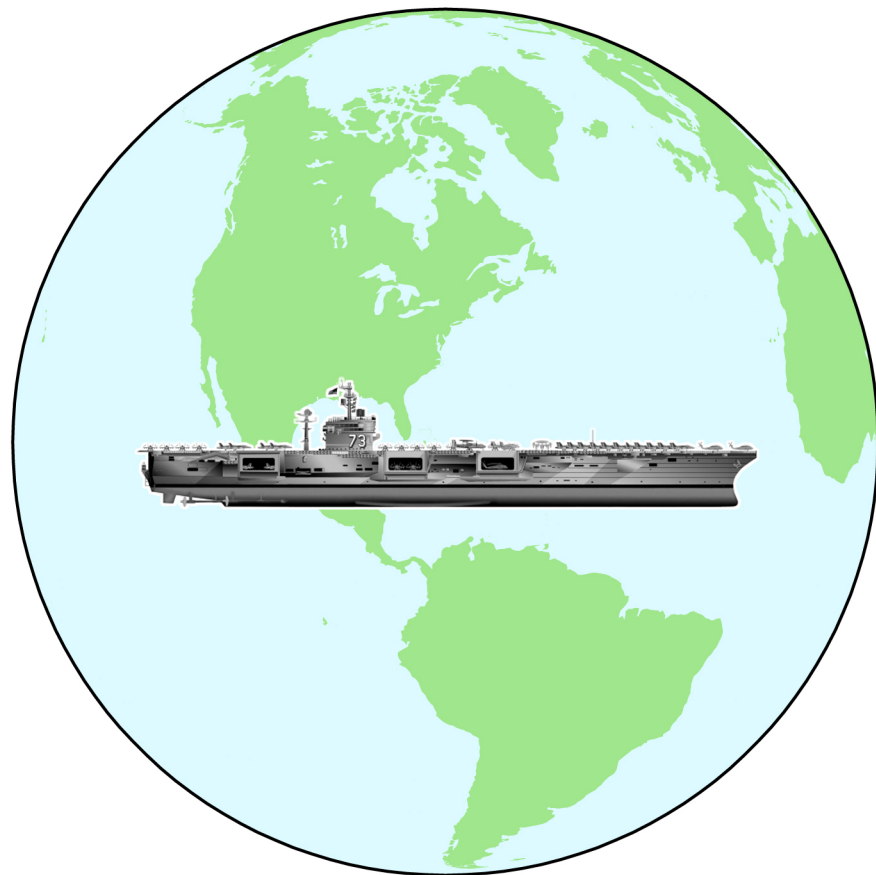


The U.S. Navy in the World (1991-2000):

Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts

Peter M. Swartz
with Karin Duggan



MISC D0026420.A2/Final
March 2012

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Approved for distribution:

March 2012



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1990s: The world, the nation, & the USN



World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	Capstone Document	
Gulf War	1991	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	The Way Ahead
Somalia ops	1992			O'Keefe		The Navy Policy Book, ...From The Sea
Yugoslav split						
Southern Watch	1993	Clinton	Aspin	Dalton		NDP 1 Naval Warfare
Somalia/Adriatic Ops						
Iraq TLAM strike	1994				Boorda	Forward...From The Sea
Haiti crises						
Adriatic ops	1995					
Somalia ops						
Bosnia ops	1996					
Taiwan Straits crisis						
Desert Strike	1997				Johnson	NOC; Anytime, Anywhere
Hong Kong to China						
Desert Fox	1998					
DPRK missile shoot						
Kosovo occupied	1999	Cohen		Danzig		NSPG I
Canal to Panama						
USS Cole attack	2000				Clark	NSPG II

3

1990s: Comparing national economic power



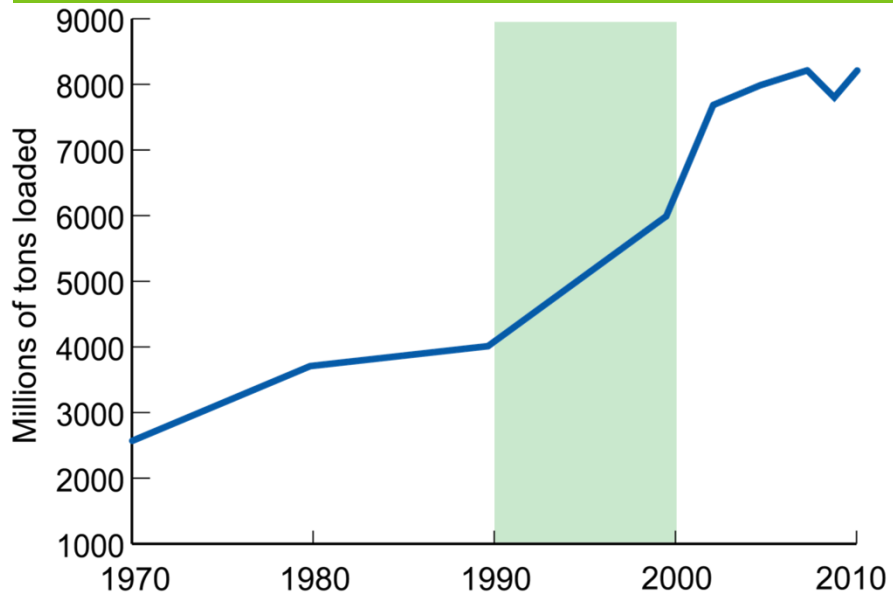
Ranked by Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Also percent share of world GDP*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1990	USA 26%	Japan 14	Germany 8	France 6	Italy 5	UK 5	Canada 3	Spain 2	Russia 2	Brazil 2
2000	USA 32	Japan 13	Germany 6	UK 5	France 4	China 4	Italy 3	Canada 2	Brazil 2	Mexico 2

*Source: World Bank.

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Growth of world maritime trade (1990-2000) CNA



Source: UNCTAD (with 2010 data added)

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1990s: Growth of world maritime trade CNA

- ◆ Unprecedented high world maritime trade growth rate across the decade

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1990s: Comparing national defense spending CNA

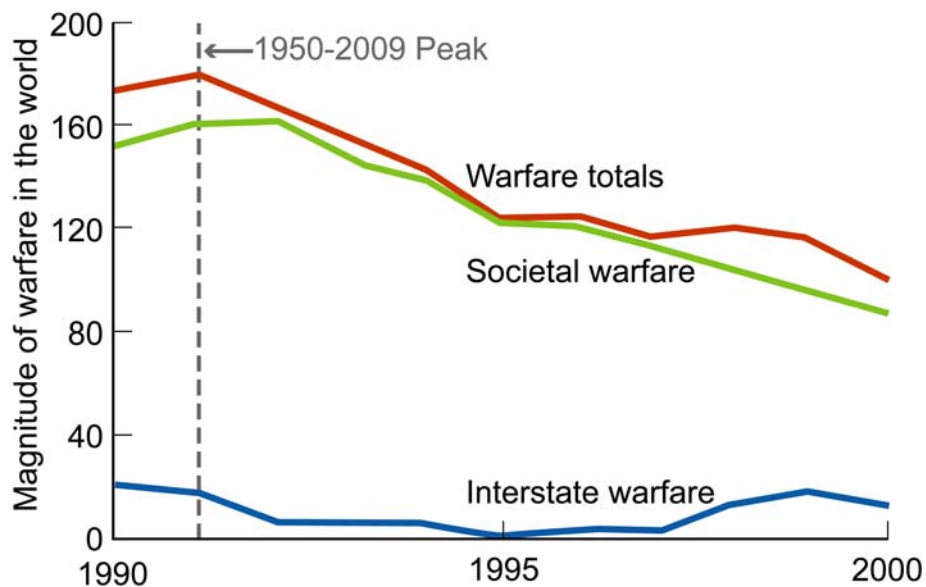
Ranked by reported defense expenditures*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1990	USA 	USSR 	S. Arabia 	UK 	France 	Germany 	Japan 	China 	Italy 	Canada 
2000	USA 	Russia 	Japan 	China 	UK 	France 	Germany 	Italy 	S. Arabia 	Taiwan 

*Sources: IISS *Military Balance*: 1992-1993; 2002-2003.

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1990s: Global Trends in Armed Conflict* CNA



*Center for Systemic Peace, Center for Global Policy, George Mason University

1990s: Global trends in armed conflict

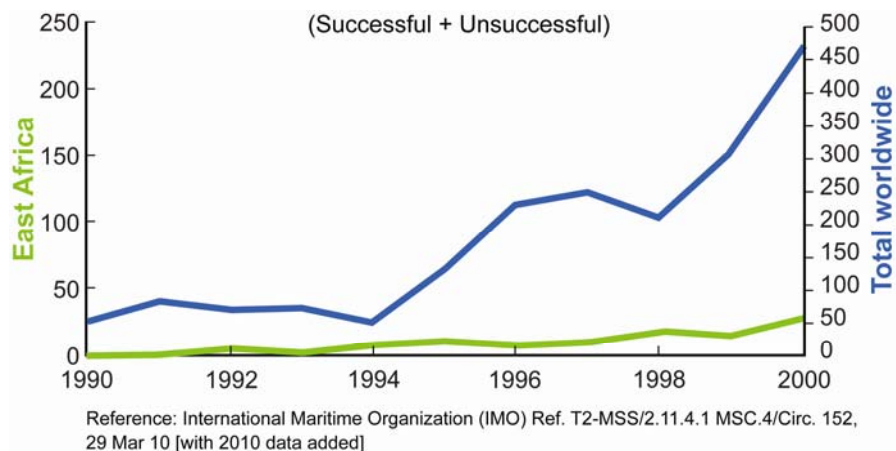
CNA

- ◆ Chart based on a rating scale developed at Center for Systemic Peace, Center for Global Policy, George Mason University
- ◆ Substantial decline in all forms of warfare since end of Cold War & demise of Soviet Union (1991)
- ◆ Societal warfare remained the predominant mode of warfare, but instances fell off sharply after 1991
 - ◆ Instances of ethnic war increased in late 1980s/ early 1990s, but they too eventually fell off
- ◆ Very low level of interstate warfare
 - ◆ Dramatic decline since 1987
 - ◆ Interstate wars tended to be brief & of limited intensity
- ◆ Number, lethality of terrorism incidents peaked (1992)
 - ◆ Followed by sharp decrease

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1990s: Piracy incidents reported

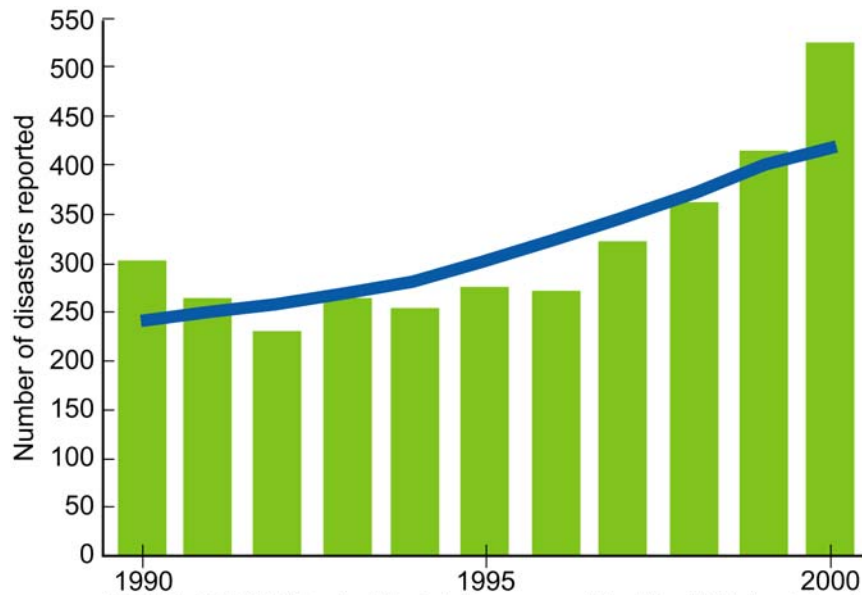
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1990s: Natural disasters reported

CNA



EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database—www.emdat.be—Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium. 11

1990s: The world (I)

CNA

- ◆ Post-Cold War but pre-9/11
- ◆ International system expanded again
 - ◆ UN membership: 1990: 159 2000: 189
- ◆ Uni-polar international system
- ◆ Decreasing magnitude & number of wars
- ◆ Global diffusion of low- & medium-tech military weapons & expertise
- ◆ No new nuclear states
 - ◆ But DPRK, Iran, Iraq, Libya suspected
 - ◆ Indian, Pakistani nuclear tests triggered US sanctions (1998)
- ◆ # of democracies soared; # of autocracies plummeted

12

1990s: The world (II)

- ◆ Globalization of world economy & society
 - ◆ Demise of the “2nd world:” progressive integration of former Soviet and Warsaw Pact states & economies into what had been “western” “free world” system
 - ◆ Rapid growth & integration of many “3rd world” economies & polities
- ◆ Higher salience in world affairs of maintenance & expansion of stable global security & economic system, compared to previous decades
- ◆ Decreased salience of interstate security competition in world affairs

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1990s: The world (III)

- ◆ G-7 continued as key global economic leadership forum
 - ◆ Russia joined in some discussions (G-8) (1997)
 - ◆ G-20 established at finance minister level (1999)
- ◆ Big growth, then leveling off, in world seaborne trade
- ◆ Far East share of world shipbuilding rose from 70% to over 80%; Western Europe share fell from 17% to 10%; US share under 1%
- ◆ Big growth in fiber optic submarine cable net
- ◆ Fluctuating but low oil prices throughout decade
 - ◆ Bracketed by oil price spikes in 1990 & 2000
- ◆ Development & use of World Wide Web revolutionized global communications & much else

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1990s: The world (IV)

CNA

- ◆ US the sole remaining global superpower
 - ◆ US economic primacy
 - ◆ World's largest economy
 - ◆ Dollar as global reserve currency
 - ◆ US investment banks dominated world finance
 - ◆ US military primacy
 - ◆ World's most powerful military
 - ◆ World's highest defense expenditures
 - ◆ World leader in defense technology, education
 - ◆ Primacy in the global commons (sea, air, space, cyberspace)
 - ◆ Forward global conventional military posture
 - ◆ Center of a global web of military alliances
 - ◆ Robust nuclear deterrent
 - ◆ World's leading arms exporter
 - ◆ Continued desire by many other nations that it remain the primary world power
 - ◆ No rival super-power or coalition of powers emerged

15

1990s: The world (V)

CNA

- ◆ “Rogue” states: North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Serbia: Proliferation, terrorism issues
- ◆ U.S. pre-eminence in precision guided weapons
- ◆ Big growth in global ballistic missile capabilities
 - ◆ Especially China, North Korea, Iran, India, Pakistan
- ◆ Increase in importance of violent transnational & sub-national non-state actors
 - ◆ Al Qaeda & other transnational terrorists
 - ◆ Al Qaeda refocusing on attacking US citizens & interests
 - ◆ Transnational crime, including drug trafficking
 - ◆ Use of submersibles, semi-submersibles (from 1993)
 - ◆ Dramatic rise in worldwide reports of pirate attacks & armed robbery at sea, especially in South China Sea & Strait of Malacca
 - ◆ ICC IMB created Piracy Reporting Center in Kuala Lumpur (1992)

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1990s: The world (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Renegotiated Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) now in force (1994)
 - ◆ US signed (but Senate would not ratify)
 - ◆ Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf began meetings; US not a member (1997)
- ◆ Large rise in number of reported global climatic, other natural disasters
- ◆ Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court adopted (1998)
 - ◆ To punish individuals guilty of genocide
 - ◆ US signs (2000), but does not submit to Senate for ratification, to protect US service personnel

17

1990s: The world (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Rough balance of power in western Eurasia
 - ◆ Collapse of Warsaw Pact & USSR (1989-91)
 - ◆ Russia, other republics, satellites all independent (by Dec 1991)
 - ◆ Sharp decline in Russian economic, political, military, demographic power under Yeltsin regime (1991-9)
 - ◆ Stagnation, deterioration of Russian Navy, strategic nuclear, other military capabilities
 - ◆ *Kursk* submarine explosion disaster (2000)
 - ◆ US-USSR Maritime Boundary Agreement (Jun 1990)
 - ◆ US Senate ratified (Sep 1991)
 - ◆ Russia opened Northern Sea Route to other nations (1991)
- ◆ Violent progressive disintegration of Yugoslavia.
 - ◆ Major ethnic violence & wars
 - ◆ Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia independent

18

1990s: The world (VIII)

- ◆ NATO transformation, expansion, engagement w/ former Soviet, W. Pact states, incl/ Russia
 - ◆ Decline in % of GDP devoted to defense in all NATO countries (incl. US) except Greece, Turkey
 - ◆ Expansion along Baltic (Ex-DDR 1990; Poland 1999)
 - ◆ New policies, command structures, ops
 - ◆ Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) (1999)
 - ◆ New Strategic Concept (1999)
 - ◆ Trying to implement Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) concept
 - ◆ France still outside NATO command structure
 - ◆ Unsuccessful French bid for CINCSOUTH position (1996)
- ◆ Increased EU coordination & expansion

19

1990s: The world (IX)

- ◆ Major European, Canadian naval participation in 1991 Gulf War & aftermath
- ◆ Greek-Turkish naval crisis over Imia (Kardak) Aegean isles sovereignty (Jan 1996)
- ◆ UK Strategic Defense Review (SDR) (1998)
 - ◆ Focused UK armed forces on high-intensity expeditionary ops
 - ◆ Committed government to re-acquire fleet carriers for Royal Navy

20

1990s: The world (X)

- ◆ Rough balance of power in E. Asia-W. Pacific
 - ◆ Improved relations among Russia, China, India
 - ◆ PRC economic, trade & military expansion continued
 - ◆ Became net importer of energy, oil
 - ◆ Increased PRC regional power & influence
 - ◆ PRC shifted strategic orientation to south and east
 - ◆ Increased PLA modernization, including PLAN
 - ◆ US-PRC economic relations expanded

21

1990s: The world (XI)

- ◆ PRC proclaimed South China Sea as PRC “historic waters” (1992)
- ◆ PRC acceded to UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (1996)
 - ◆ Asserted PRC contiguous zone authority included “security”
 - ◆ Asserted EEZ restrictions over “surveying activities” (1998)

22

1990s: The world (XII)

- ◆ PLAN completed shift from coastal to offshore “near seas” defense strategy & capabilities
- ◆ PLA, PLAN focus on conventional war vs. Taiwan &, if necessary, sea denial ops vs. USN
- ◆ PLAN expansion & modernization
 - ◆ Purchased ex-Soviet aircraft carrier *Varyag* from Ukraine (1998)
- ◆ Continued PLAN operations in South China Sea
- ◆ PLA occupation of & military construction on Philippine-claimed Mischief Reef in South China Sea Spratly Islands (from 1995)

23

1990s: The world (XIII)

- ◆ US-PRC naval relations rocky
 - ◆ USN searched PRC merchant ship *Yinhe* for contraband (not found), over PRC protests (1993)
 - ◆ Modest US-PRC military relations (from Nov 1993)
 - ◆ Included CNO, ship visits
 - ◆ PLAN submarine approached USS *Kitty Hawk* off Okinawa (Oct 1994)
 - ◆ USS *Nimitz* CVBG transited Taiwan Straits during crisis (Dec 1995)
 - ◆ USN announced diversion of 2 CVBGs to Taiwan following PRC missile shots near the island (Mar 1996)
 - ◆ Deteriorating PRC relations w/ Taiwan, Japan (after 1996)
 - ◆ Hong Kong reverted from UK to PRC (Jul 1997)
 - ◆ PRC, US agreed that USN port visits to continue
 - ◆ PLAN long-range task group deployments to East, South Asia, Western Hemisphere waters, ports (1997)
 - ◆ PLAN SAREXes w/ foreign navies (from 1998)

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1990s: The world (XIV)

- ◆ East Asia-Western Pacific
 - ◆ Significant thaw in US-Vietnam relations
 - ◆ Diplomatic relations established (1997)
 - ◆ Muslim separatist insurgencies expand in Mindanao, southern Philippines
 - ◆ Emergence of Al Qaeda-linked Abu Sayef terrorists
 - ◆ Unrest, revolt, counter-revolution in East Timor
 - ◆ East Asian economic boom, then financial crisis (1997-8), then rapid recovery
 - ◆ US-Philippine Visiting Forces Agreement (1999)

25

1990s: The world (XV)

- ◆ Rough balance of power in central Eurasia
 - ◆ China, Russia resolved most border issues, demilitarize border, establish direct presidential hotline
 - ◆ Sino-Soviet border treaty (1991)
 - ◆ China resumed Russian military ties, purchases
 - ◆ 4 *Kilo* SSs, 2 *Sovremenny* DDGs delivered (1995-2000)
 - ◆ Su-27 and Su-30 fighter a/c
 - ◆ Annual meetings of “Shanghai Five” leaders (from 1996)
 - ◆ PRC initiative
 - ◆ PRC, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan
 - ◆ Agreed on military confidence-building measures

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1990s: The world (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Korean peninsula conventional balance of power shifts in favor of economically prosperous ROK
 - ◆ Continued Stalinist dictatorship, economic disintegration in DPRK (incl/ famine) under Kim family dictatorship
 - ◆ Kim III-Sung died (1994)
 - ◆ Succeeded as “Dear Leader” by son Kim Jong-Il
 - ◆ Inter-Korean Basic Agreement (1992)
 - ◆ DPRK agreed to respect Yellow Sea “Northern Limit Line”
 - ◆ DPRK nuclear weapons development program frozen by international agreement (1994)
 - ◆ DPRK fired its 1st multi-stage ballistic missile (Taepodong) over Japan (1998)
 - ◆ New ROK government “sunshine policy” toward DPRK (1998)
 - ◆ ROK-DPRK Yellow Sea naval patrol boat battles (1999)

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1990s: The world (XVII)

CNA

- ◆ Israeli-Arab disputes dampened
 - ◆ Oslo Accord (1993)
- ◆ Mubarak continued as pro-US President of Egypt
- ◆ Continued anti-American hostility by Iranian theocratic regime, Libya’s Gadhafi, Syria
- ◆ Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq despite Gulf War defeat (1991) & post-war allied operations
- ◆ Iran acquired Russian Kilo-class submarines
 - ◆ 1st Gulf state w/ full-sized attack subs (from 1992)
- ◆ Political turmoil, warlordism & civil wars in Afghanistan (1989-2000); Taliban control of Kabul (1996), then most of the country; harboring Al Qaeda network & camps

28

1990s: The world (XVIII)

- ◆ Indian policy shifts
 - ◆ Defunct USSR no longer available as partner, benefactor
 - ◆ But Russia remained largest military supplier
 - ◆ Market-oriented economic liberalization reforms (from 1991)
 - ◆ India opened to foreign trade & investment
 - ◆ Growing preoccupation w/ PRC as strategic rival
- ◆ Continued India-Pakistan enmity & conflict
 - ◆ 1990 crisis over Kashmir Muslim insurgency. US acted as moderating influence; imposed military, economic sanctions on Pakistan
 - ◆ 1998 Indian & Pakistani nuclear tests heightened tensions; US imposed sanctions on both
 - ◆ 1999 Kargil War in Kashmir triggered US moderating influence & Pakistan military coup by Gen Musharaf
- ◆ Continued civil war in Sri Lanka between Sinhalese & Tamils, including naval operations

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1990s: The world (XIX)

- ◆ No effective national government in Somalia
 - ◆ Pro-US dictator Gen. Siad Barre overthrown (1991)
 - ◆ Warlords, regional separatism, civil wars, famines (from 1991)
- ◆ Anti-US Gen Omar al-Bashir in power in Sudan (from 1989)
 - ◆ Al Qaeda used Sudan as base (1992-6)
 - ◆ US added Sudan to list of state sponsors of terrorism (1993)
- ◆ Hutu genocide vs. Tutsis in land-locked Rwanda (1994)
 - ◆ Limited foreign intervention did little to stop it

30

1990s: The world (XX)

CNA

- ◆ Political turmoil in Haiti
- ◆ Stability in Panama following US invasion (1989)
- ◆ Peace pact ended El Salvador insurgency (1992)
- ◆ Continued growing power & violence in Columbia of anti-government insurgents, drug cartels

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1990s: The world (XXI)

CNA

- ◆ Terrorist incident numbers, lethality peaked, then plummeted (I)
 - ◆ Some terrorist incidents at or from the sea
 - ◆ Tamil "Sea Tiger" terror assaults & vessel hijackings (1990s-2000s)
 - ◆ Hezbollah bombed Buenos Aires Israeli Embassy (1992)
 - ◆ Al Qaeda bombed NYC World Trade Center garage (1993)
 - ◆ Iraqis tried to kill ex-US President Bush in Kuwait (1993)
 - ◆ Islamic terrorists smuggled arms by sea from Karachi, Pakistan to Maharashtra, India (1993)
 - ◆ Right-wing US extremists bombed Oklahoma City federal bldg (1995)
 - ◆ Aum Shinrikyo cult Sarin nerve gas attack in Tokyo subway (1995)

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1990s: The world (XXII)

◆ Terrorist incident numbers, lethality peaked, then plummeted (II)

◆ But still few terrorist incidents at or from the sea

- ◆ Algerian terrorists bombed French train stations, etc. (1995-6)
- ◆ Hezbollah bombed USAF Dhahran, Saudi Arabia Khobar Towers barracks (1996)
- ◆ Failed Greek terrorist bomb attack on Athens, Greece US Embassy (1996)
- ◆ Al Qaeda bombed Kenya, Tanzania US Embassies (1998)
- ◆ Failed Al Qaeda attack on USS *Sullivans* in Aden, Yemen (1999)
- ◆ Al Qaeda bombed USS *Cole* in Aden harbor, Yemen (2000)

1990s: Significant non-USN operations



1990s: The nation (I)

CNA

- ◆ Bush (Republican) administration (1989-1993)
- ◆ Clinton (Democrat) administration (1993-2001)
 - ◆ Entering the post-Cold War era
- ◆ Democrats yielded control of Congress to Republicans (1995)
- ◆ Military the most highly-regarded US institution by US public (Gallup polls)
- ◆ Triumphalism in wake of Cold War, Desert Storm victories
- ◆ Bipartisan view of US as main guarantor of global security
- ◆ Despite successful US-led effort to revise UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) mining provisions, Senate would not ratify

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1990s: The nation (II)

CNA

- ◆ US continued as world's largest economy
- ◆ Increasingly healthy US economy
- ◆ Continued government policies of de-regulation, privatization & globalization
- ◆ Mild, brief recession (1990-91) (Bush Administration); then modest economic growth (Clinton Administrations)
- ◆ Plummeting U.S. government deficit spending; then Clinton Administration budget surpluses
- ◆ Low (& declining) inflation, unemployment rates
- ◆ Stock market, housing booms

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1990s: The nation (III)

- ◆ US dependence on imported oil rose sharply
- ◆ US free trade policy offensive, encouraging globalization
 - ◆ NAFTA (1993)
 - ◆ WTO (1995)
 - ◆ Russia in WTO (1995)
 - ◆ Full US trade relations with PRC & Vietnam
- ◆ Value of foreign trade as % of US GDP rose from 15.5% to 20.7%, across the decade
- ◆ Significant absolute & relative growth of financial services sector of the US economy

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1990s: The nation (IV)

- ◆ “Peace Dividend”
- ◆ Massive consolidation of US defense industry
 - ◆ Result of mergers: 5 “primes:”
 - ◆ Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics, Raytheon, Northrop-Grumman, Boeing

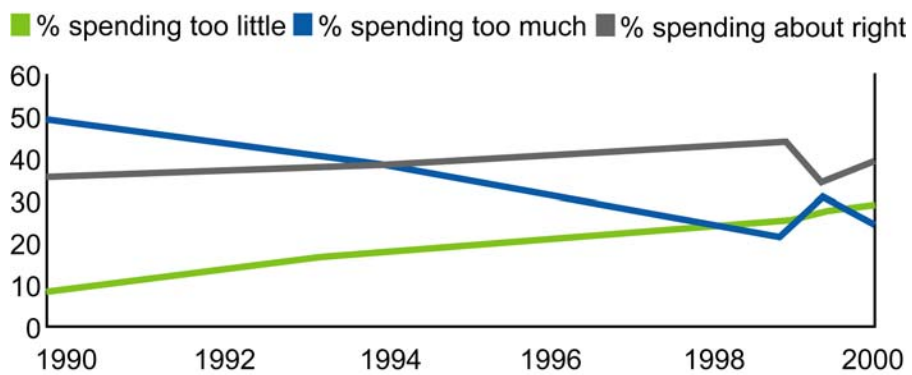
38

1990s: US economy & defense spending

YEAR	President	ECONOMY	DOD % of GDP	DOD TOA (Constant FY 12 \$)	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT
1991	Bush	Oil Crisis Recession	4.4	516B	Kelso	The Way Ahead Navy Policy Book, ...From the Sea
1992			4.6	467B		
1993	Clinton		4.2	438B	Boorda	NDP 1 Naval Warfare Forward...From the Sea
1994			3.9	401B		
1995			3.5	397B		
1996			3.3	388B		
1997		Stock Market Crash	3.1	378B	Johnson	NOC Anytime, Anywhere
1998	3.0		374B			
1999	2.8		384B	Clark	NSPG I (S) NSPG II (U)	
2000	2.9		394B			

Source: % of GDP & TOA: FY 12 DOD "Green Book"

1990s: U.S. popular views on U.S. defense spending*



* Gallup poll data

1990s: US national security policies (I)

CNA

- ◆ Grand strategy: Replace “containment”
 - ◆ Bush administration: Establish & maintain a “New World Order” (Sep 1990 speech)
 - ◆ Clinton administration: “Engagement & enlargement”
- ◆ Maintain & if possible increase US world military primacy
 - ◆ World’s most powerful military
 - ◆ World’s highest defense expenditures
 - ◆ World leader in defense technology, education
 - ◆ Especially precision guided weapons
 - ◆ Primacy in the global commons (sea, air, space, cyberspace)
 - ◆ Forward global conventional military posture
 - ◆ Europe, Middle East, East Asia hubs
 - ◆ Center of a global web of military alliances
 - ◆ Robust nuclear deterrent
 - ◆ World’s leading arms exporter

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1990s: US national security policies (II)

CNA

- ◆ Post-Cold War defense budget “peace dividend” decline; buildup resumed at end of decade
 - ◆ Began w/ CJCS GEN Colin Powell-led “Base Force” cuts (1991)
 - ◆ Then Clinton-Aspin “Bottom-Up Review” cuts (1993)
 - ◆ Then “QDR” cuts (1997)
- ◆ Falling % of US GDP devoted to defense
- ◆ Continued steady equivalent budget shares among the services (“1/3-1/3-1/3”)
 - ◆ Department of the Navy usually highest
 - ◆ Department of the Army always lowest
- ◆ No dominant service
- ◆ High peacetime OPTEMPO

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1990s: US national security policies (III)

CNA

- ◆ US willingness to create & use international institutions, organizations, treaties, along with unilateral actions
- ◆ State Dept, USAID cutbacks; USIA dismembered
- ◆ So-called “Powell Doctrine”
 - ◆ Coined by the press in run-up to Gulf War (1990-91)
 - ◆ Attributed to CJCS GEN Colin Powell USA
 - ◆ Should US go to war, it should apply overwhelming force

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1990s: US national security policies (IV)

CNA

- ◆ No single dominant threat to US national security
- ◆ Peaceful demise of Warsaw Pact, then Soviet Union
 - ◆ Decay & dismemberment of Soviet military, incl. Navy
- ◆ Soviet (later Russia)-US maritime boundary re-confirmed (1990)
 - ◆ U.S. Senate ratified (1991)
- ◆ Emergence of many disparate, lesser threats
- ◆ Search for overarching US security policy
 - ◆ Leaked draft GHW Bush Administration *DPG* (1992)
 - ◆ Permanent US primacy, preemption, ad hoc coalitions
 - ◆ Emerging activist global forward national security strategy
- ◆ US seeking to enlarge global democratic community, to improve U.S. security

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1990s: US national security policies (V)

CNA

- ◆ Calls for (& some steps toward) “transformation”
 - ◆ OSD Net Assessment office (Andrew Marshall, LTC Andrew Krepinevich et al.) postulated Military Technical Revolution (MTR), later styled Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)
 - ◆ New technology-based warfighting concepts:
 - ◆ Full-Spectrum Dominance, Dominant Battlespace Knowledge, Rapid Decisive Ops, Shock & Awe, Halt Phase, Network Centric Ops, Effects Based Ops
 - ◆ New TTP using speed, knowledge, precision, light forces
 - ◆ New technologies:
 - ◆ Precision-guided strike munitions (PGMs), ISR, & IT
 - ◆ Dramatic increase in PGM inventories, battlefield use
 - ◆ Especially USAF, USN, some in USA
 - ◆ ADM Owens & VADM Cebrowski in forefront
 - ◆ National Defense Panel (NDP) saw as top priority (1997)
 - ◆ Push-back from Army (MG Scales), USMC (LtGen Van Riper), others
 - ◆ Saw continued need for “boots on the ground” in strength

45

1990s: US national security policies (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Threat-based US military planning vs. “rogues” & PRC attacks on Taiwan
- ◆ Central DoD force-sizing requirement to fight 2 major regional wars (e.g.: North Korea & Iraq)
- ◆ Search for effective “capabilities-based” analyses
- ◆ Revival of interest in Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW), “engagement” & “shaping”
- ◆ Major US joint ops in/over/off Iraq, Somalia (debacle), Haiti, former Yugoslavia

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1990s: US national security policies (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Bush administration Gulf defense refocus from Soviets to Iraq (from 1990)
- ◆ Clinton administration “dual containment” policy vs. Iran & Iraq (from 1993)
- ◆ Plans & ops vs. state-and non-state sponsors of terrorism, esp. in Middle East
 - ◆ State Dept. designated sponsors of terrorism: Cuba, DPRK, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan (from 1993), Syria
- ◆ Al Qaeda, other Islamic terror attacks & responses

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1990s: US national security policies (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ US-PRC political, military relations strained
 - ◆ Relations – never warm -- fluctuated through decade
 - ◆ Lows: Tiananmen Square (1989); Taiwan Straits crises (1995-6); PRC EMB Belgrade bombing accident (1999)
 - ◆ US military technology transfer programs cancelled
 - ◆ Other US sanctions imposed
 - ◆ US DOD-PRC MND Military Maritime Consultative Agreement (1998)
 - ◆ PLA often resisted US DOD efforts at contact, cooperation
- ◆ President Clinton sent USAF humanitarian assistance flights to Africa, in the wake of Hutu genocide of Tutsis in Rwanda (1994)
 - ◆ Criticized for not intervening in much greater strength
 - ◆ Illustrated US military intervention policy selectivity

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1990s: US national security policies (IX)

CNA

- ◆ All 3 legs of “nuclear triad” retained but reduced
- ◆ Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTRP) (from 1991 on)
- ◆ START I Treaty signed (Jul 1991)
 - ◆ Cuts in strategic warheads
 - ◆ 3 USN SSBNs converted to SSNs
 - ◆ Intrusive verification regime
- ◆ START II Treaty signed (Jan 1993)
 - ◆ Ratified, but never in force (Russians withdrew 2002)
 - ◆ Reduced US missile & warhead force levels
 - ◆ 18 USN SSBNs cut to 14)
- ◆ START Treaties prepared by AMB Linton Brooks (CAPT USN Ret)

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1990s: US national security policies (X)

CNA

- ◆ Sharp decline in size of US nuclear warhead stockpile
- ◆ Theater nuclear weapons retired or reduced
 - ◆ All US nuclear weapons removed from Korea (1991)
 - ◆ USN SSBNs provide South Korea extended deterrence
- ◆ BMD policy: TMD R&D and deployment; NMD R&D
 - ◆ Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) succeeded SDIO (1994)
- ◆ TTBT (1974) & PNET (1976) finally ratified (1990)
- ◆ No US nuclear testing (moratorium from 1992)
- ◆ Stockpile Stewardship Program (SSP) (from 1994)
 - ◆ Life Extension Programs (LEPs)
- ◆ CTBT (1997); Senate rejected ratification (1999)

50

1990s: US national security policies (XI)

CNA

- ◆ US military forces stationed in Europe cut by 2/3
- ◆ Peacetime OPCON of ROK forces transferred from US to ROK command (1994)
- ◆ Strained US military relations w/ India, Pakistan
 - ◆ US imposed economic sanctions after Indian, Pakistani nuclear tests, IAW US law (1998)
- ◆ Most US military alliances held
 - ◆ NATO expansion eastward
 - ◆ Strains with Philippines over base withdrawal (1991-2)
- ◆ Emerging importance of Singapore as ally
- ◆ Congress cut Indonesia IMET, arms sales (1992-4)
- ◆ US Arctic policy focused on scientific research, environmental protection: PDD 26 (1994)

51

1990s: US national security policies (XII)

CNA

- ◆ DOD roles & missions governed by DOD Dir 5100.1 *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Sep 1987)
- ◆ Some reassertion of SECDEF/OSD civilian dominance over service programming and budget decisions
 - ◆ Nascent CJCS, VCJS, Joint Staff & CINC influence on programming & budgetary decisions
- ◆ Increased OSD civilian role overseeing US military planning
- ◆ Uneasy Clinton Administration civil-military relations
 - ◆ “Don’t Ask; Don’t Tell” policy toward military gays
 - ◆ CJCS GEN Powell national & global stature
 - ◆ Academic discussions of civil-military “crisis”

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1990s: US national security policies (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ Successive DOD defense reviews (I)
 - ◆ CJCS Powell “Base Force” (1991)
 - ◆ Regional vice global focus
 - ◆ Reduced force levels
 - ◆ Emphasis on jointness
 - ◆ SECDEF Aspin “Bottom Up Review” (BUR) (1993)
 - ◆ Phased 2-Major Regional Contingency (2-MRC) force-sizing metric
 - ◆ Acknowledged role of presence & engagement
 - ◆ Reduced force levels
 - ◆ Commission of Roles and Missions (CORM) (1995)
 - ◆ Recommended Congressionally-mandated Quadrennial Defense Reviews

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1990s: US national security policies (XIV)

CNA

- ◆ Successive DOD defense reviews (II)
 - ◆ 1st *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) (1997)
 - ◆ Mandated by Congress (1996)
 - ◆ 3 challenges: 2-Major-Theater-Wars (2 MTW) force-sizing metric; “halt” phase
 - ◆ Enemy asymmetric means
 - ◆ Peacetime engagement & smaller-scale contingencies
 - ◆ End strength decreases
 - ◆ Dominated by tactical airpower (TACAIR) ops, capabilities
 - ◆ *National Defense Panel (NDP) Report* (1998)
 - ◆ Congressionally-mandated alternative vision to DOD
 - ◆ Skeptical of two-MTW metric as strategy
 - ◆ Argued for “transformation” and experimentation as immediate US defense priority
 - ◆ Congress mandated subsequent QDRs (1999)

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1990s: US national security policies (XV)

CNA

- ◆ Successive U.S. government East Asia strategy reports
 - ◆ President George H.W. Bush *East Asia Strategy Initiative* report (Apr 1990)
 - ◆ President George H.W. Bush *East Asia Strategy Initiative* report (Apr 1992)
 - ◆ SECDEF William Perry *East Asia Strategy Report* (1995)
 - ◆ SECDEF William Cohen *East Asia Strategy Report* (1998)

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1990s: US national security policies (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Flood of new Joint Doctrine Publications
 - ◆ Massive joint doctrine development program
 - ◆ 112 Joint Pubs by 1993
 - ◆ # remained over 100 for remainder of decade
 - ◆ (From 20 joint, 12 multi-service pubs in 1982)
 - ◆ Publication timelines streamlined

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1990s: US national security policies (XVII)

- Clinton Administration fostered US defense industry downsizing & consolidation
 - ◆ Post-Cold war US defense budgets declining
 - ◆ SECDEF Perry & US defense contractor CEOs “Last Supper” meeting led to major industry-led consolidations, including shipbuilding (1993)
 - ◆ Collapsing of 37 prime US contractors into 5:
 - ◆ Lockheed Martin
 - ◆ Boeing
 - ◆ Northrop Grumman
 - ◆ General Dynamics
 - ◆ Raytheon
 - ◆ (Most systems to have only 3 primes)
 - ◆ US defense contractors increased arms exports

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1990s: US national security policies (XVIII)

- ◆ Leading security policy critics outside the government
 - ◆ Center for Defense Information (CDI) endured
 - ◆ VADM John J. Shanahan (Ret) Director (1994-7)
 - ◆ Had been Zumwalt-era OPNAV OP-60
 - ◆ Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA) (from 1995)
 - ◆ Evolved from Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
 - ◆ LTC/Dr. Andrew Krepinevich became Executive Director
 - ◆ Increased focus on naval strategy, policy, systems
 - ◆ Cato Institute (from 1977)
 - ◆ Former naval officer Christopher Preble called for fleet to abandon combat-credible forward presence deployment strategy, instead return to CONUS ports to surge when necessary (from 1993)

58

1990s: US planned & actual adversaries

CNA

- ◆ Deter/plan vs. North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Cuba. Incidents.
- ◆ Deter PRC/plan to defend Taiwan
- ◆ Plans & ops vs. state-and non-state sponsors of terrorism
- ◆ Operations in Kuwait, Iraq, Somalia, Former Yugoslavia, Haiti
- ◆ Military assistance in Colombia & other Latin America
- ◆ Anti-drug trafficker operations



1990s: America's armed conflicts

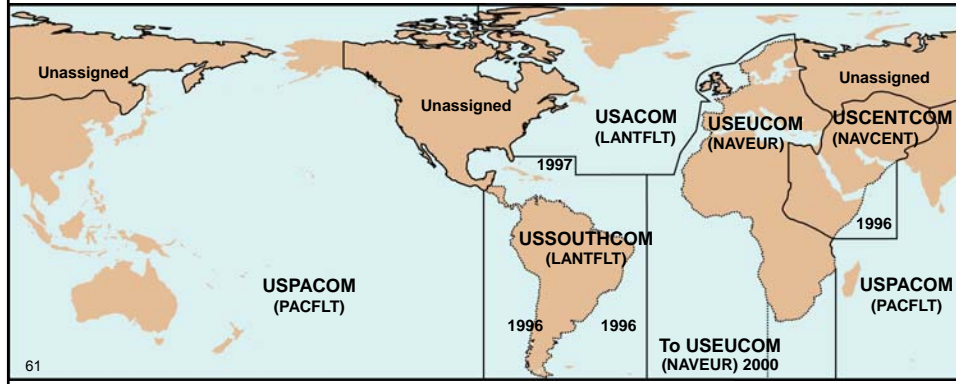
CNA



1990s: Combatant & component commands (I)

CNA

- USPACOM
 - PACFLT
- USSOUTHCOM
 - USNAVSO (to 1991)
 - LANTFLT (from 1991)
- USLANTCOM (to 1993)
- USACOM (from 1993)
 - LANTFLT
- USEUCOM
 - NAVEUR
- USCENTCOM
 - NAVCENT
- USSPACECOM
 - NAVSPACECOM
- USSOCCOM
 - NAVSPECWARCOM
- SAC (to 1992)
- USSTRATCOM (from 1992)
 - PACFLT
 - LANTFLT
- USTRANSCOM
 - MSC
- FORSCOM (to 1993)



1990s: Combatant & component commands (II)

CNA

- ◆ Fragmentation of the world ocean as distinctive theater(s) of war (especially Atlantic Ocean)
 - ◆ World ocean now divided among 5 different regional multi-environment theater combatant commanders
 - ◆ Atlantic Ocean now divided among 3 regional commanders
 - ◆ Indian Ocean now divided among 3 regional commanders
 - ◆ Pacific Ocean still divided among 2 regional commanders
 - ◆ Arctic Ocean still divided among 2 regional commanders

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1990s: Combatant & component commands (III)

- ◆ USSOUTHCOM gained Caribbean, Atlantic & Pacific Ocean waters from USACOM & USPACOM (1996)
- ◆ USCENTCOM gained Indian Ocean waters from USPACOM (1996)
- ◆ USEUCOM gained European offshore waters, including North Sea, from USACOM (2000)
- ◆ USEUCOM gained South Atlantic waters from USACOM; gained SW Indian Ocean waters from USPACOM (2000)
- ◆ USACOM & USPACOM traditionally commanded by US Navy officers; No gaining command had ever been commanded by a US Navy officer
 - ◆ Exception: USMC CINCUSACOM (1994-7)

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1990s: Combatant & component commands (IV)

- ◆ USSTRATCOM created (1992)
 - ◆ Gained operational command of SSBN forces from USLANTCOM & USPACOM
 - ◆ USN components: US Atlantic & Pacific Fleets
- ◆ Joint unified regional theater command USLANTCOM became USACOM, gained major joint functional integrating responsibilities (1993)
 - ◆ Progressively lost regional responsibilities throughout the decade

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1990s: US defense directives & reports

Year	President	National Document	SECDEF	CJCS	Defense Document	CNO	USN Capstone Document
1991	GHWBush	National Security Strategy PNI, NSRs, NSDs START Treaty NATO SC, NSD 74 National Security Strategy	Cheney	Powell USA	JSPS Docs 1st GNFPF, Base Force, JT PUB 1, DPG, CPG, National Security Strategy Bottom-Up Review CJCS Report on Roles, Missions & Functions Nuclear Posture Review JT PUB 1, NMS, CORM Report	Kelso	The Way Ahead Navy Policy Book, ...From the Sea
1992							
1993	Clinton	PRDs, PDDs (START II Treaty) National Security Strategy PDD 25, PDD 26 PDD 32 National Security Strategy	Aspin	Shali USA	Joint Vision 2010	Boorda	NDP 1 Naval Warfare Forward...From the Sea
1994							
1995			Perry			Johnson	Navy Operational Concept; Anytime, Anywhere
1996							
1997		National Security Strategy PDD 56, PDD 60 National Security Strategy	Cohen	Shelton USA	1st QDR National Military Strategy		NSPG I
1998							
1999		National Security Strategy, Clinton Doctrine, NATO Strategic Concept, National Security Strategy			JV 2020, JT PUB 1	Clark	NSPG II
2000							

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1990s: Bush Administration directives & reports

- ◆ National Security Reviews (NSR)
- ◆ National Security Directives (NSD)
 - ◆ NSD-49, *Freedom of Navigation Program* (1990)
 - ◆ NSD-74, *Peacekeeping and Emergency Humanitarian Relief Policy* (Nov 1992)
- ◆ Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNI) (Sep 1991)
- ◆ *National Security Strategies* (NSS) (1990-1992)
- ◆ *CJCS Joint Pub 1: Joint Warfare* (Nov 1991)
- ◆ *CJCS National Military Strategy* (Jan 1992)

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1990s: Clinton administration directives

- ◆ *Presidential Review Directives (PRD)*
- ◆ *Presidential Decision Directives (PDD)*
 - ◆ PDD-25: *Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations* (May 1994)
 - ◆ PDD-26: *Arctic and Antarctic Regions* (Jun 1994)
 - ◆ PDD-32: *Freedom of Navigation* (Jan 1995)
 - ◆ PDD-56: *Managing Complex Contingency Operations* (May 1997)
 - ◆ PDD-60: *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy* (Nov 1997)

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1990s: Clinton administration directives

- ◆ *National Security Strategy (NSS) (1994-2000)*
- ◆ *CJCS National Military Strategy (NMS) (1995, 1997)*
- ◆ *CJCS Joint Pub 1: Joint Warfare (1995, 2000)*
- ◆ *CJCS Joint Vision 2010 (1996); JV 2020 (2000)*

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1990s: Clinton administration reports

- ◆ SECDEF *Bottom-Up Review Report* (Oct 1993)
- ◆ CJCS *Report on the Roles, Missions and Functions of the Armed Forces* (Feb 1993)
- ◆ SECDEF *Nuclear Posture Review Report* (Sep 1994)
- ◆ Commission on the Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces (CORM), *Directions for Defense* (May 1995)
- ◆ SECDEF *Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) Report* (May 1997)
- ◆ National Intelligence Council
 - ◆ *Global Trends 2010* (Nov 1997)
 - ◆ *Global Trends 2015* (Dec 2000)

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1990s: USN dollars, numbers, capabilities

YEAR	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT	DON TOA FY 12\$	NEW SHIPS	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	ACTIVE PERSONNEL	NEW CAPABILITIES INTRODUCED
1991	Kelso	The Way Ahead	\$169B	11	526	571K	Tomahawk use, ROTH-R, ES-3A, T-45A trainer a/c
1992		Navy Policy Book, ...From the Sea	\$149B	11	466	542K	Burke-class DDG
1993			\$138B	7	435	510K	UHF FO satellite, Osprey-class MHC Cyclone-class PC, AMRAAM, MILSTAR
1994		NDP 1 Naval Warfare	\$123B	4	391	469K	SIPRNET, Link 16, TLAM Block III, Supply-class T-AOE
1995	Boorda	Forward... From the Sea	\$121B	4	373	435K	Fifth Fleet, DMS e-mail system
1996			\$120B	5	356	417K	Naval Strike & Air Warfare Center, F-14 Bombrat
1997	Johnson	NOC Anytime, Anywhere	\$116B	4	354	396K	Seawolf-class SSN, F-14 LANTIRN pod, T-45c trainer a/c, JSOW AGM, Ship Self-Defense System (SSDS)
1998			\$117B	5	333	382K	IT-21, JDAM, GBS satellite, JTIDS, E-6B
1999		NSPG I	\$118B	5	317	373K	Nulka decoy
2000		NSPG II	\$120B	6	318	373K	SLAM-ER ASM, NMCI
	Clark						

Sources: TOA & Pers: FY 12 DOD "Green Book" Ships: Congressional Research Service

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1990s: USN active ship force levels

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Carriers	15	14	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Battleships	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cruisers	47	49	52	35	32	31	30	29	27	27
Destroyers	47	40	37	41	47	51	56	50	52	54
Frigates	93	67	59	51	49	43	42	38	37	35
Submarines	87	85	88	88	83	79	73	65	57	56
SSBNs	34	30	22	18	16	17	18	18	18	18
Command	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	--
Mine Warfare	22	16	15	16	18	18	18	18	18	18
Patrol	6	6	2	7	12	13	13	13	13	--
Amphibious	61	58	52	38	39	40	41	40	41	41
Auxiliary	112	102	110	94	80	67	52	57	57	57
TOTAL	529	471	454	404	392	375	359	344	337	318

Source: Naval History & Heritage Command website (Oct 2011)

1990s: Capstone documents & force goals

YEAR	CNO	FORCE GOAL DOCUMENT	FORCE LEVEL GOAL	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT
1991	Kelso	DOD Base Force	450 - 416	< 526	The Way Ahead
1992			450 - 416	< 466	
1993	Boorda	DOD Bottom Up Review (BUR)	346	< 435	NDP 1 Naval Warfare Forward...From the Sea
1994			346	< 391	
1995			346	< 373	
1996			346	< 356	
1997	Johnson	QDR #1 (USN View)	310-305	< 354	NOC; Anytime, Anywhere
1998			310-305	< 333	
1999			310-305	< 317	
2000	Clark	Shipbuilding Rep't	360-305	< 318	NSPG II (U)

1990s: USN force goals

CNA

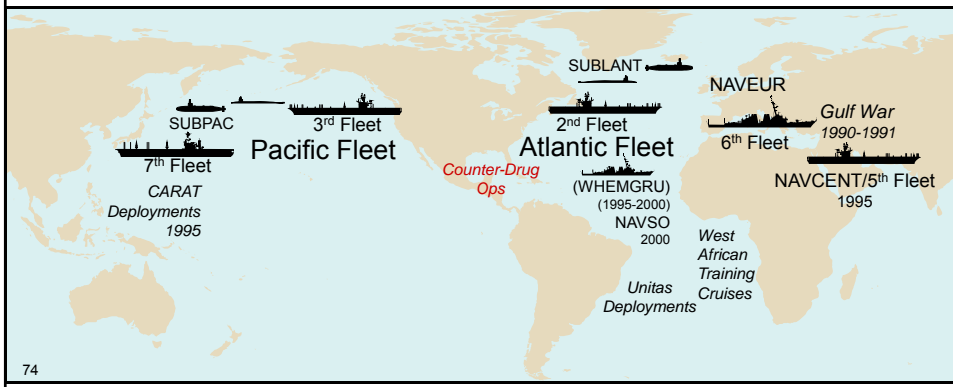
Plan	1980s 600-ship Navy	1990 Base Force	1993 BUR	1997 QDR (Navy view)	2000 DON Shipbuilding Report
Total battle force ships	600	451/416	346	~305/310	305-360
Attack submarines	100	80/~55	45-55	50/55	50/66
Aircraft carriers	15	12	11+1	11+1	11-15
Surface combatants	242/228	~150	~124	116	116-133
Amphibious ships	~75	51	36	36	36-42

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1990s: USN deployment strategy

CNA

- 5 fleets: 1 forward-based, 2 forward deployed, 2 home
- Draw-down of forces in Med hub
- Changing SSN & SSBN deployments
- Continued counter-drug homeland security ops
- Routinized deployment schedules



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1990s: State of the Navy (II)

CNA

- ◆ Continued extensive, global, diverse ops, exercises (Combat, shows of force, peace ops, NEOs)
 - ◆ Long-running USN strike operations, responses off/over Iraq, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Haiti, East Asia
 - ◆ Afghan/Sudan anti-terror strikes
 - ◆ Deliberate 7th Fleet CVBG ops in/near Taiwan Straits
 - ◆ Vs. PRC provocations against Taiwan (1995-6)
 - ◆ E. Timor, Liberia, Sierra Leone interventions
 - ◆ Forward SSN, P-3, EP-3 ISR operations
 - ◆ SSBN deterrent patrols
 - ◆ Freedom of Navigation operations
 - ◆ Counter-drug operations
 - ◆ Bangladesh hurricane (1991), Turkey earthquake (1999), Egypt airliner SAR (1999), other HA/DR operations
 - ◆ USN & inter-allied exercises worldwide

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1990s: State of the Navy (III)

CNA

- ◆ Routine deployment lengths continued to be standardized at 6 months.
- ◆ About 3 carriers deployed at any one time
 - ◆ Down from 4-5 in 1970s and 1980s
- ◆ Number of ships forward stationed and forward deployed remained fairly constant (WESTPAC & CENTCOM AOR)
- ◆ Number of ships in Med, NORLANT, training off CONUS decreased
 - ◆ Decline in non-forward deployed fleet readiness across the decade
- ◆ LANTFLT remained larger than PACFLT
 - ◆ 55/45 split (22% larger)

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1990s: State of the Navy (IV)

CNA

- ◆ USN strike capabilities increasingly dispersed among platform types
- ◆ Increased strike precision, networking priority
 - ◆ Desert Shield /Desert Storm “wake-up call”
 - ◆ Conventional Tomahawk transformed strike warfare
 - ◆ Accelerated USN procurement of/ training with precision guided munitions (PGMs), Tomahawk
- ◆ USS *Yorktown* (CG-48) “Smart Ship” experiment (1996-7)

79

1990s: State of the Navy (V)

CNA

- ◆ Carrier air wings increasingly optimized for strike operations
- ◆ Need for follow-on strike aircraft to A-6
 - ◆ SECDEF Cheney canceled USN A-12 stealthy aircraft development program (Jan 1991)
 - ◆ Breach of Contract litigation dragged on through 2007
 - ◆ Declining DOD budgets, but 6 DOD tactical aircraft in development
 - ◆ F/A-18E/F, F-22, F-35 JSF (3 variants)
 - ◆ Decision: Rapid USN F/A-18 E/F development, deployment
 - ◆ Last USN A-7s retired (1991); Last USN A-6s retired (1997)
 - ◆ Declining combat radius of USN strike aircraft

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1990s: State of the Navy (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Major shift in ASW operations & programs
 - ◆ Dismantling of Cold War ASW capabilities
 - ◆ All 46 Knox-class FFs decommissioned (1991-94)
 - ◆ DD-963s & MSC T-AGOS ships taken out of service
 - ◆ Big drawdown of SSN, FFG-7, P-3, S-3 forces
 - ◆ Last SH-3 Sea King helos retired (1996)
 - ◆ SOSUS array shutdowns
 - ◆ USCG cutters lost ASW missions & equipment
 - ◆ Increase in active sonar solutions to quiet littoral anti-access submarine problem
 - ◆ Concomitant increase in public concerns for marine mammal safety
- ◆ Seawolf-class SSN program truncated at 3 (1995)
- ◆ SSN force refocused on ISR, ASUW, strike
- ◆ Continued northern SSN deployments
 - ◆ USN-Russian SSN collision incidents reported

81

1990s: State of the Navy (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Russia no longer an important focus of USN ops & plans
 - ◆ Russian strategic & conventional effective force levels plummeted
- ◆ Build-up of accurate Trident II D-5 MIRVed SSBN/SLBM forces, for counter-force targeting. Retirement of earlier counter-value systems
 - ◆ Planned conversion of 4 SSBNs to SSGNs
- ◆ No non-strategic nuclear weapons on USN ships
- ◆ Naval arms control disappeared as a major policy issue

82

1990s: State of the Navy (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ Commander US Third Fleet staff & command ship USS Coronado (AGF 11) shifted homeports from Hawaii to San Diego (1991)
- ◆ COMDESRON 50 & staff permanently forward-deployed in Gulf (from 1994)
- ◆ 5th Fleet created in Arabian Gulf/ Sea (1995)

83

1990s: State of the Navy (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Continued increasing dependence of US naval operations on space-based systems
- ◆ USN began sea-based BMD R & D (1991)
- ◆ PRC ship *Yin He* US intel/search incident (1993)
- ◆ USN conducted maritime interception ops (MIO); developed & deployed visit, board, search & seizure (VBSS) capabilities, TTP
- ◆ Naval Special Warfare subsumed under SOF
- ◆ Fleet Tactical Deception Groups (FLTDECGRUs) evolve into Fleet Information Warfare Center (FIWC), for fleet information ops (IO) support (by 1995)
- ◆ Small USNR forward port security capability

84

1990s: State of the Navy (X)

CNA

- ◆ All 4 Iowa-class BBs decommissioned (1990-91)
- ◆ All 9 CGNs decommissioned (1993-9)
- ◆ Major drawdown of USN intel org, capabilities, procurement; integrated into joint intel orgs, ops
- ◆ Widespread use of PCs; cell phones; networks
- ◆ VADM, then ADM William Owens (OPNAV N8, then VCJCS) “Mobile Operating Base” (MOB) advocacy & reaction
- ◆ Women became well-integrated into USN seagoing fleet
 - ◆ 1st women assigned to fly combat aircraft (1991)
 - ◆ 1st women assigned to surface combatants (1993)

85

1990s: State of the Navy (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Major OPNAV staff reorganization & redesignations (from 1992)
 - ◆ DCNO for Navy Program Planning (OP-08) re-designated DCNO for Resources, Warfare Requirements & Assessments (N8)
 - ◆ OP-08 had been OP-090 before 1987
 - ◆ Platform “barons” (OP-02, OP-03, OP-05) under N8
 - ◆ 3-star DCNO for Naval Warfare (OP-07) (formerly OP-095) abolished
- ◆ Cuts in total Navy flag billets & increase in Navy-manned joint flag officer billets influenced reorganizations in OPNAV & throughout the fleet

86

1990s: State of the Navy (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Major OPNAV PPBS process changes, especially program planning (restyled program assessment)
 - ◆ OP-07-led warfare appraisals and N81-led CPAMs replaced by consensual Joint Mission Areas (JMAs) Assessment process
 - ◆ OPNAV resumed, developed campaign analysis efforts & models ISO POM, budget development
 - ◆ Major advances in computer power to support analyses

87

1990s: State of the Navy (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ New Joint Mission Areas Assessment Process (JMAs) (Sep 1992- 1998)
 - ◆ New Navy mission-area categories
 - ◆ Joint strike
 - ◆ Joint littoral warfare
 - ◆ Joint surveillance
 - ◆ Joint Space-Electronic Warfare/Intelligence
 - ◆ Strategic deterrence
 - ◆ Strategic sealift/protection
 - ◆ Presence
 - ◆ Deliberately created to “free thought and discussion”
- ◆ Replaced by Integrated Warfare Architectures (IWARS) 1998-2003
 - ◆ 5 new warfare sub-categories
 - ◆ Information superiority & sensors, Sea dominance, Power Projection, Air Dominance, Deterrence

88

1990s: State of the Navy (XIV)

CNA

- ◆ OPNAV DCNO for Plans, Policy & Operations (OP-06) re-designated N3/N5 (1992)
- ◆ OPNAV Director for Strategy, Plans and Policy (OP-60) re-designated N51 (1992)
- ◆ OPNAV Strategy Branch Head billet (N513) downgraded from CAPT to CDR (1993)
- ◆ OPNAV Director for Strategy and Policy (N51) billet downgraded from RADM to RDML-SEL (1997)
 - ◆ OP-60B/N51B billet still held by a CAPT (since 1985)
- ◆ Waning internal OPNAV influence of N3/N5

89

1990s: State of the Navy (XV)

CNA

- ◆ Intra-USN strategy fora:
 - ◆ Cooke conferences (1990-95)
 - ◆ RDML Sestak-led meetings (1998-2000)
- ◆ Unofficial DC-area “Navy Study Groups”
 - ◆ “Ancient Mariners” (1989-91); & 1992-2003
- ◆ Episodic USN interest in improving USN conceptual thinking
 - ◆ Strategic-level efforts
 - ◆ Draft & final Capstone documents
 - ◆ Operational & tactical-level efforts
 - ◆ New Naval Doctrine Command (NDC) & naval doctrine (1992-8)
 - ◆ Maritime Battle Center created; Fleet Battle Experiments
 - ◆ NDC functions subsumed in Navy Warfare Development Command (NWDC), under NAVWARCOL 1998-2001)

90

1990s: State of the Navy (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ NAVWARCOL PME curriculum increased addressal of joint strategy & policy
 - ◆ Necessarily de-emphasized focus on maritime & naval strategy
- ◆ NWC Global Wargames restyled “Title X Games”
- ◆ CNO ADM Boorda shifted CNO SSG focus from *strategy* to *innovation & concept generation* (1995)
- ◆ VADM Cebrowski NWC president (1998-2001)
 - ◆ 1st & only 3-star president since 1979
 - ◆ New NWDC briefly subsumed under NWC (1998-2001)
 - ◆ To revitalize Navy operational and tactical thinking
 - ◆ Incl/ NAVDOCCOM functions (NAVDOCCOM disestablished)
 - ◆ Incl/ doctrine, development divisions
 - ◆ New NWDC Maritime Battle Center created to run FBEs (1998)

91

1990s: State of the Navy (XVII)

CNA

- ◆ NAVWARCOL Center for Naval Warfare Studies (CNWS) Strategy & Campaigns Department renamed Strategic Research Department (SRD) (1992)
 - ◆ Initially, mostly retired US Navy officers holding advanced degrees, plus international fellows
 - ◆ Under PNWC VADM Cebrowski, SRD & other CNWS departments began to civilianize (1998)
 - ◆ Continued Global War Games & organized international games (1994-2000)
- ◆ CNA created “Project Asia,” with focus on Chinese military (1998)
 - ◆ RADM (Ret) Michael McDevitt; LTC (Ret)/ Dr. David Finkelstein; etc.

92

1990s: State of the Navy (XVIII)

CNA

- ◆ Continued fall-off in Navy use of civilian graduate programs in political science & international relations
- ◆ Maturation of national security affairs curriculum at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey
- ◆ Continued detailing of active duty OP-60/N51 officer alumni to NPS to teach maritime strategy
- ◆ Top USN post-graduate-educated officers continued to be detailed to Joint Staff vice OPNAV
 - ◆ Continued effect (intended) of Goldwater-Nichols Act (1986)
- ◆ Increasingly junior flag & action officers placed in OPNAV N3/N5

93

1990s: State of the Navy (XIX)

CNA

- ◆ *Navy Core Values* adopted (Oct 1992)
- ◆ CNO ADM Kelso promulgated 1st annual *Navy Program Guide "Force 2001"* (Jul 1993)
- ◆ CNO ADM Kelso promulgated Professional Reading Lists
 - ◆ In *Navy Policy Book* (1992), *NDP 1* (1994)
- ◆ *Sailor's Creed* developed, published (1993)
 - ◆ Revised (1994) (1997).
- ◆ *DON Core Values Charter* developed, published (1996)
 - ◆ Re-published (1999)

94

1990s: State of the Navy (XX)

- ◆ Emergence of articulate & prolific USN spokesmen for new Navy concepts
 - ◆ Examples:
 - ◆ Adaptive naval force packages
 - ◆ ADM Paul David Miller & VADM William Owens
 - ◆ Network-Centric Warfare & “Naval RMA”
 - ◆ VADMs William Owens & Arthur Cebrowski
 - ◆ Navy (& naval) maneuver warfare
 - ◆ CDRs Terry Pierce, Joseph Bouchard, Sam Tangredi
 - ◆ “Bad Press”
 - ◆ Tailhook incidents, CNO ADM Boorda suicide, etc.

95

1990s: State of the Navy (XXI)

◆ Systems in development &/or construction

◆ Ships

- ◆ Virginia-class SSN
 - ◆ Was *Centurion*, then New Attack Submarine (NSSN)
- ◆ Ohio-class SSGN
- ◆ San Antonio-class LPD
- ◆ CVNX
- ◆ DD-21
 - ◆ Later DD(X), DDG-1000
- ◆ T-AKE
- ◆ LMSR
- ◆ MPF(F)
- ◆ JCC (never built)

◆ Aircraft

- ◆ F/A-18E/F
- ◆ MH-60S
- ◆ MH-60R
- ◆ E-6B TACAMO

◆ Weapons & systems

- ◆ Tactical Tomahawk
- ◆ Cooperative Engagement Capability (CEC)
- ◆ Underwater unmanned vehicles (UUV)
- ◆ TBMD systems
- ◆ ERGM round (later canxed)
- ◆ NATO Improved Link 11 (NILE)

96

1990s: DCNOs for Plans, Policy & Operations

CNA

- ◆ 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**

* OPNAV OP-06

** N3/N5

97

1990s: Directors for Strategy & Policy (N51) CNA

- ◆ 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

*Directors for Strategy, Plans and Policy (OPNAV OP-60)

98

1990s: Strategy & Concepts branch heads

- ◆ 1989 CAPT E.R. Diamond*
- ◆ 1991 CAPT Patrick Curry*
- ◆ 1993 CDR Joseph Sestak**
- ◆ 1995 CDR Joseph Bouchard**
- ◆ 1997 CDR Frank Pandolfe**
- ◆ 1998 CDR Sam Tangredi**
- ◆ 1999 CDR Philip Cullom**
- ◆ 1999 CDR Steve Lott (Acting)**
- ◆ 2000 CDR Robert Dolan**

* OPNAV OP-603

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (I)

- ◆ Overview
 - ◆ Strategy & civil-military relations
 - ◆ Views of visionary U.S. Navy leaders
 - ◆ Naval presence, diplomacy, crisis response
 - ◆ Tactics, games & relation to strategy
 - ◆ Maritime security, peace-keeping, humanitarian assistance, & disaster response
 - ◆ US & world naval history, including strategy
 - ◆ Cold War naval strategy & policy
 - ◆ Naval arms control
 - ◆ The U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf
 - ◆ Innovation, especially interwar period

100

1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (II)



- ◆ New literature on strategy & on civil-military relations
 - ◆ Eric Grove, *The Future of Sea Power* (1990)
 - ◆ Frederick Hartmann, *Naval Renaissance: The U.S. Navy in the 1980s* (1990)
 - ◆ Edward S. Miller, *War Plan Orange: the U.S. Strategy to Defeat Japan* (1991)
 - ◆ Peter Schwartz, *Art of the Long View: Planning for the Future in an Uncertain World* (1991)
 - ◆ Martin van Crevald, *The Transformation of War* (1991)
 - ◆ CDR (Ret) Harlan Ullman, *In Harm's Way: American Seapower and the 21st Century* (1991)
 - ◆ Richard Hegmann, "In Search of Strategy: The Navy and the Depths of the Maritime Strategy" (Ph.D. diss. 1991)
 - ◆ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History & the Last Man* (1992)

101

1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (III)



- ◆ Strategy & civil-military relations (II)
 - ◆ Col Harry Summers USA (Ret), *On Strategy II* (1992)
 - ◆ CAPT Bruce Stubbs USCG, *The U.S. Coast Guard's National Security Role in the Twenty-First Century* (1992)
 - ◆ Lt Col Charles Dunlap USAF, "The Origins of the American Military Coup of 2012", *Parameters* (Winter 1992-3)
 - ◆ ADM William Crowe (Ret), *The Line of Fire: From Washington to the Gulf: The Politics and Battles of the New Military* (1993)
 - ◆ Russell Weigley, "The American Military" (1993), etc.
 - ◆ Michael Isenberg, *Shield of the Republic, Vol 1, 1945-1962* (1993)
 - ◆ James Goldrick & John Hattendorf (eds.), *Mahan is Not Enough* (1993)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IV)

- ◆ Strategy & civil-military relations (III)
 - ◆ Colin Gray, *The Navy in the Post-Cold War World* (1994)
 - ◆ Jan Breemer, “The End of Naval Strategy,” *Strategic Review* (1994)
 - ◆ Williamson Murray et al. (eds.), *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War* (1994)
 - ◆ Jeffrey Barlow, *Revolt of the Admirals: The Fight for Naval Aviation: 1945-1950* (1994)
 - ◆ Charles Meconis & Boris Makeev, *U.S. Russian Naval Cooperation* (1995)
 - ◆ Gregory Vistica, *Fall from Glory: The Men Who Sank the U.S. Navy* (1995)
 - ◆ The San Remo *Manual on International Law Applicable to Armed Conflicts at Sea* (1995)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (V)

- ◆ Strategy & civil-military relations (IV)
 - ◆ Col Charles Dunlap USAF, “How We Lost the High-Tech War of 2007,” *The Weekly Standard* (Jan 1996)
 - ◆ Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (1996)
 - ◆ Harlan Ullman & James Wade, *Shock & Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance* (1996)
 - ◆ Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win* (1996)
 - ◆ Steven Ross, *American War Plans, 1941-1945* (1997)
 - ◆ Pelham Boyer & Robert Wood (eds.), *Strategic Transformation and Naval Power in the 21st Century* (1998)
 - ◆ Daniel Goure et al., *The Role of Sea Power in U.S. National Security in the Twenty-First Century* (CSIS) (Mar 1998)
 - ◆ Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy* (1999)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VI)

- ◆ Views of visionary U.S. Navy flag officers
 - ◆ ADM Paul David Miller: 3 IFPA monographs
 - ◆ *Both Swords and Plowshares: Military Roles in the 1990s* (1992)
 - ◆ *The Interagency Process: Engaging America's Full National Security Capabilities* (1993)
 - ◆ *Leadership in a Transnational World: the Challenge of Keeping the Peace* (1993)
 - ◆ VADM William Owens, *High Seas: The Naval Passage to an uncharted World* (1995)
 - ◆ ADM Paul Reason, *Sailing New Seas* (1998)
 - ◆ VADM Arthur Cebrowski & John Garstka, "Network Centric Warfare: Its Origin and Future," US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Jan 1998)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VII)

- ◆ Views of visionary U.S. Secretary of the Navy
 - ◆ Richard Danzig, *The Big Three: our Greatest Security Risks and How to Address Them* (Feb 1999)
 - ◆ Written between appointments as Under Secretary & Secretary (1997-8)
 - ◆ Danzig's "Big three:"
 - ◆ Renewed major military competition
 - ◆ Traumatic attack
 - ◆ Lack of domestic support

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VIII)

- ◆ Naval presence, diplomacy, crisis response (I)
 - ◆ CAPT Joseph Bouchard, *Command in Crisis: Four Case Studies* (1991)
 - ◆ Adam Siegel, *The Use of Naval Forces in the Post-War Era: US Navy and US Marine Corps Crisis Response Activity, 1946-1990* (CNA, 1991)
 - ◆ AMB/CAPT Linton Brooks (Ret), *Peacetime Influence Through Forward Naval Presence* (CNA 1993)
 - ◆ Bradford Dismukes CNA studies on naval presence
 - ◆ *National Security Strategy and Forward Presence* (Mar 1994)
 - ◆ *The Political-Strategic Case for Presence* (Jun 1993)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IX)

- ◆ Naval presence, diplomacy, crisis response (II)
 - ◆ Robert Pfaltzgraff, Jr. & Richard H. Schultz, Jr., eds., *Naval Forward Presence and the National Military Strategy* (1993)
 - ◆ James Cable, *Gunboat Diplomacy* (3rd edition) (1994)
 - ◆ Dov Zakheim et al., *The Political and Economic Implications of Global Naval Presence* (SPC) (1996)
 - ◆ *Naval Forward Presence: Present Status, Future Prospects* (CSIS) (1997)
 - ◆ Prof. Robert Looney et al. *Forward Engagement Requirements for U.S. Naval Forces: New Analytical Approaches* (Jul 1997)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (X)

- ◆ Naval tactics & games, & relation to strategy
 - ◆ Peter Perla, *The Art of Wargaming* (1990)
 - ◆ CAPT Wayne Hughes (Ret), *Fleet Tactics & Coastal Combat* (1999)

1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XI)

- ◆ New literature on maritime security, peace-keeping, humanitarian assistance, & disaster response
 - ◆ CAPT Charles Koburger USCGR (Ret), *Narrow Seas, Small Navies, and Fat Merchantmen: Naval Strategies for the 1990s* (1990)
 - ◆ Adam Siegel, *A Sampling of U.S. Naval Humanitarian Operations* (CNA) (1990)
 - ◆ Robert Staley, *The Wave of the Future: The United Nations and Naval Peacekeeping* (1992)
 - ◆ Jeffrey Sands, *Blue Hulls: Multinational Naval Cooperation and the United Nations* (CNA) (1993)
 - ◆ Michael Pugh (ed.), *Maritime Security and Peacekeeping: A Framework for United Nations Operations* (1994)
 - ◆ CAPT Charles Koburger USCGR (Ret), *Sea Power in the Twenty-First Century: Projecting a Naval Revolution* (1997)

1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XII)

- ◆ Spate of new syntheses & interpretations of the sweep of US & world naval history, incl/ strategy
 - ◆ Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy: A History* (1990, 1997)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf, *Mahan on Naval Strategy* (1991)
 - ◆ Kenneth Hagan, *This People's Navy* (1991)
 - ◆ Stephen Howarth, *To Shining Sea* (1991, 1999)
 - ◆ Colin Gray, *The Leverage of Sea Power: The Strategic Advantage of Navies in War* (1992)
 - ◆ Robert Love, *History of the U.S. Navy* (1992)
 - ◆ George Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power* (1993)
 - ◆ Michael Isenberg, *Shield of the Republic* (1993)
 - ◆ Frank Uhlig, *How Navies Fight* (1994)
 - ◆ Craig Symonds, *Historical Atlas of the US Navy* (1995)
 - ◆ Clark Reynolds, *Navies in History* (1998)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf et al., *America and the Sea* (1998)
 - ◆ Paolo Coletta, *American Naval History* (2000)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XIII)

- ◆ Analyses of NATO Cold War naval strategy & policy
 - ◆ Written for contemporary Cold War relevance.
Published post-Cold War; largely of historical interest
 - ◆ Robert Jordan, *Alliance Strategy and Navies: The Evolution and Scope of NATO's Maritime Dimension* (1990)
 - ◆ Eric Grove, *Battle for the Fjords: NATO's Forward Maritime Strategy in Action* (1991)
 - ◆ Joel Sokolsky, *Power in the Nuclear Age: The United States Navy and NATO, 1949-80* (1991)
 - ◆ Bud Hay and Bob Gile, *Global War Game: The First Five Years* (1993)
 - ◆ Sean Maloney, *Securing Command of the Sea: NATO Naval Planning, 1948-1954* (1995)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XIV)

- ◆ Continued publications on naval arms control, largely in the early part of the decade (in train as the Cold War ended)
 - ◆ Charles Meconis, *U.S. Maritime Strategy and Naval Arms Control: Prospects for Peace at Sea* (1991)
 - ◆ Andreas Furst et al., eds. *Europe and Naval Arms Control in the Gorbachev Era* (1992)
 - ◆ Barry Blechman et al., *Naval Arms Control: A Strategic Assessment* (1992)
 - ◆ David Winkler, *Cold War at Sea: High Seas Confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union* (2000)
 - ◆ On USN-Soviet Navy Incidents at Sea (INCSEA) Agreement
 - ◆ Duk-Ki Kim, *Naval Strategy in Northeast Asia: Geo-strategic Goals, Policies and Prospects* (2000)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XV)

- ◆ More historical studies on interwar naval arms control, in the early part of the decade
 - ◆ B.J.C. McKercher (ed.), *Arms Limitation & Disarmament: Restraints on War, 1899-1939* (1992)
 - ◆ Emily Goldman, *Sunken Treaties: Naval Arms Control Between the Wars* (1993)
 - ◆ Erick Goldstein & John Maurer (eds.), *The Washington Conference, 1921-22: Naval Rivalry, East Asian Stability and the Road to Pearl Harbor* (1994)
 - ◆ Richard Fanning, *Peace and Disarmament: Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922-1933* (1995)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XVI)

- ◆ The U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf
 - ◆ Michael A. Palmer, *On Course to Desert Storm: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf* (1992)
 - ◆ Eliot Cohen (ed.), *Gulf War Air Power Survey* (1993)
 - ◆ Edward Marolda & Robert Schneller, *Shield and Sword: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf War* (1998)
 - ◆ Marvin Pokrant, *Desert Storm at Sea* (2 vols) (1999)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XVII)

- ◆ Blossoming literature on military innovation, especially US Navy in the interwar period (I)
 - ◆ Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (1991)
 - ◆ Clark Reynolds, *Admiral John H. Towers: The Struggle for Naval Air Supremacy* (1991)
 - ◆ Mark Campbell, “Influence of Air Power Upon the Evolution of Battle Doctrine in the U.S. Navy, 1922-1941,” (MA Thesis, UMass, 1992)
 - ◆ William Trimble: *Admiral William F. Moffett: Architect of Naval Aviation* (1994)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XVIII)

- ◆ Blossoming literature on military innovation, especially US Navy in the interwar period (II)
 - ◆ Bradd Hayes & Douglas Smith (eds), *Politics of Naval Innovation* (1994)
 - ◆ Stephen Rosen, *Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military* (1994)
 - ◆ Williamson Murray & Allan Millet, eds., *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period* (1996)
 - ◆ Thomas Wildenberg, *Grey Steel and Black Oil: Fast Tankers and Replenishment at Sea in the U.S. Navy, 1912-1995* (1996)

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1990s: Naval policy & strategy literature (XIX)

- ◆ Blossoming literature on military innovation, especially US Navy in the interwar period (III)
 - ◆ J.E. Kaufmann & H.W. Kaufmann, *The Sleeping Giant: American Armed Forces Between the Wars* (1996)
 - ◆ Thomas Wildenberg, *Destined for Glory: Dive Bombing, Midway, and the Evolution of Carrier Airpower* (1998)
 - ◆ Thomas Hone, Norman Friedman, Mark Mandeles, *American and British Aircraft Carrier Development, 1919-1941* (1999)
 - ◆ Alberts, Garstka & Stein, *Network Centric Warfare: Developing and Leveraging Information Superiority* (1999)

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1990s: Public USN intelligence documents

- ◆ *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments* (6th ed.) (1991)
- ◆ *Worldwide Submarine Proliferation in the Coming Decade* (1995)
- ◆ *Worldwide Submarine Challenges* (1996)
- ◆ *Worldwide Challenges to Naval Strike Warfare* (1996)
- ◆ *Worldwide Submarine Challenges* (1997)
- ◆ *Worldwide Maritime Challenges* (1997)
- ◆ *Challenges to Naval Expeditionary Warfare* (1997)
- ◆ *Threats and Challenges to Maritime Security 2020* (1999)



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1990s: US Navy basing (I)

- ◆ Base Realignment & Closure (BRAC) actions
 - ◆ 2nd BRAC round (1991): 3 naval stations closed
 - ◆ 3rd BRAC round (1993): 1 shipyard, 12 naval stations, 3 hospitals, etc., close
 - ◆ 4th BRAC round (1995): 4 shipyards, other naval facilities closed. (Last BRAC for 10 years)
- ◆ Admiral Owens unsuccessfully advocated creation of afloat Mobile Operating Bases (MOBs)

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1990s: US Navy basing (II)

CNA

- ◆ “Top Gun,” “Top Dome” & “Strike U” consolidated under Naval Strike and Air Warfare Center (NSAWC) at NAS Fallon (1996)
 - ◆ BRAC moved NAS Miramar to USMC control
- ◆ NAVSTA GITMO used to house Cuban, Haitian migrants (1991-6)
- ◆ FLTRAGRU relocated from GTMO to Mayport (1995)
- ◆ MPSRON 1 re-located from US East Coast forward to Mediterranean (1995)

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1990s: US Navy basing (III)

CNA

- ◆ Consolidation & closure of NAVFAC SOSUS stations
 - ◆ NAVFACs Guam, Centerville Beach, Adak, Argentia, Keflavik, others disestablished
- ◆ USN mine warfare base shifted from Charleston SC to Ingleside TX (1992-6)
- ◆ USN transferred Kaho’olawe Island to State of Hawaii (1994)
 - ◆ Live fire training on Kaho’olawe Island, Hawaii had ended, following local protests (1990)

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1990s: US Navy basing (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Access to Singapore facilities (1990)
 - ◆ US-Singapore MOU
- ◆ USN Philippine bases closed (1992)
 - ◆ COMLOGWESTPAC move: Subic Bay to Singapore
 - ◆ Build-up of Navy Region Center (NRC) Singapore
- ◆ AS, SSBNs leave Holy Loch, UK (1992)
- ◆ NAF Midway closed (1993)
- ◆ NAF Lajes (Azores) disestablished (1994)
- ◆ NAS Bermuda closed (1995)
- ◆ NAS Adak closed (1997)
- ◆ USN Panama bases closed (1999)

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1990s: US Navy basing (V)

CNA

- ◆ Base modernization & expansion at Bahrain
- ◆ Permanently forward deployed USN flagship left Bahrain; COMUSNAVCENT & staff moved ashore (1993)
- ◆ USN mine warfare ships permanently forward deployed in Bahrain (from 1996)
 - ◆ 2 MCMs with rotating crews (from 1996)
 - ◆ 2 MHCs with permanent crews and families (2000)
- ◆ Omani air bases upgrades & continued access
- ◆ USN CVBGs used port of Jebel Ali (Dubai UAE)
 - ◆ Port completed in 1979

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1990s: US Navy basing changes



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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (I)

- ◆ Unlike 1980s, 1990s saw heavy real-world operational use of US government sealift & prepositioning ships & chartered commercial sealift
- ◆ Operation Desert Storm & Desert Shield sealift experience drove numerous policy changes
- ◆ Bush, Clinton Administrations continued to favor direct military control & development over subsidizing commercial shipping industry
 - ◆ But Merchant Marine Act of 1996 continued & updated some subsidy programs
- ◆ Continued divergence of specialized civilian shipping into specific surge, sustainment roles
- ◆ MSC commander rank continued as VADM

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (II) CNA

- ◆ Operations Desert Shield & Desert Storm (1990-1)
 - ◆ Largest, fastest deployment of US mil. forces ever
 - ◆ 230 US government-owned/chartered sealift ships deployed
 - ◆ MSC Fast Sealift Ships (FSS), Maritime Prepositioning Force (MPF) deployed
 - ◆ 79 MARAD RRF ships activated; 72 utilized
 - ◆ But 80% were late in breaking out
 - ◆ MSC used charters & Special Middle East Sealift Agreement (SMESA) vice Sealift Readiness Program (SRP) to obtain necessary US commercial shipping
 - ◆ Shortages of available US-flag civilian ships, Ro-Ros, mariners
 - ◆ Innovative ad hoc charter agreements
 - ◆ E.g.: Special Middle East Shipping Agreement (SMESA))
 - ◆ % of US military cargo shipped to theater
 - ◆ RRF: 36%
 - ◆ Other US flag ships: 35%
 - ◆ Foreign-flag (including Effective US Controlled ships (EUSC)): 29%
 - ◆ Some foreign-flag ships refused to enter Gulf
 - ◆ Some US government dissatisfaction with dependence on foreign ships¹²⁷

1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (III) CNA

- ◆ USCINCTRANS gained more authority (1992):
 - ◆ Peacetime as well as wartime authority over MSC sealift
 - ◆ Navy lost US sealift “single manager” responsibilities
 - ◆ Became DOD “single manager for transportation”
 - ◆ Replaced MSC as single manager for sealift
- ◆ National Defense Sealift Fund (NDSF) created (1992)
 - ◆ To fund all DOD strategic sealift, incl/ RRF
- ◆ Inter-modalism shifted from MSC to US Army Military Traffic Management Command (MTMC)
- ◆ MSC heavily focused on other missions than sealift
 - ◆ Continued civilianization of USN Navy-manned auxiliaries to MSC civilian mariner (CIVMAR) crewing
 - ◆ New acoustic survey ships
 - ◆ Use of civilian helicopters on NFAF CLF ships

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (IV) CNA

- ◆ DOD mobility studies
 - ◆ *Mobility Requirements Study* (1992)
 - ◆ Recommended procurement of additional surge sealift & prepositioning ships
 - ◆ *Mobility Requirements Study Bottom-Up Review Update* (1994)
 - ◆ Validated 1992 recommendation

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (V) CNA

- ◆ Post-Desert Storm expansion & modernization of MSC surge sealift & prepositioning forces
 - ◆ *Bottom-Up Review* (BUR) fallout (1993)
 - ◆ MPSRONs for USMC expanded & rebalanced
 - ◆ Experiment: MPS MV *Lummas* in *Tripoli* ARG (1991-2)
 - ◆ Conversion of 3 vessels into MPF (E)
 - ◆ 19 new Large, Medium-Speed Roll-on/roll-off (LMSR) ships delivered to USN, US Army (1997-2003)
 - ◆ Obviated need to mount sea sheds & flatracks for oversized cargo on containerships
 - ◆ Allowed eventual reduction in the size of the RRF
 - ◆ Some foreign-built/US converted; most US-built
 - ◆ Some ships government-owned (USNS); some chartered (MV)
 - ◆ Civilian mariner (CIVMAR) and contracted mariner (CONMAR) crews

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VI) CNA

- ◆ Total NDRF ship #s fluctuated
 - ◆ 1990: 329 1994: 286 2000: 325
- ◆ NDRF RFF ship #s fluctuated
 - ◆ 1990: 96 1994: 102 2000: 90

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VII) CNA

- ◆ 8 MARAD NDRF RRF Ro/Ro ships & crane ship activated to serve in MSC Prepositioning Force (1993-4)
 - ◆ Temporary activation while Large, Medium-Speed Roll-on/roll-off ships (LMSRs) being constructed / converted
 - ◆ Designated “Army Interim Brigade Afloat Force”
 - ◆ Returned to RRF (from 1997)
- ◆ New CINCTrans- MARAD Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) on funding, management & Activation of NDRF & RRF
 - ◆ Superseded 1988 MSC-MARAD MOA

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VIII) CNA

- ◆ Reinforcement of Germany (REFORGER) exercises to test, maintain sealift surge capabilities ended (1993)
- ◆ US-South Korea reinforcement exercises (Team Spirit) suspended to encourage better North Korean behavior (1994-6)
- ◆ MSC sealift & prepositioning ship support for Somalia, Bosnia, & Kosovo contingencies
- ◆ NDRF RRF ships activated for Somalia, Haiti, Guantanamo Bay ops; Hurricane Mitch disaster relief, etc.
 - ◆ RRF state Merchant Marine Academy troopship activated for US Army Somalia-Kenya run, due to fears of airliner vulnerability (1994)

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1990s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (IX) CNA

- ◆ Clinton Administration Maritime Security Act of 1996 focused on US Merchant Marine military sealift utility & availability
 - ◆ Maritime Security Program (MSP)
 - ◆ Subsidies only for militarily useful civilian ships
 - ◆ Subsidies for 47 ships in exchange for DOD emergency access
 - ◆ Voluntary Intermodal Shipping Agreement (VISA)
 - ◆ DOD peacetime cargo preference in exchange for DOD emergency access
 - ◆ Seen as alternative to Sealift Readiness Program (had been unused during Operations desert Shield & Desert storm)

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1990s: US-flag Merchant Marine (I)

CNA

- ◆ US economy more integrated into world economy
- ◆ International shipping tonnage to & from US ports surpassed domestic shipping tonnage (1994)
 - ◆ First time since 1820 (World Wars excepted)
- ◆ Military Cargo Preference Act of 1904 in force
 - ◆ Only US-flag ships can carry US-owned military items
- ◆ Jones Act (1920) in force
 - ◆ Only US-flag ships can carry cargoes between US ports
- ◆ Cargo Preference Act of 1954 in force
 - ◆ Private US-flag ships must carry 50-75% of US government-sponsored cargoes, e.g.: food aid

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1990s: US-flag Merchant Marine (II)

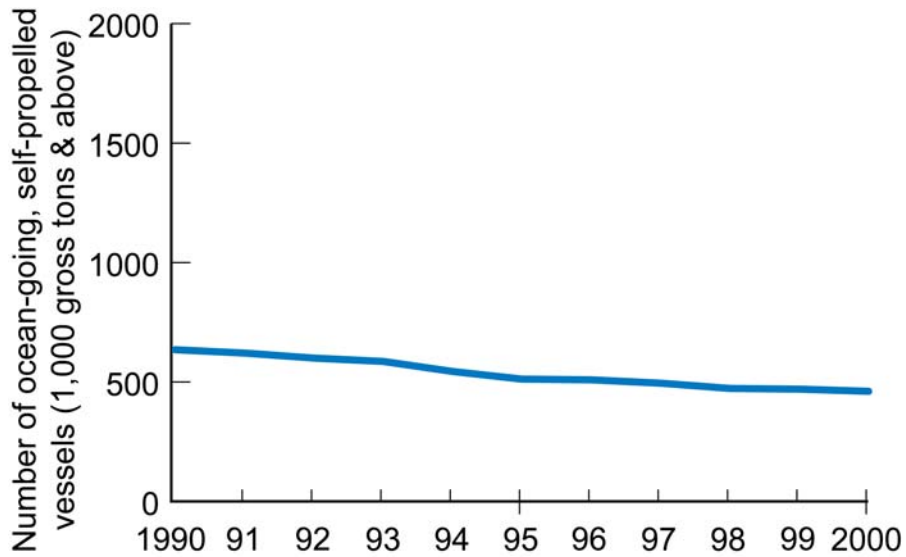
CNA

- ◆ US commercial Merchant Marine decline continued
 - ◆ Ocean-going ships (1000 gross tons & over)
 - ◆ 1990: 635 1995: 512 2000: 461
 - ◆ Dropped from 5% to 2% of world tonnage
 - ◆ Carried only 4% of US international trade
 - ◆ Non-government US civilian mariner #s continued to drop
 - ◆ 1990: 11,100 1995: 7,900 1999: 7,300
 - ◆ RRF relied on availability of US civilian mariners
- ◆ Effective US Control Fleet (EUSC) also declined
 - ◆ Rose, then declined again
 - ◆ 1989: 228 1997: 280 2000: 204

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1990s: US-flag Merchant Marine (III)

CNA



137

1990s: US-flag Merchant Marine (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Clinton Administration Maritime Security Act of 1996
 - ◆ Maritime Security Program (MSP)
 - ◆ Subsidies only for militarily useful civilian ships
 - ◆ Subsidies for 47 ships in exchange for DOD emergency access
 - ◆ Voluntary Intermodal Shipping Agreement (VISA)
 - ◆ DOD cargo preference in exchange for DOD emergency access
- ◆ US government Operating Differential Subsidies (ODS) (since 1936) phasing out
- ◆ MSP subsidies less costly to government than ODS
- ◆ Ocean Shipping Reform Act of 1998 (OSRA)
 - ◆ Amended Shipping Act of 1984
 - ◆ To increase US exports & shipping competition

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1990s: US shipbuilding industrial base (I)

- ◆ US commercial Merchant Marine shipbuilding averaged less than 2 per year
 - ◆ Near-cessation of US ocean-going merchant shipbuilding
 - ◆ No US government commercial ship construction subsidies (since Reagan years)
- ◆ Jones Act (1920) continued in force.
 - ◆ Sea trade between US ports must be in US-built ships
 - ◆ Most Jones Act trade (90% of tonnage) transported Alaskan oil to CONUS
- ◆ Clinton Administration restarted Federal Ship Financing Guarantee Program (1993)
 - ◆ Had been suspended by Reagan Administration (1986)

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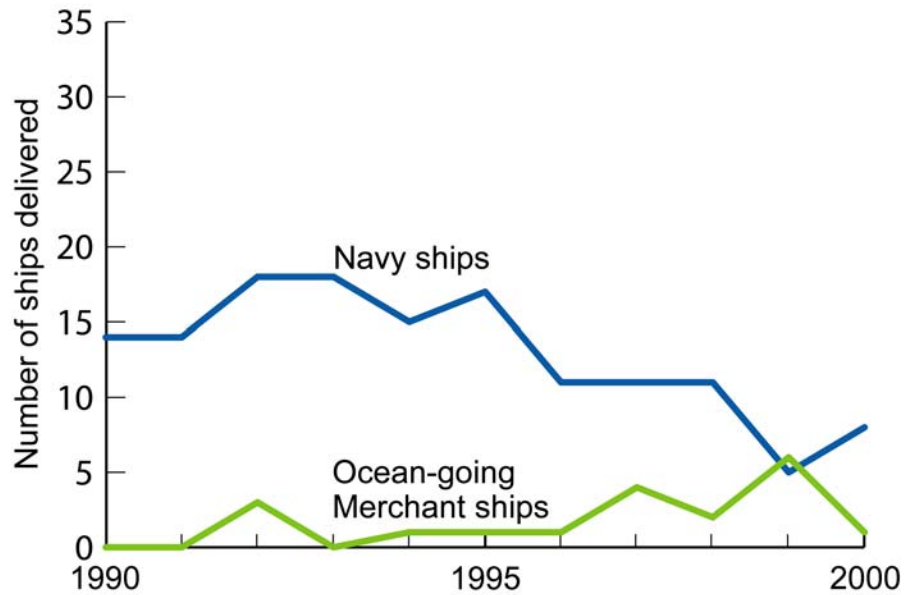
1990s: US shipbuilding industrial base (II)

- ◆ US shipbuilding industry largely dependent on US Navy orders
- ◆ Annual USN warship deliveries in double digits
- ◆ Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) actions closed 4 of 8 US government naval shipyards
- ◆ Major consolidations in US defense industry included “Big Six” private military shipyards
- ◆ Congress prohibited acquisition of foreign-built ships for Ready Reserve Force (RRF)
- ◆ Little military utility of most new US-built commercial ships

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1990s: US shipbuilding industrial base

CNA



Source: MARAD & Tim Colton.

1

1990s: US government naval shipyards

CNA

- ◆ Base Realignment & Closure (BRAC) actions cut USN (government) shipyards from 8 to 4

- ◆ Closed:

- ◆ Charleston (SC)
- ◆ Long Beach (CA)
- ◆ Mare Island (CA)
- ◆ Philadelphia (PA)

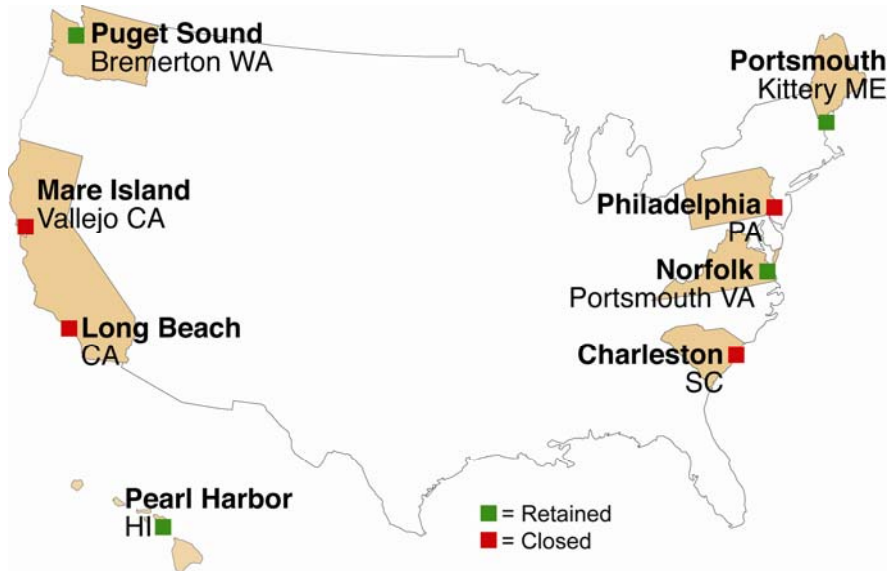
- ◆ Retained

- ◆ Norfolk (Portsmouth VA)
- ◆ Pearl Harbor (HI)
- ◆ Portsmouth (Kittery ME)
- ◆ Puget Sound (Bremerton WA)

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1990s: US government naval shipyards

CNA



1990s: US private naval shipbuilding

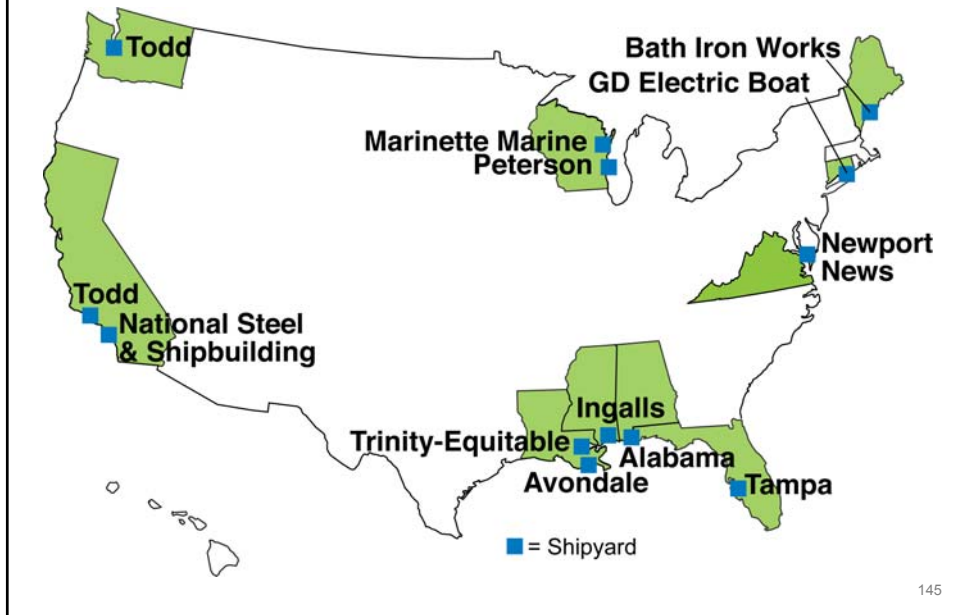
CNA

- ◆ Major consolidations in US defense industry included “Big Six” private military shipyards
 - ◆ GD (EB) bought Bath (1995), NASSCO (1998)
 - ◆ Litton (Ingalls) bought Avondale (1999)
 - ◆ Newport News remained independent
 - ◆ “Big Six” left Shipbuilders Council of America, formed their own trade group, American Shipbuilding Association (ASA) (1996)
 - ◆ Drastic employment cuts: Newport News, GD Electric Boat, Bath

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Major US private naval shipyards: 1991

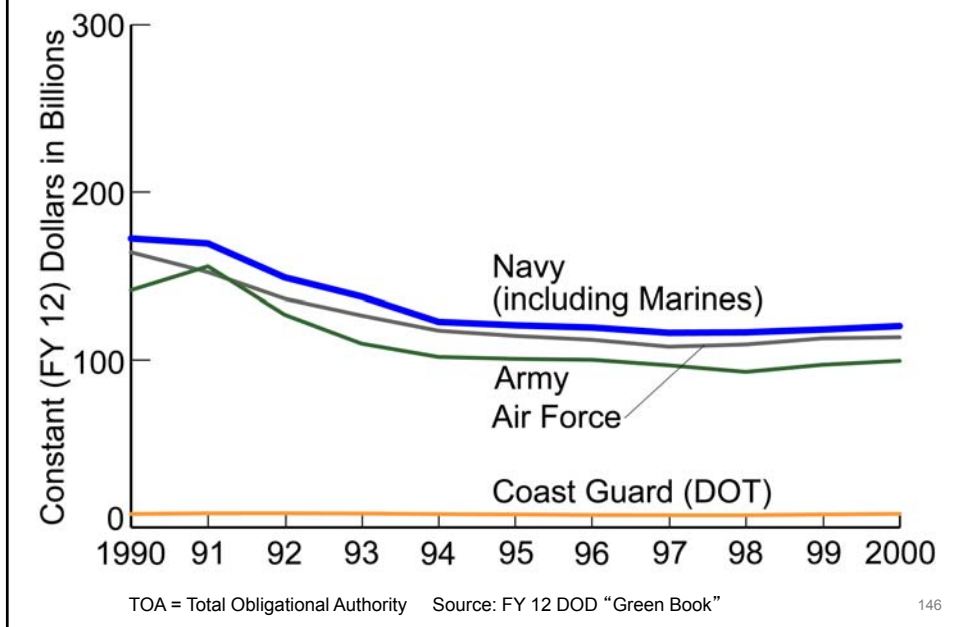
CNA



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1990s: Comparing military department TOA\$

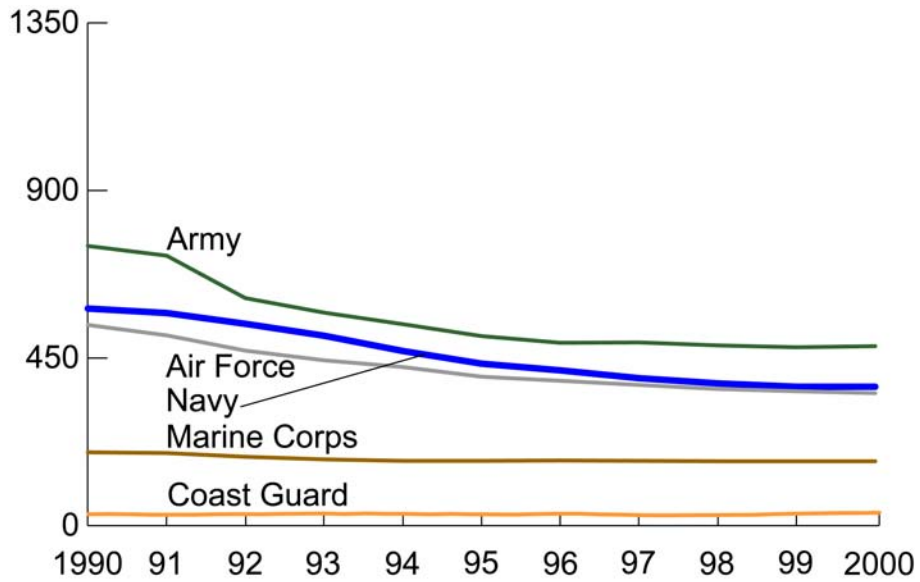
CNA



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1990s: Comparing active duty personnel

CNA



Source: FY 12 DOD "Green Book"

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1990s: USN-USMC relations

CNA



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1990s: USN-USMC relationships: Overview CNA

- ◆ Operational cooperation
- ◆ Some conceptual, bureaucratic, budgetary differences
- ◆ USMC achieved parity & equality with – and autonomy from -- USN in many areas

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1990s: Context for USN-USMC relations CNA

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	CMC	
<u>Gulf War</u>	1991	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	Gray
<u>Somalia ops</u>						
Yugoslav split	1992			O'Keefe		
Southern Watch						
	1993	Clinton	Aspin	Dalton		Mundy
Iraq TLAM strike						
<u>Haiti crises</u>	1994					
Adriatic ops						
<u>Somalia ops</u>	1995		Perry		Boorda	
Bosnia ops						
Taiwan Straits crisis	1996					
	1997				Johnson	Krulak
Desert Fox	1998					
DPRK missile shoot						
Kosovo occupied	1999		Cohen	Danzig		
Panama gets canal						
USS Cole attack	2000				Clark	Jones

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1990s: Operations

CNA

- ◆ Continued routine & crisis-response USMC forward deployments on USN ships
 - ◆ MEU (SOC)s on amphibious ships
 - ◆ MARDETs on non-amphibious ships (till 1997)
- ◆ Numerous USN-USMC amphibious operations throughout decade
 - ◆ Combat ops, non-combatant evacuation operations (NEOs), peace ops, shows of force, humanitarian assistance/disaster relief
 - ◆ Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, West Africa, Balkans, Bangladesh, Caribbean

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1990s: Operations: Desert Shield/Storm

CNA

- ◆ Amphibious feints & aborted assault plans vs. Iraq (1990-91)
 - ◆ USS *Nassau* as “Harrier carrier” (1991)
- ◆ Differing Desert Shield/ Storm aviation experiences
 - ◆ NAVCENT chafed at Navy TACAIR subordination to CENTAF procedures
 - ◆ MARCENT retained control of its aviation assets in support of Marines on the ground

152

1990s: Operational experimentation

CNA

- ◆ Marines deployed to Atlantic, Mediterranean on USN carriers (1991-3)
 - ◆ COMSIXTHFLT VADM Owens a strong USN-USMC integration advocate
 - ◆ VADM Owens subsequently became DCNO, Resources, Warfare Requirements and Assessments (OPNAV N8)
- ◆ Maritime Prepositioning Ship (MPS) (USNS *1stLT Jack Lummus*) attached to Amphibious Ready Group (ARG) (1992)
 - ◆ Experiment during Somalia ops

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1990s: Ships, craft & aircraft

CNA

- ◆ 7 LHDs commissioned (1989-2001)
- ◆ USMC still committed to LCAC, AAV, V-22
- ◆ USMC developed, deployed small riverine capability
 - ◆ Small Craft Company, II MEF (1991)
- ◆ Amphibious ship % of USN Battle Force stabilized
 - ◆ 1960s: 15% 1970s: 13% 1980s: 11% 1990s: 11%
- ◆ “DON LIFT 2” study & agreed force goals (1990)
 - ◆ But agreement dissipated through the decade

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1990s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

- ◆ Actual lift capacity & USMC goals both reduced
- ◆ USN amphibious ship count cut by 30%
- ◆ Increase in capability of individual amphibious ships
- ◆ “Necking down” of USN amphibious ship types
 - ◆ From 6 to 3
- ◆ USMC lift goals increasingly focused on # of ARGs for forward presence & crisis response ops
- ◆ USMC presented 2 levels of USMC lift goals:
 - ◆ “Operational requirements”
 - ◆ “Programmatic goals”

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1990s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

Year	Actual amphibious ship force levels	Actual troop lift (in MEFs)	Amphibious lift goals
1991	63 (LHA/LHD/LKA/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	1.2	3 MEB AE (P) / 2 MEF AE (O)
1992	57 ---	---	12 ARGs 2.5 MEB AE (P) / 3 MEB AE (O)
1993	55 ---	1.1	---
1994	39 (LHA/LHD/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	0.9	12 ARGs
1995	39 (LHA/LHD/LPD/LPH/LSD)	---	12 ARGs 2.5 MEB AE (P) / 3 MEB AE (O)
1996	40 ---	---	---
1997	41 ---	---	---
1998	40 (LHA/LHD/LPD/LSD)	1.0	---
1999	39 ---	0.9	---
2000	39 ---	---	44 ships (3 ARGs +2) 2.5 MEB AE (P) / 3 MEB AE (O)

AE = Assault echelon P = Programmatic goal O = Operational requirement

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1990s: USN-USMC relations

- ◆ Non-operational USN-USMC relations sometimes fractious
- ◆ USN-USMC disagreements over USMC share of DON budget
 - ◆ Differences over V-22 funding, USN-USMC TACAIR integration, other issues
- ◆ Under Secretary of the Navy (later Secretary of the Navy) Richard Danzig particularly active in encouraging integration

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1990s: Program issues: Ships

- ◆ Increased USMC amphibious ship requirements
 - ◆ MAGTF weight/square/cube growth
- ◆ New Maritime Prepositioning Force (Future) (MPF(F) ship designs
 - ◆ USMC pushed for sea basing
 - ◆ USN had cost concerns

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1990s: Program issues: aircraft

CNA

- ◆ Declining budgets & increasing but diverging aviation requirements & costs caused tensions
- ◆ F/A-18 aircraft issues (resolved)
 - ◆ USMC declined F/A-18E/F; wanted more F/A-18C/Ds
 - ◆ USN wanted to close F/A-18C/D line
 - ◆ SECNAV-CNO-CMC agreement
 - ◆ F/A-18 C/D line to close. USN to buy F/A-18E/F. Excess USN F/A-18C/Ds to go to USMC

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1990s: Integration accomplishments

CNA

- ◆ Some increased USN-USMC staff, management, & support integration
 - ◆ USMC MajGen became OPNAV Expeditionary Warfare director (N85) (1993)
 - ◆ Naval Special Warfare boat crew training on MCAS Cherry Point NC bombing range (from 1991)
 - ◆ USN-USMC-USCG National Maritime Intelligence Center (NMIC) created (1994)
 - ◆ Navy/Marine Corps Intranet (NMCI) instituted (2000)
 - ◆ Strong SECNAV Danzig push

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1990s: Increased USMC autonomy, status

- ◆ More USMC generals became unified CINCs (1992)
 - ◆ Gen Sheehan appointed SACLANT/CINCUSACOM (1994)
 - ◆ 1st non-Navy SACLANT/CINCUSACOM
- ◆ USMC components established at unified combatant commands (1992)
- ◆ Increased USMC general officer numbers
- ◆ CMC & staff moved into Pentagon spaces (1996)
 - ◆ USN gave up spaces within DON space allocation
- ◆ No drop in USMC active end strength in 1990s
 - ◆ Contrast with US Army, USN, USAF
 - ◆ Inter-service end strength ratios altered significantly

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1990s: USMC outlook changing

- ◆ USMC viewed itself as nation's expeditionary force
- ◆ Disavowed its earlier Cold War plans, *Maritime Strategy* participation
- ◆ Naval Expeditionary Task Force (NETF) command & control doctrine differences
- ◆ USMC retained role in sustained operations ashore
- ◆ USMC tried to focus USN attention beyond blue-water operations

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1990s: USMC on USN ships & bases

CNA

- ◆ USMC Security Force companies & FAST Teams consolidated under Marine Corps Security Force Battalion (Norfolk VA) (1993)
- ◆ Last MARDETs removed from non-amphibious USN ships (1997)
- ◆ USMC Security Companies on USN bases disestablished (from 1998)
- ◆ USMC FAST companies tasked to augment USN base security as needed instead

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1990s: Differences over the “littoral” (I)

CNA

- ◆ Both USN & USMC shifted focus in 1990s toward operations in the “littoral”
- ◆ “Littoral” seen as having both sea & land elements
- ◆ USN view:
 - ◆ Strike missions on the littoral -- from the sea -- predominate, so USN plays predominant role. Amphibious operations are one of many other missions on or from the sea, like AAW, ASW, ASUW, EW, mine warfare, etc.

164

1990s: Differences over the “littoral” (II)

CNA

- ◆ USMC view:
 - ◆ The sea is a staging area for ground operations ashore.
 - ◆ Operational maneuver of Marines from the sea to the land (and on the land) – reaching far inland -- is principal military mission in the littoral.
 - ◆ At least co-equal with all other operations on or from the sea.
 - ◆ Strike from the sea should primarily support Marines ashore
 - ◆ USMC is at least a co-equal – & probably the dominant – service in the Littoral

165

1990s: NAVDOCCOM

CNA

- ◆ Naval Doctrine Command (NAVDOCCOM) established in Norfolk VA (1993)
- ◆ Concept: Integrated Navy-Marine Corps command
- ◆ Initial plan:
 - ◆ Navy flag officer commander; Marine general officer deputy
 - ◆ To be relieved by Marine general officer commander, Navy flag officer deputy

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1990s: NAVDOCCOM issues

- ◆ USMC did not disestablish its own service doctrine organization & meld it into NAVDOCCOM
- ◆ USMC did not provide a general officer commander or deputy
- ◆ USN concerns at “2-way USMC influence on USN doctrine”
 - ◆ USN needed to continue to coordinate with MCCDC
 - ◆ O-6 USMC deputy within NAVDOCCOM
 - ◆ E.g.: NDP 3 *Naval Operations* never agreed on/ signed
- ◆ Continued simultaneous USMC development of single-service visions, concepts, strategy & doctrine
 - ◆ E.g.: CMC signed MCDP 3 *Expeditionary Operations* (1998)

Naval Doctrine Publications (NDPs)



1990s: Other doctrinal efforts

- ◆ Joint Pub 3-02 *Joint Doctrine for Amphibious Operations* signed (1992)
 - ◆ Superseded 1986 edition
 - ◆ No further revision for a decade
- ◆ USMC maneuver warfare focus
 - ◆ FMFM 1 *Warfighting* (1989)
 - ◆ MCDP 1 *Warfighting* (1997)

1990s: USMC experimentation & concepts

- ◆ CMC Gen Charles Krulak agenda (1995-9):
 - ◆ Instill mindset of change-acceptance, creativity & persistent innovation into USMC
 - ◆ Emphasized culture of “Marines as innovators”
 - ◆ Commandant’s Warfighting Laboratory created (1995)
 - ◆ Subsequently Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory (MCWL)
 - ◆ Advanced Warfighting Experiments (AWE), etc.
- ◆ 12 new USMC warfighting concepts developed
 - ◆ 1996-8
 - ◆ Some Navy participation
 - ◆ UNCLAS
 - ◆ Widely disseminated

1990s: USMC warfighting concepts (I)

CNA

- ◆ USMC warfighting concepts #1-#6 (1996-8)
 - ◆ CMC, *Operational Maneuver from the Sea (OMFTS)* (1996)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC, *Ship to Objective Maneuver (STOM)* (1997)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC, *A Concept for Future Military Operations on Urbanized Terrain* (1997)
 - ◆ CMC, *Maritime Prepositioning Force 2010 & Beyond* (1997)
 - ◆ CMC, *Beyond C2: A Concept for Comprehensive Command & Coordination of the Marine Air-Ground Task Force* (1998)
 - ◆ DC PP&O, *Joint Concept for Non-Lethal Weapons* (1998)

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1990s: USMC warfighting concepts (II)

CNA

- ◆ USMC warfighting concepts #7-#12 (1998)
 - ◆ CMC, *The MAGTF in Sustained Operations Ashore* (1998)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC *Advanced Expeditionary Fire Support* (1998)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC, *A Concept for Antiarmor Operations* (1998)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC & COMNAVDOCCOM, *Concept for Future Naval Mine Countermeasures in Littoral Power Projection* (1998)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC & COMNAVDOCCOM, *Seabased Logistics* (1998)
 - ◆ CG MCCDC, *A Concept for Information Operations* (1998)

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1990s: USMC in USN “capstone” documents CNA

- ◆ USN “capstone” documents
 - ◆ ***The Way Ahead* (1991)**
 - ◆ *The Navy Policy Book* (1992)
 - ◆ . . . ***From the Sea* (1992)**
 - ◆ ***Naval Doctrine Pub 1: Naval Warfare* (1994)**
 - ◆ ***Forward . . . From the Sea* (1994)**
 - ◆ *Navy Operational Concept (NOC)* (1997)
 - ◆ *Anytime, Anywhere* (1997)
 - ◆ *Navy Strategic Planning Guidance* (1999 & 2000)
- ◆ CMCs & CNOs co-signed **bolded** pubs above (1991-94)
 - ◆ Important role of BGen Tom Wilkerson USMC

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1990s: USMC in USN “capstone” documents CNA

- ◆ *Way Ahead, . . . From the Sea, Forward . . . From the Sea* published in *Marine Corps Gazette*
- ◆ . . . *From the Sea, Forward . . . From the Sea* cited in seminal USMC OMFTS concept of 1990s
- ◆ 1994 a high-water mark of USMC influence on USN capstone documents
- ◆ Hiatus in co-signed CNO-CMC capstone documents (1995-2001)

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1990s: USN-USMC differences aired

CNA

- ◆ Mundy-Kelso-Mixson discussion of Department of the Navy (DON) Navy-Marine Corps program and budget splits; & USMC influence in DON budget
 - ◆ Former CMC Gen Carl Mundy, USMC (Ret), “NAVY marine corps team,” US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Dec 1995)
 - ◆ Former CNO ADM Frank Kelso, USN (Ret) response, US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Jan 1996)
 - ◆ Former OPNAV Director Air Warfare (N88) RADM Riley Mixson USN (Ret) response, US Naval Institute *Proceedings* (Feb 1996)

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1990s: USN-USCG relations

CNA



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1990s: Context for USN–USCG Relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SEC TRANS	CCG	
<u>Gulf War</u>	1991	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	Skinner	Kime
Somalia ops	1992			O'Keefe	Card		
Yugoslav split							
<u>Southern Watch</u>	1993	Clinton	Aspin	Dalton	Peña	Kramek	
Somalia/Adriatic ops	1994						
Haiti/Cuba migrant ops							
Haiti crises							
<u>Adriatic ops</u>	1995		Perry		Boorda		
Somalia ops	1996				Johnson		
<u>Bosnia ops</u>	1997				Slater	Loy	
Taiwan Straits crisis	1998						
<u>Kosovo ops</u>	1999		Cohen	Danzig			
Canal to Panama	2000				Clark		
USS <i>Cole</i> attack							

1990s: USN-USCG relations (I)

- ◆ USCG in Department of Transportation
- ◆ USCG cutters, WPBs, PSUs lost planned anti-Soviet wartime roles, with end of Cold War
 - ◆ USCG cut all “defense-only” requirements & capabilities
 - ◆ USCG eliminated ASW as a WHEC capability (1992)
 - ◆ USCG removed remaining ASW & ASUW systems from 12 WHECs; dropped E-2Cs
 - ◆ Decreased USN funding of USCG defense gear
- ◆ USCG gained roles in new DOD joint Major Regional Contingency (MRC)/Major Theater War (MTW) plans of 1990s
 - ◆ Used non-defense capabilities in defense roles

1990s: USN-USCG relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ *National Security Directive (NSD) 57: U.S. Port Security Program* updated USCG role controlling foreign access to US ports (1991)
- ◆ DOT-DOD Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) established 5 USCG defense missions (1995)
 - ◆ Maritime intercept operations
 - ◆ Environmental defense
 - ◆ Deployed port security
 - ◆ Peacetime engagement
 - ◆ Coastal sea control ops
 - ◆ (Based on USCG core capabilities)
- ◆ USCG officially joined US intelligence community

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1990s: USN-USCG relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ CAPT Bruce Stubbs USCG, *The U.S. Coast Guard's National Security Role in the Twenty-First Century*
 - ◆ Naval War College Center for Naval Warfare Studies (1992)
 - ◆ Seminal work on USN-USCG relationships
- ◆ USN-USCG NAVGARD Board for policy coordination continued
- ◆ USN-USCG Maritime Defense Zone (MARDEZ) concept expanded to include overseas forward deployments (1994)
 - ◆ Foreign & US forward port security, coastal sea control
- ◆ 1st signed USN CNO – COMDT USCG *National Fleet* policy statement (1998)
 - ◆ COMDT USCG ADM Loy initiative; focus on surface forces⁸⁰

1990s: USN-USCG relations (IV)

- ◆ USN-USMC-USCG National Maritime Intelligence Center (NMIC) created (1994)
- ◆ USCG joined USN-NOAA Joint Ice Center to form new National Ice Center (1996)
 - ◆ CO of National Ice Center is CO of Naval Ice Center
- ◆ President's Interagency Task Force on U.S. Coast Guard Roles and Missions, *The U.S. Coast Guard of the 21st Century* (Jan 2000)

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1990s: USN-USCG relations (V)

- ◆ Major USCG Cuba, Haiti ops (1993-5)
 - ◆ Operation *Able Mariner* to block Haitian migrants (1993)
 - ◆ 17 USCG vessels; 5 USN ships
 - ◆ Then Haiti denied USN entry; but allowed USCG cutters (1993)
 - ◆ USCG deployed cutters, law enforcement detachments (LEDETs), buoy tenders, patrol boats, port security units (PSUs)
 - ◆ 1st naval force into Haiti
 - ◆ Operation *Able Vigil* to rescue, detain Cuban migrants (1994)
 - ◆ USN support
 - ◆ Largest USCG operation since Vietnam War; largest joint peacetime op in USCG history (38 USCG vessels)
 - ◆ USCG in Operation *Uphold Democracy* in Haiti (Sep 1994-5)

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1990s: USN-USCG relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ USCG Operation *Desert Shield/Desert Storm* participation (1990-1991)
 - ◆ USCG PSUs, LEDETs, a/c deployed in theater
 - ◆ No cutters deployed in theater
- ◆ USN-USCG counter-drug ops intensified
 - ◆ USCG-led JTFs 4, 5 now USCG-led JIATFs East, West (1994)
 - ◆ USN aircraft. USN warships w/ USCG LEDETs
 - ◆ USCG established armed helo HITRONs (1999)
- ◆ USCG Law Enforcement Detachments (LEDETs) consolidated under 3 Tactical Law Enforcement Teams ((TACLETs)

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1990s: USN-USCG relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Periodic WHEC forward deployments ISO regional CINCs & NCCs
 - ◆ 1st WHEC deployed integrated into USN CVBG (1995)
- ◆ USCG Caribbean Support Tender (CST) (1999)
 - ◆ USCGC *Gentian* (WIX-290)
 - ◆ Former buoy tender (WLB-290)
 - ◆ Multi-national crew for in-theater Theater Security Cooperation (TSC) ops

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1990s: USN-USCG relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ USCG HH-60 *Jayhawk* SAR helo in service
 - ◆ Based on USN SH-60 *Seahawk* helo frame
- ◆ USN salvage and rescue ship USS *Edenton* (ATS-1) transferred to USCG (1997)
 - ◆ Became USCGC *Alex Haley* (WMEC 39)
- ◆ USN NAVSEA oversaw construction of research icebreaker USCGC *Healy* (WAGB-20)
- ◆ Aborted USN plan to transfer 7 USN PCs to USCG

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1990s: USN-USAF Relations

CNA



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1990s: USN-USAF Relationship: Bottom Lines

CNA

- ◆ Strengthened Goldwater-Nichols Act roles for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the unified commanders became the new joint norm
 - ◆ Decline in influence of both service staffs over operations
 - ◆ New unified Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM) created.
- ◆ Demise of Soviet Union and Soviet Navy shifted interest in both services toward shore target strike operations and capabilities, and forward presence; away from strategic deterrence, sea control and counter-sea ops and capabilities
- ◆ USN-USAF cooperation increased across the board; rivalry eased
 - ◆ Contentious issues still surfaced, however

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1990s: USN-USAF Relationship: Bottom Lines

CNA

- ◆ 1991 Desert Storm experience a powerful wake-up call for the Navy
- ◆ Navy suddenly not pleased with itself, its strategy, its systems, and its operational performance
- ◆ Navy sought to improve throughout the decade, including closer cooperation – and integration – with joint – and USAF – policies and procedures
 - ◆ Closer integration into USAF Air Tasking Order (ATO)
 - ◆ USAF primary tanking source for Navy carrier aviation
 - ◆ USN assumed Electronic Warfare (EW) and Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses (SEAD) capabilities previously shared with USAF

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1990s: Context for USN–USAF Relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SECAF	CSAF	
<u>Gulf War</u>	1991	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	Rice	McPeak
Somalia ops	1992			O' Keefe		Widnall	
Yugoslav split				Clinton	Aspin		Dalton
<u>Southern Watch</u>	1993						
Somalia/Adriatic Ops	1994				Boorda	Fogleman	
Iraq TLAM strike							
Haiti crises	1995						
<u>Adriatic ops</u>	1996						
Somalia ops							
<u>Bosnia ops</u>	1997						
Taiwan Straits crisis	1998				Johnson	Peters	Ryan
Desert Strike							
Hong Kong to China	1999						
Desert Fox	2000						
DPRK missile shoot							
<u>Kosovo ops</u>		Cohen	Danzig				
Canal to Panama							
USS <i>Cole</i> attack				Clark			

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1990s: The U.S. Air Force (I)

- ◆ Drastic cuts
 - ◆ Fighter/attack inventory cuts
 - ◆ From 4200+ (1991) to 2500 (end of decade)
 - ◆ Continued transition to, increased reliance on Precision Guided Munitions (PGMs), stealth technology
 - ◆ New aircraft purchase cuts
 - ◆ USAF aircraft fleet age increase
 - ◆ F-4G *Wild Weasel* and EF-111A *Raven* electronic warfare (EW) aircraft retired
- ◆ Space, C4ISR, mobility systems took increased share of USAF budget, at expense of combat aircraft

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1990s: The U.S. Air Force (II)

- ◆ E-8 Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS) battle management and command and control aircraft introduced (1991)
- ◆ B-2 Spirit stealth bomber introduced (1993)
- ◆ Cruise missile reductions
 - ◆ ALCM numbers cut drastically; all GLCMs destroyed
- ◆ Increased USAF use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs)
 - ◆ RQ-1 *Predator* reconnaissance UAV introduced (1995)

191

1990s: The U.S. Air Force (III)

- ◆ SECDEF Cheney fired Chief of Staff of the Air Force (CSAF) Gen Dugan over public comments re: potential operations vs. Iraq (1990)
- ◆ Historic USAF internal reorganization (1992-3)
 - ◆ Strategic Air Command (SAC), Tactical Air Command (TAC), Military Airlift Command (MAC) inactivated
 - ◆ New Air Combat Command (ACC), Air Mobility Command (AMC) activated
 - ◆ SAC bombers to ACC
 - ◆ SAC Tankers to AMC
 - ◆ SAC ICBMs to Air Force Space Command

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1990s: The U.S. Air Force (IV)

- ◆ National defense policy favored short-range TACAIR over long-range bombers
 - ◆ Assumed USAF TACAIR and USN carrier forward access and TACAIR forward basing
 - ◆ Assumed relatively small countries/areas as possible targets
- ◆ Heavy influence of TACAIR pilots within USAF
- ◆ Still no US Air Force officers assigned to command regional joint unified commands

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1990s: The U.S. Air Force (V)

- ◆ USAF transformed its TACAIR deployment strategy
 - ◆ Forward-based theater garrisons reduced
 - ◆ 2/3 of USAF active personnel in Europe withdrawn
 - ◆ CONUS-based “Aerospace Expeditionary Forces” (AEFs) created to surge respond to contingencies, worldwide
 - ◆ AEF to Bahrain (1995)
 - ◆ CSAF Gen Michael Ryan “Expeditionary Aerospace Force” announcement (1998)
 - ◆ 10 AEFs stood up (1999)
 - ◆ Conscious and publicly acknowledged emulation of Navy rotational forward deployment practices

194

1990s: The U.S. Air Force (VI)

- ◆ USAF intellectual institutions evolved
 - ◆ Air University CADRE organization continued
 - ◆ Air Force Doctrine Center (AFDC) created at Maxwell AFB, reporting to Chief of Staff of the Air Force (CSAF) (1996)
 - ◆ Changing Air Staff “Checkmate” division missions throughout the decade
 - ◆ Controversial influence on in-theater ops & high visibility during Gulf War (1990-1991)
 - ◆ Reversion to studies & analysis activities (after 1991)
 - ◆ Increased operational planning support to theater commanders (late 1990s)

195

1990s: The U.S. Air Force (VII)

- ◆ USAF airpower theory refinement
 - ◆ Air power seen as directly contributing to, and perhaps solely responsible for, achieving high-level strategic objectives in conventional war
 - ◆ Conventional air campaigns seen as preparatory to, not just integrated with, ground campaigns, and potentially *decisive* in themselves
 - ◆ Relationships between air and space hotly debated

196

1990s: USAF Capstone Publications (I)

CNA

- ◆ SECAF Rice, *Global Reach-Global Power* (1990)
 - ◆ Published before Operations Desert Shield/ Desert Storm
 - ◆ Top-down Pentagon-created guidance
 - ◆ Inspired in part by success of *The Maritime Strategy*
- ◆ AFM 1-1, *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force* (1992)
 - ◆ Drafted by Air University CADRE organization
 - ◆ Based more on actual historical experience than predecessors
- ◆ *Global Reach – Global Power: The Evolving Air Force Contribution to National Security* (1992)

197

1990s: USAF Capstone Publications (II)

CNA

- ◆ SECAF Widnall and CSAF Gen Fogelman, *Global Presence* (1995)
- ◆ SECAF Widnall and CSAF Gen Fogelman, *Global Engagement: A Vision for the 21st Century Air Force* (1996)
 - ◆ Emphasized Air Campaigns and US Air Force strategic role in conventional war
 - ◆ Emphasis on space operations
 - ◆ Complex, Air Force-wide development process
- ◆ AFDD 1, *Air Force Basic Doctrine* (1997)
- ◆ SECAF Peters and CSAF Gen Ryan, *America's Air Force Vision 2020: Global Vigilance, Reach and Power* (2000)

198

1990s: U.S. Air Force Visions and Doctrine

CNA

- ◆ USAF Scientific Advisory Board, *New World Vistas: Air and Space Power for the 21st Century* (1995)
- ◆ Air University, *Air Force 2025* (1996)
- ◆ AFDD 2-1.4 *Countersea Operations* (1999)

199

1990s: U.S. Navy Capstone Documents

CNA

- ◆ Periodic mention of USAF contributions, capabilities, limitations or dependence on US naval power in USN capstone strategy, policy and concept documents of the decade
 - ◆ Especially . . . *From the Sea* (1992)

200

1990s: USN-USAF Staff Relationships

- ◆ Routine Navy and Air Force (NAVAF) Board meetings
- ◆ USN derided USAF concept of “virtual presence”
 - ◆ USAF decried Navy claims of autonomous at-sea operations, rapid response
- ◆ SECDEF designated USAF-dominated US Transportation Command as combatant commander and single-manager for all Defense Department transportation assets, in peace and war
 - ◆ Secretary of the Navy (SECNAV) no longer Defense Department single-manager for Sealift

201

1990s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

- ◆ Major integrated air operations by both services throughout the decade, especially over:
 - ◆ Iraq (Operations *Desert Storm*, *Southern Watch*, etc.)
 - ◆ The former Yugoslavia (Operations *Deliberate Force*, *Allied Force*, etc.)
- ◆ Increasing USN dependence on USAF E-3 Sentry AWACS support in Iraq (Operations *Desert Storm*, *Southern Watch*)
- ◆ Increasing USAF dependence on USN/USMC EA-6B Prowler support for electronic warfare
- ◆ Continued forward USN Military Sealift Command (MSC) prepositioning of USAF munitions

202

1990s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Converted T-AGOS ship USNS *Invincible* re-designated as missile range instrumentation ship (T-AGM-24). MSC to operate in continued support of USAF missile test data-gathering programs (Apr 2000)
- ◆ New York Air National Guard (ANG) 109th Airlift Wing took over Operation *Deep Freeze* US Antarctica scientific program military support mission from USN units (1996-1999)
 - ◆ USN Antarctic Development Squadron VXE-6 decommissioned (1999)
 - ◆ USN MSC ships and cargo-handling battalion continued to provide sea-borne support

203

1990s: Exercise Relationships

CNA

- ◆ USN exercised joint air operations using Air Force-driven joint doctrine
 - ◆ Initial examples
 - ◆ Joint USCINCLANT exercise *Ocean Venture 92*
 - ◆ Joint USCINCPAC exercise *Tandem Trust 92*
 - ◆ Characteristics
 - ◆ Integrated Joint Forces Air Component Commander (JFACC) staffs
 - ◆ Joint Targeting Coordination Boards created
 - ◆ Improved communications between forces at sea and ashore
 - ◆ Other joint exercises (e.g., *Northern Edge*)
- ◆ USN developed, tested “JFACC afloat” and sea-based Joint Air Operations Center (JAOC) capabilities

204

1990s: Education and Training Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Increased joint USN-USAF education and training consolidation
- ◆ USN/USAF developed common primary trainer aircraft
 - ◆ T-6 *Texan II* Joint Primary Air Training System (JPATS)
 - ◆ Joint program; USAF as Executive Service
- ◆ USN/USAF consolidated Naval Flight Officer (NFO) and some USAF combat systems officer training at NAS Pensacola (from 1994)
 - ◆ Command of USN Training Squadron TEN (VT-10) alternated between USN and USAF (from 1997)
- ◆ Continued Navy-USAF pilot exchanges: Squadron and flight instructor duty and test pilot schools, war college exchanges

205

1990s: USN-USAF TACAIR Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Operation *Desert Storm*: Navy surprised and chagrined to be (by CINC direction):
 - ◆ Directed by USAF-led Joint Forces Air Component Commander (JFACC), supported by a largely USAF staff
 - ◆ Subsumed within centralized USAF-designed joint Air Tasking Order (ATO), by CINC direction
- ◆ USN unfamiliar with JFACC, ATO processes, unable to link to USAF Computer-Assisted Force Management System (CAFMS)
- ◆ USN dependent on scarce USAF tanker refueling
- ◆ USAF tended to downplay capabilities of USN BGM-109 *Tomahawk* land-attack (TLAM) cruise missiles
- ◆ But Navy contributions real: Ops, intel, SEAD

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1990s: USN-USAF TACAIR Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ Post-*Desert Storm*: Increasingly tight US naval aviation joint integration IAW USAF-led doctrine and tactics, techniques and procedures (TTP)
 - ◆ USN adapted rapidly to USAF-led doctrine and TTP, in wake of Operation *Desert Storm* (e.g., improved Air Tasking Order (ATO) processing, improved Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) participation by Naval and Amphibious Liaison Elements (NALEs))
 - ◆ Operations *Northern Watch* and *Southern Watch* over Iraq acted as laboratories for increasing USN-USAF TTP cooperation and coordination
 - ◆ USN still critical of JFACC concept, concerned at rigidity of ATO in joint NATO strike operation *Deliberate Force* (strike ops vs. Bosnian Serbs)
- ◆ Increased USAF and USN strike precision
 - ◆ Navy capabilities came up to Air Force levels

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1990s: Electronic Warfare Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Success of (scarce) US Navy Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses (SEAD) platforms, weapons, and systems in support of all services during Desert Storm
 - ◆ Especially High-speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM) missile-shooting aircraft
 - ◆ But some in USAF criticized what they saw as profligate USN expenditure of HARM weapons, shooting without positive locks on enemy targets

208

1990s: Electronic Warfare Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ USN, USMC EA-6B Prowler became sole US military tactical airborne electronic attack capability
 - ◆ Deployment of USN expeditionary squadrons, detachments to/from land bases
 - ◆ Carrier-capable (including USAF crews)
 - ◆ USAF provided some crews to Navy squadrons (from 1997)
 - ◆ USAF saw reduced need for SEAD through EW, given stealth low-observable characteristics of F-117, B-2, F-22 & anticipated Joint Strike Fighter (JSF)
 - ◆ USAF F-4G *Wild Weasel* aircraft retired (by 1996)
 - ◆ USAF EF-111A *Raven* aircraft retired (by 1998)

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1990s: Electronic Warfare Relationships (III)

CNA

- ◆ Non-stealthy USN F/A-18 *Hornet* aircraft required electronic warfare aircraft for suppression of enemy air defenses (SEAD)
 - ◆ Secretary of Defense (SECDEF) Cheney cancelled USN A-12 *Avenger II* stealthy attack aircraft development program (1991)

210

1990s: Aerial Refueling Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Increasing USN dependence on USAF
 - ◆ Short-legged USN F/A-18C/D force
 - ◆ Longer-legged USN F/A-18E/Fs under development; Long-legged USN F-14s scheduled to retire
 - ◆ Post-Cold War USAF tanker support emphasis shifted from SAC bombers to USAF TACAIR, other TACAIR
 - ◆ More USAF tankers modified to refuel USN TACAIR aircraft
 - ◆ USN organic carrier-based KA-6D *Intruder* tanker aircraft retired (by 1997)
 - ◆ Replaced by S-3B *Vikings* equipped with aerial refueling system (“buddy stores”)
 - ◆ Some continuing Navy TACAIR chagrin at having to be refueled by USAF

211

1990s: Strategic Nuclear Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ USN SSBN forces finally placed under operational command of a joint unified commander: USCINCSTRAT (1992)
 - ◆ US Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM) command rotated between USAF generals, USN admirals (1994-6, 1998-2002)
- ◆ Reduced USAF focus on nuclear deterrence mission, forces
- ◆ USN nuclear deterrence focus unchanged

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1990s: Strategic Nuclear Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ USN Strategic Communications Wing ONE and its land-based E-6A *Mercury* “TACAMO” SSBN communications aircraft relocated to Tinker AFB, OK (1992)
 - ◆ Inherited *Looking Glass* National Command Authorities (NCA) airborne strategic command and control role from USAF (1998)
 - ◆ Multi-role E-6B aircraft 1st deployed (1998)

213

1990s: Airlift Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Increasing USN dependence on USAF for long-haul airlift of critical parts, supplies, personnel
- ◆ Land-based intra-theater airlift issues
 - ◆ Commission on Roles and Missions (CORM) recommended reduction & assignment of most USN Operational Support Airlift (OSA) aircraft to USAF, to be managed by USTRANSCOM (1995)
 - ◆ USN sought to retain admin and operational authority over USN OSA aircraft, under USN fleet commanders
 - ◆ DEPSECDEF (former CORM chairman) transferred scheduling authority in CONUS for USN OSA aircraft to USCINTRANS (1996)
 - ◆ Scheduling authority for overseas theater USN OSA transferred to geographical unified commanders (1996)
 - ◆ USN retained ADCON over OSA VR squadrons and aircraft

214

1990s: Space Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Continued high USN use of USAF space systems
- ◆ Continued modest USN funding of space systems
- ◆ USN “leverage” strategy to influence USAF decisions
 - ◆ USN contributed enough resources to justify a role in decision-making
- ◆ USAF favored and Navy opposed designation of Space as a CINC Area of Responsibility (AOR) for USCINCSpace

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1990s: Space Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ USAF-led Global Positioning System (GPS) operational; joint use in *Desert Storm*
- ◆ USAF passed FLTSATCOM control to Navy
- ◆ Navy and USAF developing UHF Follow-On to replace FLTSATCOM
- ◆ National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) intelligence flow increased to all services, including Navy
 - ◆ NRO existence, mission declassified (1992)

216

1990s: USN-USAF Systems Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF) program
 - ◆ USAF continued development. Chose Lockheed prototype. Became F-22 *Raptor*
 - ◆ Navy terminated Navy Advanced Tactical Fighter (NATF) variant development due to weight, cost, complexity issues (1991)
- ◆ USAF-USN Joint Advanced Strike Technology (JAST) program (from 1993)
 - ◆ Eventually evolved into F-35 Joint Strike Fighter
- ◆ Atrophy of USAF capabilities to support maritime campaigns
 - ◆ *Harpoon* anti-ship missiles removed from B-52s (1989)

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1990s: USN-USAF Systems Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ Navy developed, built up stocks of precision-guided munitions (PGMs)
 - ◆ Caught up to USAF
- ◆ Joint Navy-USAF development of weapons systems:
 - ◆ AGM-154 Joint Stand-off Weapon (JSOW-A)
 - ◆ AGM-158 Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile (JASSM)
 - ◆ AIM-120 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM)
 - ◆ GBU-31/32/38 Joint Direct Action Munition (JDAM)
- ◆ USN deployed USAF-developed Low Altitude Navigation and Targeting Infrared for Night (LANTIRN) pod system on USN F-14s (1997)

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1990s: USN-USAF Meteorological Relationships CNA

- ◆ Oceanographer of the Navy – USAF Director of Weather “Navy-Air Force Cooperation Implementation Action Memorandum” (NAVAF Agreement) (Jan 1993)
 - ◆ To evaluate potential areas of cooperation, in the wake of Operation *Desert Storm* meteorological support issues
 - ◆ 19 initiatives identified for study, possible implementation

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1990s: USN-US Army relations CNA



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1990s: Context for USN–US Army relations CNA

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SECARMY	CSA	
<u>Gulf War</u>	1991	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	Stone	Vuono
<u>Somalia ops</u>	1992			O' Keefe	West	Sullivan	
Yugoslav split							
Southern Watch	1993	Clinton	Aspin	Dalton			
<u>Somalia/Adriatic Ops</u>							
Iraq TLAM strike	1994						
Haiti crises							
<u>Adriatic ops</u>	1995		Perry		Boorda	Reimer	
<u>Somalia ops</u>							
<u>Bosnia ops</u>	1996						
Taiwan Straits crisis							
Desert Strike	1997			Johnson			
Hong Kong to China							
Desert Fox	1998				Caldera		
DPRK missile shoot							
<u>Kosovo ops</u>	1999	Cohen	Danzig			Shinseki	
Canal to Panama							
USS <i>Cole</i> attack	2000			Clark			

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (I) CNA

- ◆ Post-Goldwater-Nichols Act & post-Cold War environment increased number, frequency, intensity of Army-Navy interactions, relationships
- ◆ Progressive Unified Command Plan (UCP) changes reinforced this
 - ◆ Disappearance of largely-land & largely-ocean theaters
- ◆ Each service now focused on same land-sea AORs: Iraq/ Persian Gulf, Somalia/Arabian Sea, Haiti/Caribbean, former Yugoslavia/Adriatic
 - ◆ Army ground troops increasingly reliant on USN – not just USAF – for close air support

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ Continued central Army premise: Heavy combat forces will provide decisive defeat
 - ◆ Validated in Operation Desert Storm
- ◆ Army & DON TOA reduced by about same fraction
- ◆ Operations Desert Shield/Storm (1990-91)
 - ◆ Extensive USN MSC sealift support for US Army
 - ◆ Issue: Validation of 1980s AirLand Battle (ALB) doctrine & *The Maritime Strategy* in 1st Gulf War
 - ◆ COL Harry Summers, *On Strategy II*: Both validated
 - ◆ VADM William Owens, *High Seas*: Only ALB validated
- ◆ Operation UPHOLD/RESTORE DEMOCRACY (Haiti) (1994)
 - ◆ US Army 10th MD & Special Forces troops & helos poised to launch airmobile assault from 2 USN carriers

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ Major US Army redeployments & force cuts
 - ◆ Cuts more severe in active force than in Guard
 - ◆ 80% of US Army troops in Germany withdrawn
 - ◆ Army considering more “expeditionary” options
- ◆ Army developing new Crusader self-propelled howitzer & Comanche armed scout helicopter
- ◆ 3 US Army generals in a row as CJCS (1989-2001)
- ◆ High-level “Army-Navy Board” meeting (Nov 1992)
 - ◆ CNO, CSA, other leadership participated
 - ◆ Briefings & discussion. Largely informational.
- ◆ USN briefly emulated Army doctrine-based example
 - ◆ Naval Doctrine Command, Naval Doctrine Pubs (1993-8)

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Continued Army interest in & requirement for USN fast sealift & forward prepositioning
- ◆ Continued delivery of US Army Logistic Support Vessels (LSV) for theater-level tactical sealift
- ◆ Army-Navy Joint Logistics Over The Shore (JLOTS) exercises & symposia
- ◆ New *Joint Pub 4-01.6, Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Joint Logistics Over-the-Shore (JLOTS)* published, updated (Aug 1991, Nov 1998)

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (V)

CNA

- ◆ New *Joint Pub 3-04.1, Joint Tactics, Techniques and Procedures for Shipboard Helicopter Operations* published, updated (Jun 1993, Dec 1997)
 - ◆ Navy lead in drafting
- ◆ Army FM 1-564 *Shipboard Operations* (Jun 1997)
 - ◆ TTP for US Army helo ops from USN, USCG ships
- ◆ Joint Shipboard Helicopter Integration Process (JSHIP) JTF (1998-2003)
 - ◆ Joint test & evaluation to integrate USA, USAF helos on USN warships
 - ◆ HQ at NAS Patuxent River
 - ◆ Dedicated At-Sea Tests (DASTs)

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ USN-US Army conceptual issues
 - ◆ Navy stressed virtues of unobtrusiveness and modulated forward presence offshore, with no adverse impact on national sovereignty or local sensitivities, and freedom from locally-imposed constraints
 - ◆ Army stressed primacy of “boots on the ground” as most effective physical & visible symbol of commitment, & tool of forward US military presence
 - ◆ Army decried Navy focus on technological solutions to military problems
 - ◆ Yet Army itself moving increasingly toward technological solutions in 1990s

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Post-Cold War requirements to change doctrine & concepts in both services
 - ◆ Army FM 100-5 “Operations” (“AirLand Battle Future”) (1993)
 - ◆ TRADOC Pam 525-5, *AirLand Operations: A Concept for the Evolution of AirLand Battle for the Strategic Army of the 1990s and Beyond* (1 Aug 1991)
 - ◆ TRADOC Pam 525-5, *Force XXI Operations: A Concept for the Evolution of Full-Dimensional Operations for the Strategic Army of the Early Twenty-First Century* (1994) (Superseded 1991 ed.)
 - ◆ To re-design the Army

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1990s: USN-US Army relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ Army periodically mentioned in Navy capstone documents of 1990s
 - ◆ Well integrated into
 - ◆ *The Navy Policy Book* (1992) (historical appendix only)
 - ◆ *NDP 1 Naval Warfare* (1994)
 - ◆ Mentioned in passing in
 - ◆ “The Way Ahead” (1991)
 - ◆ *From . . . The Sea* (1994)
 - ◆ *Forward . . . From the Sea* (1996)
 - ◆ *Navy Strategic Planning Guidance* (2000)
 - ◆ Not mentioned at all in
 - ◆ *The Navy Operational Concept* (1987)
 - ◆ “Anytime, Anywhere” (1987)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations

CNA



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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (I)

CNA

- ◆ USN focus: Coordinating & *integrating* allied capabilities in real world regional contingencies
 - ◆ Desert Shield/Storm set tone
- ◆ Exercises, education & training, technology transfer
 - ◆ NATO exercises smaller, fewer; command structure leaner
 - ◆ Continued increase in international meetings & staff talks
- ◆ Wide NATO pub declassification, dissemination
- ◆ CJCS & CINCs increasingly drove policy
 - ◆ Theater Engagement Plans, etc.

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ Major multi-lateral coalition Desert Shield/Desert Storm & follow-on naval ops (1990-)
 - ◆ Naval coalition pushed hard by OPNAV
 - ◆ Enabled by prior NATO interoperability programs
- ◆ Multilateral naval operations off Somalia (1991-95)
- ◆ Bi-lateral Navy-to-Navy staff talks programs continued
- ◆ ONI-hosted annual Quadrilateral All-Source Submarine Conferences (QASSC) begun (1991)
 - ◆ Initial focus on Russian submarines gradually broadened
- ◆ Integration of selected allied warships into USN CVBGs (from 1995)
- ◆ NSWC Port Hueneme-hosted annual international users fora on MK 41 VLS begun (1997)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (III)

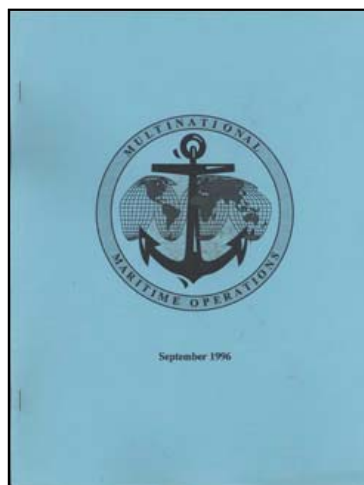
CNA

- ◆ Intel & communications collaboration
 - ◆ AUSCANZUKUS
 - ◆ US-Japan BMD study & research cooperation
- ◆ ISS on-going biennially at NWC Newport RI
- ◆ NAVWARCOL curricula for foreign officers
 - ◆ Other foreign navy educations & training
- ◆ Personnel Exchange Program (PEP) ongoing
- ◆ USN International Preparatory School for Saudi Navy at Pensacola expanded to include other nationalities, became International Technical Training Preparatory School (1991)

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Multinational Maritime Operations pub (1996)

CNA



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Multinational Maritime Operations pub (1996)

- ◆ Allied officers assigned to new USN NAVDOCCOM in Norfolk (1993-8)
- ◆ NAVDOCCOM-led *Multi-lateral Maritime Operations* (MMOPS) pub effort (1996)
 - ◆ NAVDOCCOM lead; international working group
- ◆ Signed by COMNAVDOPCOM
- ◆ Available to all navies on the web
- ◆ Unclassified generic multinational doctrine
- ◆ Collection of fundamental principles
- ◆ USN interest waned following publication
- ◆ Became basis for NATO AJP 3.1 *Allied Joint Maritime Operations* (Apr 2004)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (IV)

- ◆ NATO relationships
 - ◆ NATO conducted 1st real-world naval ops, in/from Adriatic Sea off/over former Yugoslavia
 - ◆ Command structures, staffs, plans & exercises cut back & evolved. USN continued to dominate
 - ◆ NATO trying to implement Combined Joint Task force (CJTF) concept (from 1993)
 - ◆ French returned to NATO Military Committee (1995)
 - ◆ Unsuccessful French bid for NATO Southern Region command
 - ◆ Allied Command Channel abolished (1997)
 - ◆ NATO expanded in Baltic
 - ◆ Germany unified; Poland joined NATO (1999)
 - ◆ Rationalization, standardization, interoperability
 - ◆ Expansion, wide distribution of UNCLAS EXTAC pub series
 - ◆ Cooperative development of NATO Evolved Sea Sparrow Missile (ESSM)
- ◆ Accidental USN CV missile firing on Turkish DD (1992)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (V)

CNA

- ◆ NATO *Concept of Maritime Operations* (1993)
- ◆ Partnership for Peace (PfP) relationships
 - ◆ NATO organized PfP (1994)
 - ◆ PfP naval exercises (from 1994)
 - ◆ PfP navies join BALTOPS
- ◆ Chiefs of European Navies (CHENS) (1992-)
 - ◆ CNE an observer
- ◆ Regional Seapower Symposium (since 1996)
- ◆ Intra-NATO issues:
 - ◆ Canada-Spain “Turbot War”
 - ◆ Greek-Turk Aegean Imia Crisis

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ European allied navies modestly increased cruiser, destroyer, large amphibious ship inventories; slashed ASW ships & coastal submarine, craft #s
- ◆ RN deployed US Trident D-5 missiles as UK strategic deterrent, with USN assist (1994)
- ◆ RN acquired US Tomahawk missiles (1998)
- ◆ 1st E-2Cs delivered for new FN CVN CDG

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ USN use of European naval systems, designs
 - ◆ Danish-built MSC prepositioning ships (1993-4)
 - ◆ French-built MSC prepositioning ship (1994)
 - ◆ USN Osprey-class (MHC-51) mine-hunters
 - ◆ US-built; Italian Lerici-class design
 - ◆ Norwegian *Penguin* anti-ship missiles
 - ◆ For USN SH-60B Seahawk LAMPS III helicopters
 - ◆ USN Cyclone-class (PC-1) patrol coastals
 - ◆ US built; based on British Ramadan-class patrol craft design for Egyptian, Omani, Kenyan navies

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ East Asian relationships
 - ◆ JMSDF, ROKN, RTN, RAN relationships expanded
 - ◆ JMSDF deployed USN Aegis AAW system (1993)
 - ◆ Singapore Navy relationships expanded
 - ◆ RIMPAC, Western Pacific Naval Symposia (WPNS) continue, expanded
 - ◆ CARAT exercises instituted in SE Asia (1995)
 - ◆ Cobra Gold exercises continued, expanded
- ◆ USN-PLAN relations fluctuated
 - ◆ Flag contacts, port visits
 - ◆ US DOD-PRC MND military maritime safety consultative agreement (1998)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Annual USN-Russian Navy INCSEA meetings continued
- ◆ RUKUS talks formalized & expanded
 - ◆ Included games, then at-sea exercises
- ◆ West African Naval Symposium (1992)
 - ◆ One-off

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (X)

CNA

- ◆ Latin American navy relationships (I)
 - ◆ UNITAS continued
 - ◆ Bi-lateral riverine operations included (from early 1990s)
 - ◆ Canada, France joined (1993)
 - ◆ STANAVFORLANT joined (1997)
 - ◆ Atlantic phase became multinational (1999)
 - ◆ Pacific, Caribbean phases became multinational (2000)
 - ◆ IANC continued
 - ◆ Inter-American Naval Telecommunications Network (IANTN)
 - ◆ HF communications system replaced by VSAT (1994)
 - ◆ Secretariat moved to Roosevelt Roads PR (1994)

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1990s: USN-foreign navy relations (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Latin American navy relationships (II)
 - ◆ Resumption of close Navy-to-Navy relations with Chilean Navy
 - ◆ Following restoration of democratic government in Chile, lifting of US sanctions (1989)
 - ◆ Operation Black: Chile provided diesel submarines for USN Third Fleet ASW training (from 1994)
 - ◆ Evolved into Third Fleet-Escuadra TEAMWORK exercises (1995)
 - ◆ USN riverine MTTs to Bolivia, Colombia, Peru

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End of the 1990s: State of Navy

CNA

- ◆ Navy ended decade with mixed morale
 - ◆ Pride in its operational record, especially presence, multi-platform strike, joint integration, especially with USAF
 - ◆ Success of current ship types; strike aviation plans
 - ◆ Acceptance of and consensus around “. . . From the Sea” concepts, esp. primacy of power projection
- ◆ But
 - ◆ Great concern at decline in ship numbers & non-deployed fleet readiness
 - ◆ Worry over decline in ASW capabilities
 - ◆ Concern at increased PLAN anti-access capabilities
 - ◆ Unease at relationships with USMC
 - ◆ Concerns over force protection after USS *Cole* attack

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The 1990s vs. the 1980s (I)

CNA

- ◆ Multiplicity of possible regional threats vs. one central high-priority global threat
- ◆ No immediate or near-term challenger to USN supremacy at sea vs. Gorshkov Soviet Navy blue-water challenges
- ◆ Reduced defense & naval budgets & force levels vs. Reagan defense & naval build-up
- ◆ US alliance systems similar in both decades
- ◆ Shift in overseas basing system from the Atlantic & Europe to Southwest Asia, Arabian Sea, & the Gulf

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The 1990s vs. the 1980s (II)

CNA

- ◆ Increasingly *integrated* US military jointness vs. *cooperative & coordinated* jointness
- ◆ Increased number, intensity of real-world ops
- ◆ Heavy operational demand for sealift & prepositioning ships
- ◆ Quickening pace of computer technology advances & integration into naval operations
- ◆ Focus on naval *littoral* operations vice separate *sea & projection ashore* ops

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The 1990s vs. the 1980s (III)

CNA

- ◆ Naval forces as *enabling* forward insertion of USA & USAF, vice *connecting* forward USA & USAF to CONUS bases

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The 1990s vs. the 1980s (IV)

CNA

- ◆ 1990s:
 - ◆ Navy budgets decreasing, then turning around at end
 - ◆ Navy force levels decreasing throughout the decade
 - ◆ Navy force level goals decreasing also, but *lower* than current force levels
 - ◆ Navy non-deployed fleet readiness plummeting, then starting to turn around
- ◆ 1980s
 - ◆ Navy budgets increasing, then turning down at end
 - ◆ Navy force levels increasing, then decreasing somewhat
 - ◆ Navy force level goals steady at 600; *higher* than current fleet force levels
 - ◆ Navy readiness improved, then starting to fall off

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The 1990s vs. the 1980s (V)

- ◆ Navy capstone documents
 - ◆ Mostly UNCLAS vs. mostly CLAS documents
 - ◆ USMC as co-equal player (or non-player) vs. one of many contributors
 - ◆ Many core concepts & names vs. one
- ◆ Possible explanations:
 - ◆ Changed, changing and uncertain world environment (Cold War ended)
 - ◆ Changed US administration policies
 - ◆ Changing USN reactions to same
 - ◆ Plethora of 1990s national security & national defense pubs (9 *NSSs*, *NMSs*, *QDR*, *CORM*, *NDP*, *JV2010*, etc.)
 - ◆ Ubiquity of Powerpoint & desktop publishing after 1990 249

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