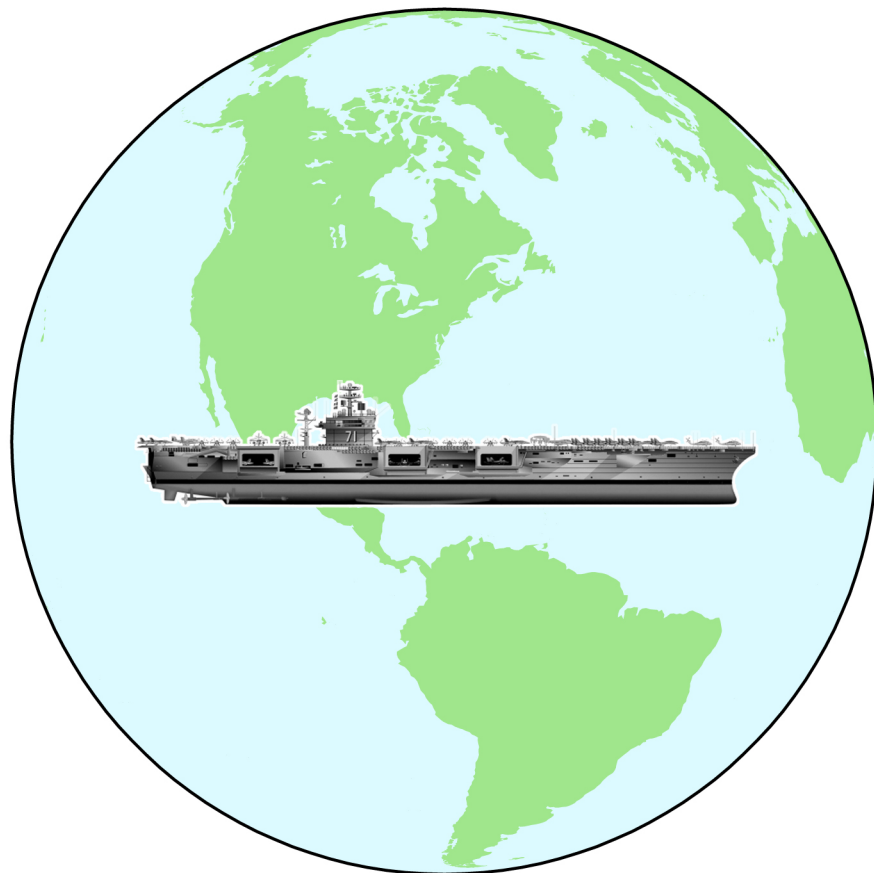


The U.S. Navy in the World (1981-1990):

Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts

Peter M. Swartz
with Karin Duggan



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Director, Strategic Initiatives Group

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1980s: The world, the nation, & the USN



World Events	Year	Administration		SECNAV	CNO	Capstone Document
NATO CONMAROPS	1981	Reagan	Weinberger	Lehman	Hayward	
Israeli Bekaa Valley AAW wins	1982				Watkins	Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S)
Beirut/Grenada	1983					Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S)
Iran-Iraq War	1984					Amphibious Strategy (S)
Gorbachev GSCPSU	1985					Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)
Walkers arrested	1986					Maritime Strategy (U)
Goldwater/Nichols						Trost
Libya strikes	1987	Carlucci	Webb			
Praying Mantis	1988		Ball			
Cold War Ends	1989	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Kelso	Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)
Tiananmen Square						“Maritime Strategy for the 1990s” (U)
Iraq invades	1990					

3

1980s: Comparing national economic power



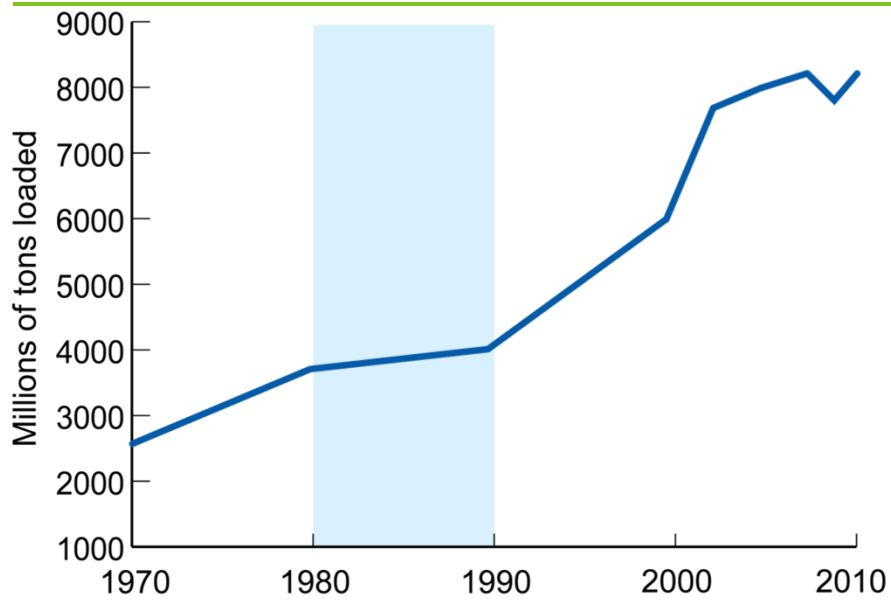
Ranked by Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Also percent share of world GDP*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1980	USA 25%	Japan 10	Germany 8	France 6	UK 5	Italy 4	Canada 2	Brazil 2	Spain 2	Mexico 2
1990	USA 26	Japan 14	Germany 8	France 6	Italy 5	UK 5	Canada 3	Spain 2	USSR 2	Brazil 2

*Source: World Bank + Excludes USSR

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Growth of world maritime trade (1980-1990) CNA



Source: UNCTAD (with 2010 data added)

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1980s: Comparing national defense spending CNA

Ranked by reported defense expenditures*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1980	USA 	USSR 	UK 	FRG 	France 	S. Arabia 	China 	Japan 	Italy 	Iran 
1990	USA 	USSR 	S. Arabia 	UK 	France 	Germany 	Japan 	China 	Italy 	Canada 

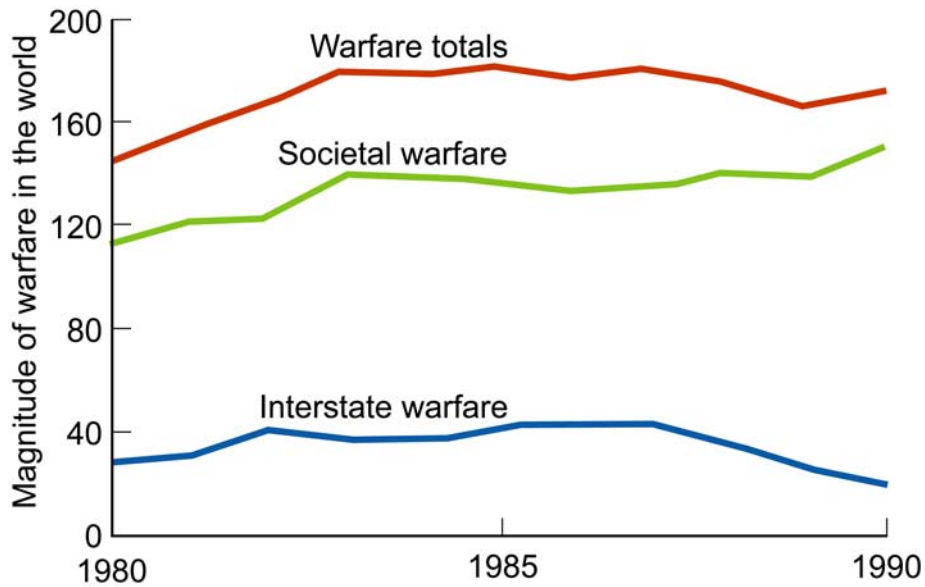
FRG = West Germany

*Sources: IISS *Military Balance*: 1987-1988; 1992-1993.

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1980s: Global Trends in Armed Conflict*

CNA



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

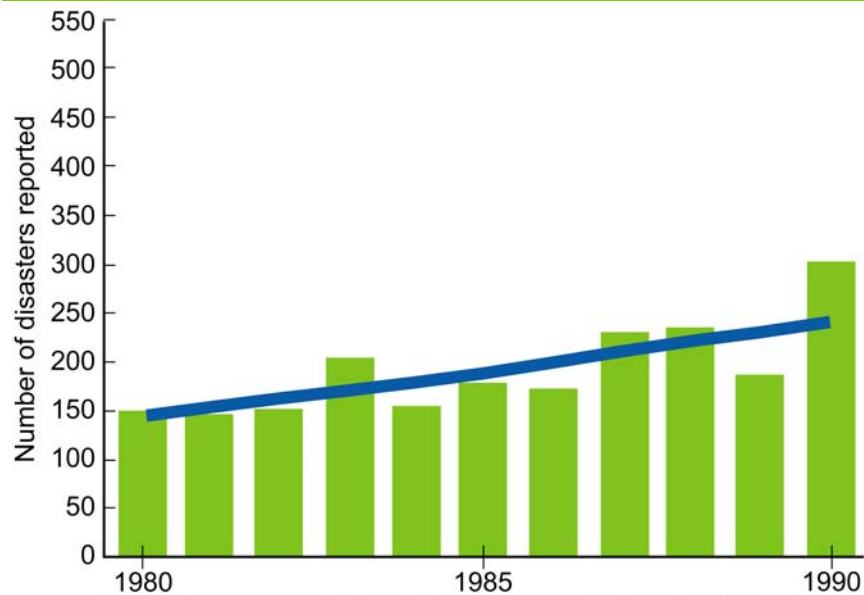
1980s: Global trends in armed conflict

CNA

- ◆ *Chart based on a rating scale developed at Center for Systemic Peace, Center for Global Policy, George Mason University*
- ◆ Societal warfare the predominant mode of warfare since the mid-1950s
 - ◆ Increased steadily during the 1980s
- ◆ Low level of interstate warfare
 - ◆ Moderate increase during late Cold War (1977-1987)
- ◆ Continued rise in number, lethality of terrorist incidents

1980s: Natural disasters reported

CNA



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

9

1980s: The world (I)

CNA

- ◆ Stabilized international system
 - ◆ UN membership: 1980: 154 1990: 159
- ◆ Interstate security competition continued to dominate global affairs
- ◆ Bi-polar international system
 - ◆ Cold War deepened, then began to relax in mid-decade
 - ◆ Two large alliance & economic systems continued: “1st & 2nd worlds”
 - ◆ Superpower political, military & economic enmity & rivalry throughout the world, including the global commons (sea, air, space) & especially in “3rd world”
- ◆ A very violent world
- ◆ No new nuclear states since 1979 (South Africa)
- ◆ # of autocracies fell; # of democracies grew

10

1980s: The world (II)

- ◆ G-7 continued as key global economic leadership forum
- ◆ Fall-off in world trade volume, then recovery
- ◆ Trans-Pacific trade > trans-Atlantic trade (1983)
- ◆ Far East share of world shipbuilding grew from 50% to 70%; Western Europe share fell from 25% to 17%; US share under 2%

11

1980s: The world (III)

- ◆ Continued low Soviet economic integration w/ rest of world. Negligible trade with US
- ◆ Huge spike in oil prices (1979-81); then big decline throughout the decade
- ◆ Continued rise in reported climatic & other natural disasters in the world
- ◆ 1st trans-oceanic fiber optic submarine communications cable laid (1988)
- ◆ NGO at-sea anti-nuclear testing, anti-whaling, anti-sealing, anti-dumping ops
 - ◆ Greenpeace, Sea Shepherd
 - ◆ French Navy sank Greenpeace ship (1985)

12

1980s: The world (IV)

- ◆ Major changes in leadership, policies & cohesion of Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact
 - ◆ Rapid succession of Soviet leaders
 - ◆ Brezhnev (1964-82); Andropov (1982-84); Chernenko (1984-85); Gorbachev (1985-91)
 - ◆ Continued Soviet military buildup
 - ◆ Polish “Solidarity” Crisis; martial rule (1980-81)
 - ◆ Soviets downed civilian South Korean KAL airliner over Sakhalin Island (1983)
 - ◆ Rapid political, economic, military unraveling (1989-1991)

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1980s: The world (V)

- ◆ Soviet Navy continued to grow, then big decline
 - ◆ Coherent Soviet global peacetime naval diplomacy & wartime sea denial/ strategic nuclear force strategies developed
 - ◆ New quiet Soviet Navy submarines
 - ◆ Starting w/ Victor III SSN (1979); then quieter Akula-class (1986)
 - ◆ Akula-class could not be reliably detected by US Navy SOSUS
 - ◆ Soviet SSBN bastions shifting to Arctic, under ice
 - ◆ New Delta SSBN classes; Typhoon-class SSBNs (from 1981)
 - ◆ Soviets deployed Oscar SSGNs w/ carrier-killer cruise missiles
 - ◆ Soviets used former USN Cam Ranh Bay Vietnam base
 - ◆ PRC-VN animosity (1979 PRC invasion)
 - ◆ Soviet-SRV Navy South China Sea exercise (1984)
 - ◆ Build-up of Cam Ranh Bay Soviet base facilities

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1980s: The world (VI)

- ◆ Soviet Navy continued to grow, then big decline
 - ◆ Soviet “analogous response” cruise missile submarine deployments off US coasts, in response to NATO ground launched cruise missile (GLCM) deployments in Europe (1984-6)
 - ◆ ADM Chernavin replaced ADM Gorshkov as CinC (1985)
 - ◆ Soviet naval arms control offensive (1986+)
 - ◆ Gorbachev “Murmansk speech” pushing northern Europe arms control (1987)
 - ◆ Precipitous decline in Soviet naval capabilities as Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact unraveled (1989-91)

15

1980s: The world (VII)

- ◆ High PRC economic growth; PRC still energy self-sufficient
- ◆ UK agreed: Hong Kong return to PRC in 1997 (1984)
- ◆ Major PRC national security policy change (1985)
 - ◆ Pre-1985: Fear of Soviet amphibious invasion
 - ◆ Post-1985: Soviets no longer seen as a threat
 - ◆ PRC emphasis on small wars on periphery, inc/ maritime
 - ◆ Growing PLAN naval strategy & capabilities for “Offshore Defense” operations farther out to sea (“near seas”), vice coastal defense
 - ◆ 1st PLAN foreign port visits: Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh (1985)
 - ◆ PLAN deployed 1st SSBN (1987)
 - ◆ PLA occupied some Spratly Islands; PLAN defeated Vietnamese Navy in South China Sea battle near Fiery Cross Reef (1988)
- ◆ Taiwan isolated, but increasing economic growth & political liberalization under KMT
- ◆ Vietnam continued to align with USSR

16

1980s: The world (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ Saddam Hussein continued in power in Iraq
 - ◆ Heavy Soviet support
- ◆ Iranian theocracy hostile to West
 - ◆ Ouster of Shah (1979); US hostage crisis (1979-80)
 - ◆ Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Navy (IRGCN) created, alongside Islamic Republic of Iran Navy (IRIN) (1985)
- ◆ Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)
 - ◆ “Tanker War” (1984-88)
 - ◆ Iranian ballistic missile use (from 1985)
 - ◆ Mining threatened Gulf/ Strait of Hormuz passage
 - ◆ US regional allies allowed only limited US use of their air bases & airspace. No US fighter or bomber ops allowed.

17

1980s: The world (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Arab-Israeli inter-state peace held
- ◆ Air Force general Hosni Mubarak succeeded murdered Egypt president Anwar El Sadat (1981)
- ◆ Israeli raid on Iraqi reactor (Operation Opera) (1981)
- ◆ Pro-US Gen. Numeiri regime in Sudan overthrown (1985). Anti-US Col. Omar al-Bashir coup (1989)
- ◆ Activist anti-western Gaddafi Libyan regime endured, sponsored terrorist acts
- ◆ Palestinian *intifada* vs. Israelis (from 1987)
- ◆ Muslim terrorist group Al Qaeda created (1988)
- ◆ Lebanon civil war. Israeli attacks (to 1990)

18

1980s: The world (X)

CNA

- ◆ Civil war in Afghanistan (1979-1989)
 - ◆ US-backed insurgents vs. Communist gov' t & USSR
 - ◆ USSR bogged down, withdrew (1989)
- ◆ Continued close Soviet-Indian security relations
- ◆ Continued Stalinist dictatorship in DPRK under Kim Il-Sung, supported by Soviets
 - ◆ DPRK assassination of ROK officials in Burma
- ◆ Continued Muslim separatist insurgencies in Mindanao, southern Philippines
- ◆ Civil War in Sri Lanka between Sinhalese & Tamils, including naval operations (from 1983)

19

1980s: The world (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Continued NATO strategy of “flexible response” (since 1968)
- ◆ “Nott review” of UK defense triggered cuts to Royal Navy (RN) (1981)
 - ◆ RN focused almost entirely on North & East Atlantic & North Sea NATO contingencies
 - ◆ RN deployed Armilla Patrol to Arabian Sea, Gulf (from 1979)
- ◆ France still outside NATO command structure
 - ◆ France deployed 1st SSN (1983)
- ◆ US NATO allies France & Spain denied US overflight & base access during US strikes on Libya (1986)
- ◆ Coordinated European Union (EU) Gulf minesweeping ops after Iran-Iraq War (1988-9)

20

1980s: The world (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Increasing economic, ethnic, political strains in Yugoslavia, following death of Marshal Tito (1980)
- ◆ Marxist Sandinistas in power in Nicaragua, opposed by US-supported Contras (1979-1990)
 - ◆ Sandinistas voted out of power (1990)
- ◆ Growing power & violence in Columbia of anti-government insurgents, drug cartels
- ◆ Marxist insurgency vs. US-supported government in El Salvador (1980-1992)
- ◆ Haiti's President-for-life "Baby Doc" Duvalier ousted, followed by civil upheaval (1986)
- ◆ Democratic government restored in Chile (1989)

21

1980s: The world (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ USCG icebreaker *Polar Sea* Northwest Passage transit rekindled Canadian concerns re: Arctic sovereignty (1985)
 - ◆ Canada officially drew baselines around Arctic Archipelagic claims (1986)
- ◆ UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) concluded (1981)
 - ◆ US refused to sign (seabed mining issues)
 - ◆ Treaty renegotiated (1986-94)
- ◆ International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) created International Maritime Bureau (IMB) vs. maritime crime & malpractice (1981)

22

1980s: The world (XIV)

- ◆ Low # of reported piracy, maritime terror incidents
 - ◆ But Thai, other pirates preyed on Vietnam boat people
 - ◆ No central data collection point
- ◆ IMO *Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation* (SUA) signed (1988)
 - ◆ Triggered by Palestinian terrorist attack on Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*

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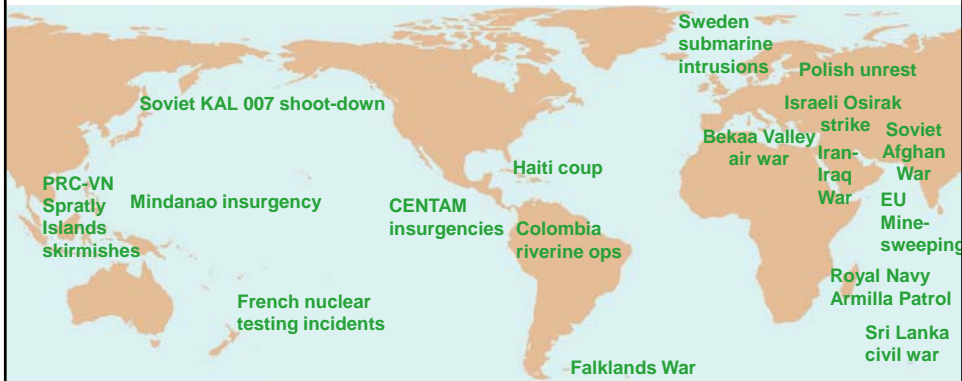
1980s: The world (XV)

- ◆ Terrorist incidents increased over 1970s
 - ◆ Very few at/from the sea
 - ◆ Hezbollah kidnapped Americans in Lebanon (1980s)
 - ◆ Islamic Jihad destroyed US Embassy Beirut (1983)
 - ◆ Shiites destroyed USMC, French Barracks Beirut (1983)
 - ◆ Shiites attacked US Embassy Kuwait (1983)
 - ◆ Truck bomb outside US Embassy Annex Beirut (1984)
 - ◆ Covert Libyan mining of Red Sea choke points (1984-5)
 - ◆ Hezbollah hijacked TWA flight. USN diver killed (1985)
 - ◆ Palestinians hijacked *Achille Lauro* cruise ship (1985)
 - ◆ Libyans bombed US-frequented Berlin disco (1986)
 - ◆ Naples USO bombing. USN sailor killed (1988)
 - ◆ Libyans bombed PANAM flight over Scotland (1988)
 - ◆ Arab terror attack on cruise ship south of Athens (1988)
 - ◆ Occasional Palestinian raids & attempts on Israel by sea

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1980s: Significant non-USN operations

CNA



25

1980s: The nation (I)

CNA

- ◆ Reagan (Republican) administration
 - ◆ 1st Reagan term (1981-5): Initiatives vs. Soviets
 - ◆ 2nd Reagan term (1985-9): Relaxing anti-Soviet stance
- ◆ Bush (Republican) administration (1989-93)
 - ◆ Managing end of the Cold War
- ◆ Divided control of the Congress
 - ◆ Democrats control House of Representatives
 - ◆ Republicans control Senate (1981-7)
- ◆ Military increasingly well-regarded by U.S. Public (Gallup polls)

26

1980s: The nation (II)

CNA

- ◆ US continued as world's largest economy
- ◆ A decade of US economic recovery
- ◆ Long & deep (Reagan administration) recession (1981-2), then economic boom (1983 on)
 - ◆ But "Black Monday" stock market crash (Oct 1987)
- ◆ Big tax cuts; high U.S. government deficit spending
- ◆ Big drops in inflation & unemployment rates
- ◆ Value of foreign trade as % of US GDP = flat during decade (16.2% to 13.4% to 17.3% to 15.6%)
- ◆ Oil prices rose
 - ◆ US dependence on foreign oil fell some, then rose sharply
- ◆ Another (Bush administration) recession (1990)

27

1980s: The nation (III)

CNA

- ◆ Government policies: De-regulation, privatization & globalization
- ◆ US refused to sign UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) due to mining provisions (1982)
- ◆ US declared it subscribed to UNCLOS navigation, overflight rights regime, as now customary international law (1988)

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1980s: US economy & defense spending

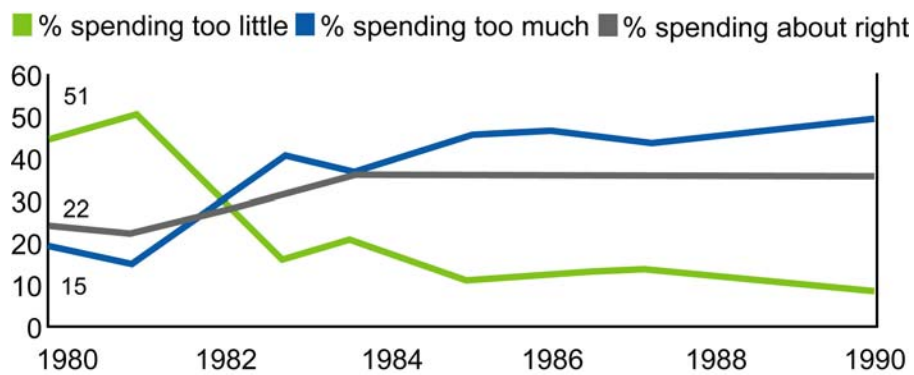


YEAR	President	ECONOMY	DOD % of GDP	DOD TOA (Constant FY 12 \$)	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT		
1981	Reagan	Recession	5.1	438B	Hayward			
1982			5.7	482B	Watkins	Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S)		
1983			6.0	514B		Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S)		
1984			5.7	537B		Amphib. Warfare Strategy (S) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S) Maritime Strategy (U)		
1985			Gramm-Rudman Act	5.9	561B	Trost	Maritime Strategy (Rev) (U)	
1986				6.0	552B			
1987			Bush	Stock Market Crash	5.9	546B	Trost	Maritime Strategy (Rev) (U)
1988					5.6	536B		
1989	Savings & Loan Crisis	5.5		524B	Kelso	Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)		
1990		Oil Crisis Recession		5.1		510B	Maritime Strategy (Rev) (U)	

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

29

1980s: U.S. popular views on U.S. defense spending*



* Gallup poll data

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1980s: US national security policies (I)

- ◆ International security relationships continued to dominate US grand strategy
- ◆ Continued focus on 1 over-arching global threat
 - ◆ Grand strategy: **Containment** (since late 1940s)
 - ◆ Main goal: **Contain & even roll back Soviet Union & allies**
 - ◆ Soviets viewed as illegitimate, expansionist, “evil empire”
 - ◆ Early decade: Big US defense budget increases; strident US rhetoric; suspicion of arms control benefits to US
 - ◆ Mid-decade: Restrained rhetoric; engagement w/ Soviets; declining defense budgets
 - ◆ Decade’s end: Goal became peaceful demise of Warsaw Pact; reunified Germany in NATO (1990)

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1980s: US national security policies (II)

- ◆ Rising, then falling US defense budgets
 - ◆ Big military pay raises (1980 & 1981)
- ◆ Rising then falling % of US GDP devoted to defense
- ◆ Steady equivalent shares among the services (“1/3-1/3-1/3”)
 - ◆ Department of the Navy & Air Force more or less equal
 - ◆ Department of the Army somewhat lower
- ◆ No dominant service
 - ◆ But increasing focus on global Navy forces

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1980s: US national security policies (III)

CNA

- ◆ Continued primacy of “NATO contingency” vs. Soviets for DoD planning & force sizing
 - ◆ Now seen as global, as Navy had argued
 - ◆ Defense planning scenario: War would start in SWA
 - ◆ Navy opposed SWA start as ill-advised
- ◆ Horizontal escalation policy
- ◆ Constraining Soviet influence globally
 - ◆ Esp. in Middle East, Central America, Africa

33

1980s: US national security policies (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Reagan administration NSDD 13 (1981) superseded but did not significantly change late Carter administration PD 59 (1980) nuclear policy & “countervailing strategy”
- ◆ Plateauing, then continued decline in size of US nuclear warhead stockpile
- ◆ BMD policy: SDI initiative: increased R & D
 - ◆ MAD seen as inadequate basis for national security
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins & staff played large role (1983)
 - ◆ DoD Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) created (Feb 1986)

34

1980s: US national security policies (V)

CNA

- ◆ US resisted Western academic, Soviet conventional naval arms control proposals
- ◆ US Intel community united re: Soviet naval threat
- ◆ US led establishment of voluntary international Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)
- ◆ Continued SACEUR/USCINCEUR indifference to most naval issues
 - ◆ Focus on INF, FOFA, AirLand Battle, CFE, etc.

35

1980s: US national security policies (VI)

CNA

- ◆ US-PRC relations normalized/expanded, then poor
 - ◆ US recognized PRC (1979)
 - ◆ US-PRC military, intelligence cooperation in containing Soviet Union (1979-1989)
 - ◆ US arms sales assistance to PRC military modernization
 - ◆ Taiwan Relations Act (1979)
 - ◆ US to maintain capacity to protect Taiwan
 - ◆ US assistance to Taiwan (“defensive arms” only)
 - ◆ US cancelled all arms agreements and military contacts w/ PRC following Tiananmen Crackdown (Jun 1989)
- ◆ Most US overseas alliances held
 - ◆ US suspended ANZUS treaty obligations to New Zealand due to NZ nuclear warship ban (1985)

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1980s: US national security policies (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Continued deterrence of N. Korea attacks on South
- ◆ Close US military relations with Pakistan
- ◆ Terrorism incidents & US responses
- ◆ US State Dept added Cuba (1982), Iran (1984), DPRK (1988) to list of state sponsors of terrorism
 - ◆ List also included Libya, Iraq, South Yemen, Syria (from Dec 1979)
 - ◆ Iraq removed from list (1982-1990)

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1980s: US national security policies (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ Return to (small-scale) global US military activism
 - ◆ Small US interventions in Grenada, Lebanon, Central America, Libya, Gulf, Panama, Liberia
 - ◆ “Reagan Doctrine”: De-stabilize selected pro-Soviet states; Help anti-communist gov’ ts & fighters (1985)
 - ◆ Esp. El Salvador, Nicaragua, Afghanistan

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1980s: US national security policies (IX)

CNA

◆ Iran-Contra Affair

- ◆ Secret arms sales to Iranian government moderates, to fund US-backed Nicaraguan Contra rebels & secure release of US hostages held by Hezbollah, circumventing Congressional bans (1985)
- ◆ Deals leaked, made public, investigated (from 1986)
- ◆ VADM John Poindexter USN implicated
 - ◆ President Reagan's National Security Advisor (1986)
 - ◆ Indicted (1988); Convicted (1990); Conviction reversed (1991)

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1980s: US national security policies (X)

CNA

- ◆ Continued Arab-Israeli peace
- ◆ Western access to Gulf oil, Gulf stability
- ◆ Confrontation vs. Iran throughout decade
 - ◆ Deter spread of Iranian influence & power
 - ◆ Pro-Iraq "tilt" during Iran-Iraq Gulf War (1980-88)

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1980s: US national security policies (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Small increases in US counter-insurgency capabilities
- ◆ US extended territorial seas to 12 miles (1988)
- ◆ Increased DOD involvement in War on Drugs
 - ◆ 1878 Posse Comitatus Act amended to allow DOD to support civilian law enforcement agencies & USCG in War on Drugs (1981)
 - ◆ Over service chief objections
 - ◆ DOD designated lead agency for detection & monitoring of drug trafficking into US; USCG designated lead agency for interdiction & arrest of drug traffickers; new DOD counter-drug joint task forces created (1989)
- ◆ Increasing quality of US military recruits

41

1980s: US national security policies (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Clear military service dominance over service programming & budgeting decisions, within overall defense budget limits
- ◆ Small library of joint doctrinal pubs (1981-6)
 - ◆ 20 joint pubs, 12 multi-service pubs (1982)
 - ◆ Not standardized, little on joint command & control

42

1980s: US national security policies (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ Push for DoD organizational reform (1981-6)
 - ◆ CJCS Gen Jones criticism of JCS system (1981-2)
 - ◆ CSIS study: *Toward a More Effective Defense* (1985)
 - ◆ SASC staff study: *Defense Organization: The Need for Change* (“Locher Report”) (1985)
 - ◆ NAVWARCOL conference report: *JCS Reform* (1985)
 - ◆ CNO Select Panel report: *Reorganization of the National Security Organization* (1985)
 - ◆ President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management (“Packard Commission”) reports (1986)
 - ◆ NSDD 219 implemented recommendations (Apr 1986)
 - ◆ FPRI report: *Reorganization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: A Critical Analysis* (1986)

43

1980s: US national security policies (XIV)

CNA

- ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act (Oct 1986) (I)
 - ◆ Major changes to DoD command relationships
 - ◆ Enhanced operational command roles of CINCs at the expense of service chiefs, including CNO
 - ◆ Enhanced advisory powers of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the expense of service chiefs
 - ◆ Created VCJCS position
 - ◆ Mandated increased Professional Military Education emphasis on *joint* strategy, planning and operations
 - ◆ Led to NAVWARCOL and other service war colleges reducing emphasis on strategic approaches focused on only one medium or service

44

1980s: US national security policies (XV)

CNA

- ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act (Oct 1986) (II)
 - ◆ Mandated joint duty for officers, including USN
 - ◆ Mandated:
 - ◆ Annual presidential *National Security Strategy* reports
 - ◆ Biennial SECDEF program, budget guidance to DOD
 - ◆ Biennial SECDEF contingency planning guidance to CJCS
 - ◆ Biennial Unified Command Plan showing CINC responsibilities
 - ◆ Reflected in revised DOD “Functions Paper”
 - ◆ DOD Dir 5100.1 *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Apr 1987 & Sep 1987) (replaced Jan 1980 edition)

45

1980s: US national security policies (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Nunn-Cohen amendment to Goldwater-Nichols Act (1987)
 - ◆ Mandated creation of US Special Operations Command (USOCOM) w/ Title 10 budget authority
- ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act triggered a revolution in Joint Doctrine
 - ◆ Oversight by new Joint Staff J-7 organization, responsive to the Chairman
 - ◆ Flood of new publications
 - ◆ New standardized procedures
 - ◆ Many joint command 7 control issues addressed

46

1980s: US national security policies (XVII) CNA

- ◆ Leading security policy critics outside the government
 - ◆ Military Reform Movement endured
 - ◆ James Fallows, Gary Hart, Bill Lind, etc.
 - ◆ Center for Defense Information (CDI) endured
 - ◆ Retired RADMs Gene Laroque, Eugene Carroll; retired VADM John J. Shanahan (had been Zumwalt-era OPNAV OP-60)
 - ◆ Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)
 - ◆ CDR/Dr. Harlan Ullman (Ret) as senior fellow (1985)
 - ◆ Increased focus on naval issues
 - ◆ The Brookings Institution
 - ◆ William W. Kaufmann, etc.
 - ◆ Annual analyses opposing expense & ill-advisability of US Navy plans
 - ◆ Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (from 1981)
 - ◆ Defense Budget Project: Gordon Adams, founder & director (1983)

47

1980s: US planned & actual adversaries CNA

- ◆ Deter/plan vs. USSR, W. Pact, forward Soviet naval forces, Cuba, Iran
- ◆ Deter/plan vs. N. Korea. Incidents. Deter PRC/plan Taiwan defense
- ◆ Plans & operations vs. state- & non-state sponsored terrorists, Libya
- ◆ Combat in Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, Persian Gulf, Panama, Med
- ◆ Military assistance in Central America vs. Nicaragua, leftist rebels



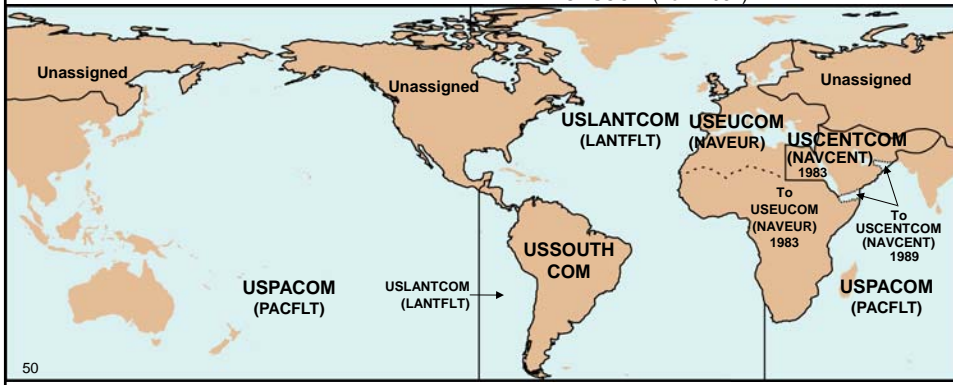
48

1980s: America's armed conflicts



1980s: Combatant & component commands (I)

- USPACOM
 - PACFLT
- USSOUTHCOM
 - USNAVSO (from 1985)
- USLANTCOM
 - LANTFLT
- USEUCOM
 - NAVEUR
- USCENTCOM (from 1983)
 - NAVCENT
- REDCOM (to 1987)
- ADCOM (to 1986)
- USSPACECOM (from 1985)
 - NAVSPACECOM
- USSOCCOM (from 1987)
 - NAVSPECWARCOM
- SAC
- MAC (to 1988)
- USTRANSCOM (from 1987)
 - MSC
- FORSCOM (from 1987)



1980s: Combatant & component commands (II)

CNA

- ◆ World ocean generally divided between USLANTCOM & USPACOM
 - ◆ Entire Atlantic Ocean & almost entire Pacific-Indian Ocean area considered unified maritime theaters of war
 - ◆ Arctic Ocean divided between USLANTCOM & USPACOM
 - ◆ SE Pacific Ocean assigned to USLANTCOM
 - ◆ Both commands historically headed by US Navy officers
- ◆ Exceptions:
 - ◆ Mediterranean & Baltic Seas assigned to USEUCOM
 - ◆ Red Sea & Persian Gulf assigned to USEUCOM, then to new USCENTCOM (1983). Gulf of Aden & Gulf of Oman assigned to USCENTCOM (1989)

51

1980s: Combatant & component commands (III)

CNA

- ◆ New joint unified commands established
 - ◆ USCENTCOM (1983)
 - ◆ USSPACECOM (1985)
 - ◆ USSOCCOM (1987)
 - ◆ USTRANSCOM (1987)
- ◆ US Navy had opposed establishment of each
- ◆ USN SSBN strategic forces remained assigned to USLANTCOM & USPACOM
- ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act changed command relationships (1986)

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1980s: US defense directives & reports

Year	President	National Document	SECDEF	CJCS	Defense Document	CNO	USN Capstone Document
1981	Carter	PD 62, PD 63	Weinberger	Jones USAF	JSPS Docs Defense Guidance (DG)	Hayward	Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S) Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S) Amphibious Warfare Strategy (S) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S) Maritime Strategy (U) "Looking Beyond Maritime Strategy" (U) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S) "Maritime Strategy for the 1990s" (U)
1982	Reagan	NSSDs & NSDDs NSDD 13 NSDD 32 NSDD 72					
1983		NSDD 75 SDI		Vessey USA	Weinberger Doctrine	Watkins	
1984		Reagan Doctrine					
1985		Stockholm Agreement NSDD 265 National Security Strategy INF Treaty National Security Strategy					
1986		NSRs & NSDs		Carlucci	Discriminate Deterrence		
1987		NSDD 265 National Security Strategy INF Treaty National Security Strategy				Cheney	
1988	GHWBush	NSDD 265 National Security Strategy INF Treaty National Security Strategy		Powell USA	Base Force		
1989		NSDD 265 National Security Strategy INF Treaty National Security Strategy					
1990		National Security Strategy Vienna Document NSD 49					

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1980s: Reagan Administration directives

- ◆ National Security Study Directives (NSSD)
- ◆ National Security Decision Directives (NSDD)
 - ◆ NSDD-13: *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy* (Oct 1981)
 - ◆ NSDD-32: *U.S. National Security Strategy* (May 1982)
 - ◆ NSDD-72: *U.S. Program for the Exercise of Navigation & Overflight Rights at Sea* (Dec 1982)
 - ◆ NSDD-75: *U.S. Relations with the USSR* (Jan 1983)
 - ◆ NSDD-265: *Freedom of Navigation Program* (Mar 1987)

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1980s: Reagan Administration directives

- ◆ *Defense Guidance* (annual)
- ◆ “Weinberger Doctrine” of “full force” (Nov 1984)
 - ◆ Reaction to disastrous USMC Lebanon intervention (1983)
- ◆ 1st SECDEF *Forces for Unified Commands* memorandum (“‘Forces For’ memo”) (Feb 1987)
- ◆ DOD Directive 5100.1 *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Apr, Dec 1987)

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1980s: Reagan Administration reports

- ◆ *National Security Strategy* (1987, 1988)
- ◆ Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, *Discriminate Deterrence* (Jan 1988)

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1980s: Bush Administration directives & reports

- ◆ National Security Reviews (NSR)
- ◆ National Security Directives (NSD)
 - ◆ NSD-49, *Freedom of Navigation Program* (1990)
- ◆ *National Security Strategy* (NSS) (Mar 1990)
- ◆ *CJCS National Military Strategy* (Aug 1989)
- ◆ *CJCS, Roles and Functions of the Armed Forces* (Sep 1989)
- ◆ CJCS “Base Force” review (1990)

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1980s: USN dollars, numbers, capabilities

YEAR	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT	DON TOA FY 12\$	NEW SHIPS	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	ACTIVE PERSONNEL	NEW CAPABILITIES INTRODUCED
1981	Hayward		\$140B	18	490	540K	Phalanx CIWS, Kidd-class DDG, Ohio-class SSBN, JOTS
1982	Watkins	Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S)	\$154B	17	513	553K	INMARSAT, New Jersey-class BB
1983			\$170B	14	514	558K	Ticonderoga-class Aegis CG, Dry deck shelters, TACTAS, Mk67 SLMM
1984		Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S)	\$169B	16	524	565K	T-LAM, F/A-18A/B, SH-60 Lamps III, Strike U, Stalwart-class T-AGOS, S-3B
1985		Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)	\$188B	19	541	571K	LCAC, Skipper LGB, Nixie decoy, Super-CAG, Sea Shadow, AGM-123, Safeguard-class ARS
1986		Amphib. Strategy (S)	\$185B	20	556	581K	ELF SSBN Comms, AGM-88 HARM, NTU, Mercy-class T-AH, Mk 41 VLS, HJ Kaiser-class T-AO
1986		Maritime Strategy (U)					
1987	Trost	“Looking Beyond Maritime Strategy”(U)	\$183B	17	568	587K	Avenger MCM, F/A-18C/D, MH-53E AMCM helo, Pioneer UAV
1988			\$189B	15	565	593K	Improved Los Angeles-class SSN, F-14B AAW a/c, W88 nuclear warhead
1989		Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S)	\$176B	19	566	593K	ELF operational, E-6A, Mk 50 ALWT, AN/SPY-1B radar, Maverick AGM-65F
1990	Kelso	“Maritime Strategy for the 1990s”(U)	\$172B	15	547	583K	Wasp-class LHD, SLAM ASM, Trident II D-5 SLBM, Mk 48 ADCAP

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

1980s: USN active ship force levels

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Carriers	12	13	13	13	13	14	14	14	14	13
Battleships	--	--	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	4
Cruisers	27	27	28	29	30	32	36	38	40	43
Destroyers	91	89	71	69	69	69	69	69	68	57
Frigates	78	86	95	103	110	113	115	107	100	99
Submarines	87	96	98	98	100	101	102	100	99	93
SSBNs	34	33	34	35	37	39	37	37	36	33
Command	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Mine Warfare	25	25	21	21	21	21	22	22	23	22
Patrol	1	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Amphibious	61	61	59	57	58	58	59	59	61	59
Auxiliary	101	117	103	120	121	123	127	114	137	137
TOTAL	521	555	533	557	571	583	594	573	592	570

Source: Naval History & Heritage Command

1980s: Capstone documents & force goals

YEAR	CNO	FORCE GOAL DOCUMENT	FORCE LEVEL GOAL	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT
1981	Hayward	DOD & SECNAV goal	600	> 490	Maritime Strategy (Brief) (S) Maritime Strategy (Pub) (S) Amphib. Warfare Strategy (S), Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S) Maritime Strategy (U) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (U) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (S) Maritime Strategy (Rev) (U)
1982	Watkins	DOD & SECNAV goal	600	> 513	
1983			600	> 514	
1984			600	> 524	
1985			600	> 541	
1986			600	> 556	
1987			600	> 568	
1988				565	
1989				566	
1990	Kelso	DOD Base Force	450	416 < 547	

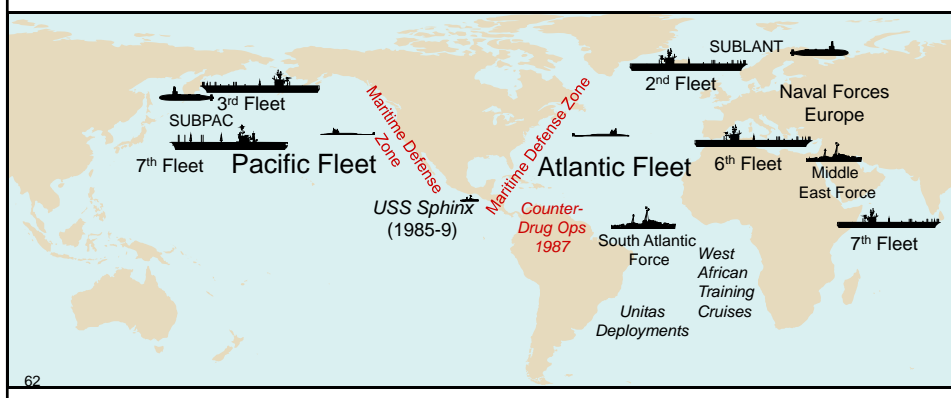
1980s: USN force goals

- ◆ USN largely sized, shaped to fight Soviet Union
- ◆ 1980: Republican Party platform: 600 ships
- ◆ 1981-1987: “600-Ship Navy;” e.g.:
 - ◆ 15 Carrier Battle Groups (CVBG)
 - ◆ 4 Battleship Surface Action Groups (BBSAG)
 - ◆ 100 Nuclear-powered Attack Submarines (SSN)
 - ◆ Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBN)
 - ◆ MAF-plus-MAB Assault Echelon Lift (Amphibs)
 - ◆ 100-110 Frigates
 - ◆ 31 Mine Countermeasures Ships
 - ◆ Support Ships to match
 - ◆ (14 Active & 2 Reserve Carrier Air Wings (CVW))

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1980s: USN deployment strategy

- 2 forward fleets: 1 forward-based; 1 forward deployed
- New 3rd (IO) hub; permanent combat-credible presence
- 2 home fleets. Increased surge ops
- Aggressive SSN ops; SSBNs deployed w/in target range
- Renewed focus on homeland security & defense



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1980s: State of the Navy (II)

CNA

- ◆ High global OPTEMPO, experience, expertise
- ◆ Most USN combat ops were against the shore
- ◆ Some USN combat ops at sea, in the Gulf
- ◆ LANTFLT significantly larger than PACFLT
 - ◆ 56/44 split (27% larger)
- ◆ Experience in operating new fleet systems & tactics gave fleet sailors operational confidence
 - ◆ Average age of active ships going down
- ◆ Forward routine deployment length policy change
 - ◆ Variable initially, & lengthening (often 7-8 months)
 - ◆ Strict OPTEMPO limits imposed (6 months portal-to-portal), due in part to retention concerns (1986)
- ◆ About 4-5 carriers deployed at any one time

65

1980s: State of the Navy (III)

CNA

- ◆ Continued extensive, varied, global ops, exercises (I)
 - ◆ Forward SS/SSN, P-3/EP-3 ISR ops for I&W
 - ◆ SSBN patrols
 - ◆ Grenada, Lebanon interventions (1983)
 - ◆ S. Korean KAL-007 Soviet shoot-down recovery ops (1983)
 - ◆ Red sea mine hunting & clearance (1984)
 - ◆ Persian Gulf Tanker War combat, escort operations (1984-8)
 - ◆ USS *Stark*, USS *Samuel B. Roberts*, USS *Vincennes* incidents
 - ◆ Central American freedom fighter operational support

66

1980s: State of the Navy (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Continued extensive, varied, global ops, exercises (II)
 - ◆ Hijacked *Achille Lauro* terrorist interception (1985)
 - ◆ Libya anti-surface, anti-air, strike operations (1981, '86, '89)
 - ◆ Panama, Philippine interventions (1989)
 - ◆ California earthquake, Hurricane Hugo disaster relief ops (1989)
 - ◆ Formal Freedom of Navigation challenge ops (FONOPS)
 - ◆ Counter-drug operations; Vietnamese boat people rescues
 - ◆ Major annual USN & inter-allied exercises in North Atlantic, Caribbean, Mediterranean, Pacific, Indian Oceans

67

1980s: State of the Navy (V)

CNA

- ◆ Previous bifurcation of uniformed USN strategic thinking vs. Soviets increasingly seen as dysfunctional
 - ◆ New intelligence on Soviet intentions & capabilities drove realization that isolation of anti-SSBN campaign from other campaigns was counter-productive and indeed no longer possible
 - ◆ SSG I study & product showed virtues of integration
 - ◆ CNO ADM Watkins finally forced USN strategic integration at all levels of classification (1986)

68

1980s: State of the Navy (VI)

CNA

- ◆ USN surface, air operators focused on SWA
 - ◆ High but fluctuating Gulf presence
- ◆ USN planners more focused on NATO & WestPac
 - ◆ Wary of SWA commitments in global war
- ◆ USN submariners increasingly focused on Arctic
- ◆ CWC concept institutionalized in the fleet
- ◆ Ever-increasing dependence of US naval operations on space systems

69

1980s: State of the Navy (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Freedom of Navigation challenges (FON OPS) continued
 - ◆ But SECSTATE Baker asserted no longer need for FON OPS in Soviet Black Sea littoral (1989)
- ◆ Increased commitment to War on Drugs
 - ◆ Anti-Drug Abuse Act established billets on USN ships for USCG law enforcement detachments (LEDETs) (1986)

70

1980s: State of the Navy (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ USN strike capabilities became more widely disbursed among platform types, beyond carriers
 - ◆ Surface combatant capabilities jumped (TLAM, AEGIS, VLS)
 - ◆ TLAM on SSNs
 - ◆ Increased range, precision of surface ships, submarines
- ◆ Multi-purpose carrier air wings
 - ◆ Mix dependent on CV/CVN capacities
- ◆ Search for follow-on attack aircraft to A-6 Intruder
 - ◆ OSD decision: Develop A-12 naval stealth aircraft

71

1980s: State of the Navy (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Naval Strike Warfare Center (“Strike U”) established at NAS Fallon (1984)
 - ◆ In wake of 6th Flt Lebanon strike ops
- ◆ “Super-CAGs” created (1985)
 - ◆ To command carrier air wings
 - ◆ Report to CVBG commanders vice CV COs
- ◆ Carrier AEW Weapons School (CAEWWS) (“Top Dome”) established at NAS Miramar (1989)
- ◆ Last A-7 Corsair II, F-4 Phantom II, F-8 Crusader, P-2 Neptune aircraft left the fleet

72

1980s: State of the Navy (X)

CNA

- ◆ SSBN/SLBM force still optimized for counter-value vice counterforce targeting, but developing accurate counterforce MIRVed Trident II SLBM
- ◆ SSN force focused on anti-Soviet ISR missions for I&W, ASW
- ◆ Beginning of shift to active sonar solutions to counter increased Soviet submarine quieting
 - ◆ Walker Navy Family spy ring active until arrested (1985)
 - ◆ NSA cryptologist Ronald Pelton arrested for passing USN submarine ops info to Soviets
 - ◆ CNO Urgent ASW Research & Development Program (CUARP) (1985)
- ◆ Abortive development of P-3C follow-on Long-Range Air ASW-Capable Aircraft (LRAACA) (P-7) (1987-90)⁷³

1980s: State of the Navy (XI)

CNA

- ◆ 4 Iowa-class battleships re-commissioned
- ◆ 4 Kidd-class DDGs commissioned (1981-2)
 - ◆ Originally destined for Imperial Iranian Navy
- ◆ Commander, US Third Fleet shifted flag from ashore HQ to USS *Coronado* (AGF 11) (1986)
- ◆ Creation & expansion of MSC civilian-manned T-AGOS fleet with SURTASS
- ◆ Fleet Composite Operational Readiness Groups (FLTCORGRUs) re-designated Fleet Tactical Deception Groups (FLTDECGRUs) (1986), to plan, conduct tactical deception ops

74

1980s: State of the Navy (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Last Underwater Demolition Teams (UDTs) converted to SEAL Teams or SEAL Delivery Vehicle (SDV) Teams (1984)
- ◆ Riverine capability reoriented toward Naval Special Warfare; Coastal warfare capability reoriented toward forward port security
- ◆ 2 new T-AHs converted, put in service
 - ◆ USNS *Mercy* humanitarian assistance shakedown cruise to Philippines (1987)
- ◆ Slow increase in numbers, responsibilities of USN women at sea
 - ◆ 1st women assigned to Combat Logistics Ships (1988)

75

1980s: State of the Navy (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ Waxing internal OPNAV influence of OP-06 (DCNO for Strategy, Plans and Policy)
 - ◆ Reflected SECNAV Lehman view of conceptual primacy of strategy
 - ◆ OP-60 billet held by a senior RADM
 - ◆ OP-60B billet downgraded from COMO to CAPT (1985)
 - ◆ CAPT Linton Brooks relieved COMO T.J. Johnson
- ◆ ADM Rickover retired by SECNAV Lehman (1982)
 - ◆ Followed in both USN & DOE roles by succession of double-hatted 4-star submarine officers

76

1980s: State of the Navy (XIV)

CNA

- ◆ Navy PPBS program planning changes
 - ◆ “Warfare Appraisals” led by Director, Naval Warfare (OP-095) supplanted warfare area “Program Analyses” & “Net Assessments” led by Director, Systems Analysis (OP-96) (restyled N91) as chief OPNAV program planning vehicle
 - ◆ CNO ADM Hayward initiative (from 1980)
 - ◆ N91 CPAMs continued for support areas
 - ◆ War gaming supplanted campaign analyses
- ◆ Revitalization of first “P” (Planning) in PPBS
 - ◆ *Maritime Strategy CPAM* (from 1982)

77

1980s: State of the Navy (XV)

CNA

- ◆ SECNAV Lehman views on Navy PPBS process (1981-7)
 - ◆ Antipathy to OPNAV emphasis on program planning, campaign analyses, net assessment, OP-96
 - ◆ Wanted more focus on strategic thinking, operational experience, & a coherent rationale for the Navy

78

1980s: State of Navy (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Formal USN officer strategy/policy fora
 - ◆ Navy Long-Range Planners Conference
 - ◆ Convened by OPNAV OP-00X/00K
 - ◆ Held annually at US Naval Academy (1985-89)
- ◆ Informal USN officer strategy/policy fora
 - ◆ Navy Discussion Group (mid- & again in late 1980s)
 - ◆ Convener: CDR, later CAPT Jim Stark
 - ◆ “Young Turks” lunches w/ SECNAV (Early 1980s)
 - ◆ Convener: SECNAV John Lehman
 - ◆ US Naval Institute symposia (mid-late 1980s)
 - ◆ Coordinator: *Proceedings* editor-in-chief Fred Rainbow
 - ◆ CNA annual symposia
- ◆ Participants included *Maritime Strategy* authors

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1980s: State of Navy (XVII)

CNA

- ◆ Fall-off after mid-decade in Navy use of civilian graduate programs in Political Science & International Relations
 - ◆ Reduced numbers to Fletcher School, etc.
- ◆ Creation of 2-year strategic planning master's degree curriculum at Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) Monterey (1982)
- ◆ SECNAV Lehman instituted mandatory Maritime Strategy course at NPS Monterey (1985)
- ◆ CDR Jim Tritten (USC Ph.D.) detailed from OP-60 to Monterey to establish Maritime Strategy education classes, courses & programs
- ◆ NPS “OP-06 Chair of Strategic Planning” created (1989)

80

1980s: State of Navy (XVIII)

CNA

- ◆ By end of decade, top USN post-graduate-educated officers increasingly detailed to Joint Staff vice OPNAV
 - ◆ Effect (intended) of Goldwater-Nichols Act (1986)
- ◆ Continued strong community management of Navy pol-mil/ strategic planning sub-specialists by several OP-06 & OP-60 flag officers
 - ◆ Continued strong cadre of competitive, educated, experienced Navy strategy action officers in OP-603

81

1980s: State of Navy (XIX)

CNA

- ◆ Continued high NAVWARCOL capability, prestige, contribution to USN strategy & policy
 - ◆ More & higher quality USN officers attended as students
 - ◆ Personal attention of CNO ADM Watkins
 - ◆ But presidency still a RADM billet (since 1979)
 - ◆ Center for Naval Warfare Studies (CNWS) created (1981)
 - ◆ Dean Robert Murray, former Under Secretary of the Navy
 - ◆ Centered on newly created prestigious & influential CNO Strategic Studies Group (SSG) (1981)
 - ◆ Included Centers for Advanced Research and War Gaming, and Naval War College Press
 - ◆ Succeeded by Dean Robert Wood

82

1980s: State of Navy (XX)

CNA

- ◆ NAVWARCOL development
 - ◆ CNWS & CNO SSG split (1985)
 - ◆ CNWS Strategy & Campaigns Department created (1987)
 - ◆ Global War Games continued, grew more complex & influential
 - ◆ Focused on Soviet Union as adversary (through 1988)

83

1980s: State of the Navy (XXI)

CNA

- **Systems in development &/or construction**
 - ◆ **Ships**
 - ◆ BB re-commissioning
 - ◆ Fast sealift ships (SL-7)
 - ◆ Hospital ships (T-AH)
 - ◆ Improved Los Angeles class SSN
 - ◆ Wasp-class LHD
 - ◆ Burke-class DDG
 - ◆ Seawolf-class SSN
 - ◆ (SSN 21)
 - ◆ Avenger-class MCM
 - ◆ Cardinal-class MSH (cancelled)
 - ◆ **Aircraft**
 - ◆ F-14B
 - ◆ A-12 (later cancelled)
 - ◆ E-6A TACAMO
 - ◆ T-45A Goshawk
 - ◆ SH-60B/F
 - ◆ P-7A (cancelled)
 - ◆ **Weapons & systems**
 - ◆ Trident II D-5 MIRV missile
 - ◆ Pioneer UAV
 - ◆ Skipper LGB

84

1980s: DCNOs for Plans, Policy & Operations*

CNA

- ◆ 1980 VADM Sylvester Foley
- ◆ 1982 VADM Arthur Moreau
- ◆ 1983 VADM James A. Lyons, Jr.
- ◆ 1985 VADM Donald Jones
- ◆ 1986 VADM Henry Mustin
- ◆ 1988 VADM Charles Larson
- ◆ 1990 VADM Robert Kelly

*OPNAV OP-06

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1980s: Directors for Strategy, Plans & Policy CNA

- ◆ 1979 RADM Arthur Moreau
- ◆ 1981 RADM Robert Kirksey
- ◆ 1983 RADM Dudley Carlson
- ◆ 1983 RADM Ronald Marryott
- ◆ 1984 RADM Jerome Johnson
- ◆ 1985 RADM T.J. Johnson
- ◆ 1985 RADM William Pendley
- ◆ 1986 RADM John Calhoun
- ◆ 1987 RADM Ronald Eytchison
- ◆ 1988 RADM P.D. Smith

* OPNAV OP-60

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1980s: Strategy & Concepts branch heads*

- ◆ 1980 CAPT Elizabeth Wylie
- ◆ 1982 CAPT P.D. Smith
- ◆ 1983 CAPT Roger Barnett
- ◆ 1984 CDR James Stark (Acting)
- ◆ 1984 CAPT Larry Seaquist
- ◆ 1985 CAPT Thomas Daly
- ◆ 1986 CAPT Philip Boyer
- ◆ 1988 CAPT Peter Deutermann
- ◆ 1988 CAPT Jerry Murphy
- ◆ 1988 CAPT Michael Martus
- ◆ 1989 CAPT E.R. Diamond

* OPNAV OP-603

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1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (I)

- ◆ Overview
 - ◆ New literature emerging on planning, strategy & strategists, including naval planning & strategy
 - ◆ New naval histories, including strategy evolution
 - ◆ Continued attention to forward presence and naval diplomacy
 - ◆ Big focus on naval arms control (at end of decade)
 - ◆ More on the Soviet Navy
 - ◆ Focus on anti-submarine warfare, especially vs. SSBNs
 - ◆ Focus on naval tactics & relation to strategy
 - ◆ The US Marine Corps & a renewed look at warfare in the third world

88

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (II)

- ◆ New literature emerging on planning, strategy & strategists, including naval planning & strategy (I)
 - ◆ Tom Buell, *Master of Sea Power* (FADM King) (1980)
 - ◆ Michael Vlahos, *The Blue Sword: The Naval War College and the American Mission, 1919-1941* (1980)
 - ◆ David Rosenberg, *Historical Perspectives in Long-Range Planning in the Navy* (1980)
 - ◆ CAPT (Ret) Paul Ryan, *First Line of Defense: The U.S. Navy Since 1945* (1981)
 - ◆ Gen Sir James Hackett, *The Third World War, The Untold Story* (1982)
 - ◆ COL Harry Summers USA, *On Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ Barry Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain and Germany Between the World Wars* (1984)
 - ◆ CAPT George Thibault (ed.), *The Art and Practice of Military Strategy* (National Defense University, 1984)

89

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (III)

- ◆ New literature emerging on planning, strategy & strategists, including naval planning & strategy (II)
 - ◆ RADM (Ret) Robert Hanks, *American Sea Power and Global Strategy* (1985)
 - ◆ Harlan Ullman & Thomas Etzold, *Future Imperative: National Security and the U.S. Navy in the Late 1980s* (1985)
 - ◆ Tom Clancy, *Red Storm Rising* (1986)
 - ◆ Peter Paret et al. (eds), *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (1986)
 - ◆ Richard Neustadt, Ernest May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decisions-Makers* (1986)
 - ◆ Edward Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* (1987)
 - ◆ CAPT George Thibault (ed.), *Dimensions of Military Strategy* (National Defense University, 1987)

90

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IV)

- ◆ New literature emerging on planning, strategy and strategists, including naval planning & strategy (III)
 - ◆ Michael Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy* (1988)
 - ◆ Steven Miller & Stephen Van Evera (eds.), *Naval Strategy and National Security: An International Security Reader* (1988)
 - ◆ Norman Friedman, *The US Maritime Strategy* (1988)
 - ◆ Hon. John Lehman, *Command of the Seas* (1988)
 - ◆ John Hattendorf (ed), RADM J.C. Wylie, *Military Strategy: A General Theory of Power Control* (1989)
 - ◆ Colin Gray & CAPT (Ret) Roger Barnett (eds.), *Seapower and Strategy* (1989)
 - ◆ Carl Builder, *The Masks of War: American Military Styles in Strategy and Analysis* (1989)
 - ◆ Originally written as Army-sponsored commentary on USN *Maritime Strategy* effort

91

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (V)

- ◆ New naval histories, including strategy evolution
 - ◆ Robert Albion, *Makers of Naval Policy, 1778-1947* (1980)
 - ◆ Robert Love (ed.), *The Chiefs of Naval Operations* (1980)
 - ◆ Paolo Coletta (ed), *American Secretaries of the Navy* (1980)
 - ◆ E.B. Potter, *Sea Power: A Naval History* (2nd ed.) (1981)
 - ◆ Kenneth Hagan (ed.), *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History* (2nd ed) (1984)
 - ◆ H.P. Willmot, *Sea Warfare: Weapons, Tactics and Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ CAPT (ret) Edward Beach, *United States Navy: 200 Years* (1986)
 - ◆ Paul Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1987)
 - ◆ VADM (Ret) Edwin Hooper, *United States Naval Power in a Changing World* (1988)
 - ◆ John Keegan, *The Price of Admiralty: The Evolution of Naval Warfare* (1988)

92

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VI)

- ◆ Continued attention to forward presence and naval diplomacy
 - ◆ Thomas Bryson, *Tars, Turks and Tankers: The Role of the United States Navy in the Middle East, 1800-1979* (1980)
 - ◆ James Cable, *Gunboat Diplomacy: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force* (2nd ed. (1981)
 - ◆ Stephen Kaplan: *Diplomacy of Power: Soviet Armed Forces as a Political Instrument* (1981)
 - ◆ LCDR Joseph Sestak, “The Seventh Fleet: A Study of Variance between Policy Directives and Military Force Postures,” (1984)
 - ◆ James Cable, *Diplomacy at Sea* (1985)
 - ◆ Ken Booth, *Law, Force and Diplomacy at Sea* (1985)
 - ◆ Floyd D. Kennedy et al., *Trends in Force Levels and Disposition of Major Navies Since World War II* (CNA) (Jun 1989)

93

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VII)

- ◆ Big focus on naval arms control (at end of decade)
 - ◆ George Quester (ed.), *Navies and Arms Control* (1980)
 - ◆ Harlow A. Hyde, *Scraps of Paper: The Disarmament Treaties Between the World Wars* (1988)
 - ◆ RADM J.R. Hill RN (Ret), *Arms Control at Sea* (1989)
 - ◆ Richard Fieldhouse & Shunji Taoka, *Superpowers at Sea: An Assessment of the Naval Arms Race* (1989)
 - ◆ Robert Kaufman, *Arms Control During the Pre-Nuclear Era: The United States and Naval Arms Limitation between the Two World Wars* (1990)
 - ◆ Richard Fieldhouse (ed.), *Security at Sea: Naval Forces and Arms Control* (1990)
 - ◆ Sverre Lodgaard (ed.), *Naval Arms Control* (1990)
 - ◆ A. McLean, *Naval Arms Control in the Arctic and Northern Waters* (1990)

94

1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VIII)

- ◆ More on the Soviet Navy
 - ◆ Robert W. Herrick, *Soviet Naval Theory and Policy: Gorshkov's Inheritance* (1988)
- ◆ Focus on anti-submarine warfare, especially vs. SSBNs
 - ◆ Donald Daniel, *Anti-Submarine Warfare and Superpower Strategic Stability* (1986)
 - ◆ Tom Stefanik, *Strategic Antisubmarine Warfare and Naval Strategy* (1987)
 - ◆ John Moore and Richard Compton-Hall, *Submarine Warfare Today and Tomorrow* (1987)
 - ◆ Mark Sakitt, *Submarine Warfare in the Arctic, Option or Illusion* (1988)

95

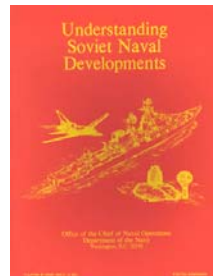
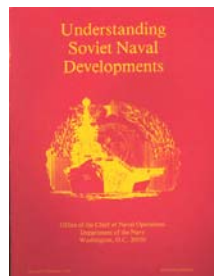
1980s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IX)

- ◆ Focus on naval tactics & relation to strategy
 - ◆ CAPT Wayne Hughes, *Fleet Tactics* (1986)
- ◆ The US Marine Corps & a renewed look at warfare in the third world
 - ◆ USMC, *Small Wars Manual* (reprint of 1940 ed.) (1987)
 - ◆ William Lind et al., "The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation," *Marine Corps Gazette* (Oct 1989)

96

1980s: Public USN intelligence documents CNA

- ◆ *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*, (4th ed) (1981)
- ◆ *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*, (5th ed) (1985)



97

1980s: US Navy basing (I) CNA

- ◆ Naval Districts disestablished (1980)
 - ◆ Functions assumed by base commanders
- ◆ New CONUS SSBN bases operational
 - ◆ Kings Bay GA (1979); Bangor WA (1981)
- ◆ SECNAV Lehman “Strategic Homeporting” initiative (1981-6)
 - ◆ New bases planned for Staten Island, Mobile, Ingleside, Everett, Pascagoula
- ◆ Major base closure legislation (1988)
 - ◆ 1st BRAC round: 3 naval stations closed

98

1980s: US Navy basing (II)

CNA

- ◆ MSC Afloat Prepositioning Force (APF) locations established at Diego Garcia, Guam & Saipan, & US East Coast
- ◆ Continued buildup on Diego Garcia
- ◆ USN MPA & other aircraft access to forward bases in Oman (Masirah, Seeb, Thumrait)
- ◆ Mobile Support Bases (MSB) anchored in international waters in Arabian Gulf (1987-8)
 - ◆ 2 leased barges during Operation EARNEST WILL
 - ◆ *Hercules & Winbrown 7*
 - ◆ To support USN small craft, Army SOF helos
 - ◆ Conscious imitation of Vietnam War “Seafloat”

99

1980s: US Navy basing (III)

CNA

- ◆ SOSUS stations continued consolidation
 - ◆ 36 SOSUS stations active (1981)
 - ◆ Subsequently, NAVFACs Lewes, Midway, Cape Hatteras, Antigua, Point Sur, San Nicholas Island, Barbers Point, Pacific Beach WA closed
- ◆ NAVCOMMSTA New Makri, Greece closed (1990)
- ◆ Live fire training on Kaho’olawe Island, Hawaii ended, following local protests (1990)

100

1980s: US Navy basing changes

CNA



101

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (I) CNA

- ◆ US military sealift renaissance
 - ◆ Military control & development favored over reliance on subsidized commercial shipping
 - ◆ Increase in government & privately-owned US sealift ships for surge & sustainment respectively
 - ◆ Suitable for military cargo
 - ◆ Continued planned reliance on EUSC ships, allies
 - ◆ Creation & expansion of prepositioning fleet
 - ◆ SECNAV Lehman directed that strategic sealift be formally recognized as “a distinct Navy function along with sea control and power projection” (Mar 1984)
 - ◆ New OPNAV strategic sealift office (OP-42)

102

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (II) CNA

- ◆ Commander Military Sealift Command (MSC) billet upgraded again to VADM (1981)
 - ◆ Had been downgraded to RADM (from 1971)
- ◆ MSC Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with Republic of Korea (ROK) established Korean Flag Shipping Program (KFSP) (1981)
 - ◆ Procedures to transfer 59 Korean ships to MSC operational control in support of US Korean contingencies

103

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (III) CNA

- ◆ USN successfully resisted MSC merger with US Army Military Traffic Management Command (MTMC) (1982)
- ◆ But MSC subsumed under new joint US Transportation Command (USTRANSCOM) (1987)
 - ◆ Also included MTMC, USAF Military Airlift Command (MAC)
 - ◆ MTMC took over management of movement of material overseas
 - ◆ USCINCTRANS authority over MSC limited to wartime

104

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (IV) CNA

- ◆ Build-up of robust US government-owned MSC fleets: Prepositioning & fast sealift
 - ◆ From 7 NTPF to 17 APF to 37 APF ships
 - ◆ Indian Ocean Near Term Prepositioning Force (NTPF) (1980)
 - ◆ 7 ships initially on station at Diego Garcia with USN commander & afloat joint staff (later expanded to 17 ships (by 1985))
 - ◆ Afloat Prepositioning Force (APF) (1983)
 - ◆ 3 Maritime Prepositioning Force (MPF) squadrons for USMC
 - ◆ Other prepo ships holding USA, USAF, & DLA cargo
 - ◆ At Diego Garcia, Guam & Saipan, US East Coast
 - ◆ Some government-owned; some chartered
- ◆ Use subject to CINC demand, JCS adjudication
- ◆ Little operational use in 1980s

105

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (V) CNA

- ◆ US Navy bought 8 private Seatrain SL-7 containerships, converted to RO/RO Fast Sealift Ships (FSS) (T-AKR) (1981-4)
- ◆ USN converted containerships to crane ships (T-ACS)
 - ◆ Placed in MARAD RRF
- ◆ USN developed & procured Sealift Enhancement Features (SEF) to adapt civilian containerships to military use, to load oversized military equipment
 - ◆ Flatracks, Sea Sheds, etc.

106

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VI) CNA

- ◆ MSC non-sealift missions continued to grow
- ◆ Continued transfer of USN Combat Logistics Force (CLF) ships to civilian mariner (CIVMAR) crewed MSC Naval Fleet Auxiliary Force (NFAF)
 - ◆ 18 civilian-crewed T-AGOS ships; 2 hospital ships (1984-90)
 - ◆ Contract operation by contract mariners (CONMARs) of MSC special mission ships began (1984)
 - ◆ OMB circular A-76 (1983): Encouraged government reliance on commercial sector

107

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VII) CNA

- ◆ MARAD total NDRF ship #s rose, then fell
 - ◆ 1980: 303 1984: 386 1990: 329
- ◆ Continued build-up of MARAD NDRF RRF for rapid MSC sealift deployment
 - ◆ 1980: 24 1985: 65 1990: 96
 - ◆ Ready Reserve Fleet renamed Ready Reserve Force (1982)
- ◆ Unsuccessful Navy bid to take over RRF from MARAD (1986-8)
- ◆ MSC-MARAD Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) on relationships re: RRF (1988)

108

1980s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VIII)

- ◆ Continued Germany, Korea reinforcement exercises to test, maintain US sealift surge capabilities
 - ◆ “REFORGER” ; “Team Spirit”
- ◆ But . . . implications of *The Maritime Strategy*:
 - ◆ Soviets to be held at bay well north of SLOCs
 - ◆ Downgraded anticipated Soviet threat to SLOCs
 - ◆ Reduced perceived need for replacements for attrited merchant shipping
- ◆ Bush Administration NSD 28: *National Security Directive on Sealift* (5 Oct 1989)
 - ◆ Broad policy guidance supportive of US commercial ocean carrier industry, but with caveats
 - ◆ Required use of commercial before government ships, for military sealift

109

1980s: US-flag Merchant Marine (I)

- ◆ World shipping depression continued till late 1980s
- ◆ Domestic US shipping tonnage surpassed international shipping tonnage to & from US ports
- ◆ 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

110

1980s: US-flag Merchant Marine (II)

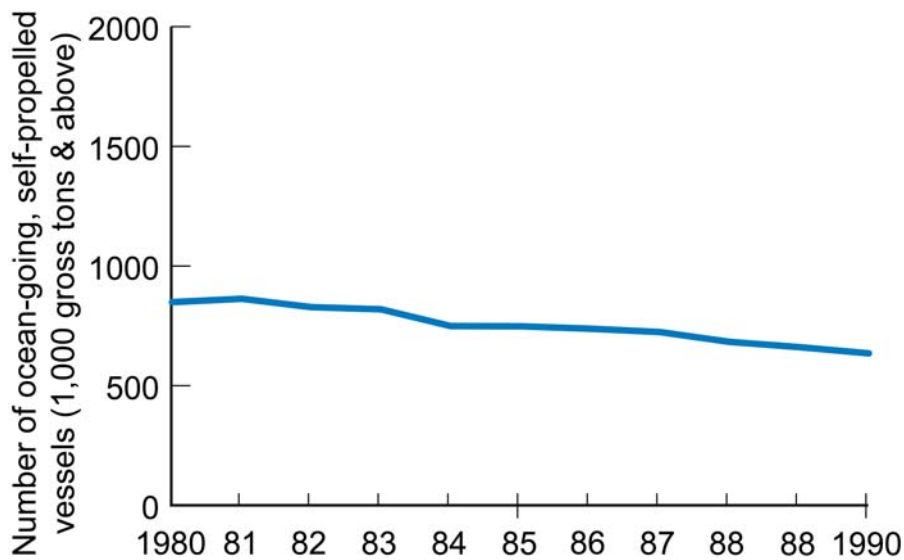
CNA

- ◆ US commercial Merchant Marine decline continued
 - ◆ Ocean-going ships (1000 gross tons & over)
 - ◆ 1980: 849 1985: 748 1990: 635
 - ◆ US MM only 4-5% of world fleet tonnage
- ◆ Effective US Control (EUSC) fleet also declined, precipitously
 - ◆ 1982: 466 1986: 326 1989: 228
 - ◆ 1986 tax law reduced US investment in US-owned, foreign-flagged ships
- ◆ Council of American-Flag Ship Operators (CASO) acted as lobbying group for 8 major subsidized liner companies (1978-1988)
 - ◆ President: Former CNO ADM James Holloway (1980-88)

111

1980s: US-flag Merchant Marine (III)

CNA



112

1980s: US-flag Merchant Marine (IV)

CNA

- ◆ # of US non-government civilian merchant mariners continued to drop
 - ◆ 1980: 19,600 1985: 13,100 1990: 11,100
 - ◆ RRF activation contingent upon availability of US civilian merchant mariners
- ◆ MSC began to contract out its special mission ship operations (1984)
 - ◆ Reagan administration cost-effective privatization of government functions
 - ◆ OMB Budget Circular A-76
 - ◆ 12 survey ships contracted out (1985)
 - ◆ Non-CIVMAR crews

113

1980s: US-flag Merchant Marine (V)

CNA

- ◆ Reagan Administration de-regulatory policies unfavorable to US commercial shipping companies
 - ◆ Maritime Administration transferred from Commerce to Transportation Department (1981)
 - ◆ Shipping Act of 1984: Scaling back of Nixon-era operating subsidies; allowed “super-conference” ship-owner associations, service contracts
 - ◆ Tax Reform Act ended tax deferral of shipping income (1986)
- ◆ US private commercial shipping industry decline
 - ◆ US fleet operators sold fleets to foreign ship-owners or ceased international operations
 - ◆ Seatrain bankruptcy (1981)
 - ◆ United States Lines bought Moore-McCormick Lines (1982); Delta Line (1984)
 - ◆ United States Lines bankruptcy (1986)
 - ◆ Had been largest, most prestigious US shipping company

114

1980s: US shipbuilding industrial base

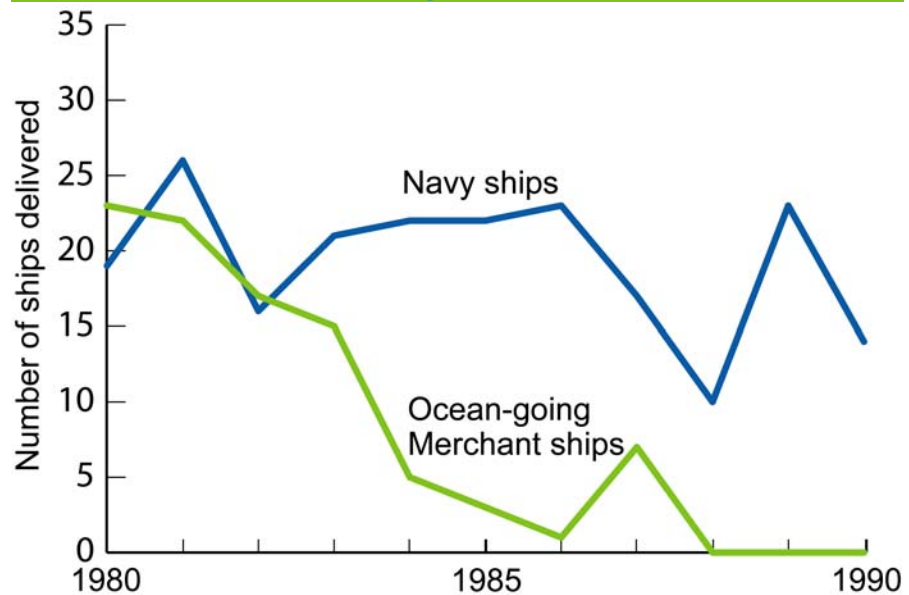
CNA

- ◆ US shipbuilding industry increasingly dependent on US Navy orders
- ◆ USN warship shipbuilding: Between 10-23 ships annually
- ◆ US domestic merchant ship construction fell off, ceased towards end of decade
 - ◆ US Merchant Marine bought ships overseas
- ◆ World shipbuilding still in post-1973 oil shock recession (until 1988)

115

1980s: US shipbuilding industrial base

CNA



Source: MARAD & Tim Colton.

6

1980s: US shipbuilding: Government policies CNA

- ◆ Reagan Administration policies hostile to US private non-naval shipbuilding
 - ◆ USN build-up, including MSC fleet, provided contracts
 - ◆ But administration distrusted commercial shipbuilding government subsidies & guarantees
 - ◆ Suspended 1936 Construction Differential Subsidy (CDS) program (1981)
 - ◆ Initially allowed foreign construction of US-flag vessels
 - ◆ Deregulated liner shipping for shipowners
 - ◆ Suspended Federal Ship Financing Program due to defaults (1986)
 - ◆ USN-MARAD *Shipyard Mobilization Base Study* (SYMBA) (1984)
- ◆ Effect: US private non-naval shipbuilding plummeted
 - ◆ Half the yards closed
 - ◆ One third of the workforce left

117

1980s: US shipbuilding: Government policies CNA

- ◆ Jones Act (1920) continued in force.
 - ◆ Sea trade between US ports must be in US-built ships
- ◆ Congress mandated DOD not acquire US military vessels from foreign shipbuilders (1985)

118

1980s: US government naval shipyards

- ◆ # of US government naval shipyards stayed at 8
 - ◆ Charleston (SC)
 - ◆ Long Beach (CA)
 - ◆ Mare Island (CA)
 - ◆ Norfolk (Portsmouth VA)
 - ◆ Pearl Harbor (HI)
 - ◆ Philadelphia (PA)
 - ◆ Portsmouth (Kittery ME)
 - ◆ Puget Sound (Bremerton WA)

1980s: US government naval shipyards



1980s: US private naval shipbuilding

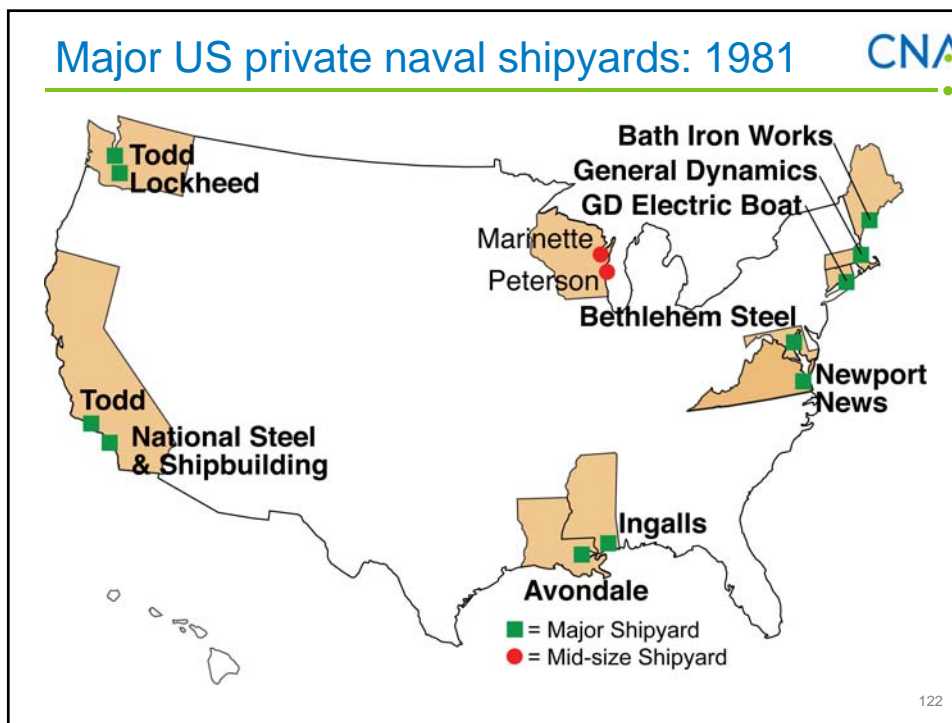
CNA

- ◆ 12 private US shipyards with major naval experience (6 will close by 1990)
 - ◆ Avondale Shipyards (LA)
 - ◆ Bath Iron Works (ME)
 - ◆ Bethlehem Steel (MD)
 - ◆ Electric Boat Division (CT)
 - ◆ General Dynamics (MA)
 - ◆ Ingalls Shipbuilding (MI)
 - ◆ Lockheed Shipbuilding & Construction (WA)
 - ◆ National Steel and Shipbuilding (CA)
 - ◆ Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock (VA)
 - ◆ Todd Shipyards (CA)
 - ◆ Todd Shipyards (WA)
 - ◆ Sun Ship (PA)

121

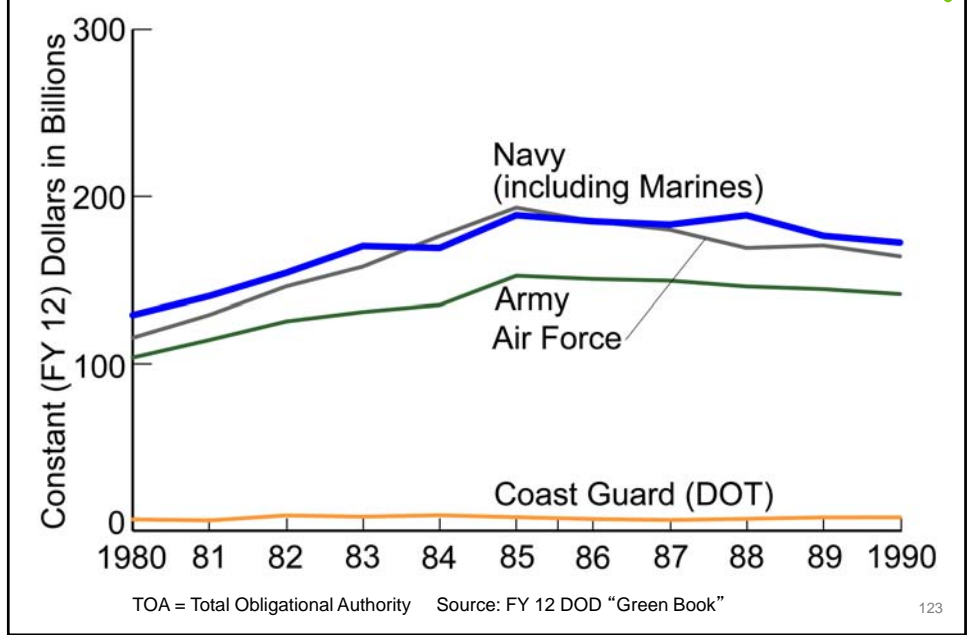
Major US private naval shipyards: 1981

CNA

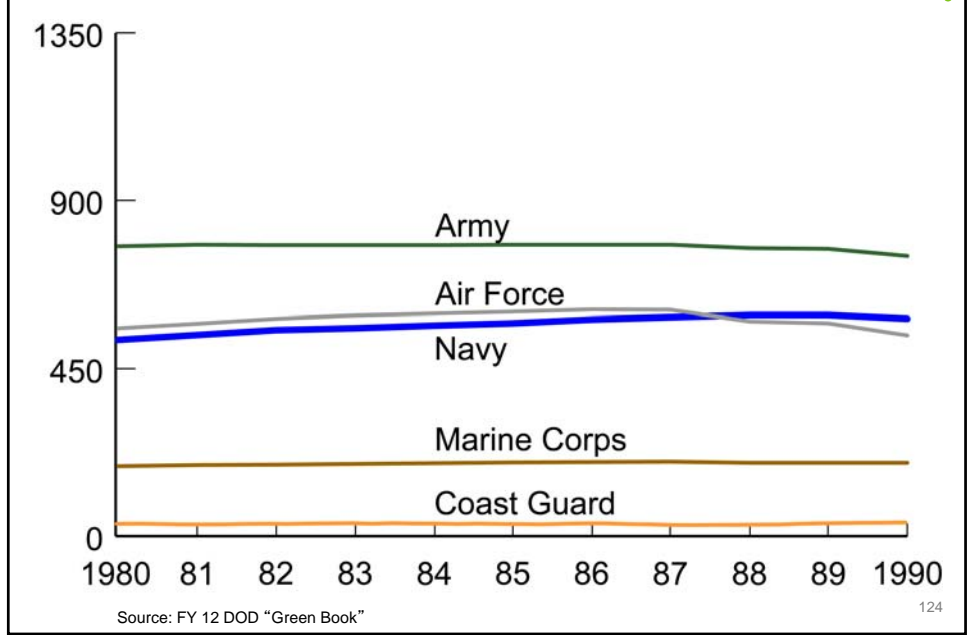


122

1980s: Comparing military department TOA\$ CNA



1980s: Comparing active duty personnel CNA



1980s: USN-USMC relations

CNA



125

1980s: USN-USMC relationships: Overview

CNA

- ◆ Decade of defense budget largesse, especially at start
- ◆ Close USN-USMC collaboration early in the decade
- ◆ Increasing separation towards the end of the decade
- ◆ Centrality of NATO-Warsaw Pact war planning case
- ◆ Increasing USMC autonomy and status vis-à-vis USN
- ◆ USMC development of new concepts & gear
- ◆ USMC re-focus on 3rd World contingency warfighting

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1980s: Context for USN-USMC relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	
NATO CONMAROPS	1981	Reagan	Lehman	Hayward	Barrow
Israeli Bekaa Valley AAW wins	1982	Reagan	Lehman	Watkins	
<u>Beirut/Grenada</u>	1983			Troost	
Iran-Iraq War	1984				
Gorbachev GSCPSU Walkers arrested	1985	Reagan	Lehman	Troost	Kelley
Goldwater/Nichols	1986				
<u>Libya strikes</u>	1987				
Praying Mantis	1988	Carlucci	Webb	Troost	Gray
<u>Cold War Ends</u>	1989	Bush	Ball		
			Cheney		
Tiananmen Square	1989	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Gray
<u>Iraq invades Kuwait</u>	1990				

127

1980s: Operations

- ◆ Continued routine & crisis-response USMC forward deployments on USN ships
 - ◆ MAUs on amphibious ships
 - ◆ MARDETs on non-amphibious ships
 - ◆ Grenada, Lebanon operations

128

1980s: Relationships: Early & mid-decade

- ◆ Close USN-USMC relations during most of decade
 - ◆ “600 Ship navy” goal incl/ amphibious ships for 1 MAF/1 MAB
 - ◆ “DON LIFT” study & agreed force goals (1983)
 - ◆ NATO flanks, Soviet Far East amphibious plans, exercises
 - ◆ Both USN, USMC opted for, bought, flew F/A-18C/D aircraft
 - ◆ CNO’s Strategic Studies Group (SSG) at Newport RI had USMC members

129

1980s: Ships & budgets

- ◆ CMC, USMC committed to Landing Craft Air Cushion (LCAC), Advanced Amphibious Assault Vehicle (AAAV), V-22 tilt-rotor aircraft to implement over-the-horizon (OTH) assault concepts
- ◆ Continued decline in amphibious % of active fleet
 - ◆ 1960s: 15% 1970s: 13% 1980s: 11%
- ◆ USN-USMC budget differences
 - ◆ “Blue-in-support-of-green” dollars at issue
 - ◆ Especially cost of V-22
 - ◆ CMC Gen Gray demarche on amphibious forces

130

1980s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

- ◆ USMC lift goal stable over the decade
 - ◆ 1 MAB & 1 MAB Assault Echelon (AE) amphibious lift
- ◆ USN amphibious ship count stable (about 60)
- ◆ Increase in capability of individual amphibious ship types
- ◆ Some “necking down” of # of USN amphibious ship types

131

1980s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

Year	Actual amphibious ship force levels	Actual troop lift	Amphibious lift goals
1981	61 (LHA/LKA/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	1.1 MAFs	1 MAF (AE) + 1 MAB (AE)
1982	61 ---	---	---
1983	59 ---	---	---
1984	57 ---	---	---
1985	58 ---	---	---
1986	58 ---	---	---
1987	59 ---	---	---
1988	59 ---	1.2 MEFs	1 MEF (AE) + 1 MEB (AE)*
1989	63 (LHA/LHD/LKA/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	---	---
1990	62 ---	---	---

AE = Assault echelon *Marine “amphibious” organizations re-designated as “expeditionary” (1988)

132

1980s: OTH & prepositioning

CNA

- ◆ USMC developed over-the-horizon (OTH) assault & prepositioning concepts & systems
 - ◆ LSD-41s, LCACs, initial LHD entered service
 - ◆ USS *Nassau* deployed with all-Harrier air wing (1981)
 - ◆ USMC pushed “mobility triad:” LCAC, AAV, V-22
 - ◆ 3 new USMC afloat MPFs & Norway NALMEB prepositioning forces operational
 - ◆ USMC Blount Island Command to support all USMC prepositioning ships & gear (1989)

133

1980s: USN-USMC relations: Changes

CNA

- ◆ USN using amphibious command ships (LCCs) as numbered fleet flagships (from 1979)
- ◆ USMC reorganized support for USN base security
 - ◆ Marine Corps Security Battalions, Atlantic & Pacific, created (1987)
 - ◆ Fleet Anti-terrorism Security Teams (FAST) to augment USN force protection created, under Marine Corps Security Battalions (1987)

134

1980s: USMC autonomy, status increasing

- ◆ 1st USMC Unified Command CINC appointed
 - ◆ USCINCENT Gen George Crist USMC (1985-1988)
 - ◆ Commanded largely-USN US forces during Iran-Iraq Tanker War (1984-8); US Operation Earnest Will (1987-8)
- ◆ Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC) reorganized & renamed (1987)
 - ◆ Had been Marine Corps Development & Education Command (MCDEC)
- ◆ Marine Corps University organized (1989)
- ◆ Marine Corps War College established (1990)

135

1980s: Planning issues

- ◆ Joint Pub 3-02 *Doctrine for Amphibious Operations* signed (1986)
 - ◆ 1st *joint* amphibious doctrine pub since World War II
 - ◆ Continued C2 division at water's edge: CATF/CLF
 - ◆ More “coordinated” than “integrated”
 - ◆ USN CVBGs, SSNs operated separately from USN Amphibious Ready Groups (ARGs)
- ◆ USMC plans for Norway (& Korea): Priority to pre-war non-amphibious deployments
- ◆ USMC continued focus on SWA planning
 - ◆ NTPF, later MPF (1995) afloat support
 - ◆ Continued lesser interest by USN
 - ◆ Prepositioning ships funded outside Navy budget

136

1980s: Increasing differences

CNA

- ◆ USN, USMC drifting apart by end of decade
 - ◆ Deputy Commandant for Plans Policy & Operations (PP&O) reprinted, widely distributed 1940 USMC *Small Wars Manual* (Apr 1987)
 - ◆ CMC Gen Al Gray (1987-1991)
 - ◆ CMC refocused USMC on warfighting in 3rd world, vice anti-Soviet NATO & NE Pacific campaigns
 - ◆ USMC forces restyled “expeditionary” vice “amphibious” (1988)
 - ◆ FMFM 1 *Warfighting* (1989)
 - ◆ Maneuver warfare as USMC philosophy of waging war
 - ◆ Culminated decade of major USMC internal debate
- ◆ MEUs became “Special Operations Capable” (SOC) (1987)
 - ◆ Unlike USN SEALs, USMC not part of new USSOCCOM
 - ◆ *MEU(SOC) Operations Playbook* (1989)

137

1980s: USN “capstone” documents

CNA

- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET brief) (1982)
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub) (1984)
- ◆ *Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (SECRET Pub) (1985)
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub rev) (1985)
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (UNCLAS booklet) (1986)
- ◆ “Looking Beyond the Maritime Strategy” (UNCLAS article) (1987)
- ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (SECRET pub rev) (1989)
- ◆ “Maritime Strategy for the 1990s” (UNCLAS article) (1990)

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1980s: USMC in USN “capstone” documents CNA

- ◆ Easy USN-USMC collaboration on 1st versions (1982-6)
 - ◆ Important role of LtCol Tom Wilkerson USMC
- ◆ CMC article on “Amphibious Strategy” in 1986 booklet
- ◆ But no co-signed CNO-CMC documents except *Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (1985)

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1980s: USN-USCG relations CNA



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1980s: Context for USN-USCG Relations

World Events	Year	Administration		SECNAV	CNO	SEC TRANS	CCG
NATO CONMAROPS	1981	Reagan	Weinberger	Lehman	Hayward	Lewis	Hayes
	1982				Watkins		
KAL 007 recovery ops	1983						
Iran-Iraq War	1984						
Gorbachev GSCPSU Walkers arrested	1985						
Goldwater/Nichols	1986						
Libya strikes	1987					Trost	
Praying Mantis	1988	Carlucci	Webb	Ball	Burnley	Yost	
Cold War Ends	1989	Bush	Cheney	Garrett	Skinner	Kime	
Exxon Valdez spill	1990						
Iraq invades Kuwait	1990				Kelso		

1980s: USCG-USN relationships (I)

- ◆ USCG in Department of Transportation
 - ◆ No direct participation in Reagan defense buildup
 - ◆ SECTRANS Lewis tried to privatize USCG (1981-3)
- ◆ USCG cutters & PSUs integrated into USN component commanders war plans
- ◆ USN funding of USCG defense hardware
 - ◆ Included WHEC FRAM, Harpoon
 - ◆ USN funded 16 of new USCG 110-foot WPB fleet
- ◆ USCG acquired E-2C Hawkeye a/c (1987)

1980s: USN-USCG relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ USN-USCG “NAVGARD” Board for policy coordination (established 1980)
 - ◆ CNO Hayward initiative, w/ CMDT COGARD Hayes
- ◆ Maritime Defense Zones (MARDEZes) established (1984)
 - ◆ Missions: CONUS port security, harbor defense, coastal warfare
 - ◆ When activated, USCG area commanders to report to USN fleet commanders
 - ◆ USCG area commanders to command USN, other DOD, USCG forces
 - ◆ CNO-COMDT COGARD MARDEZ Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) (1984)

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1980s: USN-USCG relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ USN-USCG counter-drug ops
 - ◆ USCG LEDETs on USN warships (from 1982)
 - ◆ USCG flag officer-led drug interdiction JTFs 4 & 5 set up under USCINCLANT & USCINCPAC (1989)
- ◆ Other USN-USCG integrated ops:
 - ◆ Marial (Cuba) Boatlift (1980); KAL 007 post-shutdown recovery ops (1983); *Exxon Valdez* oil spill (1989)
- ◆ No USCG role in Operations *Urgent Fury* (Grenada 1983) or *Just Cause* (Panama 1989)

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1980s: USN-USAF Relations

CNA



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1980s: USN-USAF Relationship: Bottom Lines

CNA

- ◆ Both cooperation and rivalry persisted
- ◆ Continued growth of Soviet Navy led to increased USAF counter-sea roles
- ◆ Congressional and public dissatisfaction with perceived failings of inter-service cooperation resulted in stronger roles for Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Unified and Specified commanders (1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act (GNA))
 - ◆ USN was most outspoken service opposing GNA
- ◆ USN resisted subordination to joint – and therefore potentially USAF – commanders – to little avail
 - ◆ USCENTCOM, USTRANSCOM, USSPACECOM, USSOCCOM created, against USN opposition

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1980s: USN-USAF Relationship: Bottom Lines

- ◆ Navy continued to resist – and ignore – USAF-led joint policies re: command and control of air operations
- ◆ Navy pleased with itself, its strategy and its systems
- ◆ New aggressive USAF strategic thinking developing, as leadership shifted from bomber pilots to fighter pilots

1980s: Context for USN-USAF Relations

World Events	Year	Administration		SECNAV	CNO	SECAF	CSAF		
NATO CONMAROPS	1981	Reagan	Weinberger	Lehman	Hayward	Orr	Allen		
<u>Israeli Bekaa Valley AAW wins</u>	1982				Watkins		Gabriel		
<u>Beirut/Grenada</u>	1983								
Iran-Iraq War	1984								
Gorbachev GSCPSU Walkers arrested	1985						Rourke		
Goldwater/Nichols	1986						Trost	Aldridge	Welch
<u>Libya strikes</u>	1987								
Praying Mantis	1988				Carlucci	Webb	Ball		
<u>Cold War Ends</u>	1989	Bush	Cheney	Garrett		Rice			
Tiananmen Square <u>Iraq invades Kuwait</u>	1990						Kelso		Dugan

1980s: The U.S. Air Force (I)

- ◆ USAF deployment strategy
 - ◆ TACAIR in ready forward Europe/WESTPAC garrisons
 - ◆ Strategic forces in ready CONUS garrisons
 - ◆ Frequent alert, surge and other exercises
- ◆ New aircraft types introduced
 - ◆ F-117 *Nighthawk* stealth fighter (1983); B-1B Lancer (1985); F-15E *Strike Eagle* (1988)
- ◆ Continued heavy USAF purchases of new F-15s, F-16s, A-10s
- ◆ Air-launched and ground-launched nuclear cruise missiles deployed (ALCM, GLCM)
 - ◆ GLCMs later withdrawn due to treaty w/ Soviets

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1980s: The U.S. Air Force (II)

- ◆ Increasing leadership role in USAF for fighter community vice bomber community
 - ◆ All Chiefs of Staff of the Air Force (CSAFs) from bomber community until 1982; then from fighter community
- ◆ Continued TAC use of USN-designed aircraft
 - ◆ A-7 *Corsair II*, F-4 *Phantom II*
- ◆ No US Air Force officers assigned to command regional joint unified commands

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1980s: The U.S. Air Force (III)

- ◆ Air University created Center for Aerospace Doctrine, Research and Education (CADRE) (1983)
 - ◆ Part of renaissance of USAF thinking about air power
- ◆ Evolution of Air Staff “Checkmate” Division focus
 - ◆ USAF-US Army AirLand Battle “31 Initiatives” support (from 1984)
 - ◆ Refinement of Col John Warden’s airpower dominance theory (from 1988)

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1980s: U.S. Air Force Doctrine and Concepts (I)

- ◆ *Basic Aerospace Doctrine of the United States Air Force (AFM 1-1) (1984)*
 - ◆ “Strategic aerospace offense” = leading USAF mission
 - ◆ “Aerospace maritime ops” included as USAF mission
 - ◆ Air Staff drafted
- ◆ Col John Warden USAF, *The Air Campaign* (1988)
 - ◆ Stimulated in part by advent of *The Maritime Strategy*
 - ◆ Themes: Airpower dominance; airpower-centered approach to warfare
 - ◆ Independent air ops yield potentially decisive *effects*
 - ◆ Short, powerful, *simultaneous* air attacks on centers of gravity, especially *leadership*

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1980s: U.S. Air Force Doctrine and Concepts (II)



- ◆ Push to enshrine USAF doctrine within joint doctrine
 - ◆ JCS Pub 26 *Joint Doctrine for Theater Counterair Operations (from Overseas Land Areas)* (1986)
 - ◆ *Omnibus Agreement for Command and Control of Marine TacAir in Sustained Operations Ashore* (1986)
- ◆ SECAF Rice, *Global Reach-Global Power* (1990)
 - ◆ Inspired in part by success of *The Maritime Strategy*

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1980s: U.S. Navy Capstone Documents



- ◆ Successive editions of *The Maritime Strategy*:
 - ◆ Provided detailed explanation of coordinated USN and USAF operations, especially vs. Soviets and their allies
 - ◆ Included graphic illustrations and pictures of USAF capabilities, deployment and employment

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1980s: USN-USAF Staff Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Increased USN-USAF dialogue and cooperation
 - ◆ Navy-Air Force Memoranda of Agreement (MOAs) (1981, 1983, 1985, 1988)
 - ◆ Navy-SAC MOA (1984) on B-52 *Stratofortress* maritime support for regional unified commanders – in-chief (theater CINCs)
 - ◆ B-52 ASUW *Harpoon*, mining capabilities, exercises
 - ◆ USAF air refueling & E-3 *Sentry* AWACS support

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1980s: USN-USAF Staff Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ USN components under new USAF general officer-led joint operational functional commands
 - ◆ NAVSPACECOM under new USSPACECOM (1985)
 - ◆ MSC under new USTRANSCOM (1987)
 - ◆ USN had opposed creation of both commands, and subordination of Navy component commands. Overruled.
- ◆ New US Special Operations Command (USSOCCOM created (1987)
 - ◆ No US Navy special operations aviation units; Navy SEALs supported by US Army & US Air Force special operations aircraft
- ◆ Brief OPNAV (OP-603) – Air Staff strategy office Action Officer exchange (mid-decade)

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1980s: USN-USAF Staff Relationships (III)

CNA

- ◆ De-confliction of Navy and Air Force theater component commander war plans
- ◆ Development of a large corpus of joint doctrine, TTP
 - ◆ Joint air doctrine often led by USAF concepts
 - ◆ JCS Pub 26 *Joint Doctrine for Theater Counterair Operations (from Overseas Land Areas)* (1986)
 - ◆ 1st doctrinal appearance of Joint Forces Air Component Commander (JFACC) concept
 - ◆ *Omnibus Agreement for Command and Control of Marine TacAir in Sustained Operations Ashore* (1986)
 - ◆ Guidelines for tactical control of USMC aircraft
 - ◆ USN/USA/USAF MOU “Deck Landing Operations for US Army and US Air Force Helicopter Pilots” (1988)
 - ◆ Joint air doctrine often ignored by Navy

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1980s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Small-scale joint operations: Grenada, Libya, Persian Gulf, Panama
- ◆ Goldwater-Nichols Act strengthened CINC ability to coordinate and integrate subordinate service components (1986)
- ◆ USAF TAC Combat Air Patrol (CAP) over USN SSNs during Arctic Ice Ops, vs. Soviet reconnaissance

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1980s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ USN Military Sealift Command (MSC) deployed prepositioning ships forward with USAF munitions
- ◆ Continued MSC operation of missile range instrumentation ship USNS *Observation Island* (T-AGM 23) and other ships in support of USAF missile test data-gathering programs
- ◆ New York Air National Guard (ANG) 109th Airlift Wing began flying search and rescue (SAR) missions as part of long-running (since 1955) USN-led Operation *Deep Freeze* in Antarctica, supporting US scientific activities

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1980s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Libya joint strike ops (1986)
 - ◆ Operations *Attain Document* and *El Dorado Canyon*
 - ◆ Simultaneous USN-USMC and USAF strikes geographically separate and de-conflicted
 - ◆ Little unity of command
 - ◆ Some in USN viewed USAF participation as unneeded
 - ◆ Most significant joint air ops between Vietnam and Gulf wars
- ◆ Persian Gulf “Tanker War” ops (1987-1988)
 - ◆ USAF E-3 *Sentry* AWACS support to USN surface forces
 - ◆ Operations *Earnest Will* and *Praying Mantis*
 - ◆ USAF tankers refueled USN TACAIR over Gulf
 - ◆ USAF transport aircraft airlifted USN Mine Countermeasures (MCM) forces forward

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1980s: Exercise and Training Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Heavy USAF participation in USN-led maritime exercises. Especially maritime-equipped B-52s
- ◆ USN Naval War College (NWC) Global War Games include USAF players
- ◆ Continued Navy-USAF pilot exchanges: Squadron and flight instructor duty and test pilot schools, war college exchanges

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1980s: Tactical Aviation Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Further refinement of US naval aviation Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTP)
 - ◆ To conduct autonomous strike and AAW campaigns on NATO flanks and NE Asia; and small-scale contingency strikes
 - ◆ De-confliction with USAF as necessary
 - ◆ Close cooperation in Pacific theater
- ◆ Navy tactical aircraft accident rate reduced to level comparable to that of USAF
 - ◆ Navy introduced F/A-18 *Hornet* (1983)

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1980s: Tactical Aviation Relationships (II)

- ◆ USAF TAC community focused on relationship to new US Army AirLand Battle doctrine
 - ◆ Ongoing issues: Battlefield and theater command and control; air interdiction; close air support; fire support coordination line (FSCL)
 - ◆ CSA-CSAF “31 Initiatives” agreement (1984)
- ◆ USAF replaced Iceland air defense F-4 *Phantoms* with new F-15 *Eagles* (1985)

1980s: Electronic Warfare Relationships

- ◆ USN continued to fly EA-6B *Prowler*
 - ◆ Used ALQ-99 jamming system
- ◆ USAF introduced EF-111 *Raven* (1983)
 - ◆ Replaced B-66 *Destroyer*
 - ◆ Used AN/ALQ-99E jamming system, developed from USN’s ALQ-99
- ◆ USAF deployed stealthy F-117 *Nighthawk* tactical fighter-bombers and B-2 *Spirit* long-range bombers
 - ◆ Stealth technology seen as reducing requirement for dedicated EW aircraft
- ◆ SECDEF & OSD directed development of Navy stealthy Advanced Tactical Aircraft (ATA)

1980s: Strategic Nuclear Relationships

- ◆ Strategic nuclear deterrent triad continued
- ◆ US nuclear force operational command structure remained divided among SAC, USLANTCOM, USPACOM, USEUCOM
 - ◆ USN successfully resisted periodic attempts to put USN SSBNs under operational control of a joint unified Strategic Command
- ◆ Navy Ocean Surveillance Information System (OSIS) continued to feed offshore Soviet *Yankee* SSBN threat data to SAC

1980s: Aerial Refueling Relations

- ◆ Abortive US Navy land-based tanker procurement initiative (1984-6)
- ◆ Increased USAF SAC tanker modifications to support USN aircraft
- ◆ New USAF KC-10 *Extender* tanker employed both booms and hoses & drogues, to service both services' (and allied) aircraft (from 1981)
- ◆ Despite increased USN use of USAF tankers, still some USN operator antipathy to the practice
 - ◆ Some complaints that USAF "hard baskets" can damage fuselage panels on sides of USN refueling probes, unlike USN "soft baskets"

1980s: Space Relationships (I)

- ◆ Major organizational changes
 - ◆ US Air Force Space Command created (1982)
 - ◆ Naval Space Command created (1983)
 - ◆ US Navy Naval Electronic Systems Command (NAVELEX) restructured. Became Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command (SPAWAR)
 - ◆ Unified joint US Space Command created (1985)
 - ◆ Navy had opposed
 - ◆ CINC always from USAF; Deputy always from Navy

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1980s: Space Relationships (II)

- ◆ Continued high Navy demand for and use of USAF space systems
- ◆ Navy was assigned Alternate Space Control Center (ASCC) mission (1987)
- ◆ Continued modest Navy funding of space systems
- ◆ USAF launched 1st Global Positioning System (GPS) satellites (from 1988)

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1980s: Systems Relationships (I)

CNA

- ◆ Strategic Air Command declared six B-52 squadrons capable of maritime surveillance & mining
- ◆ Two USAF B-52G squadrons fully Harpoon-capable for anti-surface warfare (ASUW) (1985-1989)
 - ◆ At Loring (Maine) and Anderson (Guam) AFBs
- ◆ Commander-in-Chief, US Atlantic Command (USLANTCOM) ADM Baggett successfully argued for retention of USAF SR-71 *Blackbird* reconnaissance aircraft, for surveillance of Kola Peninsula and approaches (1988)

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1980s: Systems Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ USAF adoption of Navy-developed High-speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM)
- ◆ USAF developed, built up arsenal of precision-guided munitions (PGMs)
 - ◆ USN lagged
- ◆ New Navy Advanced Tactical Aircraft (ATA)
 - ◆ USAF cooperation re: stealth technology for new Navy stealthy attack aircraft -- later designated the A-12 *Avenger II*
- ◆ New USAF Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF)
 - ◆ USAF developed, tested prototypes (later became F-22 *Raptor*)
 - ◆ Navy funded study & initial development of Navy Advanced Tactical Fighter (NATF) variant (1986)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations



1980s: Context for USN-US Army relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SECARMY	CSA	
NATO CONMAROPS	1981	Reagan	Weinberger	Lehman	Hayward	Marsh	Meyer
Israeli Bekaa Valley AAW wins	1982				Watkins		
Beirut/Grenada	1983						
Iran-Iraq War	1984						Wickham
Gorbachev GSCPSU Walkers arrested	1985						
Goldwater/Nichols	1986				Trost		
Libya strikes	1987						
Praying Mantis	1988		Carlucci	Webb			Vuono
				Ball			
Cold War Ends	1989						
Tiananmen Square	1989	Bush	Cheney	Garrett		Stone	
Iraq invades Kuwait	1990						
					Kelso		

1980s: USN-US Army relations (I)

CNA

- ◆ Continued central Army premise: Heavy combat forces will provide decisive defeat
- ◆ Continued Army focus on ground operations in Germany vs. Soviets & allies, in context of NATO-Warsaw Pact War
- ◆ New Army AirLand Battle doctrine necessitated closer doctrinal & operational ties to US Air Force
- ◆ Army fielded “Big Five” weapons systems, plus MLRS
 - ◆ M1A1 Abrams tank
 - ◆ M2/M3 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle
 - ◆ AH-64 Apache attack helicopter
 - ◆ UH-60 Blackhawk utility helicopter
 - ◆ Patriot air defense system
 - ◆ Multiple-Launch rocket system (MLRS)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ Army support for increased jointness among all US military services
 - ◆ Influenced by:
 - ◆ Army experience in dealing with US Air Force re: Army AirLand Battle doctrine
 - ◆ Perceived Army experience with Navy, others during “Urgent Fury” Grenada operation (1983)
- ◆ Army enhancement of its officer corps education & training
 - ◆ School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) established at Fort Leavenworth KS (1983)
 - ◆ USN students included by end of decade
 - ◆ Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) established at Ft. Leavenworth (1985)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ Army, DON TOA increased by about same fraction
- ◆ Continued clash of strategic concepts
 - ◆ Army: Focus on heavy ground threat in Germany
 - ◆ Navy: Focus on spectrum of global, forward ops
 - ◆ Revised US Army operational doctrine:
 - ◆ Return to offensive concepts, focus on entire campaign
 - ◆ FM 100-5 *Operations* (“AirLand Battle”) (1982, 1986)
 - ◆ COL Harry Summers, *On Strategy* (1982)
 - ◆ Continued narrow US Army preoccupation with USN sealift, afloat prepositioning, & close-in protection of shipping
 - ◆ “The Navy (‘s) . . . major mission was to protect the Atlantic sea-lanes so that we could get to Europe to fight World War III”
GEN Colin Powell (Ret), *My American Journey* (1995)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Small joint operations (with increasing Army-Navy interactions)
 - ◆ Operation URGENT FURY (1983)
 - ◆ Grenada intervention & regime change
 - ◆ Widely publicized Army-Navy interoperability issues
 - ◆ E.g.: Tactical communications; Army helicopters on USN ships
 - ◆ Operation EARNEST WILL (1987-9)
 - ◆ Persian Gulf “Tanker War”
 - ◆ Operation PRIME CHANCE I: USA MH-6 “Sea Bats,” UH-60 “Greyhawks,” AH-58 helos on USN FFGs, MSBs (1987)
 - ◆ Operation JUST CAUSE (1989)
 - ◆ Panama intervention & regime change
 - ◆ US Army Transportation Corps watercraft support for USN SEALS

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (V)

CNA

- ◆ USN MSC deployed afloat prepositioned Army equipment forward & expanded Army sealift
- ◆ Army Transportation Corps expanded & modernized its watercraft fleet
 - ◆ 1st Logistic Support Vessel (LSV) delivered (1987)
- ◆ Army-Navy Joint Logistics Over The Shore (JLOTS) exercises
- ◆ USN Mk48 Mod 0 chain gun introduced (1986)
 - ◆ Derived from Army M242 Bushmaster
- ◆ USN/USA/USAF MOU “Deck Landing Operations for US Army & US Air Force Helicopter Pilots” (1988)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Army plans for infantry, air defense reinforcement of forward islands
 - ◆ Iceland, Azores, Aleutians
- ◆ NWC Global War Games include Army players
- ◆ Brief OPNAV-Army Staff strategy action officer exchange
- ◆ New—largely US Army—USSOCCOM (1987)
 - ◆ Subsumed Navy Special Warfare Command, ops
 - ◆ USN had opposed. Overruled.
- ◆ Competition for USCCINCCENT billet (1988)
 - ◆ Navy nominee: VADM Henry Mustin
 - ◆ Army nominee (& selectee): LTG Norman Schwarzkopf

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Army distrust of *The Maritime Strategy* as USN force-building argument at expense of Army
 - ◆ Rejected Navy bids for MarStrat-AirLand Battle integration
 - ◆ Refused to supply photos for 1986 US Naval Institute *Proceedings* article
- ◆ Dr. Keith Dunn & COL Bill Staudenmeier at Army War College
 - ◆ Numerous writings vs. *The Maritime Strategy*
- ◆ Builder, *The Army in the Strategic Planning Process* (1986)
 - ◆ Would become *Masks of War* (1989)

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1980s: USN-US Army relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ US Army periodically discussed in Navy capstone documents of the 1980s
 - ◆ Mentioned in passing in
 - ◆ “The Maritime Strategy Presentation” (1982 SECRET brief);
 - ◆ *The Amphibious Warfare Strategy* (1985, SECRET),
 - ◆ “The Maritime Strategy” (2006 UNCLAS article)
 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (1988/9 SECRET versions)
 - ◆ “Maritime Strategy for the 1990s” (1990 UNCLAS article)
 - ◆ Very well integrated into
 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* (1984 & 1985 SECRET versions)
 - ◆ Not mentioned at all in
 - ◆ “Looking Beyond the Maritime Strategy” (1987 UNCLAS article)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations

CNA



1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (I)

CNA

- ◆ USN focus: Increasing capabilities of US allies & friends to counter Soviets & allies
- ◆ Coordination, not integration, with allied forces
- ◆ Division of labor: Allied expertise encouraged in:
 - ◆ NCAPS, convoy escort, mine & coastal warfare, forward basing support, port security
- ◆ Security fears limited classified info exchanges
- ◆ Interoperability through LIMDIS NATO pubs
- ◆ OPNAV, fleet commanders drove USN policy

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ A few multi-lateral naval coordination & cooperation ops
 - ◆ Off Lebanon (1982-4)
 - ◆ Gulf of Suez mine clearance (1984)
 - ◆ Persian Gulf “Tanker War” ops (1987-8)
- ◆ Enabled by prior exercises, interoperability programs, staff talks, education & training, tech transfer, etc.

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ International Seapower Symposia (ISS) on-going biennially at NWC Newport RI
- ◆ Bi-lateral Navy-to-Navy staff talks programs continued, expanded
- ◆ CNO Coalition Strategy Enhancement Program (CSEP) (1988)
 - ◆ *The Maritime Strategy* as centerpiece for bilateral naval discussions & war games w/ foreign navies
 - ◆ CSEP OPNAVINST drafter was OPNAV OP-603 *Maritime Strategy* AO (CDR Mitch Brown)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (IV)

CNA

- ◆ NAVWARCOL curricula for foreign officers
 - ◆ Other foreign navy educations & training
 - ◆ NWC accepts foreign officers as research scholars
- ◆ NWC Global War Games include allied players
- ◆ Worldwide Naval Control & Protection of Shipping (NCAPS) network
 - ◆ USNR participates for USN
- ◆ Arms & technology transfers (both ways)
- ◆ Intel & communications collaboration
 - ◆ AUSCANZUKUS
- ◆ Personnel Exchange Program (PEP) ongoing

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (V)

CNA

- ◆ NATO relationships
 - ◆ Command structures, staffs, plans & exercises
 - ◆ Tri-MNC *Concept of Maritime Operations* (CONMAROPS) (1981, 1985, 1988)
 - ◆ Rationalization, standardization, interoperability
 - ◆ USN-RN debates on NORLANT SLOC protection

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ RN deployed upgraded “Chevaline” Polaris missiles, as UK strategic deterrent
- ◆ RN planned to deploy USN Trident D-5
 - ◆ US-UK Trident II D5 sales agreement (1982)
 - ◆ USN SSBN base at Kings Bay GA to support
- ◆ US/USN tilt to UK/RN in Falklands War (1982)
- ◆ British Royal Fleet Auxiliary transferred 3 Sirius-class combat stores ships (T-AFS-8) to US Navy Military Sealift Command (1981-3)
- ◆ RN SSN participated in USN ICEX 88 (1988)
- ◆ USN installed French diesel engines in LSDs, replenishment oilers (from 1985)
- ◆ USN opposed Canadian Navy SSN plans (1987-8)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ Latin American navy relationships
 - ◆ UNITAS exercises continued
 - ◆ Due to Falklands War issues, only US, Colombia, Chile participated (1982)
 - ◆ Other Latin American navies slowly resumed participation
 - ◆ Argentine Navy returned (1990)
 - ◆ Incl/ Brazilian Navy/Marine amphibious assault (1984)
 - ◆ Inter-American Naval Conferences (IANC) continued
 - ◆ Bilateral maritime strategy efforts
 - ◆ USN riverine MTTs to Bolivia
- ◆ USN purchased Israeli *Pioneer* UAVs (from 1987)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ JMSDF, ROKN, RTN, RAN relationships
 - ◆ RIMPAC exercises continued, expanded
 - ◆ Cobra Gold exercises began, expanded (from 1981)
 - ◆ Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) (from 1988)
 - ◆ Nuclear PVST issue cut RNZN relationships (1986)
 - ◆ USN unsuccessfully opposed S. Korean submarine purchases; backed Japanese Aegis purchase
 - ◆ Japan pledged JMSDF to defend sea lanes out to 1000 nautical miles from Japan (1981)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Annual USN-Soviet Navy INCSEA meetings continued
- ◆ Informal SU-UK-US naval talks began (1988)
- ◆ ADM Trost 1st CNO to visit USSR (1989)
- ◆ Continued USN buildup of Royal Saudi Naval Forces
 - ◆ USN created International Preparatory School at Pensacola FL, to prep Saudi students for further training (1985)

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1980s: USN-foreign navy relations (X)

CNA

- ◆ Warm Navy-to-Navy relations with PRC (to 1989)
 - ◆ ADM Watkins 1st CNO to visit PRC (1986)
 - ◆ Other flag officer visits
 - ◆ USN, PLAN warships steamed together in Western Pacific (1986)
 - ◆ 1st USN-PLAN reciprocal port visits in 37 yrs (1987)
 - ◆ Foreign military sales to PRC: Unarmed SH-60 helicopters, destroyer gas turbine engines, etc.
 - ◆ Agreement to sell 4 Mark-46 torpedoes to PRC
 - ◆ Relationships broken off after Tiananmen Square Massacre (1989)

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End of the 1980s: State of Navy

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- ◆ Navy ended decade with high morale & consensus on USN rationale
 - ◆ Upbeat triumphalism as Warsaw Pact unraveled
 - ◆ Confident in strategy & policy-making prowess
 - ◆ Confident in operational & tactical prowess
 - ◆ Confident in modernity of systems
 - ◆ Confident in fleet deployment strategy & readiness
- ◆ A few concerns
 - ◆ Declining ship numbers
 - ◆ Cardinal-class MSC fiasco; A-12 program difficulties; BB *Iowa* turret explosion
 - ◆ Anti-Soviet ASW had become difficult again
 - ◆ Increasing joint integration; decreased USN autonomy

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The 1980s vs. the 1970s

- ◆ 1980s
 - ◆ Internal USN consensus on USN rationale
 - ◆ Warm administration attitude to USN
 - ◆ Unity of thought across CNOs
 - ◆ Intel community unanimity
 - ◆ Defense budget largesse
- ◆ 1970s
 - ◆ Little – then slowly emerging -- internal USN understanding, consensus on USN rationale
 - ◆ Lukewarm administration attitude to USN
 - ◆ Successive CNO course corrections
 - ◆ Intel community disagreements
 - ◆ Defense budget squeeze

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