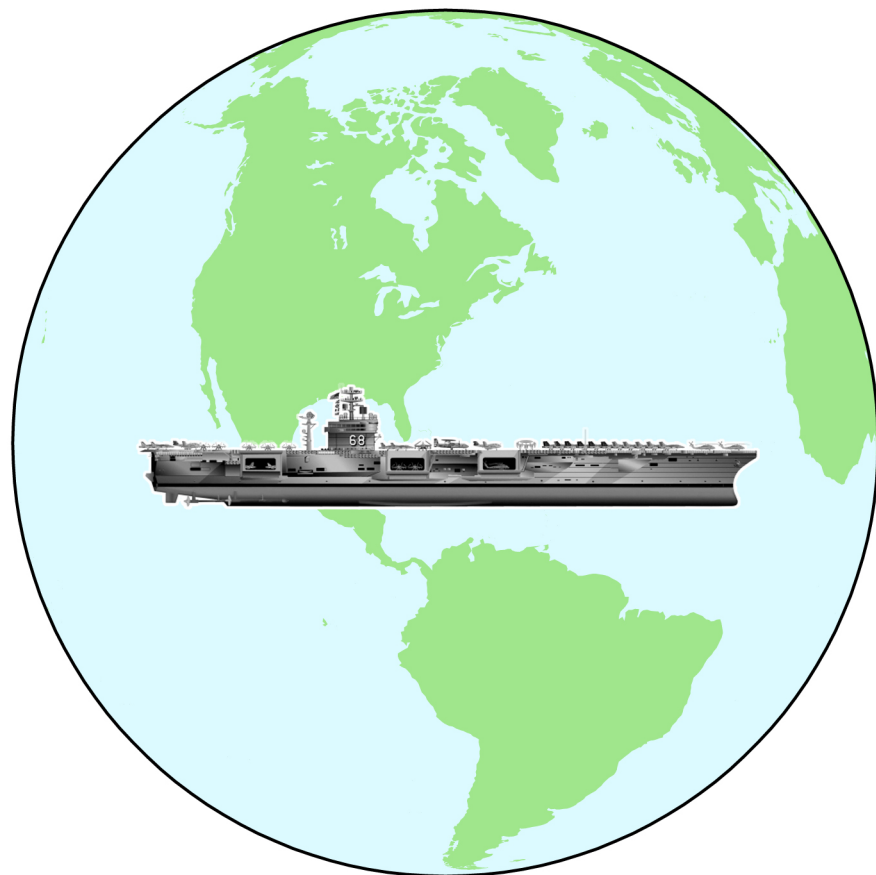


# The U.S. Navy in the World (1970-1980):

Context for U.S. Navy Capstone Strategies and Concepts

Peter M. Swartz  
with Karin Duggan



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December 2011

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## US Navy capstone documents of the 1970s CNA

- ◆ 1970 *Project SIXTY*
- ◆ 1974 *Missions of the U.S. Navy*
- ◆ 1975 *Strategic Concept for the U.S. Navy*
- ◆ 1977 *NWP 1: Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy*
- ◆ 1978 *NWP 1: Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy (Rev. A)*
- ◆ 1978 *Sea Plan 2000*
- ◆ 1979 *CNO Strategic Concepts & The Future of U.S. Sea Power*



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## 1970s: The world, the nation & the Navy CNA

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	Capstone Document
Soviet Okean 70	1970	Nixon	Laird	Chafee	Project SIXTY
NPT treaty	1971				
Seabed Treaty		1972			
India-Pakistan War	1973			Richardson	
Pres. Nixon to China		1974	Ford		Schlesinger
INCSEA/ABM Treaty	1975			Rumsfeld	
US Vietnam Pullout		1976			
USN-Soviet Navy Med Confrontation	1977			Carter	
India nuclear test		1978			
South Vietnam falls	1979				
USSR-Egypt Treaty cancelled		1980			Hidalgo
Panama Canal Treaty					
Deng leads China					
Camp David Accords					
Shah of Iran falls					
Taiwan Relations Act					
Soviets invade Afghanistan					
Desert One debacle					
Marief (Cuba) boatlift					

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## Comparing national economic power (1970-1980) CNA

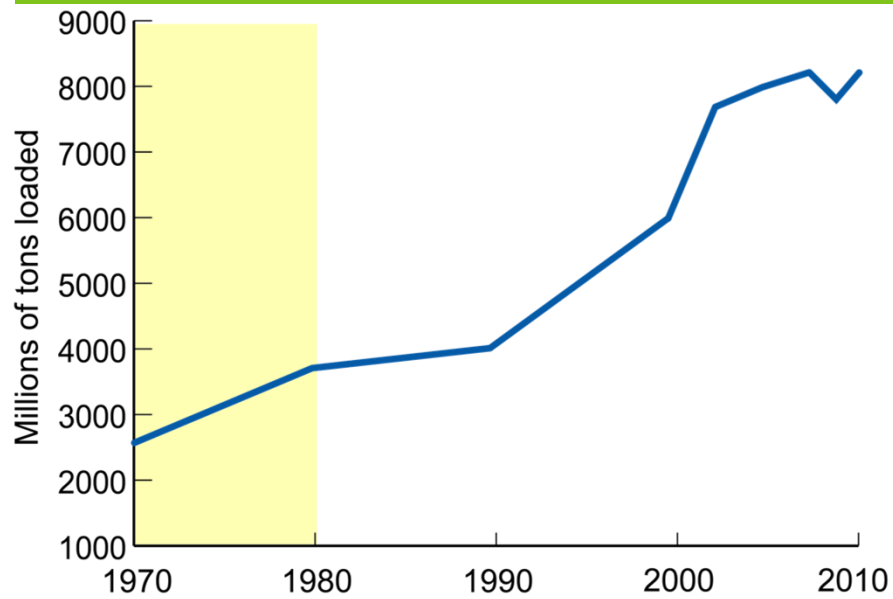
Ranked by Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Also percent share of world GDP\*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1970 +	USA  35%	Germany  7	Japan  7	France  5	UK  4	Italy  4	China  3	Canada  3	India  2	Brazil  1
1980 +	USA  25	Japan  10	Germany  8	France  6	UK  5	Italy  4	Canada  2	Brazil  2	Spain  2	Mexico  2

\*Source: World Bank. + Excludes USSR.

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## Growth of world maritime trade (1970-1980) CNA



Source: UNCTAD (with 2010 data added)

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## Comparing national defense spending (1970-1980) CNA

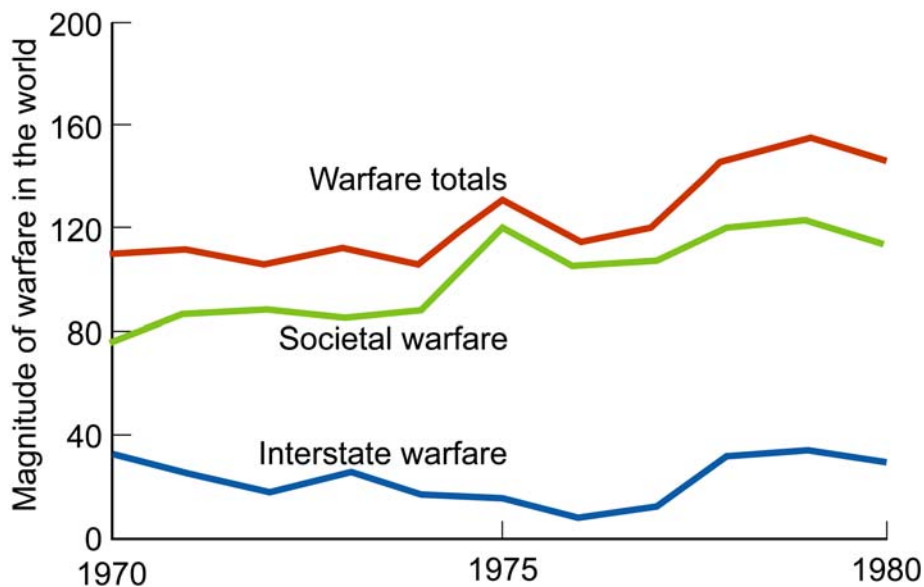
### Ranked by reported defense expenditures\*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1970 +	USA 	USSR 	UK 	FRG 	France 	Italy 	Japan 	Australia 	Neth. 	Canada 
1980	USA 	USSR 	UK 	FRG 	France 	S. Arabia 	China 	Japan 	Italy 	Iran 

FRG = West Germany + Excludes China \*Sources: IISS *Military Balance*: 1987-1988.

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## 1970s: Global Trends in Armed Conflict\* CNA



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

## 1970s: Global trends in armed conflict

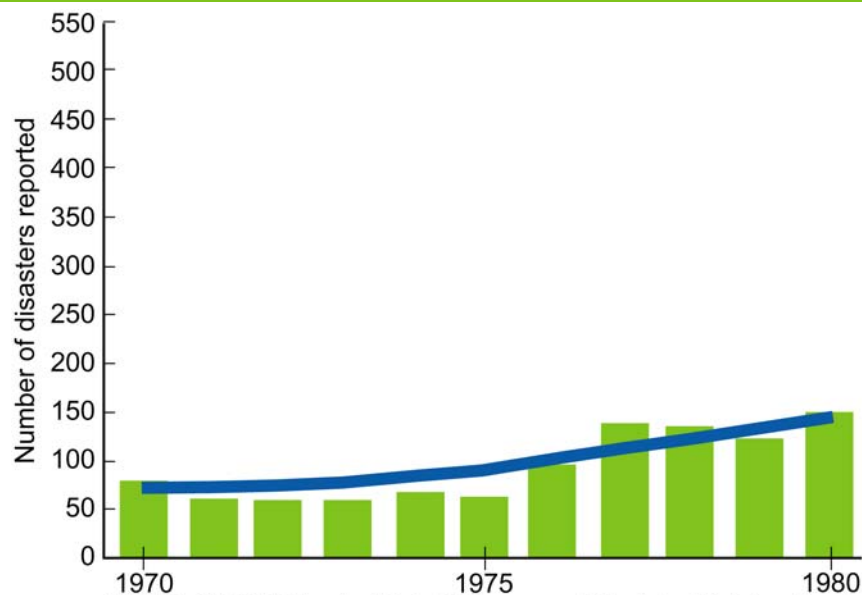
CNA

- ◆ *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 during the 1970s
- ◆ Low level of interstate warfare since World War II
  - ◆ Moderate increase began in late 1970s
- ◆ Steep rise in number, lethality of terrorism incidents throughout the decade

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## 1970s: Natural disasters reported

CNA



EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database—[www.emdat.be](http://www.emdat.be)—Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium. 10



## 1970s: The world (I)

- ◆ Growing international system
  - ◆ UN membership: 1970: 127 1980: 154
- ◆ Interstate security competition dominated global affairs
- ◆ Bi-polar international system: US & USSR
  - ◆ Two large alliance & economic systems: “1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> worlds”
  - ◆ Superpower political, military & economic enmity & rivalry throughout the world, including the global commons (sea, air, space) & especially in “3<sup>rd</sup> world”
  - ◆ Leonid Brezhnev led USSR (since 1964)
- ◆ Cold War continuing; detente in early-mid 70s
- ◆ Increasingly violent world; # of autocratic gov'ts grew
- ◆ Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) (1970)
  - ◆ But 1<sup>st</sup> Indian test of nuclear weapons (1974), 1<sup>st</sup> S. African test (1979), Pakistani nuclear weapons development

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## 1970s: The world (II)

- ◆ US increasingly connected economically w/ rest of world (ROW)
- ◆ “Group of Six” (G-6) formed as key global economic leadership forum (1975)
  - ◆ US, UK, FRG, France, Italy, Japan
- ◆ Became “Group of Seven (G-7) (1976)
  - ◆ Canada
- ◆ Low Soviet economic integration w/ ROW
  - ◆ Negligible trade with US

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### 1970s: The world (III)

- ◆ Significant growth in world seaborne trade volume
- ◆ 50% of world's ships built in Far East; Western Europe share fell from 40% to 25%; US share in single digits
- ◆ World shipbuilding soared till 1973 oil shock, then plummeted
- ◆ Oil prices soared throughout the decade (from 1973)
  - ◆ Oil price spikes: 1973-4 & 1979-80
- ◆ Insignificant # of reported piracy incidents
  - ◆ No central data collection point
- ◆ NGO at-sea anti-nuclear testing, anti-whaling ops (from 1971)
  - ◆ Don't Make a Wave Committee, later Greenpeace, Sea Shepherd

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### 1970s: The world (IV)

- ◆ Suez Canal closed by Egypt (1967-1975)
- ◆ Many coastal states claimed vast territorial seas
- ◆ US tanker *Manhattan* NW Passage cruise sparked Canadian Arctic sovereignty concerns (1969)
- ◆ UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) negotiations (1973-1981)
- ◆ IMO international *Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea* (SOLAS) (1974)
- ◆ Number of reported climatic & other natural disasters in the world triples
- ◆ World food crisis (1972-74)
  - ◆ Shortages, price hikes led to famines, unrest

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## 1970s: The world (V)

- ◆ USN the world's dominant seapower; but increasing global Soviet Navy capabilities
  - ◆ Dramatic Soviet Navy expansion & modernization under ADM Gorshkov (CinC since 1956)
    - ◆ Coherent Soviet peacetime naval diplomacy & wartime sea denial/ strategic nuclear force strategies developed
    - ◆ Small, fast, automated, titanium alloy deep-water Alfa-class SSNs (since 1969)
    - ◆ Improved TU-22 Backfire w/ AS-4 ASUW missiles (from 1969)
    - ◆ New Delta-class SSBNs w/ long-range SLBMs (from 1972)
    - ◆ Kiev-class carriers (1975)
    - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> quiet SOVNAV SSN (Victor III) (1979)
    - ◆ Anti-USN RORSAT & EORSAT space surveillance (from 1974)
    - ◆ Increased Soviet Navy access to overseas facilities, e.g.: Guinea (1970), Cam Ranh Bay (1979)
    - ◆ But lost access to Egypt (1976), Somalia (1977)

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## 1970s: The world (VI)

- ◆ NATO strategy of “flexible response” (since 1968)
- ◆ France outside NATO military command structure (since 1966)
  - ◆ US military no longer stationed in France
  - ◆ France deployed her own SSBNs (from 1971)
- ◆ Most NATO allies denied US bases & airspace to resupply Israel during Yom Kippur War (1973)
- ◆ Greek-Turk Cyprus War (1974)
  - ◆ Fall of Greek military junta regime (1967-74)
  - ◆ Ethnic partition of Cyprus; Turks occupied north

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## 1970s: The world (VII)

- ◆ UK defense drawdown, including Royal Navy
  - ◆ Forward-deployed Royal Navy (RN) forces withdrawn from “East of Suez” (Bahrain, Singapore) (1971)
    - ◆ Also Simon’s Town, South Africa (1975)
  - ◆ Fleet carriers retired; replaced by VSTOL ASW carriers
    - ◆ Fleet carrier show of force off Guatemala, in support of British Honduras (1972)
  - ◆ RN forward stations replaced by occasional Group Deployment six-month cruises
    - ◆ But Beira Patrol vs. oil for Rhodesia maintained (until 1975)
    - ◆ Armilla Patrol established in Arabian Sea (1979)

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## 1970s: The world (VIII)

- ◆ Violent Sino-Soviet border clashes & nuclear threats (1969)
- ◆ PRC, PLA postured vs. Soviet invasion
  - ◆ PLAN coastal defense posture vs. Soviet amphibious ops
  - ◆ Emerging “near seas defense” capabilities and strategy
- ◆ PRC Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) raged, then ended (1966-1976)
- ◆ PRC occupied Paracel Islands; PLAN defeated VNN in South China Sea naval battle (1974)
- ◆ PRC deployed 1<sup>st</sup> SSNs (from 1974)
- ◆ Death of PRC leader Mao Ze-Dong (1976)
- ◆ Emergence of Deng Xiao-Ping as PRC leader (from 1978)
- ◆ PRC self-sufficient in energy

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## 1970s: The world (IX)

- ◆ Taiwan industrializing under KMT dictatorship of Chiang Kai-Shek & son Chiang Ching Kuo
- ◆ Vietnam War raged, then ended (1975)
  - ◆ Vietnamese Communist regime aligned with USSR
  - ◆ Vietnam invaded PRC-aligned Communist Cambodia; set up new regime there (1978)
- ◆ Deterioration of PRC-Vietnamese relations
  - ◆ PRC incursion across Vietnam border (1979)
  - ◆ Soviet Navy deployed off Vietnamese coast

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## 1970s: The world (X)

- ◆ Soviet-supported Stalinist Kim Il-Sung dictatorship in North Korea
- ◆ Muslim armed rebellions in Mindanao, S. Philippines
- ◆ Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA) signed by UK, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore (1971)
- ◆ Japan regained Okinawa, other occupied islands, from US (1972)

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## 1970s: The world (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Middle East transformed by Arab-Israeli wars (1967, 1973)
- ◆ Baath Party control in Iraq, supported by USSR (from 1968)
  - ◆ Saddam Hussein President (1979)
  - ◆ Treaty of Friendship & Cooperation –including military assistance – with Soviet Union (1972)
- ◆ Anti-US Qadhafi coup vs. Libya king (1969)
  - ◆ Wheelus AFB closed (1970)
  - ◆ Soviet Union delivered Foxtrot-class submarines (1978-80)

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## 1970s: The world (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Anwar Sadat succeeded Gamal Abdel Nasser as President of Egypt (1970)
- ◆ Jordan-PLO-Syria war, crisis (1970)
- ◆ Yom Kippur War (1973)
  - ◆ Battle of Latakia
    - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> naval battle in history between surface-to-surface missile-equipped boats, & using electronic deception
- ◆ Oil shock: Saudis, others refused to sell oil (1973)
- ◆ Egypt changed patrons (US vice USSR) (1972-6)
- ◆ Lebanon civil war (from 1975)
- ◆ Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1978)
  - ◆ Camp David Accords (1978)

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## 1970s: The world (XIII)

- ◆ Indian Ocean issues became salient
  - ◆ British withdrew from East of Suez
    - ◆ British Indian Ocean territories (BIOT) created (1965)
    - ◆ UK forces left now-independent Bahrain, Qatar, UAE (1971)
    - ◆ UK patronage of Shah of Iran diminished
    - ◆ Last Royal Navy fleet carrier decommissioned (1978)
  - ◆ Increased US Navy, Soviet Navy presence, basing
    - ◆ SOVINDRON deployed (since 1968)
    - ◆ Increased Soviet influence in South Yemen (Aden)
  - ◆ Pro-western Iranian, Saudi military build-ups
    - ◆ Shah ruled Iran, w/ strong US support, until ousted (1979)
    - ◆ Iran invaded, seized Persian Gulf islands from UAE (1971)
  - ◆ Efforts by Sri Lanka, others to create “Indian Ocean Zone of Peace”
  - ◆ US-Soviet Indian Ocean Arms Limitation Talks (1977)

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## 1970s: The world (XIV)

- ◆ Close Soviet-Indian security relations
  - ◆ Treaty of Peace, Friendship & Cooperation (1971)
    - ◆ Soviets began massive arms transfers to India
  - ◆ Indians developed, tested nuclear device
  - ◆ Soviet Navy assisted Indian Navy in clearing mines from Bangladeshi ports (1971-2)
- ◆ U.S. ally Pakistan reeling from 1971 war w/ India, loss of Bangladesh. Began to develop nuclear weapons
- ◆ Political turmoil throughout the decade in Afghanistan, leading to Soviet invasion (1979)

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## 1970s: The world (XV)

CNA

- ◆ Decolonization & “Wars of National Liberation” ending
  - ◆ Portuguese revolution (1974) & freeing of colonies
  - ◆ Indonesia invaded, annexed Portuguese East Timor (1975)
  - ◆ Rhodesia free as Zimbabwe (1980)
- ◆ US ally Emperor Haile Selassie overthrown in Ethiopia by Soviet-backed revolution (1974)
- ◆ Pro-US government in Sudan under Gaafar Numeiri (1969-1985)
- ◆ Soviet Navy surface and air operations out of Conakry, Guinea (from 1970) and Luanda, Angola

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## 1970s: The world (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ US-USSR “Proxy Wars” in Africa
  - ◆ Between Angolan factions (1975-6)
    - ◆ Soviet/Cuban interventions in Angola, Zaire, Somalia
  - ◆ Military control in Somalia under Gen. Siad Barre (since 1969)
    - ◆ Soviet ally through late 1970s
    - ◆ “Ogaden War” with Soviet-backed revolutionary Ethiopia (1977-8)
    - ◆ US ally from late 1970s on
    - ◆ Soviet Navy lost access to port of Berbera (1977)

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## 1970s: The world (XVII)

CNA

- ◆ Communist Cuban government continued in power (since 1958)
  - ◆ 125K fled Cuba in “Mariel Boatlift” to Florida (1980)
- ◆ Emerging power of violent drug cartels, anti-government insurgents in Columbia
- ◆ “Baby Doc” dictatorship in Haiti (from 1971)
- ◆ Leftist Chilean President Allende overthrown, replaced by military dictatorship (1973)
- ◆ Marxist Sandinistas seized power from Somoza family in Nicaragua (1979)
- ◆ Leftists insurgency began in El Salvador (1980)

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## 1970s: The world (XVIII)

CNA

- ◆ Rise in number of terrorist acts (but very few at/ from the sea)
  - ◆ Palestinian terrorist Israeli beach landings (1970s)
  - ◆ Palestinians attacked Israelis at Munich Airport (1970)
  - ◆ Palestinians hijacked 3 airliners to Jordan (1970)
  - ◆ Japanese Red Army attacked Lod Israel airport (1972)
  - ◆ Palestinians seized Israelis at Munich Olympics (1972)
  - ◆ Terrorists attacked, hijacked airplane in Rome (1973)
  - ◆ Palestinian terrorists sank cruise ship in Beirut (1973)
  - ◆ Puerto Ricans bombed Fraunces Tavern NYC (1975)
  - ◆ German radicals, Palestinians forced airplane to fly to Entebbe. Israeli commandos freed passengers (1976)
  - ◆ Iran students seized US embassy, hostages (1979)
  - ◆ Islamic terrorists seized Mecca Grand Mosque (1979)
  - ◆ IRA terrorists bombed Lord Mountbatten’s yacht (1979)

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## 1970s: Significant non-USN operations

CNA



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## 1970s: The Nation (I)

CNA

- ◆ Nixon (Republican) administration (1968-74)
  - ◆ Re-elected for 2<sup>nd</sup> term
  - ◆ Watergate scandal (1972) & Nixon resignation
- ◆ Ford (Republican) administration (1974-77)
  - ◆ Failed to be elected to 2<sup>nd</sup> term
- ◆ Carter (Democrat) administration (1977-81)
  - ◆ Failed to be elected to 2<sup>nd</sup> term
- ◆ Democrats controlled both houses of Congress
  - ◆ Congressional Budget Office (CBO) created (1975)

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## 1970s: The Nation (II)

- ◆ US domestic consensus on foreign & national security policy, especially interventions, frayed
- ◆ Congress repealed 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, de-legitimizing Vietnam War (1971)
- ◆ Military well-regarded by US public (Gallup polls)

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## 1970s: The Nation (III)

- ◆ Congress put new restraints on Presidential executive branch national security powers
  - ◆ War Powers Resolution (passed over President Nixon veto) (1973)
  - ◆ Prohibitions on U.S. military action in support of allies in Indochina
  - ◆ Embargo on US military aid to Turkey, after Cyprus invasion (1974)
  - ◆ Prohibition of US assistance to Angolan anti-Cuban/Soviet forces
  - ◆ Expanded oversight & control over intelligence activities
  - ◆ Freedom of Information Act amendments (passed over President Ford veto) (1974)
  - ◆ Etc.

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## 1970s: The Nation (IV)

CNA

- ◆ US the world's largest economy
- ◆ A decade of stagflation
  - ◆ High unemployment & high inflation
- ◆ Frequent recessions:
  - ◆ Nixon & Ford Administrations: 1969-70 (short & mild) & 1973-5 (long & deep)
  - ◆ Carter administration: 1980 (short & mild)
- ◆ High U.S. government deficit spending in most years
- ◆ Slowing US economic growth

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## 1970s: The Nation (V)

CNA

- ◆ US global economic dominance eroded
  - ◆ President Nixon terminated post-World War II Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates
  - ◆ Deteriorating economic relations with Europe & Japan
- ◆ Soaring US inflation & unemployment rates
- ◆ Trade and currency crises
- ◆ US domestic oil production peaked (1970)
- ◆ Spike in world, US oil prices (1973)
- ◆ US dependence on imported oil rose sharply, then fell somewhat
- ◆ Foreign trade doubled in value as % of US GDP across the decade, due in large part to oil price increase

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## 1970s: US economy & defense spending

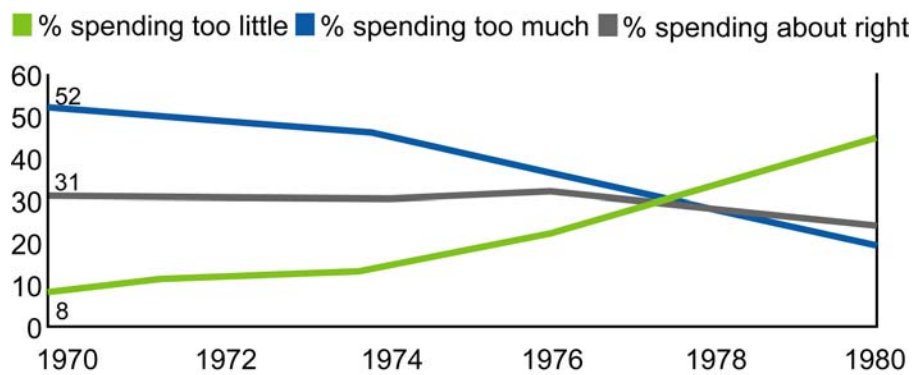


YEAR	President	ECONOMY	DOD % of GDP	DOD TOA (Constant FY 12 \$)	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT
1970	Nixon	Nixon Shock	7.6	485B	Zumwalt	Project SIXTY (S)
1971			6.9	441B		
1972			6.4	425B		
1973	Ford	Oil Crisis	5.6	404B	Holloway	Missions of the U.S. Navy (U)
1974		Recession	5.4	383B		
1975		5.4	372B			
1976		5.1	376B			
1977	Carter	Recession	4.8	395B	Hayward	NWP 1 Strategic Concepts (U) Sea Plan 2000 (S) CNO Strategic Concepts (TS) Future of U.S. Sea Power (U)
1978			4.6	393B		
1979			4.6	391B		
1980		Recession	4.9	398B		

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

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## 1970s: U.S. popular views on U.S. defense spending\*



\* Gallup poll data

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## 1970s: US national security policies (I)

CNA

- ◆ International security relationships dominated US grand strategy
- ◆ Focus on one over-arching global threat
  - ◆ Grand strategy: **Containment** (since late 1940s)
    - ◆ Main goal: **Contain & balance Soviet Union & allies**
    - ◆ Initial Nixon administration means: New parallel, coordinated rapprochement policy with Soviet Union & China
    - ◆ Vietnam War seen as demonstration of limits of American power

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## 1970s: US national security policies (II)

CNA

- ◆ New détente w/ Soviets (ended w/ Afghan invasion)
  - ◆ Goal: Equilibrium & stability in US-Soviet relations
  - ◆ Cienfuegos Soviet sub base crisis defused (1970)
  - ◆ Four Power Agreement on Berlin (1971)
  - ◆ Arms control & confidence-building: Talks and agreements
    - ◆ SALT I (1972): Ceiling on SLBM #s (& therefore on SSBNs)
    - ◆ Mutual & Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) talks begun (1972)
    - ◆ SALT II (1979): Ceiling on SLBM launcher #s
    - ◆ ABM Treaty (1972); INCSEA Agreement; TTBT & PNET signed
    - ◆ Treaty barring nuclear weapons on ocean floor
  - ◆ BMD policy: Arms control and R&D
  - ◆ But . . .
    - ◆ USCG returned merchant seaman defector to Soviet ship (1970)
    - ◆ CIA *Project Azorian* to raise sunken Soviet SSBN (1969-74)
    - ◆ US vs. adding USN systems in conventional arms control talks
    - ◆ Soviets deployed SS-20 missiles in Europe (1977)

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## 1970s: US national security policies (III)

CNA

- ◆ Other important US national security goals
  - ◆ Build up and rely more on allied/proxy capabilities
    - ◆ “Nixon Doctrine” (Guam, 1969)
  - ◆ Vietnamize, end Vietnam War; accept less than victory
  - ◆ Avoid “another Vietnam”
  - ◆ Deter & plan against N. Korean attack on South
  - ◆ Maintain Arab-Israeli Middle East peace
    - ◆ Balanced support for Israel, key Arab states
  - ◆ Ensure western access to Gulf oil, stability in Gulf
  - ◆ Constrain Soviet influence in Middle East & Africa
  - ◆ Prevent another Communist regime in LATAM
    - ◆ Especially in Chile
  - ◆ Prevent Greek-Turkish war

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## 1970s: US national security policies (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Declining, then somewhat rising US defense budgets
- ◆ Declining % of US GDP devoted to defense
  - ◆ Slight uptick at end of decade
- ◆ Equivalent shares among the services (“1/3-1/3-1/3”)
  - ◆ Department of the Navy somewhat higher than others
  - ◆ Department of the Army somewhat lower
- ◆ No dominant service
  - ◆ But DOD focus on ground forces in/to Europe & SWA

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## 1970s: US national security policies (V)

- ◆ Continued centrality of nuclear deterrence
  - ◆ US capable of overwhelming, devastating nuclear retaliation vs. Soviets
  - ◆ Required “triad” of ICBMs, SSBNs, bombers
  - ◆ US nuclear systems survivable, esp. SSBNs
  - ◆ US nuclear weapons targeted what Soviets held dear: Leadership, military, industry targets
  - ◆ US nuclear forces deterred conventional & nuclear attacks on US allies as well as US (“extended deterrence”)
  - ◆ Decline in size of US nuclear warhead stockpile

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## 1970s: US national security policies (VI)

- ◆ Successive evolving nuclear strategies
  - ◆ US-Soviet strategic nuclear weapons parity by mid-1970s
  - ◆ New Nixon-Kissinger strategy of “nuclear sufficiency” vice “nuclear supremacy”
  - ◆ Flexible response;” NSDM 242 “Schlesinger Doctrine: Limited Nuclear Options;” PD-59 SECDEF Brown: “Countervailing Strategy”
  - ◆ US goal: Nuclear sufficiency vice supremacy
  - ◆ Limited & focused counterforce strikes (as well as massive counter-value (counter-city) strikes)
  - ◆ Search for range of options
  - ◆ MIRVing of US strategic nuclear forces, including Poseidon SLBMs (since 1971); Trident C-4 development

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## 1970s: US national security policies (VII)

CNA

- ◆ U.S. rapprochement with PRC (from 1971-2)
  - ◆ New Nixon-Kissinger opening to PRC (1971-2)
  - ◆ Progressive normalization of US relations with PRC throughout the decade
  - ◆ Cessation of much US military planning vs. PRC
  - ◆ Continued treaty commitment to defend Taiwan (till 1979)
  - ◆ Carter Administration pursued cooperation with PRC
  - ◆ Diplomatic relations announced (1978)
  - ◆ Taiwan Relations Act (1979)

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## 1970s: US national security policies (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ Ending the Vietnam War
  - ◆ US forces in combat in Vietnam (since 1964)
  - ◆ Nixon “Vietnamization” policy (1969-74)
  - ◆ Steady withdrawal of US troops (incl/ USN) (1969-73)
  - ◆ US-NVN negotiations leading to 1973 Paris Agreement
  - ◆ US “secret bombing” of VC Cambodian sanctuaries (1969-70)
  - ◆ US & RVNAF forces invasion of Cambodia (1970)
  - ◆ N. Vietnamese “Easter Offensive” taking northern provinces of South Vietnam (1972)
    - ◆ US, RVNAF forces prevented more serious losses
  - ◆ US “Christmas bombing” of Hanoi & Haiphong (1972)
  - ◆ Treaty w/ N. Vietnam, accepting less than victory (1973)
  - ◆ Withdrawal of all US forces from South Vietnam (1973)
  - ◆ N. Vietnam final offensives, victory over South (1975)

44

## 1970s: US national security policies (IX)

CNA

- ◆ NATO, Spain, Japan, Korea, Philippines, ANZUS alliances held
  - ◆ Greece left NATO military command structure (1974-80)
- ◆ US withdrew from Libya Wheelus AFB (1970)
- ◆ Some Asian alliances unraveled
  - ◆ SEATO alliance dissolved (1977)
  - ◆ CENTO alliance dissolved (1979)
  - ◆ Taiwan alliance abrogated (1979)
- ◆ India viewed as Soviet surrogate
- ◆ Treaty (1977) gave Canal & Zone to Panama (1979)
- ◆ Limited sanctions imposed on Chile over human rights violations (1979)

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## 1970s: US national security policies (X)

CNA

- ◆ Post-Vietnam War US force level & defense budget “peace dividend” decline, then modest post-détente military buildup
- ◆ From “2 ½ war” to “1 ½ war” force sizing construct (i.e.: no war with China)
- ◆ US reconsidered, valued role of conventional forces in war with Soviets
- ◆ Ascendancy of “NATO Contingency” as DOD force sizing basis; primacy of Central Europe theater
- ◆ Less US direct 3<sup>rd</sup> world intervention & counter-insurgency (“Vietnam syndrome”)
- ◆ Shift of security concerns from the Pacific

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XI)

CNA

- ◆ Emergence of SWA & Gulf as important operational theater
  - ◆ US “Twin Pillars” policy (1969-1979)
    - ◆ Ensure western access to Gulf oil, Gulf stability
    - ◆ Build up Shah of Iran & Saudi Arabia to defend Gulf
  - ◆ Carter Administration initiated US-Soviet “Indian Ocean Naval Arms Limitation Talks” (1977-78)
  - ◆ Soviet Afghan invasion, overthrow of Shah increased US focus on power projection, incl/ USN, to SWA (1979)
  - ◆ “Carter Doctrine” (from 1980)
    - ◆ Gulf oil a US vital interest
    - ◆ US will tolerate no outside control of Gulf region
- ◆ Increased concerns re: terrorism
  - ◆ State Dept. designated Iraq, Libya, South Yemen, Syria as state sponsors of terrorism

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XII)

CNA

- ◆ DOD roles, missions & functions governed by:
  - ◆ National Security Reorganization Act of 1958
    - ◆ Took SECNAV & CNO out of formal operational chain of command to CINCs & Naval Component Commanders
    - ◆ Continued CNO role as member of JCS, chief NCA naval advisor
    - ◆ Continued CNO influence over Naval Component Commanders through admin chain
  - ◆ DOD Dir 5100.1 *Functions of the Armed Forces and the Joint Chiefs of Staff* (Dec 1958; revised Jan 1980)
- ◆ Joint doctrine
  - ◆ Sparse & non-standardized
  - ◆ Little on joint command & control

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XIII) CNA

- ◆ SECDEF McNamara-instituted Planning, Programming & Budgeting System (PPBS) in place as central process of DOD headquarters (since 1961-2)
  - ◆ Focus on generating outputs vice merely counting inputs
  - ◆ Analysis played a salient role in decision-making
- ◆ Fitzhugh Commission report advocated DOD acquisition reforms
- ◆ Increased centralized DOD civilian & joint C2 capabilities
- ◆ US societal stresses reflected in military
  - ◆ Racial tensions, drug abuse, working women
- ◆ All Volunteer Force (1973)

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XIV) CNA

- ◆ 4 Republican SECDEFs in 8 years (1969-77)
  - ◆ Retained SECDEF McNamara PPBS, developed during Kennedy & Johnson (Democratic) administrations (1961-9)
  - ◆ Advocated & practiced “participatory management” & decentralization
  - ◆ Restored much service secretary & service chief program & budget authority & autonomy
    - ◆ Salient role of analysis shifted from OSD to the Services
  - ◆ Advocated incr. defense spending, incl. US Navy, in face of post-Vietnam “peace dividend” policies
- ◆ OSD Office of Net Assessment (NA) created (1973)
  - ◆ Director: Andrew Marshall

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XV)

CNA

- ◆ SECDEF Brown (1977-81)
  - ◆ Democratic Carter Administration
  - ◆ Partial return to centralized “McNamara-style” OSD analyses and direction
  - ◆ Reduced service secretary & service chief program & budget authority & autonomy
  - ◆ First 2½ years: Sought to constrain Navy, in order to improve US Army & other capabilities in Europe
  - ◆ Last 1½ years: Advocated increased naval power projection capabilities, for Southwest Asia contingencies

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## 1970s: US national security policies (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Leading security policy critics outside the government
  - ◆ Military reform movements blossomed
    - ◆ Bill Lind, etc.
  - ◆ Retired RADM Gene Laroque formed Center for Defense Information (CDI) (1972)
    - ◆ Joined by retired RADM Eugene Carroll (had been OPNAV Op-06B) (1980); retired VADM John J. Shanahan (had been Zumwalt-era OPNAV OP-60)
  - ◆ “Team B” assessment of Soviet threat (1976)
  - ◆ Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) revitalized (1976)
    - ◆ Incl. former SECNAV Nitze, future SECNAV Lehman, etc.

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## 1970s: US planned & actual adversaries

CNA

- ◆ Deter/ plan vs. USSR, W. Pact, forward Soviet naval forces, Cuba
  - ◆ USN-Soviet Navy standoffs, incidents at sea (e.g.: Med (1973))
- ◆ Deter/plan vs. N. Korea. Incidents. Deter PRC/plan Taiwan defense
- ◆ Increased planning vs. state- & non-state sponsored terrorists
- ◆ Viet Nam combat (until 1973); Cambodia (*Mayaguez*) incident (1975)
- ◆ Hostage raid into Iran (1980) (“Desert One”)



## 1970s: America's armed conflicts

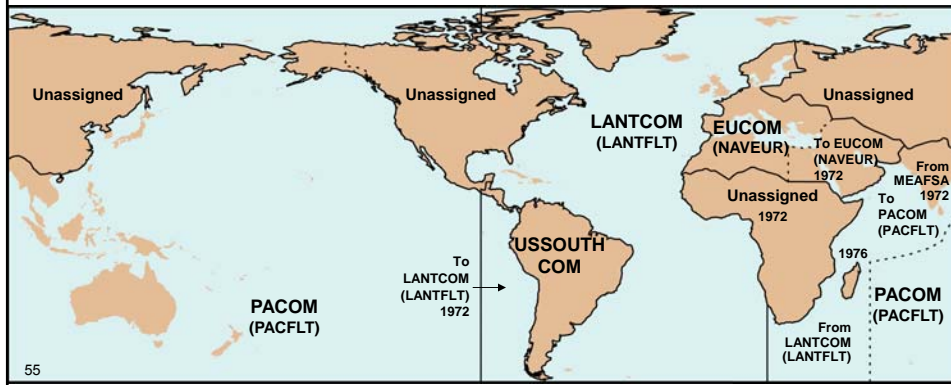
CNA



## 1970s: Combatant & component commands (I)

CNA

- PACOM
  - PACFLT
- SOUTHCAM
  - USNAVSO (to 1975)
- LANTCOM
  - LANTFLT
- EUCOM
  - NAVEUR
- STRICOM/MEAFSA (to 1971)
- REDCOM (from 1972)
- CONAD (to 1975)
- ALCOM (to 1975)
- ADCOM (from 1975)
- SAC
- MAC (from 1977)



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## 1970s: Combatant & component commands (II)

CNA

- ◆ World ocean generally divided between LANTCOM & PACOM
  - ◆ Entire Atlantic Ocean & almost entire Pacific Ocean area considered unified maritime theaters of war
  - ◆ Arctic Ocean divided between LANTCOM & PACOM
  - ◆ SE Pacific Ocean assigned to LANTCOM (1972)
  - ◆ Indian Ocean divided between LANTCOM & PACOM; then all assigned to PACOM (1976)
  - ◆ Both commands historically headed by US Navy officers
- ◆ Exceptions:
  - ◆ Mediterranean & Baltic Seas assigned to USEUCOM
    - ◆ Navy specified command in Mediterranean disestablished (1963)
  - ◆ Red Sea & Persian Gulf assigned to MEAFSA, then to EUCOM (1972).

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## 1970s: Combatant & component commands (III)

- ◆ Nuclear deterrent triad divided
  - ◆ SSBNs assigned to LANTCOM & PACOM (Navy-commanded unified commands)
  - ◆ Bombers & ICBMs assigned to SAC (Air Force-commanded specified command)
- ◆ No unified transportation command
  - ◆ MAC became USAF specified command, under UCP (1977)
  - ◆ Military Sealift Command (MSC) remained a Navy command, outside UCP
    - ◆ Had been Military Sea Transport Service (MSTS) (1949-1970)

## 1970s: US defense directives & reports

Year	President	National Document	SECDEF	CJCS	Defense Document	CNO	USN Capstone Document
1969	Nixon	Nixon Doctrine NPT NSSMs & NSDMs	Laird	Moorer USN	Defense Policy & Planning Guidance (DPPG)	Moorer	
1970							
1971						Zumwalt	Project SIXTY (S)
1972							
1973		Shanghai Communique, INCSEA, SALT I, ABM Treaty	Richardson		SECDEF Posture Statements		
1974		NSDM 242	Schlesinger				Missions of the U.S. Navy
1975	Ford	CSCE Final Act		Brown USAF	NUWEP 74	Holloway	
1976		NSDM 344, NSDM 348	Rumsfeld				Strategic Concept for the U.S. Navy (S)
1977	Carter	PRM 10, PD 18 PRMs & PDs	Brown		Contingency Planning Guidance (CPG)		NWP 1 Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy NWP 1 (Rev. A) Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy Sea Plan 2000 (S)
1978				Jones USAF		Hayward	
1979		SALT II PD 59					CNO Strategic Concepts (TS) Future of U.S. Sea Power (U)
1980		PD 62, PD 63 Carter Doctrine			NUWEP 80 DOD 5100.1		



## 1970s: Nixon & Ford Administration directives

- ◆ National Security Study Memoranda (NSSM)
- ◆ National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDM)
  - ◆ Nixon:
    - ◆ NSDM 242: *Policy for Planning the Employment of Nuclear Weapons* (Jan 1974)
  - ◆ Ford:
    - ◆ NSDM-344, *Navy Shipbuilding Program* (Jan 1977)
    - ◆ NSDM-348, *US Defense Policy and Military Posture* (Jan 1977)

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## 1970s: Carter Administration directives & reports

- ◆ Presidential Review Memoranda (PRM)
  - ◆ PRM-10, *Comprehensive Net Assessment and Military Force Posture Review* (Feb 1977)
- ◆ Presidential Directives (PD)
  - ◆ PD-18, *U.S. National Strategy* (Aug 1977)
  - ◆ PD-27, *Procedures for Dealing with Non-Military Incidents* (1978)
  - ◆ PD-59, *Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy* (Jul 1980)
  - ◆ PD-62, *Modifications in U.S. National Strategy* (Jan 1981)
  - ◆ PD-63, *Persian Gulf Security Framework* (Jan 1981)
- ◆ SECDEF, *Contingency Planning Guidance* (Annual)
- ◆ DOD DIR 5100.1 *Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components* (Jan 1980)

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## 1970s: USN dollars, numbers, capabilities CNA

YEAR	CNO	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT	DON TOA FY 12\$	NEW SHIPS	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	ACTIVE PERSONNEL	NEW CAPABILITIES INTRODUCED
1970	Zumwalt	Project SIXTY	\$144B	10	769	692K	LCC, DSRV, P-3C, KA-6D, ITASS, NOSIC, FOSIF, W68 nuclear warhead
1971			\$129B	15	702	623K	AMCM, A-6E, EA-6B, Poseidon SLBM, RIM-7 Sea Sparrow
1972			\$132B	15	654	588K	MK 48 Torpedo, OSIS, SOSUS upgrade, FLTCORGRUs
1973			\$128B	9	584	564K	E-2C AEW a/c, RH-53D AMCM helo SH-2F LAMPS I ASW helo, EA-6B EXCAP
1974	Holloway	Missions of the U.S. Navy Strategic Concept for the U.S. Navy	\$125B	14	512	546K	F-14 AAW a/c, S-3A ASW a/c, TACAMO a/c, AIM-54 Phoenix
1975			\$120B	21	496	535K	CWC, Nimitz-class CVN, Spruance-class DD
1976			\$121B	15	476	524K	Los Angeles-class SSN, Tarawa-class LHA, Harpoon, EA-6B ICAP
1977		NWP 1 NWP 1 Strategic Concepts (Rev. A) Sea Plan 2000	\$131B	15	464	530K	Perry-class FFG, CVBG, TENCAP, Pegasus-class PHM
1978	Hayward	CNO Strategic Concepts & Future of U.S. Sea Power	\$131B	18	468	530K	FLTSATCOM, GPS satellite, W76 nuclear warhead
1979			\$128B	16	471	522K	Trident I C-4 SLBM, CAPTOR mine, US-3A COD, SM-2 standard missile
1980			\$129B	11	477	527K	Near-Term Prepositioned Ships Cimarron-class AO, EA-6B ICAP II Yellowstone-class AD

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

## 1970s: USN active ship force levels CNA

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
<b>Carriers</b>	19	17	16	14	15	13	13	13	13	13
<b>Cruisers</b>	30	27	29	28	27	26	26	28	28	26
<b>Destroyers</b>	152	132	139	119	102	99	92	95	97	94
<b>Frigates</b>	61	66	71	64	64	64	64	65	65	71
<b>Submarines</b>	100	94	84	73	75	74	77	81	80	82
<b>SSBNs</b>	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	40
<b>Command</b>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
<b>Mine Warfare</b>	64	31	34	34	34	25	25	25	25	25
<b>Patrol</b>	15	16	14	14	14	13	6	3	3	3
<b>Amphibious</b>	97	77	65	65	64	65	65	67	67	63
<b>Auxiliary</b>	171	153	148	135	123	116	114	113	114	110
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>743</b>	<b>654</b>	<b>641</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>536</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>531</b>	<b>533</b>	<b>530</b>

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

## 1970s: USN capstone documents & force goals

YEAR	CNO	FORCE GOAL DOCUMENT	FORCE LEVEL GOAL	BATTLE FORCE SHIPS	CAPSTONE DOCUMENT
1970	Zumwalt	Hi-Lo goal	770	> 769	Project SIXTY (S)
1971			770	> 702	
1972			770	> 654	
1973			770	> 584	
1974	Holloway	CNO testimony	600	> 512	Missions of the U.S. Navy
1975		SECDEF Schlesinger goal	575	> 496	Strategic Concept for the U.S.N. (S)
1976			575	> 476	
1977		NSDM 344 Sea Plan 2000	600	> 464	NWP 1 Strategic Concepts, Sea Plan 2000 (S) Future of U.S. Sea Power
1978	Hayward		585-439	> 468	
1979		CNO testimony	600	> 471	
1980		Reagan platform	600	> 477	

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## 1970s: USN force goals (I)

- ◆ USN largely sized, shaped to fight Soviet Union
- ◆ Massive fleet obsolescence & retirements
  - ◆ 1970-75: Fleet drops from >700 to <500 ships
  - ◆ 1975-1980: Fleet stays at <500 ships
- ◆ OPNAV used CNO Program Analysis Memoranda (CPAMs) as program planning framework to determine force goals
  - ◆ Drafted in OP-96 (Systems Analysis Division)
  - ◆ Based on computer-assisted campaign analyses, mathematical models & net assessment techniques
  - ◆ Supplemented by war gaming & fleet exercise reconstruction

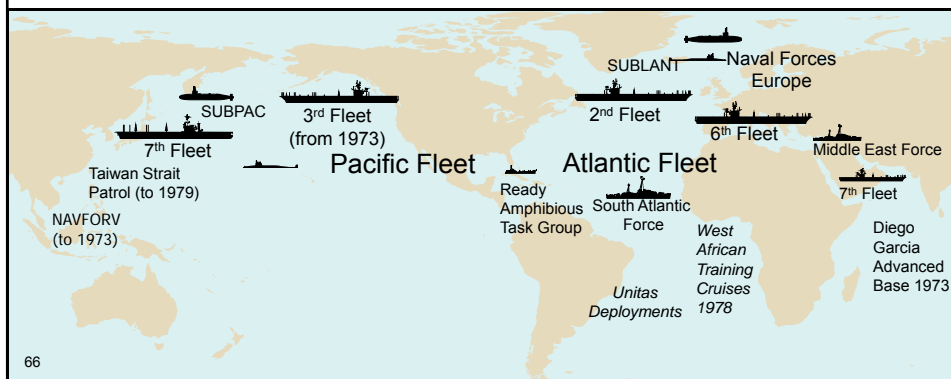
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## 1970s: USN force goals (II)

- ◆ Emergence of a “600-ship Navy” force goal
  - ◆ Zumwalt initial “high-low mix” goal: 770 ships
  - ◆ 1974: Zumwalt HASC recommendation: 600 ships
  - ◆ 1974: Holloway HASC recommendation: 600 ships
  - ◆ 1974: DEPSECDEF HASC statement: 575-600 ships
  - ◆ 1975: SECDEF Schlesinger goal: 575 ships
  - ◆ 1977: NSDM 344: About 600 ships in mid-1990s
  - ◆ 1977: Outgoing SECDEF Rumsfeld: “closer to 600 than to the present 485 ships” by mid-1990s
  - ◆ 1977-8: SECDEF Brown goal: 425-500 ships
  - ◆ 1978: *Seaplan 2000*: 3 options: 439; 535; 585 ships
  - ◆ 1979: Hayward HASC testimony: 600 ships
  - ◆ 1980: Republican Party platform: 600 ships

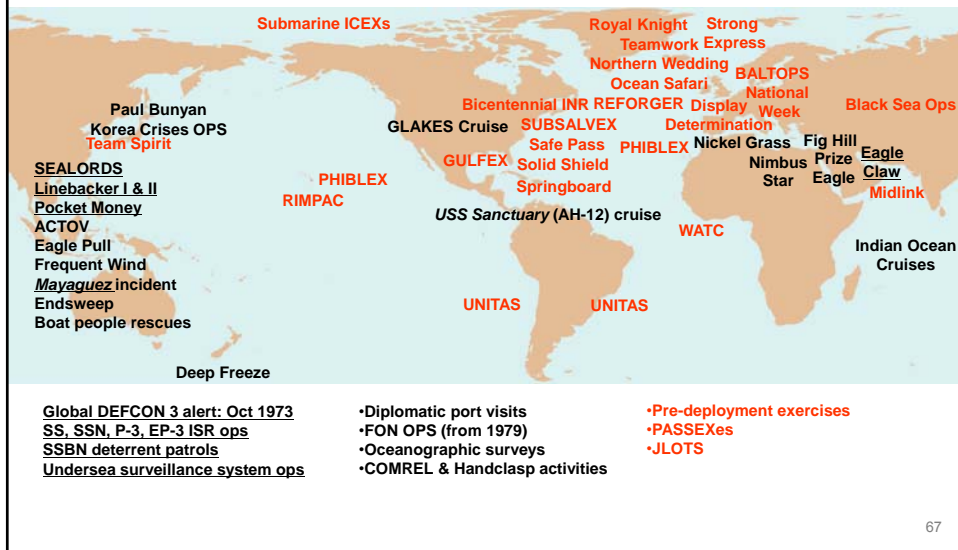
## 1970s: USN deployment strategy

- ◆ 2 combat-credible forward deployed fleets (6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup>)
  - ◆ 7<sup>th</sup> Flt forward-based (from 1972)
- ◆ 2 home fleets (2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup>) (from 1973)
- ◆ Routine intermittent Indian Ocean carrier presence
- ◆ Small Persian Gulf squadron (MIDEASTFOR)
- ◆ Aggressive SSN ops; SSBNs within target range



## 1970s: US Navy operations & exercises

CNA



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## 1970s: State of the Navy (I)

CNA

- ◆ USN the world's dominant sea power; strong challenge from Soviet Navy
  - ◆ Growing sense of parity between USN & SOVNAV
  - ◆ Walker Family espionage ongoing (1967-1985)
- ◆ High global OPTEMPO, experience, expertise
- ◆ USN saw combat inshore & against the shore
- ◆ Minimal USN combat experience at sea
- ◆ LANTFLT increasingly larger than PACFLT
  - ◆ 1970: 51/49 split (4% larger)
  - ◆ 1980: 55/45 split (22% larger)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (II)

- ◆ Declining, then fluctuating, DON budgets
  - ◆ Procurement accounts particularly hard hit
- ◆ USN force levels plummeted; then rose a bit
  - ◆ Block obsolescence of WWII/Korea/Vietnam-era warships
  - ◆ Exacerbated by high utilization & deferred maintenance & repair during Vietnam War
- ◆ Increasing Navy operating costs per ship

## 1970s: State of the Navy (III)

- ◆ Continued extensive, varied, global ops, exercises (I)
  - ◆ Forward SS/SSN, P-3/EP-3 ISR ops for I&W
  - ◆ SSBN deterrent patrols
  - ◆ Vietnam War ops (to 1973)
    - ◆ South Vietnam: In-country combat, advisory ops
    - ◆ Vs. North Vietnam: Strikes, harbor mining & mine clearance
  - ◆ Indian Ocean ops; face-offs with Soviet Navy (1971-2)
  - ◆ Hospital ship humanitarian assistance deployment (1973)
  - ◆ Israeli reinforcement ops; Mediterranean Soviet Navy face-off (1973)
  - ◆ Taiwan Strait Patrol (to 1979)

## 1970s: State of the Navy (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Continued extensive, varied, global ops, exercises (II)
  - ◆ Vietnam/Cambodia War evacuation operations (1975)
  - ◆ Mayaguez incident & amphibious raid (1975)
  - ◆ Korean waters surge after tree-cutting incident (1976)
  - ◆ USN, inter-allied exercises in North Atlantic, Caribbean, Mediterranean, Pacific, Indian Oceans
  - ◆ Formal Freedom of Navigation challenge ops (FONOPS) (from 1979)
  - ◆ Failed Iran hostage rescue attempt (1980)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (V)

CNA

- ◆ Greatly-improving USN capabilities in strategic deterrence, strike warfare, ASW, ASUW, AAW, EW, amphibious warfare, IO, ISR throughout the decade
- ◆ Major new systems, tactics introduced into fleet
  - ◆ New classes of carriers, attack submarines, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, patrol hydrofoils, amphibious assault and command ships, aircraft & weapons types
  - ◆ Fleet slowly gaining real confidence in using them
- ◆ Also, continued introduction of older systems
  - ◆ E.g.: Sturgeon-class SSNs, Knox-class FFs, Anchorage-class LSDs, Newport-class LSTs, Kilauea-class AEs, Wichita-class AORs, F-4J Phantom & A-7E Corsair aircraft
- ◆ New precision weapons under development

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Fleet developed, implemented Composite Warfare Commander (CWC) concept
- ◆ Debates re: sea control vs. power projection priorities
- ◆ USN strike capability concentrated in carrier air wings
- ◆ High deployment length variability (5-9 months)
- ◆ 4-5 carriers deployed at a time
  - ◆ Down from 7-10 during and since Korean War

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (VII)

CNA

- ◆ SS & SSN roles primarily ASW & ISR for I&W
- ◆ Long-standing SS/SSN, SOSUS, P-3 “barrier” strategy vs. Soviet subs, esp. G-I-UK Gap
- ◆ Emphasis on
  - ◆ Passive sonar for long-distance submarine detection
    - ◆ Esp. SOSUS arrays, ACINT
  - ◆ Quiet USN submarines
    - ◆ Esp. 37 Sturgeon-class SSNs (1966-1975)
- ◆ Increasing USN concerns re: future Soviet threat
  - ◆ New long-range Soviet SLBMs could be launched by new Delta-class SSBNs from Soviet home waters; no need to transit thru SOSUS arrays
  - ◆ Quieter Soviet submarines (Victor III SSN: 1978)
- ◆ USN ASW superiority potentially waning

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ USN contribution to US strategic deterrent ramped up sharply
  - ◆ Greatly increased number of SLBM nuclear warheads, both absolutely & relative to USAF ICBM & bomber warheads
- ◆ Global SSBN deployments, including Med (for NATO)
- ◆ SSBN/SLBM Polaris, Poseidon force optimized for counter-value (anti-city) not counter-force ops (not highly accurate)
- ◆ USN carrier-based nuclear strike aircraft phased out of SIOB; retain other nuclear roles

75

## 1970s: State of the Navy (IX)

CNA

- ◆ Global USN ocean surveillance information system (OSIS) deployed vs. Soviet Navy
- ◆ Amphibious Beach Jumper Units transformed into Fleet Composite Operational Readiness Groups (FLTCORGRUs), to conduct cover & deception information ops vs. Soviet space-based and other surveillance & targeting systems (1972)
  - ◆ Soviets deployed 1<sup>st</sup> Radar Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites (RORSAT) & ELINT Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites (1974-5)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (X)

CNA

- ◆ “Top Gun” advanced USN fighter training at NAS Miramar (since 1969)
- ◆ Specialized USN ASW carriers disappeared
  - ◆ CVA/CVAN/CVS → CV/CVN
  - ◆ CVWs transformed from 2 specialized air wing types to one general multi-mission model
- ◆ New fleet battle organization (1977)
  - ◆ CVTF/CVTG → CVBF/CVBG
- ◆ Internal & external carrier & aircraft design & force structure debates
  - ◆ Culmination: 1978-9 Executive-Legislative Branch battles over CV-71 funding

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XI)

CNA

- ◆ USN surface ship reclassifications (1975)
  - ◆ Brought USN “frigate” nomenclature in line with international practice
  - ◆ Eliminated perceived USN-Soviet Navy “cruiser gap”
  - ◆ Eliminated USN surface combatant “escort” terminology
  - ◆ CG/CLG → CG
  - ◆ DL/DLG → CG or DDG
  - ◆ DD/DDG → DD/DDG
  - ◆ DE/DEG → FF/FFG
  - ◆ PF → FFG
- ◆ CNO ADM Holloway decision to halt CGN procurement

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XII)

CNA

- ◆ Combat/advisory ops/ turnovers to VN Navy continue in Vietnam (till 1973)
- ◆ Drawdown, then atrophy of USN riverine, coastal forces (post-1973)
  - ◆ Remaining riverine forces reoriented to Naval Special Warfare support missions
- ◆ Collaboration with NGOs in Vietnam
  - ◆ World Vision, Operation Helping Hand Foundation, etc.

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XIII)

CNA

- ◆ Serious USN personnel problems
  - ◆ Low re-enlistment rates (1970<10%)
  - ◆ Racial unrest, riots throughout the fleet (1972-5)
  - ◆ Zumwalt, Holloway personnel programs addressed
- ◆ USN women to sea duty
  - ◆ *USS Sanctuary* (AH-12) planned dependent support ship w/ mixed-gender crew (1972-5)
  - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> women USNA midshipmen (1976)
  - ◆ Women assigned to USN tenders, other auxiliaries (from 1978)
- ◆ Increasing US Navy officer corps technical & platform specialization

80

## 1970s: State of the Navy (XIV)

- ◆ Growing concern for Soviet North Atlantic, North Pacific, Arctic buildups
  - ◆ New Delta-class SSBNs w/ long-range SLBMs (1972)
    - ◆ Soviet SSBNs no longer needed to deploy far forward & transit GIUK & other barriers to reach CONUS targets
  - ◆ Backfire-B bomber with air-to-surface missiles (1972)
    - ◆ To keep US carrier aviation beyond striking range of Soviet targets
  - ◆ Growing concern at increased Soviet “out of area” deployments: E.g.: Indian Ocean
  - ◆ Soviet global naval exercises: Okean 70 & 75
  - ◆ SACLANT/CINCLANT/CINCLANTFLT ADM Train plans to shift convoy routes south, to free up USN & other NATO escort forces for forward northern ops

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XV)

- ◆ Growing concerns re: the Med in crises & war
  - ◆ 2 USN CVBGs, ARG, etc. routinely deployed in Med
  - ◆ Soviet Med, Crimea naval buildup, esp. Backfire-B
  - ◆ Concerns over “battle of the 1<sup>st</sup> salvo”
  - ◆ Egypt 6-Day War *Styx* ASM use shock (1967)
  - ◆ Periodic crises, wars, NEOs drove fleet movements
    - ◆ E.g.: Jordan-Syria-PLO (1970), Cyprus War NEO (1974), Lebanon civil war NEO (1976)
  - ◆ Middle East war Med crisis (Oct 1973)
    - ◆ At sea confrontations with Soviet Navy
    - ◆ Worldwide DEFCON 3 alert
    - ◆ Operation *Nickel Grass* support
  - ◆ Little SACEUR/USCINCEUR interest in naval issues
  - ◆ USN CNE/C6F plans to stand & fight in C., E. Med
  - ◆ NATO CINCSOUTH ADM Turner plans to move CVBGs west during times of tension & war (1975-7)

82

## 1970s: State of the Navy (XVI)

CNA

- ◆ Concern for US Pacific Fleet roles after Vietnam
  - ◆ Communist regimes accepted in VN, Cambodia, Laos
  - ◆ “No more Vietnams” sentiment in US
  - ◆ Rapprochement with PRC & need to reassure, support
  - ◆ Gradual distancing from Taiwan commitments
  - ◆ NATO desires for PACFLT forces to “swing” to LANT
  - ◆ Unthreatened, pro-US governments in most of SE Asia
  - ◆ South Korean commitment
  - ◆ Modest requirements in Indian Ocean (till 1979)
  - ◆ Growth of Soviet Pacific Fleet & Far East air force
  - ◆ Remaining post-VN USN PACFLT forces less numerous, less capable than LANT
  - ◆ New 7<sup>th</sup> Flt/PACFLT plans to take offensive vs. Soviets

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XVII)

CNA

- ◆ Continued bifurcation & compartmentalization of USN strategic thinking vs. Soviets
  - ◆ Other aspects of anti-Soviet naval warfare still decoupled from anti-SSBN warfare
  - ◆ Anti-Soviet SSBN warfare still discussed only at highest levels of classification, & within only a few USN communities (submarines, NAVFACs, intelligence, etc.)
- ◆ Deployment of Soviet Delta-class SSBNs w/ long-range SLBMs to bastions, however, starting to force a blurring of the lines
  - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> Global War Game played anti-SSBN ops (1979)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XVIII)

CNA

- ◆ Intermittent USN CV/CVN presence in Indian Ocean (IO) (1971-9)
  - ◆ USS *Enterprise* (CVN-65) in IO during India-Pakistan War (1971)
  - ◆ USS *Constellation* (CV-64) entered Gulf (1974)
  - ◆ Permanent carrier presence after Iran hostage crisis (1979)

85

## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XIX)

CNA

- ◆ OP-06 (DCNO for Strategy, Plans & Policy) office struggled for strategy & policy influence w/in OPNAV in face of OP-090 & OP-96 program planning process domination
  - ◆ OP-60 billet held by a senior RADM
  - ◆ OP60B held by a new RADM (lower half)
  - ◆ Many officers w/ IR MAs, Ph.D.s assigned to OP-60
- ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> USN Fellows assigned to civilian think tanks (1972)
- ◆ NAS NRC Naval Studies Board created (1974)
- ◆ OP-06 VADM Crowe & OP-60 RADM Hilton created OPNAV Strategic Concepts Branch (OP-603) (1978)
- ◆ Unofficial “Commanders Cabal” DC-area officer discussion group (late 1970s)
  - ◆ Convener: CDR Norm Mosher (OP-965)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XX)

CNA

- ◆ ADM Hyman Rickover headed Naval Reactors office
  - ◆ Since 1948
  - ◆ VADM since 1958; ADM in 1973
  - ◆ Held both USN & AEC (since 1977 DOE) positions simultaneously
  - ◆ Strong influence on increased Navy officer technical education & specialization

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XXI)

CNA

- ◆ Significant growth in NAVWARCOL capabilities & external reputation (I)
  - ◆ “Turner Revolution (1972-4)”
    - ◆ Transformed curriculum, esp. Strategy & History (later Strategy & Policy) Course
    - ◆ Study of strategy stressed over other areas
    - ◆ Initial change in curriculum emphasis from current affairs to history; pendulum then swung back over the decade
    - ◆ Increased use of war gaming by students
    - ◆ Established advanced research department
    - ◆ Build-up of top-notch civilian faculty, esp. strategy

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XXII)

CNA

- ◆ Significant growth in NAVWARCOL capabilities & external reputation (II)
  - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> Naval War College Press monographs published (1975)
  - ◆ Center for Advanced Research (CAR) created (1975)
  - ◆ ONI “Newport Detachment” created (1977)
  - ◆ Global War Games instituted (1979)
  - ◆ But:
    - ◆ NAVWARCOL presidency downgraded from VADM to RADM (1979)
    - ◆ Quantity, quality of Navy officer students declined

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XXIII)

CNA

- ◆ Robust USN program to educate thoughtful operationally-adept officers in political science, international relations
  - ◆ Civilian universities: Masters & doctorate levels
  - ◆ Especially Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
  - ◆ Also University of Washington, others.
  - ◆ Later assigned/re-assigned to key OPNAV billets
- ◆ Strong community management of Navy pol-mil/ strategic planning sub-specialists by successive OP-60 flag officers
  - ◆ Esp. RADM Bob Hilton (1976-78) & RADM Art Moreau (1978-1980)
  - ◆ Strong cadre of talented, educated, experienced Navy strategy action officers built up in OP-603

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: (XXIV)

CNA

- ◆ Strong cadre of talented officers assigned to Systems Analysis Branch (OP-96) as well
  - ◆ Under SECDEF Laird & successors, salient role of analysis in supporting program and budget decision-making continued, but shifted from OSD to the Services, incl/ USN
  - ◆ CNO ADM Zumwalt enhanced power, prestige, role of OP-96
    - ◆ CNO ADM Zumwalt had been 1<sup>st</sup> OP-96
    - ◆ Placed aggressive, trusted, brilliant subordinate there
      - ◆ RADM Stansfield Turner (1971-2)
    - ◆ New OP-96-led CNO Program Analysis Memoranda (CPAM) process dominated Navy PPBS intellectual foundations (from 1971)
    - ◆ Extended Planning Branch (OP-965) stocked with Navy IR SMEs, including Ph.D.s

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## 1970s: State of the Navy (XV)

CNA

- Systems in development &/or construction
  - ◆ Ships
    - ◆ Nimitz-class CVN
    - ◆ Kidd-class DDG
    - ◆ CG-47 Aegis cruiser
    - ◆ FFG-7
    - ◆ Los Angeles-class SSN
    - ◆ Ohio-class SSBN
      - ◆ (Had been ULMS)
    - ◆ Patrol hydrofoil (PHM)
    - ◆ NTPF & MPF ships
    - ◆ T-AGOS
    - ◆ LCAC
    - ◆ SCS (never built)
    - ◆ DDH (never built)
    - ◆ CVV (never built)
    - ◆ CSGN (never built)
  - ◆ Aircraft
    - ◆ F-14A
    - ◆ S-3A
    - ◆ F/A-18A
    - ◆ SH-60 LAMPS III
  - ◆ Weapons & systems
    - ◆ *Harpoon* Anti-ship missile
    - ◆ *Phalanx* CIWS
    - ◆ *Trident* I SLBM
    - ◆ TACTAS
    - ◆ *Tomahawk* SLCM
    - ◆ VLS
    - ◆ *CAPTOR* mine
    - ◆ TENCAP
    - ◆ Submarine towed arrays

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## 1970s: DCNOs for Plans, Policy & Operations\*

CNA

- ◆ 1968 VADM Francis Blouin\*\*
- ◆ 1971 VADM Frank Vannoy\*\*
- ◆ 1973 VADM George Talley\*\*
- ◆ 1975 VADM Joseph Moorner
- ◆ 1977 VADM William Crowe
- ◆ 1980 VADM Sylvester Foley

\* OPNAV OP-06

\*\* DCNO for Plans & Policy

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## 1970s: Directors for Strategy, Plans & Policy\*

CNA

- ◆ 1970 RADM Donald Engen\*\*
- ◆ 1971 RADM Joseph Moorner\*\*
- ◆ 1972 RADM Billy Holder\*\*
- ◆ 1973 RADM Jack Shanahan\*\*\*
- ◆ 1975 RADM Richard Paddock\*\*\*\*
- ◆ 1976 RADM Robert Hanks\*\*\*\*
- ◆ 1977 RADM Robert Hilton\*\*\*\*
- ◆ 1979 RADM Powell Carter
- ◆ 1979 RADM Arthur Moreau

\* OPNAV OP-60

\*\* Director for Strategic Plans & Policy

\*\*\* Director for Strategic Plans, Policy & Nuclear Systems

\*\*\*\* Director for Strategic Plans, Policy, Nuclear Systems & NSC Affairs

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## 1970s: OPNAV Strategy & Concepts heads

- ◆ c1971 CAPT Fred Stalder\*
- ◆ c1972 CAPT R.C. Allen\*
- ◆ c1974 CAPT C. F. Horne\*
- ◆ c1976 CAPT Peter Easton\*
- ◆ 1976 CAPT Paul Skarlatos\*
- ◆ 1978 CAPT Robert Kennedy\*\*
- ◆ 1979 CAPT Craig Campbell\*\*
- ◆ 1979 CAPT William Garrett\*\*
- ◆ 1980 CAPT Elizabeth Wylie\*\*

\* Strategic Concepts Section (OP-605C)

\*\* Strategy & Concepts Branch (OP-603)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (I)

- ◆ Overview
  - ◆ Contemporary and Cold War history, policy & strategy
  - ◆ World & US naval history, policy & strategy
  - ◆ New focus on naval presence and diplomacy
  - ◆ U.S intra-governmental bureaucratic politics & civil-military relations
  - ◆ Naval arms control and its effects
  - ◆ Rising Soviet Navy

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (II)

- ◆ Contemporary & Cold War history, policy & strategy (I)
  - ◆ CDR James Auer, *The Postwar Rearmament of Japanese Maritime Forces, 1945-1971* (1971)
  - ◆ David Rosenberg & Floyd Kennedy, *History of the Strategic Arms Competition, 1945-1972. Supporting Study: U.S. Aircraft Carriers in the Strategic Role, Part I— Naval Strategy in a Period of Change: Interservice Rivalry, Strategic Interaction, and the Development of Nuclear Attack Capability, 1945-1951* (Lulejian) (1975)
  - ◆ George Quester (ed.), *Sea Power in the 1970s* (1975)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (III)

- ◆ Contemporary & Cold War history, policy & strategy (II)
  - ◆ Richard K. Smith et al., *Cold War Navy* (Lulejian) (Mar 1976)
  - ◆ ADM Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., *On Watch* (1976)
  - ◆ John Lehman, *Aircraft Carriers: The Real Choices* (1978)
  - ◆ Gen Sir James Hackett, *The Third World War, August 1985* (1978)
  - ◆ James Nathan & James Oliver, *The Future of United States Naval Power* (1979)
  - ◆ Paul Nitze, Leonard Sullivan et al., *Securing the Seas: The Soviet Naval Challenge and Western Alliance Options* (1979)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IV)

- ◆ World and U.S. history, policy & strategy
  - ◆ Clark Reynolds, *Command of the Sea: The History of Strategy of Maritime Empires* (1974)
  - ◆ Ronald Spector, *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* (1977)
  - ◆ Nathan Miller: *The U.S. Navy: A History* (1977)
  - ◆ Kenneth Hagan (ed.), *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History* (1978)
  - ◆ RADM (Ret) Henry Eccles, *Military Power in a Free Society* (1979)

99

## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (V)

- ◆ New focus on naval presence & diplomacy
  - ◆ James Cable, *Gunboat Diplomacy: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force* (1971)
  - ◆ CDR Jonathan Howe, *Multicrisis: Sea Power and Global Politics in the Missile Age* (1971)
  - ◆ Edward Luttwak, *The Political Uses of Sea Power* (1974)
  - ◆ LCDR Philip Dur, "The Sixth Fleet: A Case Study of Institutionalized Naval Presence: 1946-68" (1976)
  - ◆ Ken Booth, *Navies and Foreign Policy* (1977)
  - ◆ Barry Blechman & Stephen Kaplan, *Force without War: US Armed Forces as a Political Instrument* (1978)
  - ◆ CAPT (Ret) Charles Allen, *The Uses of Navies in Peacetime* (1980)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VI)

- ◆ Focus on U.S intra-governmental bureaucratic politics & civil-military relations (USN often cited as exemplar)
  - ◆ Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1971)
  - ◆ I.M. Destler, *Presidents, Bureaucrats and Foreign Policy* (1972)
  - ◆ Francis Rourke, *Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy* (1972)
  - ◆ Robert Komer, *Bureaucracy Does Its Thing* (1973)
  - ◆ Morton Halperin et al., *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (1974)
  - ◆ John Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (1974)
  - ◆ Richard Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen and Cold War Crises* (1977)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VII)

- ◆ Focus on naval arms control & its effects
  - ◆ Thomas Buckley, *The United States and the Washington Conference, 1921-1922* (1970)
  - ◆ Roger Louis, *British Strategy in the Far East, 1919-1939* (1971)
  - ◆ Stephen Pelz, *Race to Pearl Harbor: The Failure of the Second London Naval Conference and the Onset of World War II* (1974)
  - ◆ Patrick Abbazia, *Mr. Roosevelt's Navy: The Private War of the U.S., Atlantic Fleet, 1939-1942* (1975)
  - ◆ Barry Blechman, *The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities* (1975)
  - ◆ Roger Dingman, *Power in the Pacific: The Origins of Naval Arms Limitation, 1914-1922* (1976)
  - ◆ Robert Hoover, *Arms Control: The Interwar Naval Limitation Agreements* (1980)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (VIII)

- ◆ Focus on the rising Soviet Navy (I)
  - ◆ CDR (Ret) Robert Herrick, *Soviet Naval Strategy: Fifty Years of Theory and Practice* (1968) (2<sup>nd</sup> printing 1971)
  - ◆ Michael MccGwire (ed.), *Soviet Naval Developments: Capability and Context* (1973)
  - ◆ Donald Mitchell, *History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power* (1975)
  - ◆ Michael MccGwire et al., (ed.), *Soviet Naval Influence: Domestic and Foreign Dimensions* (1974)
  - ◆ Edward Wegener, *The Soviet Naval Offensive* (1975)

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## 1970s: Naval policy & strategy literature (IX)

- ◆ Focus on the rising Soviet Navy (II)
  - ◆ Michael MccGwire et al. (ed.), *Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints* (1975)
  - ◆ LCDR Kenneth McGruther, *The Evolving Soviet Navy* (1978)
  - ◆ CAPT Robert Bathurst, *Understanding the Soviet Navy: A Handbook* (1979)
  - ◆ Bradford Dismukes & James McConnell (eds.), *Soviet Naval Diplomacy* (1979)
  - ◆ RADM (Ret) Robert Hanks, *The Unnoticed Challenge: Soviet Maritime Strategy and the Global Choke Points* (1980)

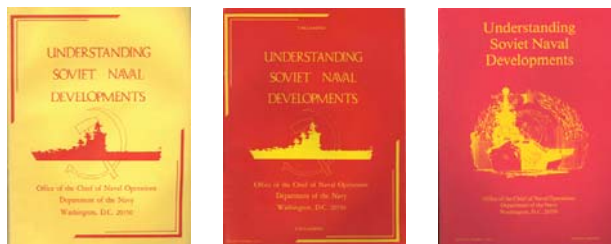
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## 1970s: Public USN intelligence documents CNA

*Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*  
(1974) (Norman Polmar drafted)

*Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*  
(2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (1975)

*Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*  
(3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (1978)



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## 1970s: US Navy basing (I) CNA

- ◆ Large world-wide USN basing network
- ◆ Large basing network in-country in South Vietnam (1965-73)
  - ◆ NSA Danang & detachments supported all US forces in I Corps
  - ◆ NSA Saigon & detachments supported USN coastal & riverine forces in II, III, IV Corps
- ◆ “Seafloat” afloat river base in Cua Lon River, South Vietnam (1969-70)
  - ◆ Replaced by “Solid Anchor” shore base (1970)
- ◆ All USN NSA Danang & Saigon bases & detachments closed or turned over to VNN (1970-1973)

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## 1970s: US Navy basing (II)

CNA

- ◆ USN Okinawa bases now on Japanese sovereign territory (1972)
- ◆ USN takeover of RN facility in Bahrain (1971)
  - ◆ Bahrain newly independent; British forces gone
  - ◆ Leases, negotiations, status changes with Bahrain
  - ◆ Bahraini threats to terminate lease (1973-7)
- ◆ New forward USN base on BIOT island of Diego Garcia
  - ◆ Base negotiations with UK (1960s)
  - ◆ USN Seabee construction (from Mar 1971)
  - ◆ Runway operational (1973)
  - ◆ NAVCOMMSTA activated (1973)
- ◆ USN gained access to Omani airfields (c1979)

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## 1970s: US Navy basing (III)

CNA

- ◆ “Overseas homeporting” of major Fleet units
  - ◆ C6F flagship at Gaeta, Italy, from France (from 1966)
  - ◆ Bahrain: Permanently forward deployed COMIDEASTFOR flagship (AGF) upgraded from converted seaplane tender (USS *Valcour* AVP-55) to converted amphibious transport dock (USS *LaSalle* LPD-3) (1972)
  - ◆ Naples: PGs & AGP (short-term success) (1972-77)
  - ◆ Athens: 6-ship DESRON (unsuccessful) (1972-5)
    - ◆ USS *Sanctuary* (AH 17) dependent support ship plan & preparation (1971-5)
    - ◆ CV & air wing homeporting planned for 1974; never deployed
  - ◆ Japan: CVBG & ARG (long-term success) (1973- )
    - ◆ NAF Misawa opened (1975)
  - ◆ La Maddalena, Sardinia: Med sub tender (long-term success) (1973-2007)

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## 1970s: US Navy basing (IV)

CNA

- ◆ CONUS base closures (Boston MA, Quonset Point RI, Newport RI, Bainbridge MD, Albany GA, Kodiak AK)
- ◆ USN took over USAF Kindley Field in Bermuda (Renamed NAS Bermuda) (1970)
- ◆ NAVSTA Sangley Point, Philippines closed (1971)
- ◆ New CONUS SSBN base development (1970s)
  - ◆ Kings Bay GA & Bangor WA
- ◆ Icelandic threat to close NAS Keflavik (1973)
- ◆ Culebra Island, Puerto Rico gunnery & bombing range closed, after local protests. Ops moved to Vieques Island (1975)
- ◆ Last USN facilities in Morocco closed (1978)
- ◆ SSBNs, AS withdrew from Rota, Spain (1979)

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## 1970s: US Navy basing (V)

CNA

- ◆ Ocean Surveillance Information System (OSIS) facilities established
  - ◆ Initially in Mediterranean (Rota 1970)
  - ◆ Other global nodes (1971)
- ◆ Underwater sound surveillance technology advances allowed NAVFAC closures, consolidation (from 1970)
  - ◆ NAVFACs San Salvador, Punta Borinquen, Nantucket, Barbados, Eleuthera, & Grand Turk disestablished
- ◆ NAVCOMMSTAs closed (1977)
  - ◆ Kagnaw Station Asmara, Eritrea, Ethiopia
  - ◆ Londonderry, Northern Ireland, UK
- ◆ US Vice Presidents took over CNOs' house at US Naval Observatory, Washington DC (1974)

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## 1970s: US Navy basing changes

CNA



111

## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (I) CNA

- ◆ US strategic sealift planning & operations encompassed US government-owned, subsidized private civilian US-flag, & foreign-flag ships
- ◆ Decline of both US government owned & available private commercial sealift fleets
- ◆ Containerization & rail-truck-water inter-modalism revolutionizing world shipping
  - ◆ New Roll-on/Roll-off “Ro-Ros” ideal for surge sealift
  - ◆ Containerships useful for sustainment shipping
- ◆ Plans for & creation of new prepositioning fleet, at end of decade

112

## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (II) CNA

- ◆ Organizational background:
  - ◆ Military Sea Transportation Service (MSTS) stood up (1949)
  - ◆ Took over Army Transport Service (ATS) (1950)
  - ◆ Prior to that, sea transport of Army troops had usually been a War Department responsibility
- ◆ MSTS re-designated Military Sealift Command (MSC) (1970)
  - ◆ MSC remained USN (not joint “specified”) command
  - ◆ COMSC downgraded: VADM to RADM (1971-1981)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (III) CNA

- ◆ US Navy successfully resisted merging MSC & US Army Military Traffic Management & Terminal Service (MTMTS) (moving sealift to the Army) (1971)
- ◆ MSC increasingly taking on new non-sealift roles
  - ◆ Civilian mariner (CIVMAR) crewing of fleet support Naval Fleet Auxiliary Force (NFAF) ships (created in 1972)
    - ◆ Freed up USN Combat Logistics Force (CLF) crews to serve on combatants
    - ◆ Increased effectiveness at lower cost
    - ◆ Initially oilers; then tugs, combat stores ships, ammunition ships

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (IV) CNA

- ◆ MSC nucleus fleet declined
  - ◆ 1967: 175    1975: 86    1976: 6
  - ◆ Last troopships retired (1973). Troops deployed by air.
- ◆ Increased MSC use of long-term US civilian commercial charters & contract mariners (CONMARS)
- ◆ US joint war plans relied on MSC, National Defense Reserve Fleet (NDRF), US commercial fleet, Effective U.S.-Control (EUSC) ships flying “flags of convenience”, allied merchant fleets
  - ◆ NDRF created in 1946; Much of NDRF obsolete by 1970s
  - ◆ Panama, Liberia domestic events called validity of “effective control” concept into question
  - ◆ Poor Vietnam War & Yom Kippur War EUSC experience (1973)
    - ◆ Several ships’ mariners would not deliver to war zone
  - ◆ Allies not always allied on all US actions

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (V) CNA

- ◆ US Department of Commerce Maritime Administration (MARAD) National Defense Reserve fleet (NDRF) ship #s plummeted
  - ◆ 1970: 1027    1975: 419    1980: 303
  - ◆ 172 NDRF ships activated during Vietnam War
- ◆ New NDRF subset created: Quick-response Ready Reserve Fleet (RRF) of modern ships (1976)
  - ◆ Navy-MARAD Memorandum of Agreement
  - ◆ Old World War II-vintage NDRF ships aging, hard to activate
  - ◆ USN funded new purchase of used, militarily useful civilian ships
  - ◆ Planned for 10-day deployability by MSC
  - ◆ Numbers grew:    1977: 6    1980: 24
  - ◆ Activation dependent on US contract mariner (CONMAR) availability

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VI)

- ◆ Sealift Readiness Program (SRP)
  - ◆ Standby contractual arrangement between MSC & US commercial ship operators for US military use of US civilian ships
  - ◆ Derived from US Merchant Marine Act of 1936: Ship-owners committed ½ their capacity to the military in wartime in return for peacetime DOD business & operating subsidies
  - ◆ Vietnam War-era program: Commercial Sealift Augmentation Program (CSAP) (1967)
  - ◆ Renamed Sealift Readiness Program (SRP) (1971)
  - ◆ Maritime Appropriations Act directed SRP participation by all US government-subsidized commercial shipping (1978)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VII)

- *Mayaguez* incident & amphibious raid (1975) triggered by Khmer Rouge capture of contract mariners (CONMARs) from US civilian container ship
- ◆ Germany (REFORGER), Korea (Team Spirit) reinforcement exercises to test, maintain US sealift surge capabilities (from 1976)
- ◆ NIFTY NUGGET worldwide DOD mobilization & deployment command post exercise (1978)
  - ◆ Exposed weaknesses in joint inter-modal integration, including sealift
  - ◆ Led to Joint Deployment Agency (JDA) establishment (1979)

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## 1970s: State of the Navy: Military sealift (VIII) CNA

- ◆ MSC planned & deployed 7-ship Indian Ocean Near-Term Prepositioning Force (NTPF) (1980)
  - ◆ USMC (5), USAF (1), USA(1) SWA contingency gear
  - ◆ Some government-owned; some chartered
  - ◆ Plans for replacement by more, more-capable ships
  - ◆ Had roots in US Army Floating Depot program in WESTPAC (1963-6)
  - ◆ Concept resurrected largely as part of US response to Southwest Asia crises: Iranian revolution & hostage crisis, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979)

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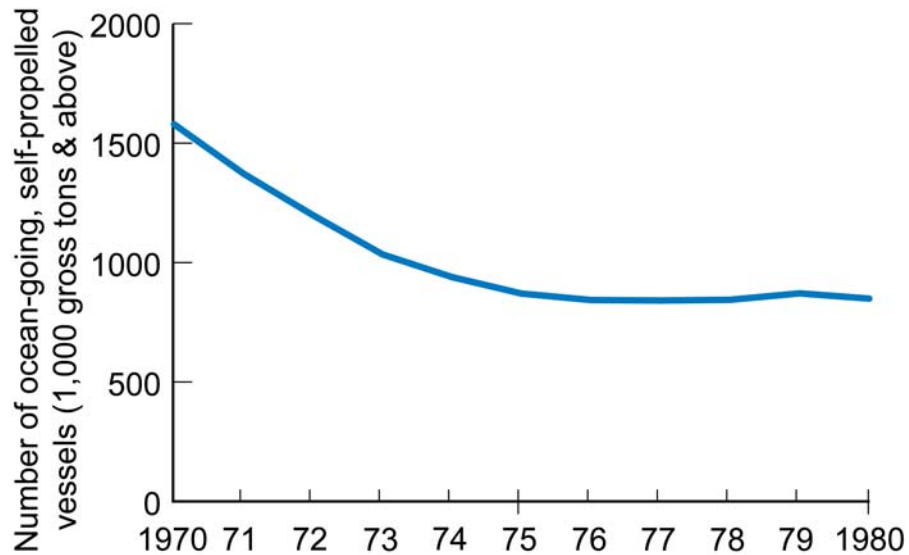
## 1970s: US-flag Merchant Marine (I) CNA

- ◆ US-flag private commercial Merchant Marine
  - ◆ In continuing decline, but still world's #8 carrier (in tons)
  - ◆ Ocean-going ships (1000 gross tons & over)
    - ◆ 1970: 1579      1975: 870      1980: 849
  - ◆ Dropped from 8% to 4% of world tonnage
  - ◆ Carried only 4-5% of US international trade
  - ◆ Remaining ships less suitable for military cargo
- ◆ World shipping depression (1973-late 80s)
- ◆ # of non-government US civilian commercial merchant mariners also dropped
  - ◆ Pre-VN War: 48,000    1975: 20,500    1980: 19,600
- ◆ U.S. Maritime Administration (MARAD) administered US gov't assistance programs for US private merchant ship-owners (since 1950)
  - ◆ Under Department of Commerce

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## 1970s: US-flag Merchant Marine (II)

CNA



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## 1970s: US-flag Merchant Marine (III)

CNA

- ◆ Military Cargo Preference Act of 1904 in force
  - ◆ Only US-flag ships can carry US-owned military items
- ◆ Merchant Marine Act (“Jones Act”) of 1920 in force
  - ◆ Only US-flag ships can carry cargoes between US ports
  - ◆ US domestic shipping tonnage surpassed international shipping tonnage to & from the US
  - ◆ But new highways, pipelines led to inter-coastal fleet decline
- ◆ Merchant Marine Act of 1936 in force
  - ◆ To help sustain international US Merchant Marine
  - ◆ Provided commercial ship-owners with Operating Differential Subsidies (ODS)
- ◆ Cargo Preference Act of 1954 in force
  - ◆ Private US-flag ships must carry 50-75% US government-sponsored cargoes, e.g.: food aid
  - ◆ USN had strongly opposed, since prohibited MSC ship use

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## 1970s: US- flag Merchant Marine (IV)

CNA

- ◆ US ship owners continued to “flag out” ships
  - ◆ Lower regulation, oversight, costs, taxes
- ◆ Symptom of larger world, US trends
  - ◆ US industry overseas movement
  - ◆ Global shipping movement to “flags of convenience”
- ◆ Effective US Control (EUSC) fleet increased
  - ◆ 1970: 300                      1974: 432                      1978: 451
  - ◆ But 1975 tax law dis-incentivized US investment in foreign-flagged US-owned shipping
- ◆ Increased foreign competition
  - ◆ E.g.: Japan, West Germany, South Korea

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## 1970s: US-flag Merchant Marine (V)

CNA

- ◆ Seatrain introduced container “land bridge” across US, competing with seaborne commerce (1971)
- ◆ U.S. private ship-owner Sea-Land began to receive European-built SL-7s (Fastest containerships in the world) (1972)
  - ◆ But commercially unviable by end of decade
- ◆ President Ford vetoed Energy Transportation Act, which would have required 30% of US oil imports be carried on US flag tankers (Dec 1974)
- ◆ American Export Lines bankruptcy (1978)
- ◆ Pacific Far East Line bankruptcy (1978)

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## 1970s: US shipbuilding industrial base

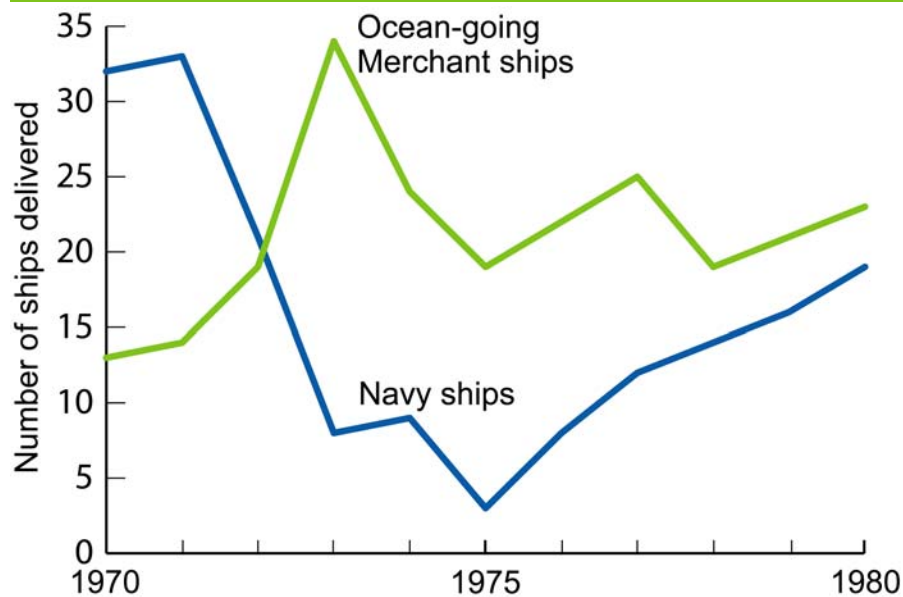
CNA

- ◆ US Navy warship shipbuilding down, then up
  - ◆ 1971: 33      1975: 3      1979: 16
- ◆ US civilian merchant marine shipbuilding modest, fluctuating
  - ◆ 1971: 14      1973: 34      1978: 19
- ◆ World (incl/ US) commercial shipbuilding boom from late 1960s through 1973
- ◆ Oil shock of 1973 precipitated 13-year shipbuilding recession, affecting all shipbuilding nations, incl US
- ◆ Increased international competition
  - ◆ E.g.: Japan, West Germany, South Korea
- ◆ US government-owned naval shipyards stopped building warships (1970-1971)
  - ◆ USN shipyards now focused on modernization & repair

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## 1970s: US shipbuilding industrial base

CNA



Source: MARAD & Tim Colton.

6

## 1970s: US shipbuilding: Government policies (I)

- ◆ Jones Act (1920) still in place
  - ◆ Sea trade between US ports must be in US-built ships
- ◆ Merchant Marine Act (1936) still in place
  - ◆ Federal Ship Financing Guarantee Program to assist US shipbuilders
    - ◆ Amended to guarantee commercial debt obligations (1972)
  - ◆ Construction Differential Subsidies (CDS)
- ◆ Active & favorable Nixon Administration policies toward US commercial shipbuilding industry
- ◆ Ford & Carter Administrations generally continued Nixon policies
- ◆ Large number of tankers built to move Alaskan oil to CONUS, under Jones Act

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## 1970s: US shipbuilding: Government policies (II)

- ◆ New US Merchant Marine Act (1970)
  - ◆ New version of traditional US subsidy policies
    - ◆ Amended Merchant Marine Act of 1936
  - ◆ Goal: stimulate building of 300 US-flag ships over 10 years through subsidies
    - ◆ To reduce US defense dependence on foreign-flag carriers
      - ◆ Triggered by foreign flag ship refusal to carry cargo to Vietnam
  - ◆ Subsidized bulk carriers, tankers as well as liners
  - ◆ Subsidized ships need not be suitable for national defense
  - ◆ US commercial shipbuilding boomed, but goal never reached
  - ◆ Failed to stem decline of US commercial shipbuilding & merchant marine
    - ◆ World shipping & shipbuilding depression (from 1973)
    - ◆ Shipyards more focused on naval shipbuilding technology

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## 1970s: US government naval shipyards

CNA

- ◆ # of US gov' t naval shipyards cut from 10 to 8
  - ◆ Closed (*New York Navy Yard*) (*Brooklyn NY*) (1966)
    - ◆ San Francisco (Hunters Point CA) (1974)
    - ◆ Boston (Charlestown MA) (1975)
  - ◆ Retained
    - ◆ Charleston (SC)
    - ◆ Long Beach (CA)
    - ◆ Mare Island (Vallejo CA)
    - ◆ Norfolk (Portsmouth VA)
    - ◆ Pearl Harbor (HI)
    - ◆ Philadelphia (PA)
    - ◆ Portsmouth (Kittery ME)
    - ◆ Puget Sound (Bremerton WA)

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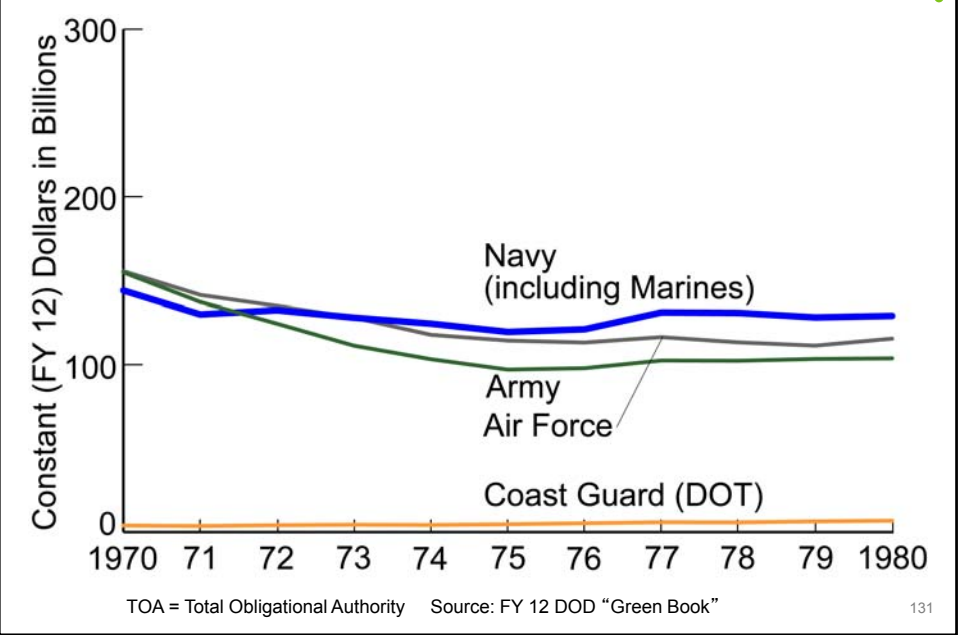
## 1970s: US government naval shipyards

CNA

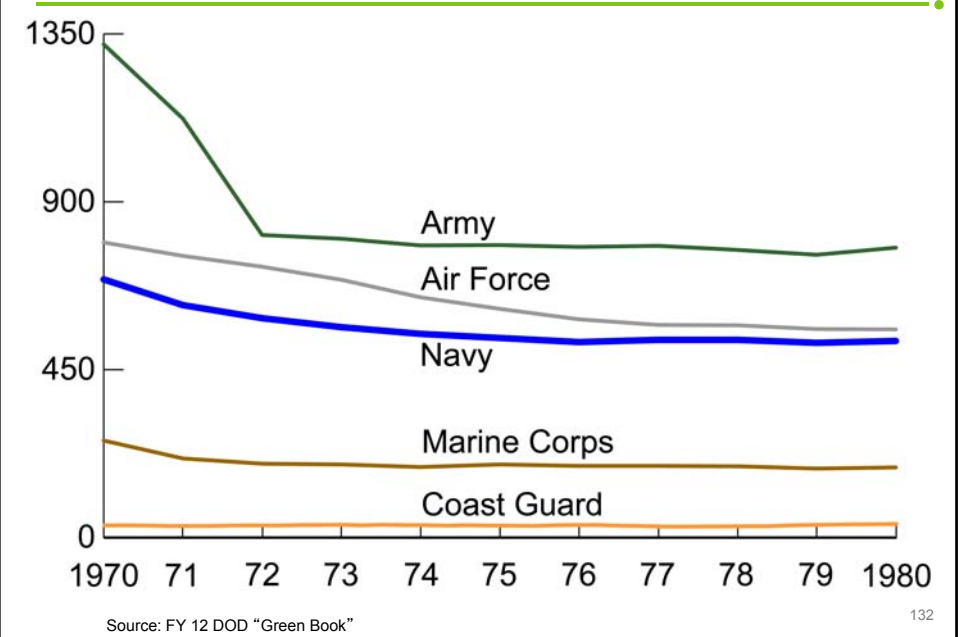


.30

## 1970s: Comparing military department TOA\$ CNA



## 1970s: Comparing active duty personnel CNA



## 1970s: USN-USMC relations

CNA



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## 1970s: USN-USMC relationships: Overview

CNA

- ◆ Era of constrained service budgets
  - ◆ Ramping back up at end of decade
- ◆ Mostly fought separate wars in Vietnam
- ◆ Vietnam War end brought 2 services closer together
- ◆ Introduction of new amphibious ship types
- ◆ Refocus on deterring, fighting NATO-Warsaw Pact war
- ◆ Increasing focus on Southwest Asia (SWA)
- ◆ USMC often in subordinate relationship to USN
  - ◆ But USMC status & autonomy increasing

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## 1970s: Context for USN-USMC relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	
Soviet Okean 70 NPT Treaty	1970	Nixon	Chafee	Zumwalt	Chapman
Seabed Treaty	1971	Laird			
India-Pakistan War	1972				Cushman
Nixon to China ABM Treaty	1973	Richardson	Warner		
US Vietnam Pullout USN-Soviet Navy Med confrontation	1974	Ford	Middendorf	Holloway	
South Vietnam falls	1975	Rumsfeld			Wilson
USSR-Egypt Treaty cancelled	1976				
Panama Canal Treaty	1977	Carter	Claytor		
Deng leads China Camp David Accords	1978				
Shah of Iran Falls Taiwan Relations Act	1979			Hayward	
Soviets Invade Afghanistan Desert One debacle	1980		Hidalgo		Barrow

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## 1970s: USMC nomenclature

- ◆ “Amphibious” vs. “expeditionary”
  - ◆ USMC task organizations styled “amphibious” vice “expeditionary” (from late 1960s)
    - ◆ MAUs, MABs, MAFs vice MEUs, MEBs, MEFs
    - ◆ Vietnamese sensitivities to negative French concept
  - ◆ But USMC ops in Vietnam more expeditionary than amphibious
  - ◆ USMC amphibious expertise atrophied during Vietnam War
  - ◆ Post-Vietnam USN-USMC return to amphibious focus

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## 1970s: USN type commander organization CNA

- ◆ USN eliminated autonomous Amphibious Force 3-star type commanders (TYCOMS)
  - ◆ COMPHIBLANT & COMPHIBPAC disestablished (1975)
  - ◆ Consolidation of Amphibious, Cruiser-Destroyer and Service forces into new Surface Forces under COMNAVSURFLANT & COMNAVSURFPAC)
  - ◆ Driven by post-Vietnam War requirement to downsize USN, including flag officer billet & staff cuts
- ◆ USMC perceived USN downgrading of amphibious mission status

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## 1970s: Operations: Vietnam CNA

- ◆ Continued USN logistic support of remaining USMC operations in Vietnam (I Corps) (to 1973)
- ◆ Some USN operational support of USMC ops
  - ◆ Naval Gunfire Support
  - ◆ Air support
  - ◆ Riverine operations
- ◆ But overall, USN, USMC fought separate VN wars
  - ◆ North Vietnam air operations
    - ◆ Central USN aviation focus
    - ◆ USN coordinated mostly with USAF, not USMC
  - ◆ South Vietnam (“in-country”) operations
    - ◆ USN coordinated mostly w/ US Army, Vietnamese forces
    - ◆ USMC largely provided its own organic air support

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## Operations: Deployments & bases

CNA

- ◆ Continued routine & crisis-response USMC forward deployments on USN ships
  - ◆ Marine Amphibious Units (MAUs) on amphibious ships
  - ◆ Marine Detachments (MARDETs) on non-amphibious ships
- ◆ Marine Corps security forces ashore at US Navy bases

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## 1970s: Operations

CNA

- ◆ CNO ADM Zumwalt initiative to deploy USMC air squadrons in USN carrier air wings (1970+)
- ◆ USMC AV-8 aircraft helped USN validate “sea control ship” concept on USS *Guam* (LPH-9) as Interim Sea Control Ship (ISCS) (1972-74)
- ◆ USMC helos replaced air wing, deployed on USN CV USS *Hancock* for Saigon evacuation (1975)
- ◆ USMC pilots flew USN helos into Iran in ill-fated Operation *Eagle Claw* (1980)

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## 1970s: Ships, craft & aircraft

- ◆ New 20-kt amphibious USN ships enhanced USN-USMC relations
  - ◆ LCCs, LPHs, LKAs, LPDs, LSDs, LSTs (1960s-70s)
  - ◆ 5 LHAs commissioned (1976-1980)
  - ◆ But amphibious command ships (LCCs) began to be used as numbered fleet flagships (from 1979)
- ◆ LVT-7 tracked landing vehicle entered USMC service (1972) (still serving as AAV-7A1 in 2010)

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## 1970s: Force structure differences

- ◆ USN concerns re increasing USMC lift requirements
  - ◆ Ships, craft, troops, square, cube, helo spots, etc.
- ◆ USMC concerns re: big USN surface ship #s cuts
  - ◆ Decline in amphibious % of active fleet
    - ◆ 1960s: 15% 1970s: 13%
  - ◆ Plummeting naval gunfire support (NGFS) ship inventory
- ◆ USN-USMC aviation divergences
  - ◆ USN needed F-14 aircraft for outer air battle (OAB); USMC declined
  - ◆ USMC needed AV-8 aircraft for close air support (CAS); USN declined

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## 1970s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

- ◆ Drastic cuts in amphibious ship #s early in the decade
- ◆ Stabilization of amphibious ship count after 1973 (about 65)
- ◆ Necking down of # of individual amphibious ship types
- ◆ Reduced USMC lift goals over the decade

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## 1970s: USN amphibious ships/USMC goals CNA

Year	Actual amphibious ship force levels	Actual troop lift (in MAFs)	Amphibious lift goals
1969	153 (LFR/LKA/LPA/LPD/LPH/LPR/LPSS/LSD/LST)	1.9	1 MAF + 2 MABs (AEs)
1970	97 (LCC/LKA/LPA/LPD/LPH/LPSS/LSD/LST)	1.3	4 MABs (AE)
1971	95 ---	1.1	---
1972	77 ---	1.2	---
1973	65 ---	1.0	1+ MAF (AE)
1974	65 ---	---	---
1975	64 (LCC/LKA/LPA/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	1.0	1 MAF + 1 MAB (AEs)
1976	65 (LCC/LHA/LKA/LPD/LPH/LSD/LST)	---	---
1977	65 ---	---	---
1978	67 ---	1.1	---
1979	67 ---	---	---
1980	63 ---	---	1.15 MAF (AE)

AE = Assault echelon

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## 1970s: Post-Vietnam planning (I)

CNA

- ◆ Both USN & USMC refocused away from Vietnam air & ground ops (from 1973)
- ◆ Increased USMC focus on NATO flank roles
  - ◆ CMC Gen Wilson initiatives
  - ◆ Result of USMC assessment of directions to move
  - ◆ Decision & planning for Norway Air-Landed Marine Expeditionary Brigade (NALMEB)
  - ◆ Soviet Motorized Rifle Divisions seen as threat
  - ◆ USMC began to “heavy up” its formations

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## 1970s: Post-Vietnam planning (II)

CNA

- ◆ Some USMC interest in NW Pacific plans & ops
  - ◆ FMFPAC integrated into CINCPACFLT ADM Hayward “Sea Strike” plans vs. Soviets (1977)
- ◆ USMC interest in emerging Southwest Asia (SWA) roles (1979- )
  - ◆ USMC enthusiasm for Near-Term Prepositioning Force (NTPF) at Diego Garcia (1979-80)
  - ◆ USMC gear on 5 of 7 NTPF ships deployed (1980)
- ◆ Less USN enthusiasm for SWA

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## 1970s: USN-USMC relations

- ◆ Major differences in service outlooks
  - ◆ Naval warfare roles
  - ◆ Changing USMC status

## 1970s: USN re: USMC naval warfare role

- ◆ USN saw USMC amphibious role as merely one component of one-among-many naval warfare tasks
  - ◆ AAW, ASW, ASUW, Strike, Amphibious warfare, special warfare, mine warfare, electronic warfare
- ◆ Little USN interest in USMC non-amphibious expeditionary roles
- ◆ Major public, internal USMC debates on USMC future

## 1970s: Changing USMC status

- ◆ Increasing USMC co-equality with USN within Navy Department & joint command structure
  - ◆ Commandant of the Marine Corps (CMC) became full member of Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) (1978)
    - ◆ USN Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) ADM Hayward supported; unlike US Army, USAF
  - ◆ Gen P.X Kelley USMC = 1<sup>st</sup> Commander, Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (COMRDJTF) (1980-1)
    - ◆ Under USCINCREC in peace; under SECDEF in war
    - ◆ USN-USMC differences on RDJTF command relations
  - ◆ But no USMC CINCs, components, or war college
  - ◆ And USMC Fleet Marine Force commanders subordinate to USN fleet commanders

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## 1970s: Amphibious doctrine

- ◆ Agreed *Doctrine for Amphibious Operations*
  - ◆ “Multi-service,” not “joint”
  - ◆ Published separately by Departments of the Navy, Army, Air Force (2 Aug 1967)
    - ◆ US Navy NWP 22(a)
    - ◆ US Marine Corps LFM 01
    - ◆ US Army FM 31-11
    - ◆ US Air Force AFM 2-53
  - ◆ Resolved decades of inter-service disagreement
- ◆ USN-USMC Commander, Amphibious Task Force/Commander, Landing Force (CATF/CLF) doctrine divided sea service operational command & control (C2) at the water’s edge

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## 1970s: USMC in USN “capstone” documents CNA

- ◆ USN “capstone” documents
  - ◆ *Project SIXTY* (1970)
  - ◆ *Missions of the U.S. Navy* (1974)
  - ◆ *Strategic Concept for the U.S. Navy* (1975)
  - ◆ *NWP 1: Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy* (1977, Rev A. 1978)
  - ◆ *Sea Plan 2000* (1978)
  - ◆ *CNO Strategic Concepts & The Future of U.S. Sea Power* (1979)
- ◆ No CNO-CMC co-signed capstone documents
- ◆ Little mention of USMC in most USN capstone documents, except *Seaplan 2000*
  - ◆ Study team leader = former USMC 1stLT Francis “Bing” West
- ◆ Little emphasis on its own capstone documents within the Marine Corps

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## 1970s: USN-USCG relations CNA



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## 1970s: Context for USN–USCG Relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SEC TRANS	CCG	
Vietnam War	1970	Nixon	Laird	Chafee	Zumwalt	Volpe	Bender
War on Drugs	1971	Nixon	Laird	Chafee	Zumwalt	Volpe	
Pres. Nixon to China INCSEA/ABM Treaty	1972						
US Vietnam Pullout	1973	Richardson	Warner	Middendorf	Holloway	Brinegar	
USN-Soviet Navy Med Confrontation	1974	Ford	Schlesinger				
South Vietnam falls	1975	Ford	Rumsfeld	Middendorf	Holloway	Coleman	Siler
US 200-mile Fishery Zone	1976						
Panama Canal Treaty	1977	Carter	Brown	Claytor	Hayward	Adams	Hayes
Deng leads China Camp David Accords	1978	Carter	Brown	Claytor			
Shah of Iran falls Taiwan Relations Act	1979				Hidalgo	Goldschmidt	
Soviets Invade Afghanistan	1980	Carter	Brown	Claytor	Hayward	Adams	
Desert One debacle Mariel (Cuba) boatlift	1980						

## 1970s: US Coast Guard status

- ◆ USCG in new Department of Transportation (created 1967)
- ◆ Commandant of Coast Guard both service chief & senior operational commander
- ◆ USCG cutter returned Lithuanian merchant seaman defector to Soviet merchant ship (1970)
  - ◆ Poor inter-agency procedures
- ◆ USCG ramped up counter-drug ops
  - ◆ President Nixon declared “War on Drugs” (1971)
  - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> USCG-controlled drug seizure at sea (1973)
- ◆ USCG deployed all US icebreakers
  - ◆ 5 USN icebreakers transferred (1965-6)
- ◆ US 200-mile fishery zones created (1976)
  - ◆ Increased USCG enforcement responsibilities



## 1970s: USN-USCG relationships

CNA

- ◆ USCG well-integrated into USN in-country Vietnam War effort (1965-1973)
  - ◆ Cutters, WPBs, LORAN, port security, etc.
  - ◆ USCG LORAN stations remained (1973-5 )
- ◆ USCG cutters & PSUs integrated into USN component commanders war plans
- ◆ USN funded USCG defense hardware for:
  - ◆ WHECs, WPBs, & PSUs
- ◆ USCG shifted from USN-style uniforms (1972)
- ◆ USCG began Deck Watch Officer (DWO) exchanges with USN
- ◆ Presidential Directive 27 “Procedures for Dealing with Non-Military Incidents” promulgated (1978)

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## 1970s: USN-USAF Relations

CNA



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## 1970s: USN-USAF Relationship: Bottom Lines

- ◆ Both cooperation and rivalry persisted
- ◆ Continued Navy resistance to subordination to USAF operational commanders
- ◆ Rise of Soviet Navy led to renewed USAF interest in counter-sea ops and cooperation with USN, and increased USN acceptance of USAF roles
- ◆ Internal budgetary pressures and outside stimuli drove the Navy to continue to cede to the USAF primacy in important support programs
  - ◆ Space systems and operations
  - ◆ Airlift

## 1970s: Context for USN-USAF Relations

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SECAF	CSAF	
Soviet Okean 70	1970	Nixon	Laird	Chafee	Zumwalt	Seamans	Ryan
NPT treaty	1971						
Seabed Treaty							
India-Pakistan War	1972						
Pres. Nixon to China							
INCSEA/ABM Treaty	1973	Richardson	Warner		McLucas	Brown	
US Vietnam Pullout							
USN-Soviet Navy Med Confrontation	1974	Ford	Schlesinger	Middendorf	Holloway	Jones	
India nuclear test							
South Vietnam falls	1975		Rumsfeld				
USSR-Egypt Treaty cancelled	1976				Reed		
Panama Canal Treaty	1977	Carter	Brown	Claytor			
Deng leads China	1978				Stetson	Allen	
Camp David Accords							
Shah of Iran falls	1979			Hayward			
Taiwan Relations Act							
Soviets Invade Afghanistan	1980		Hidalgo		Mark		
Desert One debacle							
Marief (Cuba) boatlift							

## 1970s: The U.S. Air Force (I)

- ◆ USAF post-Vietnam War deployment strategy:
  - ◆ USAF tactical aircraft (TACAIR) in ready forward Europe/WESTPAC garrisons
  - ◆ Strategic forces in ready continental United States (CONUS) garrisons
  - ◆ Frequent alerts, surges and other exercises
- ◆ Heavy and increasing USAF purchases of newly-developed F-15 *Eagles*, F-16 *Fighting Falcons*, A-10 *Warthogs*
- ◆ E-3A *Sentry* Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft introduced (1977)

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## 1970s: The U.S. Air Force (II)

- ◆ Continued heavy influence of strategic bomber pilots within USAF
- ◆ Shift in USAF analytical focus from East Asia to Central Europe
  - ◆ Increasing attention to AirLand ops with US Army
- ◆ CSAF Gen David Jones created Air Staff “Checkmate” division (1976)
  - ◆ Analysis of Soviet thinking and ops, and optimal use of US airpower vs. Soviets at operational level of war
  - ◆ Focus on centralized management of air battlespace
- ◆ No US Air Force officers assigned to command regional joint unified commands

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## 1970s: U.S. Air Force Basic Doctrine (I)

- ◆ Succession of basic USAF doctrinal pubs
- ◆ Air Staff drafted
- ◆ *United States Air Force Basic Doctrine (AFM 1-1) (1971)*
  - ◆ Strategic nuclear warfare = highest USAF priority
  - ◆ Non-nuclear conflicts required sufficient general purpose forces capable of rapid deployment and sustained ops
  - ◆ USAF to support Special Operations
  - ◆ No specific mention of support to other ground ops
  - ◆ Discussed role of Air Forces in Space

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## 1970s: U.S. Air Force Basic Doctrine (II)

- ◆ Evolution
  - ◆ *United States Air Force Basic Doctrine (AFM 1-1) (1975)*
    - ◆ Continued primacy of strategic nuclear warfare
  - ◆ *Functions and Basic Doctrine of the United States Air Force (AFM 1-1) (1979)*
    - ◆ Primacy of “strategic aerospace offense”

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## 1970s: U.S. Navy Capstone Documents

- ◆ Little or no mention of USAF contributions, capabilities, or limitations in USN capstone strategy, policy and concept documents of the decade
  - ◆ “Project SIXTY,” “Missions of the Navy,” NWP 1 *Strategic Concepts of the U.S. Navy, Sea Plan 2000, Future of US Sea Power*

## 1970s: USN-USAF Staff Relationships

- ◆ DoD-wide “Total Force Concept” instituted (1970)
  - ◆ Greater Reserve/Guard participation in service missions
  - ◆ Based on successful USAF concept
  - ◆ Navy had opposed; maintained most Navy missions required active forces only
- ◆ Limited but path-breaking USN-USAF Memoranda of Agreement (MOAs)
  - ◆ 1971, 1974, 1975, 1979
  - ◆ Mostly re: Strategic Air Command (SAC) B-52 mine laying, air refueling, anti-surface warfare, surveillance ops
- ◆ CNO ADM Elmo Zumwalt initiative to qualify USAF units on USN carriers (1972)

## 1970s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ De-conflicted but not integrated or centralized USN & USAF air operations over Vietnam (through 1973)
  - ◆ Same “route package” system used in Korea
  - ◆ USN-USAF inter-service relations less bitter than Korea
  - ◆ More mutual respect & deference
  - ◆ USAF still chafed at lack of unity of command
- ◆ USN 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet supported USAF Operation Nickel Grass resupply of Israel during Yom Kippur War (1973)
- ◆ USAF helicopters replaced air wing, operated from USN carrier USS *Midway* during evacuation of Saigon (1975)
- ◆ USN-USAF-USMC SS *Mayaguez* rescue op (1975)

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## 1970s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ B-52 Indian Ocean & Gulf maritime surveillance ops from Guam (1979)
  - ◆ USN carrier fighter escort in Gulf of Oman
- ◆ Coordinated USAF, USN Southwest Asia (SWA) deployments (1979)
  - ◆ USAF F-15s, E-3 AWACS, USN carrier *Constellation* to Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf, to demonstrate US support to Saudis in response to war in Yemen
- ◆ Disastrous joint “Desert One” Iran hostages failed Operation *Eagle Claw* rescue operation (1980)
  - ◆ Included USN (some with USMC aircrew) and USAF aircraft
  - ◆ USN-USMC helicopter/ USAF aircraft fatal collision

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## 1970s: USN-USAF Operational Relationships

CNA

- ◆ Near Term Prepositioning Force (NTPF) support for USAF Tactical Fighter Squadron (TFS) deployments in Southwest Asia (SWA) contingencies
  - ◆ 1 ship of 7 deployed to Diego Garcia (1980)
- ◆ Continued USN MSC operation of missile range instrumentation ships (AGMs) in support of USAF missile test data-gathering programs
  - ◆ Former SLBM test ship USNS *Observation Island* (AG-154) re-designated (AGM 23) (1977)
- ◆ Continued USN at-sea astronaut recovery ops (1961-1975)

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## 1970s: Exercise and Training Relationships

CNA

- ◆ USAF sea surveillance & attack exercises
  - ◆ 4 USAF B-52G-H & FB-111 “Busy Harbor” exercises (1974)
  - ◆ USAF “Busy Observer” surveillance ops began (1975)
  - ◆ USAF B-52 *Stratofortress* mine-laying tests (1978)
- ◆ USAF Tactical Air Command (TAC) F-111 & RF-4 “Sea Flirt” surveillance program
- ◆ Fighter training
  - ◆ Unsatisfactory USN and USAF Vietnam War air-to-air experiences
  - ◆ USN “Top Gun” Fighter Weapons School (1969)
    - ◆ Used USAF T-38s, then F-5Es as aggressor aircraft
  - ◆ USAF followed suit (1975)
    - ◆ “Red Flag” advanced aerial combat training exercise
- ◆ Navy-USAF pilot exchanges: Squadron and flight instructor duty and test pilot schools, war college exchanges

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## 1970s: Tactical Aviation Relationships

- ◆ US naval aviation continued to refine its capabilities and Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTP) for autonomous strike, anti-air warfare (AAW) campaigns
  - ◆ De-confliction as necessary with USAF
    - ◆ Vietnam War “route packages” policy
- ◆ USAF frustration with Vietnam War air ops command divisions (including naval aviation operational autonomy)
  - ◆ But less than frustration after Korean War
  - ◆ And less than frustration with USAF command and control arrangements with other services within Vietnam

## 1970s: Electronic Warfare Relationships

- ◆ Electronic warfare (EW) aircraft jam enemy radars and enable Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses (SEAD)
- ◆ USN introduced EA-6B *Prowler* (1971)
  - ◆ Replaced EKA-3B *Skywarrior*
  - ◆ Continually upgraded throughout the decade
- ◆ USAF flying EB-66 Destroyer (through 1976)
  - ◆ Based on Navy A-3 *Skywarrior* design
- ◆ USAF invested heavily in low-observable, reduced signature “stealth” technology for its future tactical and strategic combat aircraft
  - ◆ Could reduce the need for EW aircraft



## 1970s: Aerial Refueling Relationships

- ◆ Incompatible USN, USAF air refueling systems
  - ◆ USN, USAF TAC “probe and drogue” (flexible, multi-aircraft)
  - ◆ USAF “flying boom” (Hi fuel flow rate to SAC bombers)
  - ◆ Successful limited USAF KC-135 *Stratotanker* “probe and drogue” support of USN TACAIR in Vietnam (1960s-70s)
- ◆ SECDEF Schlesinger directive that USAF SAC tankers refuel USN, USMC transoceanic aircraft flights (1975)
- ◆ USN-USAF Aerial Refueling Systems Advisory Group (ARSAG) created (1978)

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## 1970s: Strategic Nuclear Relationships (I)

- ◆ US strategic nuclear triad included both USAF and USN forces
  - ◆ Centralized targeting (JSTPS)
  - ◆ No unity of command
    - ◆ SAC (specified command) had OPCON over bombers, ICBMs
    - ◆ LANTCOM & PACOM (unified commands) had OPCON over SSBNs
  - ◆ Service perspectives differed
    - ◆ Strategic nuclear deterrence the primary USAF mission
      - ◆ Strategic bomber community dominated USAF policy
    - ◆ Strategic nuclear deterrence one of several USN missions
      - ◆ No dedicated strategic force community
      - ◆ Carrier aviation nuclear weapons no longer in Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP)
      - ◆ Same USN Submarine Force manned SSNs as SSBNs

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## 1970s: Strategic Nuclear Relationships (II)

CNA

- ◆ Navy Ocean Surveillance Information System (OSIS) fed offshore Soviet *Yankee* SSBN threat data to SAC

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## 1970s: Airlift Relationships

CNA

- ◆ USN kept a land-based intra-theater airlift role
  - ◆ SECDEF Schlesinger sought to consolidate all service Operational Support Aircraft (OSA) under USAF (1974)
  - ◆ Congress overruled the administration
  - ◆ CNO designated Chief of Naval Reserve (CHNAVRES) as Navy Executive Agent for Navy airlift (1977)
- ◆ Unified Command Plan designated MAC as a Specified Command (1977)
  - ◆ USN had opposed
- ◆ Joint Deployment Agency (JDA) created (1979)

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## 1970s: Space Relationships

- ◆ Change in DOD space policy (1970)
  - ◆ All services allowed to develop new space systems
  - ◆ USAF had had sole responsibility (since 1961)
  - ◆ USAF still predominant US service in Space
- ◆ USN pushed forward immediately to develop ocean surveillance, tactical FLTSATCOM and TIMATION systems
  - ◆ Joint USAF-USN FLTSATCOM program (1971)
    - ◆ Inter-service relationships sometimes stormy
    - ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> FLTSAT launched (1978); all launched by 1980
  - ◆ TIMATION placed under USAF-led GPS effort (1973)
- ◆ High USN use of USAF space systems
  - ◆ E.g., “Slow Walker” use of USAF Defense Support Program (DSP) satellites to track closing Soviet aircraft
  - ◆ Modest USN funding of some USN space systems

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## 1970s: Systems Relationships

- ◆ USAF Tactical Air Command (TAC) flying USN-developed *A-7 Corsair II*, *F-4 Phantom II* aircraft
- ◆ USAF Light Weight Fighter Program spawned 2 competitive designs (YF-16 & YF-17)
  - ◆ USAF selected YF-16, to become *F-16 Fighting Falcon*
  - ◆ USN later developed YF-17 into *F/A 18 Hornet*
- ◆ USN adapted USAF-developed *AGM-65 Maverick* air-to-ground missile

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## 1970s: Basing Relationships

- ◆ USN took over USAF Kindley Field in Bermuda (Renamed NAS Bermuda) (1970)
- ◆ Naval Ordnance Test Unit (NOTU) – which supports test launches of US Navy submarine-launched ballistic missiles – moved headquarters from Patrick Air Force Base to Cape Canaveral Air Force Station (1977).

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations



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## 1970s: Context for USN–US Army relations CNA

World Events	Year	Administration	SECNAV	CNO	SECARMY	CSA	
Soviet Okean 70	1970	Nixon	Laird	Chafee	Zumwalt	Resor	Westmoreland
NPT treaty	1971						
Seabed Treaty							
India-Pakistan War	1972						
Pres. Nixon to China							
INCSEA/ABM Treaty	1973	Richardson	Warner		Callaway	Abrams	
US Vietnam Pullout							
USN-Soviet Navy Med	1974	Ford	Schlesinger	Middendorf	Holloway	Weyand	
Confrontation							
India nuclear test	1975						
South Vietnam falls							
USSR-Egypt	1976				Hoffmann	Rogers	
Treaty cancelled							
Panama Canal Treaty	1977	Carter	Brown	Claytor	Alexander		
Deng leads China							
Camp David Accords	1978						
Shah of Iran falls							
Taiwan Relations Act	1979			Hayward		Meyer	
Soviets Invade							
Afghanistan	1980						
Desert One debacle							
Mariel (Cuba) boatlift							

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (I) CNA

- ◆ Vietnam War spawned several close joint Army-Navy interactions in-country, specialized & ad hoc
  - ◆ Mobile Riverine Force, advisory teams, close air support, joint staffs & activities, joint training, PSYOPS, etc.
- ◆ Generally little interaction between the two services, once Vietnam war ended.
  - ◆ Occasional coordination; little integration
  - ◆ Operated mostly in different mediums in different theaters
- ◆ Post-Vietnam War, US Army re-focus on Soviet threat in Germany
  - ◆ 6 active Army ready divisions on the ground in SW Germany
  - ◆ Steady increase in Army Germany force levels during decade
- ◆ Army also forward on the ground in Korea

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ Central Army premise: Heavy combat forces will provide decisive defeat
- ◆ Army became avowedly & emphatically doctrine-based
  - ◆ US Army Training & Doctrine Command (TRADOC) established (1973)
  - ◆ Revised Army field manual FM 100-5 *Operations* (“active defense”) (1976)
    - ◆ Previous edition: 1968
  - ◆ Emphasis on defensive operations & the first battle
- ◆ Army’s National Training Center (NTC) opened at Fort Irwin CA (1980)

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ Army weapons acquisition & modernization programs:
  - ◆ Focus on “Big Five” 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)
- ◆ Army force structure changes
  - ◆ Only 13 active combat divisions (1973)
  - ◆ Creation of 3 additional Army combat divisions (1976)
    - ◆ Accomplished through plans to use Army Reserve and National Guard “round-out” brigades to “round out” active duty divisions in times of crisis or war
- ◆ Influence of Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur War on Army operational & tactical thinking (from 1973)

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (IV)

CNA

- ◆ Army TOA significantly higher than DON during Vietnam War; significantly lower after 1973
- ◆ Clash of USA/USN post-Vietnam War strategic visions
  - ◆ US Army re-focus almost solely on defending against heavy USSR ground threat in Germany
  - ◆ USN had more offensive & global view of war with USSR, & encompassing entire spectrum of operations & war
- ◆ After 1973, both services largely ignored counterinsurgency, low-intensity conflict, “nation building,” psychological operations
- ◆ Similar US Army & USN internal debates
  - ◆ Hi-lo mix; Army on cusp of new family of systems
  - ◆ Defensive vs. offensive operational concepts
  - ◆ “Battle of the 1<sup>st</sup> Salvo” analysis vs. campaign analyses

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (V)

CNA

- ◆ Army requirement for USN sealift & prepo
  - ◆ Desire to focus USN solely on convoy escort ops
  - ◆ NTPF support for Army in SWA contingencies
    - ◆ 1 ship of 7 deployed to Diego Garcia (1980)
- ◆ Army planned for infantry, air defense reinforcement of forward islands
  - ◆ Iceland, Azores, Aleutians
- ◆ USN adopted Army-developed Blackhawk H-60 airframe for new family of helicopters
- ◆ Army bought 7 USN Navy-designed LCUs
- ◆ Army-Navy Joint Logistics Over-The-Shore (JLOTS) exercises
- ◆ Demise of USN troop transport mission
  - ◆ Last MSC troop transports retired (1973)

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## 1970s: USN-US Army relations (VI)

CNA

- ◆ Army scarcely mentioned in Navy capstone documents of the 1970s
  - ◆ Mentioned in passing in *Project SIXTY, NWP 1 Strategic Concepts for the U.S. Navy*
  - ◆ Not mentioned at all in “Missions of the U.S. Navy,” *SEA PLAN 2000* executive summary, “Future of U.S. Sea Power”

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations

CNA





## 1970s: 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
- ◆ Exercises, education & training, tech transfer
  - ◆ A few international meeting & staff talks
  - ◆ NATO, Korea wartime integrated command structures
  - ◆ Few real-world multilateral ops (E.g.: Suez MCM)
- ◆ OPNAV, fleet commanders drove USN policy

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (II)

CNA

- ◆ International Seapower Symposia (ISS) on-going biennially at NavWarCol Newport RI (from 1969)
- ◆ NAVWARCOL curricula for foreign officers
- ◆ New international NAVWARCOL junior Naval Staff Course (1972)
- ◆ International Surface Warfare Officers School program launched (1972)

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### 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (III)

CNA

- ◆ Other foreign navy education & training in US
- ◆ Arms & technology transfers (both ways)
- ◆ Intel & communications collaboration
  - ◆ AUSCANZUKUS
- ◆ Expanding bi-lateral Navy staff talks programs
- ◆ USN Personnel Exchange Program (PEP) created
- ◆ USN Country, Area & Regional Specialist/ Specialty Officer (CARS/CARSO) programs established
  - ◆ Programs did not create or use the cadres as anticipated
- ◆ USN Intercultural Relations (ICR) teams established (from 1971)
  - ◆ Naples, Athens, Rota, La Maddalena, Yokosuka, etc.

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### 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (IV)

CNA

- ◆ CNO ADM Zumwalt initiative to encourage more allied contributions to wartime anti-Soviet sea control (1970+)
- ◆ Multilateral Suez Canal mine clearance ops (1974)
  - ◆ Facilitated by prior NATO interoperability programs
- ◆ Worldwide Naval Control & Protection of Shipping (NCAPS) network
  - ◆ USNR participates for USN
- ◆ International oceanographic cooperation

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (V)

CNA

### ◆ NATO relationships

- ◆ Command structures, staffs, plans & exercises
  - ◆ NATO LANT, Med commands headed by USN admirals
  - ◆ USN SSBNs assigned to NATO MNCs
  - ◆ “Swing” of USN Pacific forces a contentious issue
  - ◆ STANAVFORLANT routinely deployed (since 1968)
- ◆ Conceptual differences: Strike fleets, convoy escort, “swing” of USN Pacific forces
- ◆ Rationalization, standardization, interoperability
  - ◆ STANAGs, ATPs
  - ◆ Successful cooperative NATO SeaSparrow Surface Missile System development & deployment
- ◆ Carter-era NATO initiatives included some naval
- ◆ Intra-NATO issues: UK-Iceland “Cod Wars;” Cyprus War

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (VI)

CNA

### ◆ Royal Navy relationships (examples)

- ◆ RN F-4 instructors in USN F-4 Replacement Air Group (RAG), NAS Miramar
- ◆ RN carrier work-up using USN ranges (1971)
- ◆ USN bought 3 British-built Edenton-class salvage ships (1971-2)
- ◆ RN deployed US Polaris SLBM missiles as UK strategic deterrent, with USN assist
  - ◆ US assisted UK “Chevaline” program to improve penetration of UK SLBM warheads (1970s)
- ◆ RN paid off last fleet carrier (1978)

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (VII)

CNA

- ◆ French Navy flying USN-developed F-8E *Crusader* fighters (since 1964)
- ◆ USN installed Italian 76mm Oto Melara guns on Perry-class frigates, USCG cutters, Pegasus-class hydrofoils other ships (from 1977)

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (VIII)

CNA

- ◆ Bilateral JMSDF, ROKN, ROCN, RTN, RAN, RNZN relationships continue
  - ◆ US 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet forward basing in Japan facilitates close operational ties with JMSDF
- ◆ RIMPAC exercises (from 1971)
  - ◆ Initially AUSCANUKUS
- ◆ Quadripartite US-UK-AUS-NZ Navy staff talks
- ◆ S. Vietnamese Navy relationships (till 1973)
  - ◆ Advisors, assistance, combined ops, training
  - ◆ Accelerated Turnover to the Vietnamese (ACTOV)
  - ◆ “Pigs & chickens” programs
  - ◆ Personal Response (PR) Program

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (IX)

CNA

- ◆ CENTO MIDLINK annual exercises (till 1979)
  - ◆ US, UK, Iran, Pakistan
- ◆ US-fostered buildup of Imperial Iranian, Royal Saudi navies in Gulf
  - ◆ 79 F-14As to IIAF (1976-8); 4 DDGs to IIN (planned)
  - ◆ P-3F Orions & SH-3D Sea King helos to IIN

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (X)

CNA

- ◆ Latin American navy relationships
  - ◆ UNITAS exercises (since 1960)
    - ◆ USN SSN participation (since mid-1970s)
    - ◆ European navy participation (from 1979)
    - ◆ Amphibious exercise introduced (Brazilian Marines) (1980)
  - ◆ Inter-American Naval Conf (IANC) (since 1960)
  - ◆ Inter-American Naval Telecommunications Network (IANTN)
    - ◆ Secretariat established in Balboa, Panama (1972)
    - ◆ Secretariat incorporated Latin American naval officers (1976)
  - ◆ US sanctions on Chile precluded US arms sales, invitation for Chilean Navy to participate in UNITAS (1979)

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## 1970s: USN-foreign navy relations (XI)

CNA

- ◆ USN WATC exercises with West African navies
- ◆ INCSEA Agreement with Soviet Navy (1972)
  - ◆ Annual USN-Soviet Navy INCSEA meetings
- ◆ 1<sup>st</sup> USN-Soviet Navy reciprocal port visits (1975)



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## End of the 1970s: State of Navy

CNA

- ◆ Navy leadership ended decade with low morale
  - ◆ Concerns over increasing Soviet naval threat
  - ◆ Concerns over US national defense strategy
  - ◆ Concerns over USN capabilities & readiness
  - ◆ Concerns over declining ship numbers
- ◆ Some bright spots
  - ◆ New systems in fleet showing great promise
  - ◆ New institutions spawning renaissance of naval strategic, operational thinking (OP-603, NWC, etc.)
  - ◆ Fleet commanders energetically trying to devise new strategies, operations, tactics
  - ◆ Soviet aggressiveness alarming many, including post-mid-1979 Carter Administration
  - ◆ New internal USN consensus on USN rationale growing

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