - ◆ Inputs from CAPT Bill Manthorpe (Ex-Net Assess/; GWU MA) CDR Ken McGruther (SSG staff ; Brown U MA)
 - ◆ Branch Head oversight CAPT Bill Garrett (SAIS Ph.D.) CAPT Betsy Wylie (Fletcher Ph.D.)
 - ◆ Later enhancements CDR Tom Marfiak (Fletcher MA)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ How it was written: Drafters (II)

- ◆ May 1984 SECRET Pub
 - ◆ Principal drafters: CAPT Roger Barnett
(USC Ph.D.)
CDR Peter Swartz
(SAIS, Columbia MAs)
 - ◆ Assist from CDR Jim Stark
(Fletcher Ph.D.)
(Sea Plan 2000 team)
 - ◆ Inputs from SSGs, fleets, Intel, etc.
 - ◆ Intentionally eye-catching bright yellow cover

49

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ How it was written: Drafters (III)

- ◆ Principal drafters:
 - ◆ May 1985 SECRET CAPT Larry Seaquist
Amphibious Col Phil Harrington
Warfare Strategy (Roots in SSG effort)
 - ◆ Nov 1985 SECRET Pub CAPT Larry Seaquist
Rev CDR T. Wood Parker

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written: USN-USMC coordination (I)
 - ◆ SSG included USMC members from the start
 - ◆ HQMC staff officers LtCol Tom Wilkerson USMC & Maj Tony Wood USMC actively participated in drafting early SECRET versions
 - ◆ Col Phil Harrington USMC wrote *The Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (SECRET) with CAPT Seaquist
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins & CMC Gen Kelley signed SECRET *Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (1985)
 - ◆ Maj Hugh O' Donnell USMC published 1st real UNCLAS discussion of *The Maritime Strategy*, in US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Sep 1985)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written: USN-USMC coordination (II)
 - ◆ CMC Gen P.X. Kelley & Maj Hugh O' Donnell co-signed UNCLAS "Amphibious Warfare Strategy" article in Jan 1986 US Naval Institute *Proceedings* booklet, following CNO ADM Watkins "Maritime Strategy" article
 - ◆ CMC AI Gray, PP&O LtGen Carl Mundy inputted, chopped on 1989 SECRET version, signed by CNO ADM Carl Trost
 - ◆ OP-603 incl/ USMC (& USA & USAF) AOs in mid-late 1980s
- ◆ But CMC almost never a co-equal signatory
- ◆ USCG inputs sought & used
 - ◆ Via USCG AO assigned to OPNAV OP-60 staff
 - ◆ COMDT COGARD not directly involved

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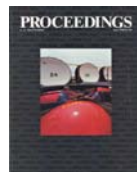
The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ How it was written: Semi-official documents (I)
 - ◆ Swartz annotated bibliographies (1986, 1987, 1988, 2004)
 - ◆ VADM Hank Mustin, “The Role of the Navy and Marines in the Norwegian Sea,” (Mar-Apr 1986 *NWCR* article)
 - ◆ “600-Ship Navy & The Maritime Strategy” (1986 HASC print)
 - ◆ 3-part presentation: Strategy; 600-Ship Navy; Affordability
 - ◆ CAPT Linton Brooks, “Naval Power and National Security” (Fall 1986 *International Security* article)



The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

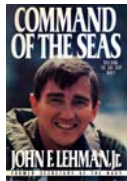
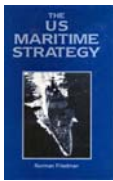
- ◆ How it was written: Semi-official documents (II)
 - ◆ CAPT Tom Daly, CDR Al Myers, CDR Chris McMurray, “The Maritime Strategy” (1986 UNCLAS CHINFO video)
 - ◆ RADM Bill Pendley, “Comment & Discussion: The Maritime Strategy,” Jun 1986 US Naval Institute *Proceedings* letter
 - ◆ Ellmann Ellingsen, ed. *NATO and US Maritime Strategy* (1987 edited book)
 - ◆ CAPT Linton Brooks, “The Nuclear Maritime Strategy,” (Apr 1987 US Naval Institute *Proceedings* article)
 - ◆ RADM Bill Pendley, “The U.S. Navy, Forward Defense, & Air-Land Battle” (1988 book chapter)



The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ How it was written: Semi-official documents (III)
 - ◆ Norman Friedman, *The US Maritime Strategy* (1988 book)
 - ◆ John Lehman, *Command of the Seas: Building the 600-Ship Navy* (1988 book)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf, “The Evolution of the Maritime Strategy” (Summer 1988 *NWCR* article; SECRET study)
 - ◆ Fred Hartmann, *Naval Renaissance: The U.S. Navy in the 1980s* (1990 book)



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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Activity at higher levels of classification (I)
 - ◆ New intelligence community views of Soviet Navy concepts & intentions
 - ◆ DDCI VADM Inman
 - ◆ DNIs RADMs Shapiro, Butts, Brooks
 - ◆ Rich Haver
 - ◆ New NIEs on Soviet Navy; downgraded to SECRET in 1983
 - ◆ VCNO efforts (ADM William Small & successors)
 - ◆ DNI & DNW (OP-095) efforts (RADM Shapiro & VADM McKee & successors)
 - ◆ OP-009J (Rich Haver et al.) & OP-095 “Team Charlie” (Alf Andreassen et al.) efforts (from 1980)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Activity at higher levels of classification (II)
 - ◆ Advanced Technology Panel (ATP) (1975-1990)
 - ◆ Pre-1981: Assessments of specific threats & programs
 - ◆ Post-1981: Discussion of broad policy issues
 - ◆ E.g.: SSBN security, anti-SSBN & maritime campaigns, value of EW, perception management & technology transfer
 - ◆ Senior flags “Board of Directors” under VCNO ADM Small & successors (from 1981)
 - ◆ ATP Rump: Principal sub-panel (from 1981)
 - ◆ ATP Soviet strategy study group (from 1982)
 - ◆ ATP Working Group (from 1984)
 - ◆ CAPT Linton Brooks et al.
 - ◆ War gaming support

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Activity at higher levels of classification (III)
 - ◆ NAVWARCOL Newport war gaming support
 - ◆ ONI Det NFOIO-05 (from 1977)
 - ◆ CNO Strategic Studies Group (SSG) access (from 1981)
 - ◆ War Plans changes
 - ◆ CAPT (Ret) Bill Manthorpe as liaison with Navy SECRET & UNCLAS *Maritime Strategy* efforts, prior to 1985
 - ◆ OP-603 direct participation in ATP from 1985 on (CAPT Seaquist (prior access through SSG))

60

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ OPNAV officers actively encouraged related unofficial outside publications
 - ◆ Michael Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy* (1988)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf (ed), RADM J.C. Wylie, *Military Strategy: A General Theory of Power Control* (1989)
 - ◆ Colin Gray & CAPT (Ret) Roger Barnett, *Seapower and Strategy* (1989)
 - ◆ Eric Grove, *Battle for the Fiords: NATO's Forward Maritime Strategy in Action* (1991)
 - ◆ Edward S. Miller, *War Plan Orange: the U.S. Strategy to Defeat Japan* (1991)
- ◆ Sought to build a supportive literature on US naval strategy

61

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Outline (UNCLAS 1986 “White paper”)
 - ◆ “The Maritime Strategy” (CNO ADM Watkins article)
 - ◆ National Military Strategy and the Maritime Role
 - ◆ The Era of Violent Peace
 - ◆ Soviet Military Strategy
 - ◆ The Maritime Strategy: Peacetime Presence
 - ◆ The Maritime Strategy: Crisis Response
 - ◆ The Maritime Strategy: Warfighting
 - ◆ Maritime Strategy and War Termination
 - ◆ Executing the Maritime Strategy
 - ◆ Summary

62

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Key ideas (I)
 - ◆ Maritime component of national military strategy
 - ◆ Consolidate & organize existing USN views
 - ◆ Peace, crises, war, war termination
 - ◆ Not just warfighting. “Violent Peace”
 - ◆ Peace-crises-war spectrum borrowed from *Sea Plan 2000*
 - ◆ Explained how USN would actually be used in war
 - ◆ Global, forward, joint, combined offensive ops vs. Soviet Union, allies & clients
 - ◆ Not just vs. Soviet Navy
 - ◆ 3 phases. Horizontal escalation options
 - ◆ US naval operations “make the strategic difference”

63

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Key ideas (II)
 - ◆ ADM Turner’s terms used as vocabulary, not as a framework
 - ◆ Sea control a secondary means. Power projection the primary means
 - ◆ But priority to ASW (in 1987)
 - ◆ Adopted *NWP 1* warfare tasks vocabulary: AAW, ASW, etc.
 - ◆ Explicit & deliberate use as organizing concept: 1984-6
 - ◆ Fit with OPNAV “warfare appraisal” programming process
 - ◆ Fit with fleet CWC warfighting concept
 - ◆ Implicit primacy of strike warfare
 - ◆ Showed global campaign, with geography & sequence
 - ◆ Told a “story;” provided a “narrative”

64

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (III)

- ◆ USN officers should think deeply about their service
- ◆ Rooted in current force levels, not future plans, programs or visions
- ◆ Very joint (coordinated, not integrated); very allied
- ◆ Included discussion of “uncertainties”
- ◆ Consideration of USN strategy should be integrated into annual OPNAV POM development process

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (IV)

- ◆ Future war with Soviets the central planning case
 - ◆ Reflected war planning & fleet exercises
 - ◆ USN Pacific posture to attack Soviets, influence China role
 - ◆ Pacific region priority increased in 1989
 - ◆ Soviet bastions attacked to eliminate planned Soviet SSBN strategic reserves, alter “correlation of forces”
- ◆ IAW new agreed intelligence on Soviets
 - ◆ Deep intelligence penetration of Soviets
- ◆ Management of Soviet perceptions
 - ◆ Signaled that USN knew how they planned to fight, & would deal with it
- ◆ Increasing recognition of important non-Soviet threats (1986-90)

66

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (V)

- ◆ Showed how all the players might play
 - ◆ USN LANT-MED-PAC-IO-CARIB forces
 - ◆ USN above-the-line & below-the-line forces
 - ◆ Sealift and pre-positioning forces
 - ◆ USMC & USCG
 - ◆ USAF & USA
 - ◆ Allied & friendly navies and other armed forces
 - ◆ “Neutrals” (like China)
- ◆ Showed how new kinds of force packages might play
 - ◆ BBSAGs, MARDEZs, MPSRONs

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (VI)

- ◆ Some discussion of “littoral” operations
 - ◆ Only in *The Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (1985)
 - ◆ Cited as a US Army responsibility (1984-5)
- ◆ FLEXOPS policy optimized & balanced peacetime forward deployment scheduling (1984-5)
- ◆ Naval forces *prevent major global war* through controlling crises & containing limited wars (from 1985)
- ◆ Incorporated USMC OTH & pre-positioning concepts

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (VII)

- ◆ “Sealift” as “3rd primary mission of the Navy” (1986)
 - ◆ Along with “sea control” and “power projection”
- ◆ Sealift given ample coverage in slides & text
- ◆ But . . . implications of *The Maritime Strategy*:
 - ◆ Soviets to be held at bay well north of SLOCs
 - ◆ Downgraded anticipated Soviet threat to SLOCs
 - ◆ Reduced perceived need for replacements for attrited merchant shipping
 - ◆ Dovetailed with Reagan Administration policies to avoid subsidizing the US civilian Merchant Marine

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Key ideas (VIII)

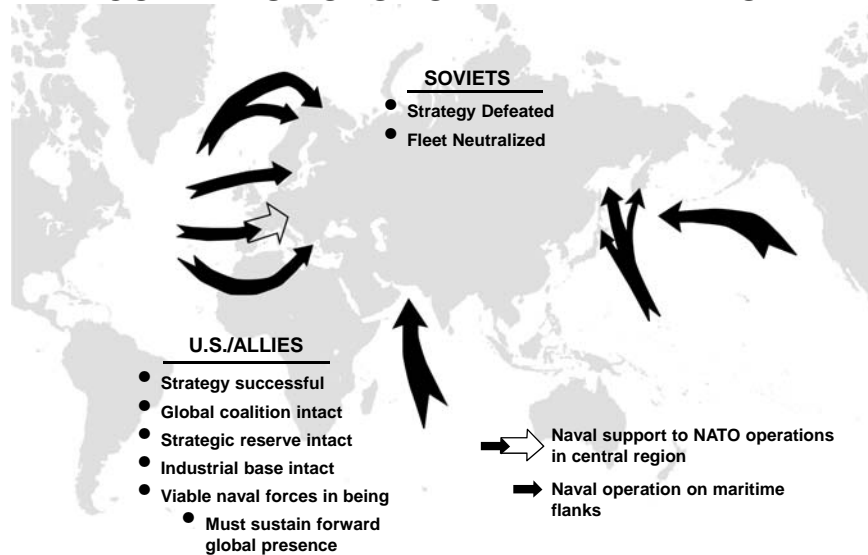
- ◆ 3 principles of naval strategy (1990)
 - ◆ Deterrence
 - ◆ Forward deployment
 - ◆ Alliances

70

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

CONTRIBUTIONS TO WAR TERMINATION



The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

Was not:

- ◆ USN go-it-alone
 - ◆ Blue-water, open ocean, sea control focused
 - ◆ Only about war fighting
 - ◆ Single CVBG operations only
 - ◆ The product of a carefully orchestrated CHINFO campaign
 - ◆ Solely the product of SECNAV Lehman
 - ◆ Merely an ex post facto justification for the 600-ship Navy
 - ◆ Without significant USMC or USCG input
 - ◆ Unconnected to national strategy
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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

These later characterizations based on:

- ◆ Not actually having read it (or Hattendorf book) or Reagan *National Security Strategy*
- ◆ Perception that any single-service product must be an argument at the expense of the other services and the joint commanders
- ◆ Simultaneous strong & public SECNAV & Navy anti-Goldwater-Nichols stance
- ◆ Perceived need by later naval strategists to characterize earlier efforts as obsolete
- ◆ USMC 1990s agenda to emphasize non-global-war nature of USMC capabilities & operations

73

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ What was new? (I)
 - ◆ Integration of anti-SSBN campaign & all other naval campaigns into a coherent conceptual whole
 - ◆ *Public discussion of anti-SSBN campaign (from 1986 on)*
 - ◆ Mention of forward peacetime submarine intelligence-gathering operations (in 1989)
 - ◆ Centrality of far forward campaigns vs. Soviets & downgrading of mid-ocean operations, in light of new intelligence community view of Soviet capabilities & intentions
 - ◆ Mention of naval arms control (if only in passing)
 - ◆ As a Soviet agenda
 - ◆ Only in 1989-90
 - ◆ Mention of forward peacetime submarine intelligence-gathering operations (in 1989)

74

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ What was new? (II)
 - ◆ Significant discussion of roles of:
 - ◆ US Coast Guard (from 1984 on)
 - ◆ Sealift (from 1984 on)
 - ◆ Allied & friendly land-based TACAIR (from 1984 on)
 - ◆ Wartime US coastal defense (from 1984 on)
 - ◆ Terrorism as a threat (from 1984 on)
 - ◆ Fanatics & insurgents as threats (1987)
 - ◆ Drug trafficking as a threat (from 1989 on)
 - ◆ Non-state actions as a threat category (from 1989 on)
 - ◆ Humanitarian support ops mentioned (in passing) as a US naval capability (1989)
 - ◆ “Non-state actions” mentioned as a threat (1989)

75

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ What was new? (III)
 - ◆ Comprehensive drawing together of many previous & current campaign strands
 - ◆ Versions signed by 2 CNOs in a row
 - ◆ Formal place for strategy presentation & debate in Navy PPBS system (“Maritime Strategy CPAM”)
 - ◆ Multimedia effort
 - ◆ Tracking the debate on the strategy, to help ascertain effects
 - ◆ Recording the history of its development, to help capture lessons learned

76

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Not addressed
 - ◆ Sea-based ballistic missile defense
 - ◆ Counterinsurgency, irregular warfare, anti-piracy ops
 - ◆ Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
 - ◆ Homeland defense besides in US coastal waters
 - ◆ Maritime security, interdiction, interception ops
 - ◆ US Navy as an “enabling” force for other services
 - ◆ US Navy operations in the “littorals”
 - ◆ Littorals only seen as areas of USMC & Army interest
- ◆ Didn't anticipate 1991 USSR collapse, Gulf War

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Barely addressed
 - ◆ Naval arms control (only 1989 & 1990, in passing)
 - ◆ Blockade (only 1989 & 1990, in passing)
 - ◆ Major regional contingencies
 - ◆ US gov't inter-agency partners
 - ◆ “Non-state actions” (1st mentioned in 1989)
 - ◆ Convoy operations
 - ◆ Discussed in 1st several editions
 - ◆ No mention after 1986
 - ◆ “Force-in-being” or “fleet-in-being”

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Trends across versions
 - ◆ Increased discussion & integration of all elements – and gelling of format – between MS I (1982) & MS II (1984)
 - ◆ General similarity of approach in MS II, Amphibious Warfare Strategy, & UNCLAS “White Paper” (1984-6)
 - ◆ More attention to non-Soviet threats and responses, more focus on USN, more focus on Pacific, more focus on ASW, divergences from 1984-86 format (1987-1990)
 - ◆ All versions, through last article (1990), focused on Soviet threat

79

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Generated fierce open debates on:
 - ◆ Utility of naval forces across the spectrum of warfare
 - ◆ Optimal SLOC defense operations, doctrine, TTP
 - ◆ Horizontal escalation
 - ◆ Deterrence vs. provocation
 - ◆ Efficacy of attacks on Soviet homeland, strategic forces
 - ◆ Nuclear stability
 - ◆ Role of USN & USMC Pacific & Indian Ocean forces
 - ◆ Resource allocations to USN/USMC vice USAF/USA
 - ◆ Internal DON programmatic & budget implications of the strategy

80

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Was it a “strategy” ?
- ◆ What is “strategy” (officially)?
 - ◆ “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 *DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Oct 2008)
- ◆ What is “naval strategy” (officially):
“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”
NTRP 1-02 *Navy Supplement to the DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Aug 2006)

81

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Subsequent analyses & critiques (I)
 - ◆ ADM (Ret) Stansfield Turner (Ret) & CAPT George Thibault, “Preparing for the Unexpected: The Need for a New Military Strategy,” (*Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1982)
 - ◆ Barry Posen, “Inadvertent Nuclear War? Escalation & NATO’s Northern Flank,” *International Security* (Fall 1982)
 - ◆ Robert Komer, *Maritime Strategy or Coalition Defense* (1984)
 - ◆ Keith Dunn, COL Bill Staudenmeier, “Strategic Implications of the Continental-Maritime Debate (CSIS, 1984)
 - ◆ F.J. “Bing” West, “Maritime Strategy & NATO Deterrence,” *Naval War College Review* (Sep-Oct 1985)

82

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Subsequent analyses & critiques (II)
 - ◆ John Mearsheimer, “A Strategic Misstep: The Maritime Strategy and Deterrence in Europe,” (*International Security*, Fall 1986)
 - ◆ Colin Gray, *Maritime Strategy, Geopolitics and the Defense of the West* (1986)
 - ◆ William W. Kaufmann, Annual broadside booklets vs. the Navy & *The Maritime Strategy* (Brookings, 1980s)
 - ◆ Eric Grove, *Battle for the Fjords: NATO’s Forward Maritime Strategy in Action* (1991)
 - ◆ CAPTs (Ret) John Byron & Peter Swartz, “Make the Word Become the Vision,” US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Nov 1992)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Subsequent analyses & critiques (III)

A vast literature. This is a sampling

 - ◆ David Rosenberg, “Process: The Realities of Formulating Modern Naval Strategy,” in Goldrick & Hattendorf (eds.), *Mahan is Not Enough* (1993)
 - ◆ Bud Hay & Bob Gile, *Global War Game: The First Five Years* (1993)
 - ◆ George Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power* (1993)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf, *Evolution of the U.S. Navy’s Maritime Strategy, 1977-1986* (2004)
 - ◆ Robert Gile, *Global War Game: Second Series, 1984-1988* (2004)
 - ◆ Christopher Ford & David Rosenberg, *The Admirals’ Advantage: U.S. Navy Operational Intelligence in World War II and the Cold War* (2005)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Subsequent analyses & critiques (IV)
 - ◆ “The Cold War at Sea: An International Appraisal,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*: “Special Issue” (Apr 2005)
 - ◆ CAPT (Ret) Peter Swartz, “Meeting the Chinese Naval Challenge: Lessons from the 1980s,” in Andrew Erickson et al., *China’s Future Nuclear Submarine Force* (2007)
 - ◆ Toshi Yoshihara and James R. Holmes, *Red Star Over the Pacific: China’s Rise and the Challenges to U.S. Maritime Security* (2010)
 - ◆ CAPT Peter Haynes, “American Naval Thinking in the Post-Cold War Era: The U.S. Navy and the Emergence of Maritime Strategy, 1989-2007” (Ph.D. dissertation: Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey (Dec 2011))

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Criticisms (I)
 - ◆ Un-executable. It couldn’t be done & wouldn’t work
 - ◆ Dangerously escalatory by threatening Soviet SSBNs
 - ◆ A major change in national and NATO policy & strategy
 - ◆ Irrelevant, wasteful and unnecessary
 - ◆ “We’re never going to fight the Russians”
 - ◆ “If we do fight them, sea campaigns won’t make any difference”
 - ◆ Took needed resources away from the NATO Central Region air and ground battles
 - ◆ Not the Navy’s business to develop its own strategy
 - ◆ Same old stuff: not visionary or innovative
 - ◆ Excessively “Mahanian” focus on the offensive
 - ◆ Not best way to achieve SLOC protection

The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

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◆ Criticisms (II)

- ◆ Too specific & detailed
- ◆ Too general; not enough detail
- ◆ Too sensitive; gave too much away to the Soviets on how USN would act
- ◆ Promulgating the strategy needlessly called negative attention to the Navy and invited criticism
- ◆ Developed subsequent to the Navy force level goal it allegedly justified
- ◆ USN focus should be on emerging real-world demand signal for naval forces for SWA and the IO, not the NATO-Warsaw Pact War planning case
- ◆ At the end, unwilling to recognize quickly enough that the Soviet Union was no longer a superpower or a threat
- ◆ Should have been a co-developed & co-signed bi-service Navy-Marine Corps document

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

◆ Influence: Significant

- ◆ Within the Navy & USMC
- ◆ W. House, OSD, Joint Staff
- ◆ US Army & US Air Force
- ◆ Soviets
- ◆ Allied navies & militaries
- ◆ Allied parliaments
- ◆ US, foreign academia
- ◆ Capitol Hill
- ◆ US defense industry
- ◆ Programs & acquisition
- ◆ Fleet exercises
- ◆ Global War Games
- ◆ CNO SSG
- ◆ JSPS pubs, esp JSCP
- ◆ Joint, CINC, NCC staffs
- ◆ OPLANs & CONPLANs
- ◆ USN tactical innovations
- ◆ USN morale
- ◆ Naval education, esp NPS
- ◆ DOTMLPF re: forward ops

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Influence overseas
 - ◆ By design
 - ◆ Led to CNO Coalition Strategy Enhancement Program (CSEP) (1988)
 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* as centerpiece for bilateral naval discussions & war games w/ foreign navies
 - ◆ CSEP OPNAVINST drafter was OPNAV OP-603 *Maritime Strategy* AO (CDR Mitch Brown)
- ◆ Continuing influence overseas
 - ◆ E.g.: referenced in:
 - ◆ *Adjusting Course: A Naval Strategy for Canada* (1997)
 - ◆ *Freedom to Use the Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy* (2007)

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Why so influential? (I)
 - ◆ Truly achieved internal USN consensus as rationale for USN
 - ◆ Well-aligned with national defense policies
 - ◆ Well-aligned with USN & USMC strategic cultures
 - ◆ Filled a need for clarity and consolidation of thinking
 - ◆ Major involvement, ownership & support by SECNAV, Navy Flags, SSG, OP-06
 - ◆ USN confidence & eagerness to debate
 - ◆ Created by consensus-building approach
 - ◆ Argued for build-up of naval forces of all types
 - ◆ Presented to Congress as tied to 600-ship Navy & USN affordability programs

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Why so influential? (II)
 - ◆ Embedded firmly within Navy internal PPBS processes (CPAMs)
 - ◆ Smooth segue from Planning (OP-06-led Maritime Strategy CPAM) to Program Planning (OP-095-led Warfare Appraisals and Summary Warfare Appraisals)
 - ◆ Good fit with how fleet thought about warfighting (CWC)
 - ◆ Good fit with Navy doctrine (*NWP 1* warfare areas)
 - ◆ Reflected in changing fleet ops & exercise program
 - ◆ Official history, annotated bibliography conveyed breadth, depth, legitimacy, openness to criticism
 - ◆ Constructively exposed alignment issues among CINCs, NCCs, fleets, SUBFORs
 - ◆ Multi-media approach to dissemination

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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

CNA

- ◆ Why so influential? (III)
 - ◆ Conscious efforts to ensure buy-in & continuity
 - ◆ Sense of ownership & pride across the officer corps
 - ◆ Endorsed & signed by 2 CNOs in a row (Watkins, Trost)
 - ◆ Calculated efforts to invoke Hayward roots
 - ◆ Praise by succeeding CNO (Kelso), despite obsolescence
 - ◆ Sense of continuity in OP-603 & SSG
 - ◆ Praise for efforts of predecessors by successive action officers
 - ◆ “Success had many fathers”
 - ◆ Desire—usually justified—by respected leaders, staff offices, operators to take credit

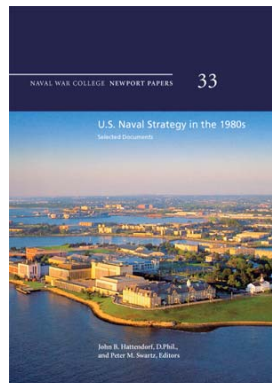
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The Maritime Strategy (1982-90)

- ◆ Influence on subsequent capstone documents
 - ◆ Became an oft-cited (if less oft-read) “gold standard” against which subsequent (& previous) documents were judged
 - ◆ Cited in *The Way Ahead, NDP 1, Sea Power 21*
 - ◆ Alleged to be the only USN “strategy” until *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower (2007)*, by the latter’s authors
 - ◆ Latter’s authors deliberately sought to bask in *The Maritime Strategy*’s alleged reflected glory
 - ◆ Format never repeated, however

1980s: Text & content of each document

- ◆ Can be found in John B. Hattendorf & Peter M. Swartz, eds., *U.S. Naval Strategy in the 1980s: Selected Documents (2008)*



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

MISC D0026415.A1/Final



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