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THE BOTTOM-UP REVIEW:

Forces For A New Era



**Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense**

September 1, 1993

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NEWS RELEASE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
(PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. - 20301

PLEASE NOTE DATE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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SECRETARY ASPIN ANNOUNCES BOTTOM UP REVIEW RESULTS

It was December 1991 at Georgetown University that candidate Bill Clinton pledged to "restructure our military forces for a new era." Today, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin announced fulfillment of that pledge. "We'll have a force based on tomorrow's requirements, a lean, mobile, high-tech force ready to protect Americans against the real dangers they face in this new era," Secretary Aspin said.

The review was a highly collaborative effort composed of a steering group chaired by the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and included representatives from the offices within the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, and the Services.

Its unprecedented scope encompasses all major elements of defense planning, from the formulation of strategy, to construction of force structure, to weapon system modernization, and finally the reconfiguring of the Department of Defense (DoD) infrastructure.

"It couldn't be any other way. The process has brought the civilian and military communities closer together. We've established a working relationship over the last five months that would have taken a year or two to develop with this review," said Secretary Aspin.

The Bottom-Up Review's analytic process reviewed both the new dangers and opportunities foreseen in the post-Cold War world. The review developed new military strategies and plans to carry out these strategies in force structure, weapons modernization, and new defense initiatives.

The review identifies force structure required to maintain the capabilities to win two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. In this force structure the Army will have 10 active divisions and 15 reserve brigades, the Navy will maintain 11 carrier battlegroups and one reserve carrier, the Marine Corps will have five active brigades and one reserve division, and the Air Force will retain 13 active duty and seven reserve fighter wings.

(MORE)



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EMBARGOED FOR 10:30 A.M. September 2, 1993

ASPIN DETAILS BOTTOM-UP REVIEW RESULTS

In remarks prepared for delivery to the National Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin outlined the Clinton administration's plan to restructure our military forces for the new era.

Georgetown University was chosen as a forum to address the Bottom-Up Review force structure because in December 1991, President Clinton, then a presidential hopeful, first announced his vision to restructure our military forces for America's national security in the post-Cold War era, said Secretary Aspin.

"I'm pleased to be back at Georgetown to announce the fulfillment of this pledge," said Secretary Aspin.

In comparing the Base Force and the Bottom-Up Review force structure, Aspin looked at the post-Cold War era in two revolutions. The first revolution was the fall of the Berlin Wall and a collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. This was the end of the Warsaw Pact. The second revolution was the fall of the Soviet Union. The Base Force was "a one-revolution" defense plan that responded to the security threat at the end of the first revolution, said Secretary Aspin.

"We need a new force structure, a 'two-revolution' defense plan that responds to the post-Cold War, post-Soviet threats," said Aspin.

Aspin spelled out the new dangers that faced by the United States in the post-Cold War era: regional conflicts; the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; a threat to our economic strength; and the failure of democratic reform in the former Soviet Bloc.

(more)

**Prepared Remarks by
Honorable Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense
Georgetown University
September 2, 1993**

Thank you very much. I'm delighted to be here. And given the subject I wanted to discuss today, I wanted to give this talk here at Georgetown University. That's because it was at this very university that, on December 1991, a presidential hopeful named Bill Clinton gave a major speech outlining his vision for America's national security in the post-Cold War era. In that speech, Bill Clinton outlined a number of objectives. But his number-one objective was this -- he said, and I quote, "we must restructure our military forces for a new era." Well, consider it done. I have come back here today to outline the Clinton administration's plan to restructure our military forces for the new era.

So let me say this -- on behalf of President Clinton, I'm pleased to be back at Georgetown to announce the fulfillment of this pledge.

The new Clinton force structure grew out of a major review by the Department of Defense of the military strategy, forces and defense programs we'll need for America's security in the new era. We called this comprehensive, start-from-scratch examination the Bottom-Up Review. So we're calling our new force structure the Bottom-Up Review force structure.

We're making available here today a copy of the force structure part of the Bottom-Up Review report. I hope you'll take one home, read it and let us know about any questions or comments you have. But for today, I'd like to take some time to talk about what's in it.

As you examine the details of the Bottom-Up Review force structure, it's natural to compare it to the defense program that we inherited from the previous Administration, which was based on a concept they called the Base Force. Comparing the Base Force with the Bottom-Up Review force is also useful, because it can help us look at where we've been, and where we're going.

Indeed, the difference between the Bottom-Up Review force and the Base Force distills the essence of this Administration's response to the new era.

So we need a new force structure, a "two-revolution" defense plan if you will, that responds to the post-Cold War, post-Soviet threats. Our advantage today over Base Force planners is that we now know the Soviet threat can't be revived; they couldn't know.

To fulfill President Clinton's campaign pledge to restructure our military forces for the new era, we needed to start our defense planning from scratch. For many years, so much of our defense program was geared against the Soviet threat. Now that the Soviet threat is gone, we needed to ask ourselves some pretty basic questions, starting with this one -- what should our defense establishment be geared against now?

As we looked around the world, what we came up with is this -- in the post-Cold War era, America faces four new dangers. One, regional conflicts. Two, the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Three, a threat to our economic strength. Four, the failure of democratic reform in the former Soviet Bloc.

Let me elaborate on these, because they were the driving force behind the Bottom-Up Review.

First, the danger from regional ethnic, and religious conflicts. These dangers don't put the existence of the United States at risk. But they could threaten vital American interests, American friends, American allies, and the American sense of decency.

This threat most directly drives our defense budget and the size and shape of our forces. It is extremely difficult to predict, but we can anticipate that regional conflicts will arise. And we must have the military capability to act to defend our interests -- either by ourselves if necessary or with allies if possible.

Second danger -- the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The area of the former Soviet Union still contains thousands of nuclear weapons whose security may be at risk with the removal of the old mechanisms of control. There are large numbers of people in the area with weapons-making knowledge whose expertise could wind up on the world market. Nations hostile to freedom and democracy, like Iraq and North Korea, are determined to acquire nuclear weapons. This concerns us, especially since more nations are developing ballistic missiles that can deliver weapons of mass destruction. So while the threat of massive Soviet nuclear attack has subsided, the new nuclear danger stems from the prospect of terrorists or rogue states with a handful of nuclear weapons.

Danger three -- failure to see our national security interests in a way that includes economic concerns. Economic well-being is vital to our security. President Clinton's economic program acknowledges this fundamental fact. Given the world

As we reduce our combat forces, we'll make related cuts -- support forces, the massive and costly infrastructure of bases, centralized maintenance and supply facilities -- all of which were built up during the Cold War. At the same time, we are committed to maintain, as our foremost priority, high-quality forces that are ready to fight, and we will spend the resources needed to do so.

But not every difference between the Bottom-Up Review force and the Base Force involves subtractions. Within the smaller overall forces, we'll actually make some additions compared to the Base Force. To take one example, our Marine Corps strength will be 174,000 active duty personnel, 15,000 more than the Base Force. Expanding the Marine Corps is important to our post-Cold War strategy. That strategy calls on the Marines to respond to a wide range of regional dangers and provide robust, flexible forces overseas in peacetime.

So the Bottom-Up Review will beef up some elements of the Base Force, even as overall force levels come down. And they will come down. Total active duty personnel will decline from 1.6 million to 1.4 million.

That's the bottom line of the Bottom-Up Review -- most elements of the force will be smaller. But not all the elements will decrease equally. Some will decrease proportionately less than others. In other words, we're changing the mix of forces to respond to the post-Cold War security challenges.

Let's take an example from the Navy -- attack submarines and carriers.

During the Cold War era, the most important mission for our naval forces was to counter the Soviet Navy -- to keep the Soviets from restricting our freedom of the seas, and to hunt down and, if necessary, "kill" Soviet missile-carrying submarines before they could launch their nuclear weapons at the United States. In this context, the attack submarine was one of our most valuable naval assets.

But in the post-Cold War, post-Soviet era, these missions essentially are no more. With out the Soviet Navy, no one challenges us for control of the seas. Now our naval forces must focus on projecting conventional power ashore in regional conflicts, particularly during the critical opening phase of a major conflict. In addition, they must "show the flag," that is, help maintain a significant U.S. presence overseas to uphold our international commitments. In this context, aircraft carriers are the centerpiece of our naval forces.

So during the Cold War era, we needed a substantial carrier and submarine force. During the post-Cold War era, we'll need less of each overall. But not proportionately less. We're changing the mix. As our forces overall get smaller, the number of carriers in the Bottom-Up Review force will decline much less than the number of attack submarines.

exclusively as an intercontinental nuclear bomber, it will be used primarily in regional conflicts to slip by enemy defenses and deliver precision-guided conventional weapons -- like the F-117 bomber was used during Operation Desert Storm. The B-2 will be our silver bullet.

That's my report on how the Bottom-Up Review force structure compares with the Base Force structure. I'm confident, and President Clinton and General Powell are confident, that our new force structure will protect and advance American interests into the next century. We're committed to maintaining an effective, ready-to-fight military force for the security challenges America faces in the post-Cold War world. The Bottom-Up Review force has put us on that track.

Thank you very much.

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Bottom-Up Review: What Does It Change?

Bottom
Up
Review

FY95 - 99

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Reduces about 115,000 civilian personnel
- **Reduces about 160,000 active personnel**
- **Cancels A/FX**
- **Cancels MRF**
- **Cancels F-16 after FY94**
- **Cancels F/A-18C/D after FY97**
- **Retires A-6**
- **Cuts 2 active Army divisions**
- **Cuts 1 reserve Army division**
- **Cuts 3 active Air Force fighter wings**
- **Cuts 4 reserve Air Force fighter wings**
- **Cuts 1 active Navy airwing**
- **Cuts 1 reserve Navy airwing**
- **Cuts 1 aircraft carrier**
- **Reduces carrier force level to 11**
- **Cuts 55 surface ships and submarines**



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**THE
BOTTOM-UP
REVIEW:**

Forces For A New Era



**Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense**

September 1, 1993

NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD

Introduction

The Cold War is behind us. The Soviet Union is no longer. The threat that drove our defense decision-making for four and a half decades — that determined our strategy and tactics, our doctrine, the size and shape of our forces, the design of our weapons, and the size of our defense budgets — is gone.

Now that the Cold War is over, the questions we face in the Department of Defense are: How do we structure the armed forces of the United States for the future? How much defense is enough in the post-Cold War era?

Several important events over the past four years underscore the revolutionary nature of recent changes in the international security environment and shed light on this new era and on America's future defense and security requirements.

- In 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism throughout Eastern Europe precipitated a strategic shift away from containment of the Soviet empire.
- In 1990, Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait signaled a new class of regional dangers facing America — dangers spurred not by a global, empire-building ideological power, but by rogue leaders set on regional domination through military aggression while simultaneously pursuing nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons capabilities. The world's response to Saddam's invasion also demonstrated the potential in the new era for broad-based, collective military action to thwart such tyrants.
- In 1991, the failed Soviet coup demonstrated the Russian people's desire for democratic change and hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union as a national entity and military foe.

In the aftermath of such epochal events, it has become clear that the framework that guided our security policy during the Cold War is inadequate for the future. We must determine the characteristics of this new era, develop a new strategy, and restructure our armed forces and defense programs accordingly. We cannot, as we did for the past several decades, premise this year's forces, programs, and budgets on incremental shifts from last year's efforts. We must rebuild our defense strategy, forces, and defense programs and budgets from the bottom up.

The purpose of the Bottom-Up Review is to define the strategy, force structure, modernization programs, industrial base, and infrastructure needed to meet new dangers and seize new opportunities.

An Era of New Dangers

Most striking in the transition from the Cold War is the shift in the nature of the dangers to our interests, as illustrated in Figure 1.

The new dangers fall into four broad categories:

- **Dangers posed by nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction**, including dangers associated with the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons as well as those associated with the large stocks of these weapons that remain in the former Soviet Union.
- **Regional dangers**, posed primarily by the threat of large-scale aggression by major regional powers with interests antithetical to our own, but also by the potential for smaller, often internal, conflicts based on ethnic or religious animosities, state-sponsored terrorism, and subversion of friendly governments.

New Dangers

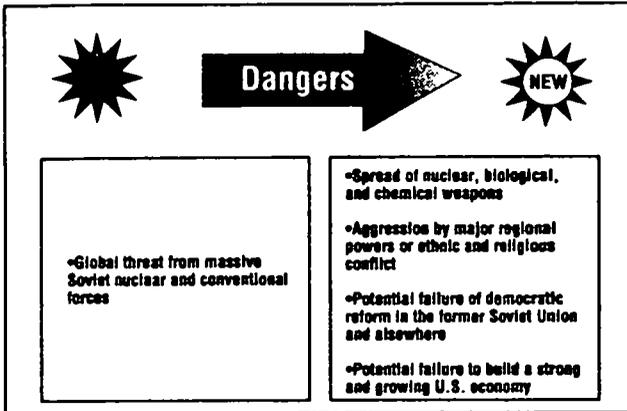


Figure 1

- **Dangers to democracy and reform**, in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere.

- **Economic dangers** to our national security, which could result if we fail to build a strong, competitive and growing economy.

Our armed forces are central to combating the first two dangers and can play a significant role in meeting the second two. Our predictions and conclusions about the nature and characteristics of these dangers will help mold our strategy and size and shape our future military forces.

An Era of New Opportunities

During the Cold War, few entertained realistic aspirations for a markedly safer, freer world. Our strategy of containment was, perforce, defensive in nature, designed primarily to hold the Soviet Union and China in check. Today, there is promise that we can replace the East-West confrontation of the Cold War with an era in which the community of nations, guided by a common commitment to democratic principles, free-market economics, and the rule of law, can be significantly enlarged.

As Figure 2 shows, beyond new dangers, there are new opportunities: realistic aspirations that, if we dedicate ourselves to pursue worthy goals, we can reach a world of greater safety, freedom, and prosperity. Our armed forces can contribute to this objective. In brief, we see new opportunities to:

- Expand and adapt our existing security partnerships and alliances and build a larger community of democratic nations.

- Promote new regional security arrangements and alliances to improve deterrence and reduce the potential for aggression by hostile regional powers.

- Implement the dramatic reductions in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the United States and the former Soviet Union achieved in the START I and II treaties.

- Protect and advance our security with fewer resources, freeing excess resources to be invested in other areas vital to our prosperity.

New Opportunities

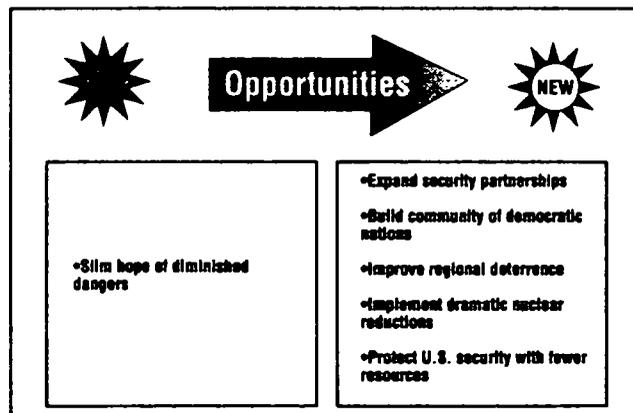


Figure 2

Objectives and Methodology of the Bottom-Up Review

We undertook the Bottom-Up Review to select the right strategy, force structure, modernization programs, and supporting industrial base and infrastructure to provide for America's defense in the post-Cold War era.

Figure 3 shows the step-by-step process we used to develop key assumptions, broad principles, and general objectives and translate them into a specific plan for our strategy, forces, and defense resources.

These steps included:

1. Assessing the post-Cold War era, and particularly the new dangers, opportunities, and uncertainties it presents.
2. Devising a U.S. defense strategy to protect and advance our interests in this new period.

Methodology of the Bottom-Up Review

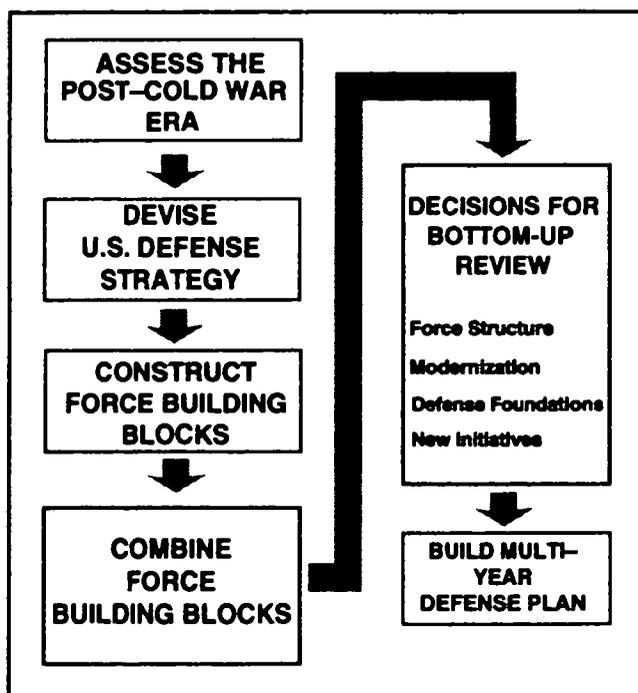


Figure 3

3. Constructing building blocks of forces to implement this strategy.

4. Combining these force building blocks to produce options for our overall force structure.

5. Complementing the force structure with weapons acquisition programs to modernize our forces, defense foundations to sustain them, and policy initiatives to address new dangers and take advantage of new opportunities.

With the Bottom-Up Review now complete, we will utilize its results to build a multi-year plan for America's future security, detailing the forces, programs, and defense budgets the United States needs to protect and advance its interests in the post-Cold War period.

The Bottom-Up Review represented a close collaboration between the civilian and military sectors of the Department of Defense. Task forces were established—including representatives from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the unified and specified commands, each of the armed services and, where appropriate, other defense agencies—to review the major issues entailed in planning defense strategy, forces, modernization programs, and other defense foundations. Numerous studies helped to formulate the key issues for decisionmakers and provided the analytical underpinning for our review.

We offer this plan for public consideration as a means of forming a new national consensus on America's strategic role in global affairs, the military instruments needed to fulfill that role, and the level of resources necessary to provide those instruments.

Building Future Capabilities: Guiding Principles

Certain other underlying principles guided our effort during the Bottom-Up Review. In his inaugural address, President Clinton pledged to keep America's military the best trained, best equipped, best prepared

fighting force in the world. To fulfill that pledge, we must keep it the focus of our effort throughout the planning, programming, and budgeting process.

First, we must **keep our forces ready to fight**. We have already witnessed the challenges posed by the new dangers in operations like Just Cause (Panama), Desert Storm (Iraq), and Restore Hope (Somalia). Each of these was a "come as you are" campaign with little time to prepare our forces for the challenges they met.

The new dangers thus demand that we keep our forces ready to fight as a top priority in allocating scarce defense resources. We must adequately fund operations and maintenance accounts, maintain sufficient stocks of spare parts, keep our forces well-trained and equipped, and take the other steps essential to preserving readiness.

A key element of maintaining forces ready to fight is to **maintain the quality of our people**, so that they remain the best fighting force in the world. This means keeping our personnel highly motivated by treating them fairly and maintaining their quality of life. It also means continuing to recruit talented young men and women, expanding career opportunities for all service personnel, and putting in place programs to ease the transition to civilian life for many of our troops as we bring down the size of our forces.

We must also **maintain the technological superiority** of our weapons and equipment. Operation Desert Storm demonstrated that we produce the best weapons and military equipment in the world. This technological edge helps us to achieve victory more swiftly and with fewer casualties. We must design a balanced modernization program that will safeguard this edge and the necessary supporting industrial base without buying more weapons than we need or can afford.

FORCES TO IMPLEMENT OUR DEFENSE STRATEGY

Major Regional Conflicts

During the Cold War, our military planning was dominated by the need to confront numerically superior Soviet forces in Europe, the Far East, and Southwest Asia. Now, our focus is on the need to project power into regions important to our interests and to defeat potentially hostile regional powers, such as North Korea and Iraq. Although these powers are unlikely to threaten the United States directly, these countries and others like them have shown that they are willing and able to field forces sufficient to threaten important U.S. interests, friends, and allies. Operation Desert Storm was a powerful demonstration of the need to counter such regional aggression.

Potential regional aggressors are expected to be capable of fielding military forces in the following ranges:

- 400,000 – 750,000 total personnel under arms
- 2,000 – 4,000 tanks
- 3,000 – 5,000 armored fighting vehicles
- 2,000 – 3,000 artillery pieces
- 500 – 1,000 combat aircraft
- 100 – 200 naval vessels, primarily patrol craft armed with surface-to-surface missiles, and up to 50 submarines
- 100 – 1000 Scud-class ballistic missiles, some possibly with nuclear, chemical, or biological warheads.

Military forces of this size can threaten regions important to the United States because allied or friendly states are often unable to match the power of such a potentially aggressive neighbor. Hence, we must prepare our forces to assist those of our friends and allies in deterring, and ultimately, defeating aggression, should it occur.

Scenarios as Planning Tools. Every war that the United States has fought has been different from the last, and different from what defense planners had envisioned. For example, the majority of the bases and facilities used by the United States and its coalition partners in Operation Desert Storm were built in the 1980s, when we envisioned a Soviet invasion through Iran to be the principal threat to the Gulf region. In planning forces capable of fighting and winning major regional conflicts (MRCs), we must avoid preparing for past wars. History suggests that we most often deter the conflicts that we plan for and actually fight the ones we do not anticipate.

For planning and assessment purposes, we have selected two illustrative scenarios that are both plausible and that posit demands characteristic of those that could be posed by conflicts with a wide range of regional powers. While a number of scenarios were examined, the two that we focused on most closely in the Bottom-Up Review envisioned aggression by a remilitarized Iraq against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and by North Korea against the Republic of Korea.

Neither of these scenarios should be regarded as a prediction of future conflicts, but each provides a useful representation of the challenge presented by a well-armed regional power initiating aggression thousands of miles from the United States. As such, the scenarios serve as yardsticks against which to assess, in gross terms, the capabilities of U.S. forces. Figure 4 illustrates the scenarios and their relationship to planning for force employment across a range of potential conflicts.

In each scenario, we examined the performance of projected U.S. forces in relation to many critical parameters, including warning time, the threat, terrain, weather, duration of hostilities, and combat intensity. Overall, these scenarios were representative of likely ranges of these critical parameters.

Both scenarios assumed a similar enemy operation: an armor-heavy, combined-arms offensive against the outnumbered forces of a neighboring state. U.S. forces, most of which were not present in the region when hostilities commenced, had to deploy to the region quickly, supplement indigenous forces, halt the invasion, and defeat the aggressor.

Such a short-notice scenario, in which only a modest number of U.S. forces are in a region at the commencement of hostilities, is both highly stressing and plausible. History shows that we frequently fail to anticipate the location and timing of aggression, even large-scale attacks against our interests. In such cases,

it may also not be possible, prior to an attack, to reach a political consensus on the proper U.S. response or to convince our allies to grant U.S. forces access to facilities in their countries.

We also expect that the United States will often be fighting as the leader of a coalition, with allies providing some support and combat forces. As was the case in Desert Storm, the need to defend common interests should prompt our allies in many cases to contribute capable forces to the war effort. However, our forces must be sized and structured to preserve the flexibility and the capability to act unilaterally, should we choose to do so.

Scenarios as Planning Tools

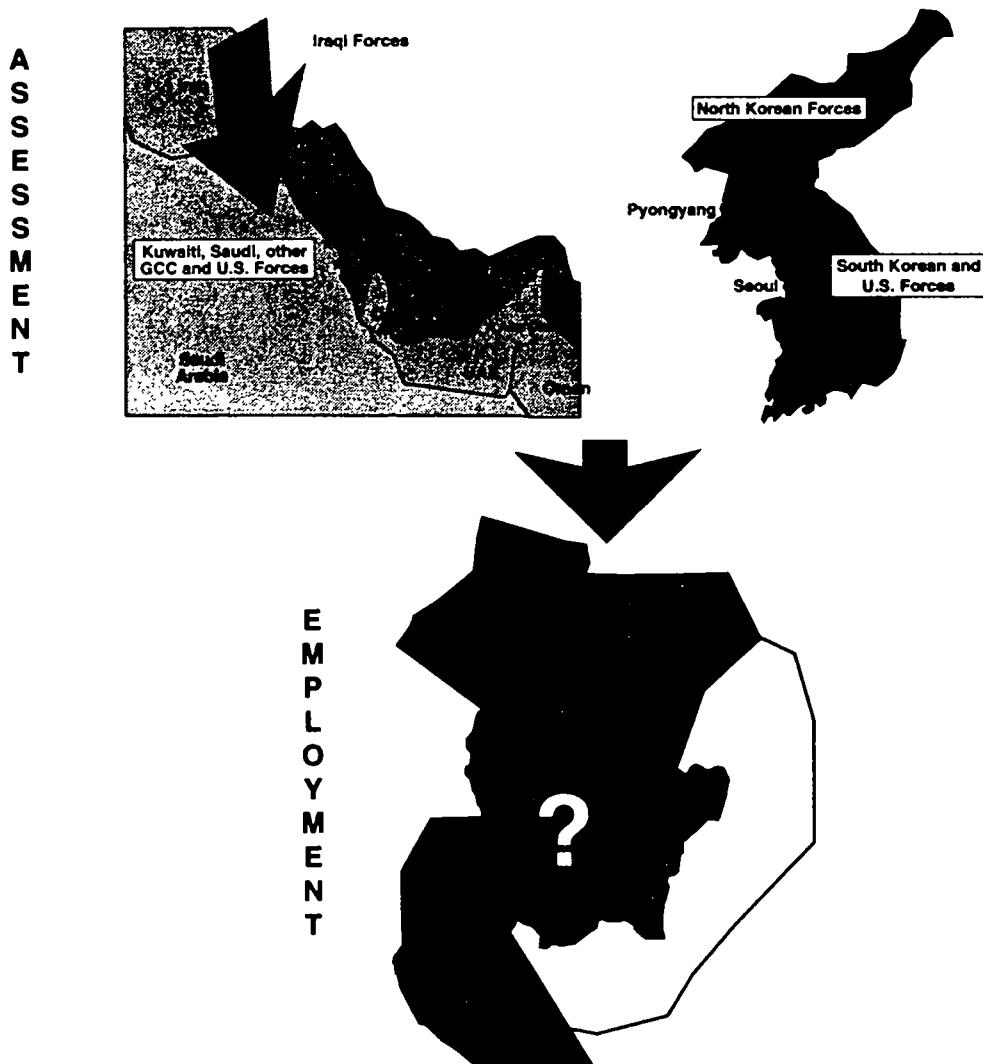


Figure 4

The Four Phases of U.S. Combat Operations

Our first priority in preparing for regional conflicts is to prevent them from ever occurring. This is the purpose of our overseas presence forces and operations, joint exercises, and other military capabilities — to deter potential regional aggressors from even contemplating an attack. Should deterrence fail and conflict occur, it is envisioned that combat operations would unfold in four main phases:

Phase 1: Halt the invasion. The highest priority in defending against a large-scale attack will most often be to minimize the territory and critical facilities that the invader can capture. Should important strategic assets fall to the invader, it might attempt to use them as bargaining chips. In addition, stopping the invasion quickly may be key to ensuring that the threatened ally can continue its crucial role in the collective effort to defeat the aggressor. Further, the more territory the enemy captures, the greater the price to take it back: The number of forces required for the counteroffensive to repel an invasion can increase, with correspondingly greater casualties, depending on the progress the enemy makes. In the event of a short-warning attack, more U.S. forces would need to deploy rapidly to the theater and enter the battle as quickly as possible.

Phase 2: Build up U.S. combat power in the theater while reducing the enemy's. Once the enemy attack had been stopped and the front stabilized, U.S. and allied efforts would focus on continuing to build up combat forces and logistics support in the theater while reducing the enemy's capacity to fight. Land, air, maritime, and special operations forces from the United States and coalition countries would continue to arrive. These forces would seek to ensure that the enemy did not regain the initiative on the ground, and they would mount sustained attacks to reduce the enemy's military capabilities in preparation for the combined-arms counteroffensive.

Phase 3: Decisively defeat the enemy. In the third phase, U.S. and allied forces would seek to mount

a large-scale, air-land counteroffensive to defeat the enemy decisively by attacking his centers of gravity, retaking territory he had occupied, destroying his war-making capabilities, and successfully achieving other operational or strategic objectives.

Phase 4: Provide for post-war stability. Although a majority of U.S. and coalition forces would begin returning to their home bases, some forces might be called upon to remain in the theater after the enemy had been defeated to ensure that the conditions that resulted in conflict did not recur. These forces could help repatriate prisoners, occupy and administer some or all of the enemy's territory, or to ensure compliance with the provisions of war-termination or cease-fire agreements.

Forces for Combat Operations

Described below are the types of forces that are needed to conduct joint combat operations in all four phases of an MRC.

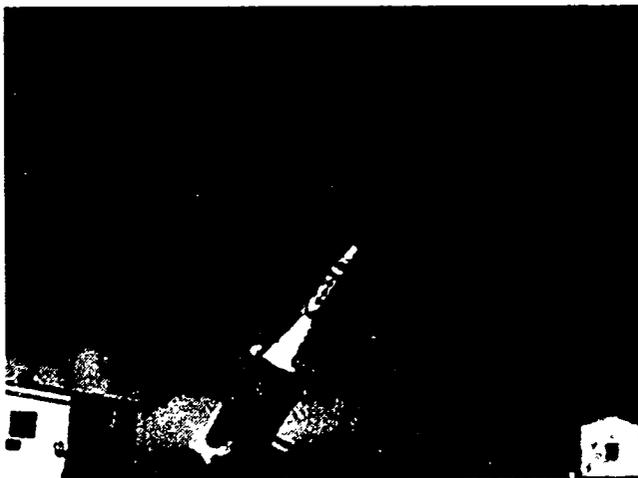
Forces for Phase 1. Primary responsibility for the initial defense of their territory rests, of course, with our allies. As forces of the besieged country move to blunt an attack, U.S. forces already in the theater would move rapidly to provide assistance. However, as already mentioned, we are drawing down our overseas presence in response to the end of the Cold War. Thus, the bulk of our forces, even during the early stages of conflict, would have to come from the United States. This places a premium on rapidly deployable yet highly lethal forces to blunt an attack.

The major tasks to be performed in this phase and beyond are:

- Help allied forces establish a viable defense that halts enemy ground forces before they can achieve critical objectives.
- Delay, disrupt, and destroy enemy ground forces and damage the roads along which they are moving, in order to halt the attack. U.S. attacks would be mounted by a combination of land- and seabased

strike aircraft, heavy bombers, long-range tactical missiles, ground maneuver forces with antiarmor capabilities, and special operations forces.

- Protect friendly forces and rear-area assets from attack by aircraft or cruise and ballistic missiles, using land and sea-based aircraft, ground- and sea-based surface-to-air missiles, and special operations forces.
- Establish air superiority and suppress enemy air defenses as needed, including those in rear areas and those accompanying invading ground forces, using land- and sea-based strike and jamming aircraft as well as surface-to-surface missiles, such as the Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS).
- Destroy high-value targets, such as weapons of mass destruction, and degrade the enemy's ability to prosecute military operations through attacks focused on his central command, control, and communications facilities. For such attacks, we would rely heavily on long-range bombers, land and sea-based strike aircraft, cruise missiles, and special operations forces.
- Establish maritime superiority, using naval task forces with mine countermeasure ships, in order to ensure access to ports and sea lines of communication, and as a precondition for amphibious assaults.



An ATACMS launch.

Forces for Phase 2. Many of the same forces employed in Phase 1 would be used in the second phase to perform similar tasks — grinding down the enemy's military potential while additional U.S. and other coalition combat power is brought into the region. As more land- and sea-based air forces arrived, emphasis would shift from halting the invasion to isolating enemy ground forces and destroying them, destroying enemy air and naval forces, destroying stocks of supplies, and broadening attacks on military-related targets in the enemy's rear area. These attacks could be supplemented with direct and indirect missile and artillery fire from ground, air, and sea forces.

Meanwhile, other U.S. forces, including heavy ground forces, would begin arriving in the theater to help maintain the defensive line established at the end of Phase I and to begin preparations for the counteroffensive.

Forces for Phase 3. The centerpiece of Phase 3 would be the U.S. and allied counteroffensive, aimed at engaging, enveloping, and destroying or capturing enemy ground forces occupying friendly territory. Major tasks within the counteroffensive include:

- Breaching tactical and protective minefields.
- Maneuvering to envelop or flank and destroy enemy forces, including armored vehicles in dug-in positions.
- Conducting or threatening an amphibious invasion.
- Dislodging and defeating infantry fighting from dug-in positions; defeating light infantry in urban terrain.
- Destroying enemy artillery.
- Locating and destroying mobile enemy reserves.

Combat power in this phase would include highly mobile armored, mechanized, and air assault forces, supported by the full complement of air power, special

operations forces, and land- and sea-based fire support. Amphibious forces would provide additional operational flexibility to the theater commander.

Forces for Phase 4. Finally, a smaller complement of joint forces would remain in the theater once the enemy had been defeated. These forces might include a carrier battle group, one to two wings of fighters, a division or less of ground forces, and special operations units.

Supporting Capabilities

The foregoing list of forces for the various phases of combat operations included only combat force elements. Several types of support capabilities would play essential roles throughout all phases.

Airlift. Adequate airlift capacity is needed to bring in forces and materiel required for the first weeks of an operation. In Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, the United States delivered to the Gulf region, on average, more than 2,400 tons of material per day by airlift. We anticipate that at least the same level of lift capacity will be needed to support high-intensity military operations in the opening phase of a future MRC and to help sustain operations thereafter.

Prepositioning. Prepositioning heavy combat equipment and supplies, both ashore and afloat, can greatly reduce both the time required to deploy forces to distant regions and the number of airlift sorties devoted to moving such supplies. Initiatives now underway will accelerate the arrival of the Army's heavy forces in distant theaters.

Sealift. In any major regional conflict, most combat equipment and supplies would be transported by sea. While airlift and prepositioning provide the most rapid response for deterrence and initial defense, the deployment of significant heavy ground and air forces, their support equipment, and sustainment must come by sea.

Battlefield Surveillance; Command, Control and Communications. Accurate information on the

location and disposition of enemy forces is a prerequisite for effective military operations. Hence, our planning envisions the early deployment of reconnaissance and command and control aircraft and ground-based assets to enable our forces to see the enemy and to pass information quickly through all echelons of our forces. Total U.S. intelligence and surveillance capability will be less than it was during the Cold War, but it will be better able to provide timely information to battlefield commanders. Advanced systems, such as the Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS), the upgraded Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), and the MILSTAR satellite communications system, will ensure that U.S. forces have a decisive advantage in tactical intelligence and communications.



Maritime prepositioning ships.

Advanced Munitions. As U.S. operations in the Gulf War demonstrated, advanced precision-guided munitions can dramatically increase the effectiveness of U.S. forces. Precision-guided munitions already in the U.S. inventory (for example, laser-guided bombs) as well as new types of munitions still under development are needed to ensure that U.S. forces can operate successfully in future MRCs and other types of conflicts. New "smart" and "brilliant" munitions under development hold promise of dramatically improving the capabilities of U.S. air, ground, and maritime forces to destroy enemy armored vehicles and halt invading ground forces, as well as destroy fixed targets at longer ranges, reducing exposure to enemy air defenses.

Aerial Refueling. Large numbers of aerial-refueling aircraft would be needed to support many components of a U.S. theater campaign. Fighter aircraft deploying over long distances require aerial refueling. Airlifters can also carry more cargo longer distances if enroute aerial refueling is available. Aerial surveillance and control platforms, such as AWACS and JSTARS, also need airborne refueling in order to achieve maximum mission effectiveness.

The MRC Building Block

In planning future force structure and allocating resources, we established forces levels and support which should enable us to win one MRC across a wide range of likely conflicts. Our detailed analyses of future MRCs, coupled with military judgment of the outcomes, suggest that the following forces will be adequate to execute the strategy outlined above for a single MRC:

- 4 – 5 Army divisions
- 4 – 5 Marine Expeditionary Brigades
- 10 Air Force fighter wings
- 100 Air Force heavy bombers
- 4 – 5 Navy aircraft carrier battle groups
- Special operations forces

These forces constitute a prudent building block for force planning purposes. In the event of an actual regional conflict, our response would depend on the nature and scale of the aggression and circumstances elsewhere in the world. If the initial defense fails to halt the invasion quickly, or if circumstances in other parts of the world permit, U.S. decisionmakers may decide to commit more forces than those listed (for example, two additional Army divisions.) These added forces would help either to achieve the needed advantage over the enemy, to mount the decisive counteroffensive, or accomplish more ambitious war objectives, such as the complete destruction of the enemy's war-making potential. But our analysis also led us to the conclusion that enhancements to our military forces, focused on ensuring our ability to conduct a successful initial defense, would both reduce our overall ground

force requirements and increase the responsiveness and effectiveness of our power projection forces.



U.S. Marines conducting amphibious assault exercise.

Fighting Two MRCs

In this context, we decided early in the Bottom-Up review that the United States must field forces sufficient to fight and win two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. This is prudent for two reasons:

- First, we need to avoid a situation in which the United States in effect makes simultaneous wars more likely by leaving an opening for potential aggressors, to attack their neighbors, should our engagement in a war in one region leave little or no force available to respond effectively to defend our interests in another.

- Second, fielding forces sufficient to win two wars nearly simultaneously provides a hedge against the possibility that a future adversary — or coalition of adversaries — might one day confront us with a larger-than-expected threat. In short, it is difficult to predict precisely what threats we will confront ten to twenty years from now. In this dynamic and unpredictable post-Cold War world we must maintain military capabilities that are flexible and sufficient to cope with unforeseen threats.

For the bulk of our ground, naval, and air forces, fielding forces sufficient to provide this capability involves duplicating the MRC building block described above. However, in planning our overall force struc-

ture, we must recognize two other factors. First, we must have sufficient strategic lift to deploy forces when and where we need them. Second, certain specialized high-leverage units or unique assets might be "dual tasked," that is, used in both MRCs.

For example, certain advanced aircraft — such as B-2s, F-117s, JSTARs, AWACS, and EF-111s — that we have purchased in limited numbers because of their expense would probably be dual-tasked.

Force Enhancements to Support Our Strategy

As previously mentioned, we have already undertaken or are planning a series of enhancements to our

forces to improve their capability, flexibility, and lethality. These enhancements are especially geared toward buttressing our ability to conduct a successful initial defense in any major regional conflict.

As shown in Figure 5, these enhancements include improving: (1) strategic mobility through more prepositioning and enhancements to airlift and sealift; (2) the strike capabilities of aircraft carriers; (3) the lethality of Army firepower; and (4) the ability of long-range bombers to deliver conventional smart munitions.

Strategic Mobility. Our plans call for substantial enhancements to our strategic mobility — most of

Force Enhancements to Halt a Short-Warning Attack

		Today's Force	Future Force
Persian Gulf Region	Prepo	1 Battalion Training Set 1 Maritime Prepositioning Ship (MPS) Squadron 7 Prepositioning Ships	2 Brigade Sets ashore 1 Brigade Set afloat* 1 MPS Squadron 7 Prepositioning Ships
	Forces	1 Carrier Battle Group (Tether)	1 Carrier Battle Group (Tether)
PHASE I Halt invasion		FAIR - Lack of heavy forces to help stop invader - Insufficient prepositioning - Limited antiarmor capability - Limited Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM) capability	GOOD - 3 heavy brigade sets of prepositioned equipment - Increased early-arriving land-based and carrier aircraft and long-range bombers - Air, land, and sea antiarmor enhancements - Improved ATBM capability
	PHASE II Build Up Forces in Theater for Counteroffensive	FAIR - Slow closure due to modest sealift capability	GOOD - Airlift and sealift upgrades support rapid closure of heavy forces
KOREA	Prepo	1 Brigade-Sized Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) 1 MPS Squadron	1 Brigade Set ashore 1 Brigade Set afloat* 2 Brigade-sized MEF (2 MPS Squadrons)
	Forces	1 Division (2 Brigades) 2.4 Fighter Wings 1 Carrier Battle Group 1 MEF	1 Division (2 Brigades) 2.4 Fighter Wings 1 Carrier Battle Group 1 MEF
PHASE I Halt invasion		GOOD - Substantial in-place forces - Established Command, Control and Communications/Intelligence (C3I) network - Rapid reinforcement from Japan, Okinawa - Limited ATBM capability	GOOD - 2 heavy brigade sets of prepositioned equipment - Increased early-arriving land-based and carrier aircraft and long-range bombers - Air, land, and sea antiarmor enhancements - Improved ATBM capability
	PHASE II Build Up Forces in Theater for Counteroffensive	FAIR - Slow closure due to modest sealift capability	GOOD - Airlift and sealift upgrades support rapid closure of heavy forces

* Brigade Set would be positioned to "swing" to either region.

Figure 5

which were first identified in the 1991 Mobility Requirements Study (MRS). First, we will either continue the program to purchase and deploy the C-17 airlifter or purchase other airlifters to replace our aging C-141 transport aircraft. Development of the C-17 has been troubled from the start and we will continue to monitor the program's progress closely, but significant, modern, flexible airlift capacity is essential to our defense strategy. A decision on the C-17 will be made after a thorough review by the Defense Acquisition Board is completed over the next several weeks. Second, we plan to keep an Army brigade set of heavy armor afloat on ships deployed abroad that could be sent either to the Persian Gulf or to Northeast Asia on short notice. Other repositioning initiatives would accelerate the arrival of Army heavy units in Southwest Asia and Korea. Third, we will increase the capacity of our surge sealift fleet to transport forces and equipment rapidly from the United States to distant regions by purchasing additional roll-on/roll-off ships. Fourth, we will improve the readiness and responsiveness of the Ready Reserve Force (RRF) through a variety of enhancements. Finally, we will fund various efforts to improve the "fort-to-port" flow of personnel, equipment, and supplies in the United States.

Naval Strike Aircraft. The Navy is examining a number of innovative ways to improve the firepower aboard its aircraft carriers. First, the Navy will improve its strike potential by providing a precision ground-attack capability to many of its F-14 aircraft. It will also acquire stocks of new "brilliant" antiarmor weapons for delivery by attack aircraft. Finally, the Navy plans to develop the capability to fly additional squadrons of F/A-18s to forward-deployed aircraft carriers that would be the first to arrive in response to a regional contingency. These additional aircraft would increase the power of the carriers during the critical early stages of a conflict.

Army Firepower. The Army is developing new, smart submunitions that can be delivered by ATACMS, the Multiple-Launch Rocket System (MLRS), the Tri-Service Standoff Attack Missile (TSSAM) now under development, and by standard tube artillery. In addition, the Longbow fire control radar system will in-

crease the effectiveness and survivability of the AH-64 Apache attack helicopter. We are also examining more prepositioning of ATACMS and MLRS and having Apaches self-deploy from their overseas bases so that all would be available in the early stages of a conflict.

Air Force Long-Range Bombers and Munitions. The Air Force enhancements will be in two areas, bombers and munitions. First, we plan to modify the Air Force's B-1 and B-2 long-range, heavy bombers to improve their ability to deliver "smart" conventional munitions against attacking enemy forces and fixed targets. Second, we will develop all-weather munitions. For example, the Air Force is developing a guidance package for a tactical munitions dispenser filled with anti-armor submunitions that can be used in all types of weather. These programs will dramatically increase our capacity to attack and destroy critical targets in the crucial opening days of a short-warning conflict.

In addition, two other force enhancements are important to improving our ability to respond to the demanding requirement of two nearly simultaneous MRCs:

Reserve Component Forces. We have undertaken several initiatives to improve the readiness and flexibility of Army National Guard combat units and other Reserve Component forces in order to make them more readily available for MRCs and other tasks. For example, one important role for combat elements of the Army National Guard is to provide forces to supplement active divisions, should more ground combat power be needed to deter or fight a second MRC. In the future, Army National Guard combat units will be better trained, more capable, and more ready. If mobilized early during a conflict, brigade-sized units could provide extra security and flexibility if a second conflict arose while the first was still going on. In addition, the Navy plans to increase the capability and effectiveness of its Navy/Marine Corps Reserve Air Wing through the introduction of a reserve/training aircraft carrier.

Allied Military Capabilities. We will continue to help our allies in key regions improve their own defense capabilities. For example, we are assisting South Korea in its efforts to modernize its armed forces and take on greater responsibility for its own defense — including conclusion of an agreement to co-produce F-16 aircraft.

In Southwest Asia, we are continuing to improve our defense ties with our friends and allies in the region through defense cooperation agreements, more frequent joint and combined exercises, equipment prepositioning, frequent force deployments, and security assistance. We are also providing modern weapons, such as the M1A2 tank to Kuwait and the Patriot system to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, to improve the self-defense capabilities of our friends and allies in the Gulf region.

Peace Enforcement and Intervention Operations

The second set of operations for which we must shape and size our forces includes peace enforcement and intervention. The types, numbers, and sophistication of weapons in the hands of potential adversaries in such operations can vary widely, with enforcement-type operations being the most demanding. For planning purposes, we assume that the threat we would face would include a mix of regular and irregular forces possessing mostly light weapons, supplemented by moderately sophisticated systems, such as antitank and antiship guided missiles, surface-to-air missiles, land and sea mines, T-54 and T-72-class tanks, armored personnel carriers, and towed artillery and mortars. Adversary forces might also possess a limited number of mostly older combat aircraft (e.g., MiG-21s, 23s), a few smaller surface ships, (e.g., patrol craft), and perhaps a few submarines.

In most cases, U.S. involvement in peace enforcement operations would be as part of a multinational effort under the auspices of the United Nations or another international body. U.S. and coalition forces would have several key objectives in a peace enforce-

ment or intervention operation, each of which would require certain types of combat forces to achieve:

- Forced entry into defended airfields, ports, and other facilities and seizing and holding these facilities.
- Controlling the movement of troops and supplies across borders and within the target country, including enforcing a blockade or quarantine of maritime commerce.
- Establishing and defending zones in which civilians are protected from external attacks.
- Securing protected zones from internal threats, such as snipers, terrorist attacks, and sabotage.
- Preparing to turn over responsibility for security to peacekeeping units and/or a reconstituted administrative authority.

The prudent level of forces that should be planned for a major intervention or peace enforcement operation is:

- 1 air assault or airborne division
- 1 light infantry division
- 1 Marine Expeditionary Brigade
- 1 – 2 carrier battle groups
- 1 – 2 composite wings of Air Force aircraft
- Special operations forces
- Civil affairs units
- Airlift and sealift forces
- Combat support and service support units
- 50,000 total combat and support personnel.

These capabilities can be provided largely by the same collection of general purpose forces needed for the MRCs, so long as those forces had the appropriate training needed for peacekeeping or peace enforcement. This means that the United States would have to forgo the option of conducting sizable peace enforcement or intervention operations at the same time it was fighting two MRCs.

Overseas Presence

The final set of requirements that we use to size general purpose forces are those related to sustaining the overseas presence of U.S. military forces. U.S. forces deployed abroad protect and advance our interests and perform a wide range of functions that contribute to our security.

The Bottom-Up Review reached a number of conclusions on the future size and shape of our overseas presence.

In **Europe**, we will continue to provide leadership in a reinvigorated NATO, which has been the bedrock of European security for over four decades. We plan to retain about 100,000 troops there — a commitment that will allow the United States to continue to play a leading role in the NATO alliance and provide a robust capability for multinational training and crisis response. This force will include about two and one-third wings of Air Force fighters and substantial elements of two Army divisions, along with a corps headquarters and other supporting elements. Equipment for bringing these in-place divisions to full strength will remain prepositioned in Europe, along with the equipment of one additional division that would deploy to the region in the event of conflict.

U. S. Army forces will participate in two multinational corps with German forces. Their training will focus on missions involving rapid deployment to conflicts outside of central Europe and “nontraditional” operations, such as peace enforcement, in addition to their long-standing mission of stabilization of central Europe. These missions might lead, over time, to changes in the equipment and configuration of Army units stationed in Europe. The Air Force will continue to provide unique theater intelligence, lift, and all-weather precision-strike capabilities critical to U.S. and NATO missions. In addition, U.S. Navy ships and submarines will continue to patrol the Mediterranean Sea and other waters surrounding Europe.

In **Northeast Asia**, we also plan to retain close to 100,000 troops. As recently announced by President

Clinton, our commitment to South Korea’s security remains undiminished, as demonstrated by the one U.S. Army division consisting of two brigades and one wing of U.S. Air Force combat aircraft we have stationed there. In light of the continuing threat of aggression from North Korea, we have frozen our troop levels in South Korea and are modernizing South Korean and American forces on the peninsula. We are also exploring the possibility of repositioning more military equipment in South Korea to increase our crisis-response capability. While plans call for the eventual withdrawal of one of our two Army brigades from South Korea, President Clinton recently reiterated that our troops will stay in South Korea as long as its people want and need us there.

On Okinawa, we will continue to station a Marine Expeditionary Force and an Army special forces battalion. In Japan, we have homeported the aircraft carrier *Independence*, the amphibious assault ship *Bellau Wood*, and their support ships. We will also retain approximately one and one-half wings of Air Force combat aircraft in Japan and Okinawa, and the Navy’s Seventh Fleet will continue to routinely patrol the western Pacific.



U.S. F-15 fighter leads two Japanese Self Defense fighters.

In **Southwest Asia**, local sensitivities to a large-scale Western military presence on land necessitate heavier reliance on periodic deployments of forces, rather than routine stationing of forces on the ground. The Navy’s Middle East Force of four to six ships,

which has been continuously on patrol in the Persian Gulf since 1945, will remain. In addition, we plan to have a brigade-sized set of equipment in Kuwait to be used by rotating deployments of U.S. forces that will train and exercise there with their Kuwaiti counterparts. We are also exploring options to preposition a second brigade set elsewhere on the Arabian peninsula.

These forces have been supplemented temporarily by several squadrons of land-based combat aircraft that have remained in the Gulf region since Operation Desert Storm and, along with other coalition aircraft, are now helping to enforce U.N. resolutions toward Iraq.

Another significant element of our military posture in Southwest Asia is the equipment prepositioned on ships that are normally anchored at Diego Garcia. In addition to a brigade-sized set of equipment for the Marine Corps, we have seven afloat prepositioning ships supporting Army, Air Force, and Navy forces.

In **Africa**, we will continue important formal and informal access agreements to key facilities and ports which allow our forces to transit or stop on the African continent. We will also deploy forces to Africa, as in recent operations like Sharp Edge (Liberia) and Restore Hope (Somalia), when our interests are threatened or our assistance is needed and requested. Today, more than 4,000 U.S. troops remain deployed in Somalia as part of the U.N. force seeking to provide humanitarian assistance to that country.

In **Latin America**, our armed forces will help to promote and expand recent trends toward democracy in many countries. They will also continue to work in concert with the armed forces and police of Latin American countries to combat drug traffickers. The United States will also retain a military presence in Panama, acting as Panama's partner in operating and defending the Canal during the transition to full Panamanian control of the canal in 1999.

Naval Presence. Sizing our naval forces for two nearly simultaneous MRCs provides a fairly large and

robust force structure that can easily support other, smaller regional operations. However, our overseas presence needs can impose requirements for naval forces, especially aircraft carriers, that exceed those needed to win two MRCs. The flexibility of our carriers, and their ability to operate effectively with relative independence from shore bases, makes them well suited to overseas presence operations, especially in areas such as the Persian Gulf, where our land-based military infrastructure is relatively underdeveloped. For these reasons, the force of carriers, amphibious ships, and other surface combatants in the Clinton-Aspin defense plan was sized based on the exigencies of overseas presence, as well as the MRCs.

U.S. Navy and Marine forces play important roles in our approach to overseas presence in these three regions, as well as others. In recent years, we have sought to deploy a sizable U.S. naval presence — generally, a carrier battle group accompanied by an amphibious ready group — more or less continuously in the waters off Southwest Asia, Northeast Asia, and Europe (most often, in the Mediterranean Sea). However, in order to avoid serious morale and retention problems that can arise when our forces are asked to remain deployed for excessively long periods, we will experience some gaps in carrier presence in these areas in the future.



The aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower transiting the Suez Canal.

In order to avoid degradation in our regional security posture, we have identified a number of ways to fill these gaps and to supplement our posture even when carriers are present. For example, in some circumstances, we may find it possible to center naval expeditionary forces around large-deck amphibious assault ships carrying AV-8B attack jets and Cobra attack helicopters, as well as a 2,000-man Marine Expeditionary Unit. Another force might consist of a Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missile-equipped Aegis cruiser, a guided missile destroyer, attack submarines, and P-3 land-based maritime patrol aircraft.

In addition to these "maritime" approaches to sustaining overseas presence, a new concept is being developed that envisions using tailored joint forces to conduct overseas presence operations. These "Adaptive Joint Force Packages" could contain a mix of air, land, special operations, and maritime forces tailored to meet a theater commander's needs. These forces, plus designated backup units in the United States, would train jointly to provide the specific capabilities needed on station and on call during any particular period. Like maritime task forces, these joint force packages will also be capable of participating in combined military exercises with allied and friendly forces.

Together, these approaches will give us a variety of ways to manage our overseas presence profile, balancing carrier availability with the deployment of other types of units. Given this flexible approach to providing forces for overseas presence, we can meet the needs of our strategy with a fleet of eleven active aircraft carriers and one reserve/training carrier.

Strategic Nuclear Forces

The changing security environment presents us with significant uncertainties and challenges in planning our strategic nuclear force structure. In light of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the break-up of the Soviet Union, the conclusion of the START I and II treaties, and our improving relationship with Russia, the threat of massive nuclear attack on the United States is lower than at any time in many years.

However, a number of issues affecting our future strategic nuclear posture must still be addressed. Tens of thousands of nuclear weapons continue to be deployed on Russian territory and on the territory of three other former Soviet republics. Even under START II, Russia will retain a sizable residual nuclear arsenal. And, despite promising trends, the future political situation in Russia remains highly uncertain.



B-2 bombers being refueled by KC-10 tanker.

In addition, many obstacles must be overcome before the ratification of START II, foremost of which are Ukrainian ratification of START I and Ukraine's and Kazakhstan's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as nonnuclear-weapon states — a condition required by Russia prior to implementing START I. Moreover, even if these obstacles can be overcome, implementation of the reductions mandated in START I and II will not be completed for almost 10 years. Thus, while the United States has already removed more than 3,500 warheads from ballistic missile systems slated for elimination under START I (some 90 percent of the total required), in light of current uncertainties, we must take a measured approach to further reductions.

Two principal guidelines shape our future requirements for strategic nuclear forces: to provide an effective deterrent while remaining within START I/II limits, and to allow for additional forces to be reconstituted, in the event of a threatening reversal of events.

The Bottom-Up Review did not address nuclear force structure in detail. As a follow-up to the Bottom-Up review, a comprehensive study of U.S. nuclear forces is being conducted. For planning purposes, we are evolving toward a future strategic nuclear force that by 2003 will include:

- 18 Trident submarines equipped with C-4 and D-5 missiles.
- 500 Minuteman III missiles, each carrying a single warhead.
- Up to 94 B-52H bombers equipped with air-launched cruise missiles and 20 B-2 bombers.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of its comprehensive assessment of future U.S. defense needs, the Bottom-Up Review determined that the reduced force structure shown in Figure 6, which will be reached by about the end of the

decade, can carry out our strategy and meet our national security requirements.

This force structure meets our requirements for overseas presence in peacetime and a wide range of smaller-scale operations. It will also give the United States the capability to meet the most stressing situation we may face -- the requirement to fight and win two major regional conflicts occurring nearly simultaneously.

In addition, this force structure provides sufficient capabilities for strategic deterrence and defense. It also provides sufficient forces, primarily Reserve Component, to be held in strategic reserve and utilized if and when needed. For example, they could deploy to one or both MRCs, if operations do not go as we had planned. Alternatively, these forces could be used to "backfill" for overseas presence forces redeployed to an MRC. Finally, this force structure also meets an important new criterion for our forces — flexibility to deal with the uncertain nature of the new dangers.

U.S. Force Structure – 1999

Army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 divisions (active) • 5+ divisions (reserve)
Navy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 aircraft carriers (active) • 1 aircraft carrier (reserve/training) • 45-55 attack submarines • 346 ships
Air Force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 fighter wings (active) • 7 fighter wings (reserve) • Up to 184 bombers
Marine Corps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 Marine Expeditionary Forces • 174,000 personnel (active endstrength) • 42,000 personnel (reserve endstrength)
Strategic Nuclear Forces (by 2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18 ballistic missile submarines • Up to 94 B-52 H bombers • 20 B-2 bombers • 500 Minuteman III ICBMs (single warhead)

Figure 6

NEWS BRIEFING



Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Public Affairs)

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin
General Colin Powell, Chairman, JCS
Bottom-Up Review
Wednesday, September 1, 1993

Ms. deLaski: Thank you for coming. Thank you for your interest in the Bottom-Up Review. Let me explain how this briefing will proceed.

First of all, Secretary Aspin will make some opening comments, and then General Powell will brief the force structure elements. Then Secretary Aspin will brief the modernization issues. I ask you to hold your questions until after they do those things, then they'll be happy to take your questions.

If it's difficult for some of you to see, which it might be, we have provided a hard copy of the slides so you can follow along. The Xeroxed excerpts that you received today are not the complete Bottom-Up Review. You're getting the briefing, though, pretty much that the President got this week. You'll have the full document probably next week.

Let me make one point, though. As we've said, this is a strategy review, not a budget. We don't have dollar figures today. The savings derived from the Bottom-Up Review will be discussed in conjunction with the Vice President's National Performance Review next week.

With that, I give you Secretary Aspin.

Aspin: Thank you, Kathleen. Let me say good day to all of you, and welcome to our briefing. General Powell and I are here to present to you today the results of the Bottom-Up Review.

The Clinton Administration defense program that we're going to talk about today is based upon tomorrow's requirements. It is a product of a comprehensive, broadly collaborative review based upon the real dangers that face America in the new era. It has produced a lean, mobile, high-tech force ready to protect Americans in this new time. General Powell will talk to you about the force structure that came from the Bottom-Up Review. I'll discuss the modernization.

But before Colin begins, let me talk just a little bit about the process and a little bit of the beginning here. Let me start, first of all, by talking about the foundation for the Bottom-Up Review. Those of you who have been following this topic know that for decades this building has focused almost all of its planning -- budgets, force structures, the way we organize our forces -- everything has been focused against the Soviet threat, even to the extent of the way we designed our weapons. We designed our tanks, our planes, our ships with war with the Soviet Union in mind. We now face a time when...this building is in a brand new era. We face a time when that is gone. There is



no more Warsaw Pact. There is no more Soviet Union. So how do we size and shape our defense budgets now? How do you know whether you need a \$100 billion defense budget or a \$300 billion or what kind of a defense budget?

The first step, then, in this Bottom-Up Review, was to ask...go to the fundamental question of what do you need a defense for. We began with the question of what are the dangers that face the United States now in the post-Cold War, post-Soviet world? We came up essentially with four of them. Those of you who have been following the debate are familiar with these, but they are the four that are here on this chart. They are a new nuclear threat, proliferation. We have a different nuclear threat. The old nuclear threat was thousands of warheads in the hands of the Soviet Union. The new nuclear threat is a handful of nuclear weapons in the hands of some terrorist organization or terrorist state, perhaps delivered by unconventional means. So the new nuclear threat, that is still a concern in this new era that we enter into. It's not the old threat where it was possible for both sides to begin war and eliminate life in both countries and maybe a big chunk of life on the planet. What we really have now is a wholly different scale, but in a lot of ways a more difficult challenge, a more unpredictable challenge.

The second thing that we decided that was important, that we needed to have a defense establishment to deal with, was regional dangers. Saddam Hussein, Desert Storm, Just Cause with Noriega -- these are the exhibits. There is still in the world today a handful of bad guys who, while they cannot threaten the continental United States in any meaningful way, they can threaten American interests or American allies or American friends. We need a defense establishment to be able to deal with those kinds of threats -- the regional bullies and the regional threats.

Beyond those two, we start to get into a broader area of national security. What we got into was thinking in terms that this building doesn't ordinarily think of as national security. But in the new world, they are national security. One is dangers to democracy. There is a tenuous movement towards democracy in a large number of countries in the world today. If those were to reverse, or if any of them were to reverse, it would produce a different national security situation for the United States. Clearly, it would produce a different level of spending on defense. So whether or not these countries--and we're talking about in the former Soviet Empire and in the developing world--develop as democracies is important to this building and to our national security. So the dangers to democracy is a third--national security to the United States.

The fourth one really is something that we've never really explicitly addressed before, and that's the dangers of a weak economy. In the short run, the national security of the United States is protected by a strong military force. In the long run, the national security of the United States is protected by a strong economy.

So these are the four dangers that we began with, with the Bottom-Up Review. All of the parts of the Bottom-Up Review had to eventually come and relate to the four dangers. This danger, [points to chart] as you will see as we lay it out, this danger, the regional dangers, is the main thing that drove the size of the defense establishment that we're going to present to you today. The first three -- new nukes, regional dangers, and dangers to democracy have driven the shape of the defense establishment that we're going to present to you today. And this one, [points to chart] the dangers of a weak economy, drive the way in which defense business is being conducted by this establishment that we're going to present. How we get that establishment, how we fund that establishment, how

we deal with that establishment is driven by this one [points to chart]. So this is the size, this is the shape, this is the method of operation. That is the fundamental beginnings of the Bottom-Up Review.

Two more points. The Bottom-Up Review process over on the right hand chart there shows all of the things that are involved in the Bottom-Up Review. It covers force structure, it covers modernization, it covers initiatives, things we have not done before. It covers the foundations. It covers everything. We'd like you to understand that this is a very comprehensive review. It will not just cover the few items that we're going to brief in detail here today, but there will be publications and others to follow up on all of this. It's an extensive, comprehensive review. And all of them driven back to the four dangers that we outlined.

Each one of those dots there, for example, those bullets, like theater air, submarines, under the modernization choices; ballistic missile defense, theater air. Each one of those had a working group in the Pentagon. Each one of those had a separate working group that was working on those issues, and there are other working groups that were not listed on the chart there. But it's a very extensive review.

Over here, the chart shows that it was, as the previous statement implies, a collaborative process. These are all of the parts of the building that were involved in this thing. Every one of those working groups had mixed people from various parts of OSD and various parts of the uniformed services -- from the services themselves, from the JCS. It was a very extensive, collaborative effort. This is just the collaboration within the building. When we got the stuff finished within the building -- tentative results -- we would take it across the river. The President and his staff were continually updated as this thing went on. We had a chance to get his ideas, his reaction to things. We'd come back and adjust as it was going on. So they were intimately involved in the process from the beginning -- the White House staff, the President himself was involved in the process.

Let me tell you what we're going to do here today as far as the presentation that Colin and I are going to do. There will then be a followup briefing that will go into some more detail on some of the others. But Colin will cover the force structure options over there, again, looking at the right hand chart. Colin will brief the force structure options, because that's the heart of the matter. That really is the key to the whole thing, is the force structure options that we have to have, that we're laying out here that we need to meet the new dangers.

I will talk about the modernization choices, and out of just necessity, it will be relatively short. I will pick a few of them, and we'll go through others. We will not have a chance much to go into the initiatives and the foundations, but perhaps we'll get a chance to do that at a later point. There will be other chances for you to hear about that and, ultimately we'll be handing out more documents over the next week or so.

Let me, at this point, introduce Colin and let him talk about the force structure options.

General Powell: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Let me begin by echoing a point the Secretary made, that this was a very, very collaborative effort. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Joint Staff, and the service staffs worked very closely with the new appointees in Mr. Aspin's organization--on his team--and we have been in sync with them step by step throughout this entire, almost seven-month process, and I'm very, very pleased at the level of collaboration that has existed, and I think it will be reflected in the very, very fine product that we are beginning to unveil today.

Let me begin by giving a little bit of a tutorial about what an armed forces is all about. Notwithstanding all of the changes that have taken place in the world, notwithstanding the new emphasis of peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peace engagement, preventive diplomacy, we have a value system and a culture system within the armed forces of the United States. We have this mission -- to fight and win the nation's wars. That's what we do. Why do we do it? For this purpose -- to provide for the common defense. Who do we do it for? We do it for the American people. We never want to lose sight of this ethic. We never want to lose sight of this basic, underlying principle of the armed forces of the United States. We're warriors, and because we are warriors, because we have demonstrated time and time again that we can do this for that purpose for the American people, that's why you have armed forces within the United States structure.

At the same time, because we are able to fight and win the nation's wars, because we are warriors, we are also uniquely able to do some of these other new missions that are coming along -- peacekeeping, humanitarian relief, disaster relief, you name it, we can do it, and we can modify our doctrine, we can modify our strategy, we can modify our structure, our equipment, our training, our leadership techniques, everything else to do these other missions. But we never want to do it in such a way that we lose sight of the focus of why you have armed forces -- to fight and to win the nation's wars.

For most of the last 40 years -- and almost all of my career -- the war that we focused on, that conflict that we were so concerned about, would come out of the Cold War. It was a name we didn't use very often because it was too scary -- it was called World War III. But for almost all of my adult life, I worried, in one way or another, about World War III. The Cold War, World War III was going to be something that engulfed the entire world. As you think back at some of the assumptions we worried about all during the '50s and the '60s and the '70s and the early part of the '80s, about a Soviet Empire here that had tentacles that reached around the world, it was all linked, and this war could begin anywhere. It could begin in the Middle East, it could begin in Northeast Asia. It could, perhaps, begin even in our own continent. But it had a link. It had an empire linkage to it, and we had to plan that we might be in conflict with an empire that had worldwide ambitions, worldwide designs, a worldwide strategy, and the ability to project power around the world. Thus, we worried about the Atlantic Ocean. Just ten years ago, we used to worry about Soviet submarines off the coast of the United States, just off of Norfolk, that could launch missiles that could strike Washington in eight or nine minutes time. We used to worry a great deal about our ability to project power across the north Atlantic Ocean as the Soviet Union's navy was being built up. We used to worry about our ability to defend Central Europe. We used to worry about what we might have to do in the eastern part of Russia as they undertook action against our interests in that part of the world as part of this worldwide conflict. That was the guiding principle, the guiding assumptions relating to this kind of a war for most of the last four decades. That's all now gone.

It's gone, and let me kind of describe what we used to worry about, where it has gone, and what we have to worry about now as a way of segueing into the new strategy and the new force structure.

That Soviet Empire has now been replaced by something quite different -- an Iraq, a Korea, other demons and dangers that come along of a regional nature. They are no longer linked, but they are nevertheless, the source of potential conflict, places where the United States armed forces might have to go and fight and win.

Some of you may remember one of my more forgettable lines, "I'm running out of demons," three years ago. Fortunately, history and central casting has supplied me with new ones along the way. (Laughter) Saddam Hussein, Mr. Aideed, General Malatich. What we've discovered is that that uncertainty we were worrying about a few years ago is still there, and from time to time these dangers come along. They're the dangers that Secretary Aspin was talking about under his second catalog of regional dangers.

You may recall when I became Chairman four years ago, and for many years before that, we used to argue endlessly about how much warning time we had -- whether it would be ten days or 14 days before World War III began in Central Europe. Many of you here in 1989 wrote long articles when we decided to change it from 14 to 21 days -- a major change in strategy at that time. Was it 14 or 21 days? We haven't talked about that in years because, with the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the collapse of the Soviet Union, we are not talking about regional conflicts that may break out in one day's time, or it might be something that sort of develops over a period of time, and it might take years in terms of this thing coming to a point where United States armed forces might have to get involved. So it requires forces that are able to go instantly and the ability to develop larger forces for a different kind of conflict...in order to relate to this new world and pay the peace dividend that President Clinton has promised to the American people. We can do that, and that's what we're trying to do.

So the world of the Cold War has now gone from this set of assumptions to that set of assumptions, and it really kind of looks a little bit more like this in cartoon fashion.

It seems to us that it is essential that the United States armed forces, in the name of the American people, be prepared to fight and win a major regional conflict in this part of the world -- Southwest Asia. Why? Because we have alliances there, we have vital interests there, the oil of the Western world is located there. It seems to be a sound strategy, based on sound political and military principles that we always have the wherewithal to project power this distance for the purpose of fighting and winning against any regional aggressor who might surface in that region of the world.

Similarly, we think we should be able to do the same thing in Northeast Asia. That one's clearer. North Korea has not changed its stripes -- my one remaining demon that I was hanging on to a few years ago. They have not changed their stripes. Our interest is so great in this part of the world that we should have the ability to do this as well.

We also believe it is sound, wise and prudent, for us to be able to do these two near simultaneously. Why near simultaneously? Why not at the same time? The same time is probably a little too expensive and it's probably unlikely. Since these are no longer linked by the Soviet Empire

and the Cold War. it's most unlikely they would occur at the same time, and it would be very difficult to buy the lift assets necessary to move our forces to both places at the same time. But we think it's wise to have sufficient force to deal with them almost at the same time, near simultaneously, so that we can shift our lift according to how these crises unfold.

Well, is it really likely they would happen at the same time? Probably not. But while we are committed to either one of these, it would be irresponsible, in our judgment, and unwise in our judgment, not to have sufficient capabilities to deal with the second, thereby, perhaps encouraging the very conflict we do not want to see occur. So this is a fundamental, underlying principle of President Clinton and Secretary Aspin and the Joint Chiefs of Staff strategy statement for Bottom-Up Review, being able to deal with two major regional contingencies or conflicts near simultaneously.

At the same time, we have to keep in the back of our mind that while these are the two main events, lots of other things are going on in the world. We can't predict where the conflict might be. We have some difficult situations right now in the area of the former Warsaw Pact and other areas in Central Europe, Bosnia being a prime example. Are we going to get involved in Bosnia? This is a situation that is before us right now as we see what we might have to do in peacekeeping activities -- not necessarily a conflict, but a draw on our forces. A significant commitment of forces, perhaps, to deal with something like that, or elsewhere in Central Europe. We have to keep our attention focused on our own hemisphere.

So two major regional conflicts, be able to deal with them near simultaneously. Also to have sufficient capacity if something else comes along.

That's nice strategy, but then you have to convert that into form and substance and structure. The way we do that is through a series of models and war games and military analyses and discussions with our political leaders as to what is an acceptable risk or an unacceptable risk.

The way we go about it is to take this major regional contingency, Southwest Asia, and take a look at what might happen. In this case we have postulated another attack sometime in the future from Iraq into Kuwait or perhaps into Saudi Arabia. This really is a surrogate. We don't really know if anything like this would ever happen again. We don't know. But there is such instability in this region of the world. There are a number of nations that are arming themselves. There are a number of nations who might not have interests that are favorable toward our friends in the region and toward our interests. So let's use this particular conflict in our modeling and our war games as a surrogate for what might happen in this region.

Let's do the same thing in Northeast Asia, although it's a little clearer as to who that potential enemy might be, and we've been studying him for 40 years. So we use these two scenarios, and we run war games, we use models to make judgments about what kind of forces are necessary to fight and win this battle. To fight and win this battle, what kind of infrastructure is necessary to support it, what kind of lift capacity is required to get your forces there, what kind of reserve is necessary so the nation isn't stripped bare, and all of the other things that go along with it.

The point I want to make with respect to this little cartoon, Country X, is that history teaches us we never really fight where we thought we were going to fight. We fought Desert Storm with a European Army. We used European tactics. Desert Storm was that Cold War battle that

didn't come with trees and mountains. We got a nice desert, and we got a very, very incompetent enemy to work against. But history teaches that the forces you buy, based on these reasonable assessments, might well be used for a conflict you never dreamed of. The force we are buying now, the plans that the Secretary and the President are making now are for a force that will be with us for years to come. It is a force that may well be employed a year from now, three years from now, or long after President Clinton has completed his term of service and Secretary Aspin has completed his. The force we have now, to a large extent, is inherited from our predecessors. We always have to be thinking of the future, the unknown, the uncertain, and I think that's what Secretary Aspin has clearly done in the guidance he has given us for the Bottom-Up Review.

Let me just give you a quick tutorial on how we actually run the models. This part of my chart out here, this shows the two regional contingencies. This out here is a period of strategic warning. We, hopefully, can see a conflict coming out here somewhere and start to do something about it. Maybe we can do something here, when we are quite sure something is about to happen. We can begin deploying forces before a conflict actually begins. When that conflict does begin, the deployment and sustainment of forces takes priority as you go through the phases of the campaign. The first thing you have to do is to halt the invading force.

For example, in Desert Storm we didn't know if the Iraqi army was going to continue through Kuwait and go down into Saudi Arabia. We couldn't be sure. Nobody was willing to bet the farm on that. Answer -- you send in the 82nd Airborne Division, you send in the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing, and you plant the flag of the United States of America in Saudi Arabia. It was a very thin force, many of you will recall, but there was a lot more coming behind it and, at that point, we had planted the flag of the United States of America. We the people were coming to fight and to win eventually.

Then you halt the invading force. Through campaign planning, you build up your forces, you use air power, air power with great precision and skill to attrit away the enemy force. But at the same time, you continue to move forces so that you can eventually seize the initiative away from the enemy, complete the battle, and provide some post-war stability. Post-war stability isn't thought about that much, but it should be. After World War II, post-war stability took the form of occupation armies in Germany and Japan until such time as we could turn it over to newly elected democratic leaders. After Korea, we stayed there, and we're still there. That's post-conflict stability. Now, after Operation Desert Storm, we have forces in the region for post-conflict stability.

We are hoping that these will never occur simultaneously, but we feel that our planning provides the forces necessary to do these if we've got the necessary gap between the two conflicts occurring so that we can use our lift assets to move the forces first to here, then to here, and then sustain them both and get ready for post-conflict stability.

Let me describe now the force options that we examined to see what we needed to deal with the strategic situation I've just put forward to you. Let me begin on the right side of the chart with a force, let's call it the base force. The base force generally had as its underpinning being able to win two nearly simultaneously major regional conflicts and some more capacity beyond that. It consisted, as you well know, of 12 active, eight reserve Army divisions; the 12 carrier battle groups; the Marine Corps component; and the Air Force component that you see here. Pointing out that the Air

Force really is...it gets a little bit of short shrift in this kind of display because it only shows fighter wing equivalents where there is a lot more to the Air Force, the lift capacity of the Air Force, and a lot of other things the Air Force does. It's just a little shorthand of laying out force structure in manageable ways.

The other end of the extreme, we listed the forces we felt through war gaming would be able to deal with one major regional conflict, and we thought eight divisions with six reserve division equivalents as backup so that it could be mobilized and brought on-scene in due course, with only eight carrier battle groups, still a very robust Marine Corps, and a much smaller Air Force, would give us one major regional conflict capability with some left over.

We didn't find this to be an adequate force. We didn't find that this would serve our interests for the reasons that I think I've laid out earlier.

What we then did was to look at two options in the middle, where we came away from the current force projection because of the second revolution that Secretary Aspin talks about frequently -- not only the collapse of the Cold War and the Warsaw Pact, but the total collapse of the Soviet Union; with something of a third revolution as these new regional conflicts have come along. So we can come back from this force level, and we looked at options in here.

The difference between two and three, first of all, force enhancements that I will show you in a moment. These force enhancements give you the ability to erase this hold up here [points to chart]. It gives you the ability to have a readier force that can deploy more rapidly to the two near simultaneous regional conflicts. The other significant change you'll see here is one more, or two more carrier battle groups, and I'll describe that in a moment. But these are driven as much by our force presence needs around the world as they are by our warfighting needs around the world.

The big change [is] anticipated in Army Reserves, particularly the National Guard part of Army Reserves. We usually have looked at that capability in terms of divisions -- National Guard divisions. The combat part of the National Guard. We are going to shift to a focus on enhancing the readiness of brigades rather than enhancing the readiness of entire National Guard divisions. The simple reason is it takes too long. We want to shorten the time by focusing our enhanced readiness activities on brigade-sized organizations. Fifteen is the number we're looking at. We're still examining this number. It's not locked in yet, but the important teaching point here is we're moving from a focus on divisions being ready to a focus on smaller-sized National Guard units being ready.

Let me talk to these force enhancements here [points to chart] so you can see what the difference is between these two options. Additional Army pre-positioned equipment. You're familiar with the Army's heavy brigade we're putting afloat. That allows you to move forces to the area of conflict -- on the left side of that chart I showed you -- during periods of strategic warning without committing yourself. You just move more pre-positioned equipment, an Army heavy brigade, as well as the existing Marine maritime pre-positioned squadrons. Additional airlift and sealift [is] being purchased. We have recently issued the Request for Proposals for new RO/RO ships to be built, as well as to buy existing ones in the commercial market and configure them for military use.

Improved antiarmor and precision-guided munitions for the Air Force and the Navy, so that during that yellow part of my little cartoon earlier, when we were actually interdicting the force, we can do it much more effectively than through the use of ballistically dumb bombs.

More early arriving Navy air. We're going to reconfigure our naval aviation so that, if a carrier is at a point of conflict where it needs additional strike aircraft and fewer air superiority, air defense aircraft, we will bring out additional F-18 squadrons and, ultimately, the F-14 variation, the Tomcat, would replace some of the air superiority fighters aboard the carrier.

We're going to improve Army National Guard combat brigade readiness, and I've touched on that already. Improve Army Guard and Reserve support force readiness.

We're going to do a lot more with command, control, and intelligence assets, in focusing that and being able to provide that to the warfighters. We've got a lot of initiatives underway there.

And, as I'll discuss in a moment, we are going to retain some additional Marine end strength. As you recall, the base force would have taken the Marines down to 159,000. But what we haven't been able to do is get rid of all the requirements that the Marines have and all the commitments that they have. They are busier than they have ever been. So we are going to level that out at 174,000, and I'll describe that in a moment.

That's how you come up with the warfighting structure, but there are other things we have to do. For example, overseas presence. A lot of these folks are part of the warfighting structure, but they serve other purposes as well. You see them here: display U.S. commitment to deter regional aggression just by being in the theater; prevent regional arms races by being there in strength, saying it isn't worth having an arms race with this guy. We will win, and we will fight, and beat you if we have to. Improved coalition effectiveness by our presence, by their learning from us, by their exercising from us, and providing initial response to the regional crisis forces that would be coming over.

In Europe, the President and Secretary Aspin have reaffirmed 100,000 troops will be the number coming down from, remember, 315,000 troops just four years ago. In East Asia, about 98,000 troops, keeping our two brigades in Korea; an Air Force wing in Japan, I think you're familiar with. Southwest Asia, we have roughly 20,000 troops pre-positioned there now. We will also have periodic deployments and exercises with our friends in the region to show this commitment to their welfare. And, of course, our global maritime presence that we have around the world in the form of carriers and other ships, and we're doing some very, very exciting, adaptive force planning so that you see something other than just the traditional large deck carrier battle group. We're making the battle group smaller, and we're doing more creative things and using the unique capabilities of the aircraft carrier.

Of course there are other things we have to do. I think you're familiar with all of these. In the four years that I have been Chairman, as you go through all of these, we've done about two dozen of them. Sometimes they are rather simple, such as moving food supplies to the Soviet Union two winters ago; sometimes they are real tricky such as evacuating the embassy in Mogadishu in 1991, just about the time we were getting ready to start Operation Desert Storm. All of these will

keep coming along, and we have to make sure that we have the capacity to deal with these kinds of unique operations.

Let me use one wonderful chart that you're all going to just love, to sort of summarize. If you can't read it, I think you have a handout. But this kind of gives it to you in a dynamic sense.

Let's start here. This is what the armed forces of the United States are doing today. We are providing overseas presence, Korea, Japan, Europe, Southwest Asia. We're doing democracy activities. You find men and women of the armed forces around the world working with our friends who want to learn from us. One of my great examples is we have an Army chaplain who is working with the Czech republic in helping them put together a chaplain, a religious program for their armed forces, to show them what we do to provide for the spiritual well being of our armed forces. Those types of things will take on greater importance? Why? For the third reason that the Secretary mentioned, to help preserve democracy, to deal with that danger that he talked about a moment ago. Our forces in Europe that are providing forward presence are spending more and more of their time traveling into the nations of the former Warsaw Pact to teach them, to learn from them, to exchange experiences and to help get them to understand the role of the armed forces in a democratic system.

Peacekeeping, such as our hospital in Zagreb, our troops in Macedonia, what we're doing in Somalia which is a combination of peacekeeping as well as some low intensity conflict, being ready for lesser regional contingencies. Humanitarian assistance, disaster relief. Strategic lift. Part of our air fleet is always at work supporting our troops in Mogadishu or flying into Sarajevo.

Then in the United States you have not only the foundation -- our bases, camps stations, training installations, all of that, our depots. You have the general purpose forces ready to respond to the crisis that comes along. And through it all, you have your strategic nuclear deterrents out there because we still do have 28,000 nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union that we have to eventually deal with.

Along comes the first major regional crisis -- either the East one or the West one. Immediately, we begin to flow forces that are available in the United States. If you remember my cartoon, I moved Europe from the Cold War center out of the picture, put the United States in the center of the picture on that second cartoon, because the whole focus in the future will be less overseas presence, more ability to surge forces out from the United States. So the forces begin to surge.

We also begin to call up reserves. In the total force concept, the reserves are going to be an integral part, even though they are also going to be taken down in size. They will go pretty much from day one as they do now -- part of our total force effort. The whole force begins to flow to deal with major regional contingency one; we call up additional reserves to hedge your bets in case the second one comes. You may have to cut down on some of these other activities. Strategic lift starts to surge, we call up the Ready Reserve Fleet, go to MRC-1 [Major Regional Contingency One]. Then here's your near simultaneity when MRC-2 comes along. We continue to flow.

What you lose here as you go down in size is reserve capacity to deal with anything else that comes along. But the option that I described earlier, the option three that you saw, we believe gives us the ability to handles these two MRC's and have a little bit left over without putting the nation at

any risk. It's an option that the Chiefs are very, very comfortable with, and the Commanders in Chief of the unified command are very comfortable with. You win MRC-0, you then go into post-conflict stability, what we talked about earlier; and then you essentially reposition yourself to get ready for what might come in the future.

This kind of summarizes the sort of philosophy we used in the development of the Bottom-Up Review. We looked at this chart over and over and over again and we debated, what do we need for all these things? How do they link in with the four dangers that the Secretary spoke to? It was kind of our little report card on ourselves throughout the past seven-month period.

What does it all look like when you're finished? Here it is. In FY90, the Army had 18 active divisions and 10 National Guard divisions. As it was coming down to its base force level of 12, it is now at 14 going to six. The plan was six National Guard plus two cadre National Guard divisions. The Bottom-Up Review concludes that we can go to ten active divisions and be able to deal with the situation I described earlier. We put it up here as five National Guard division equivalents, but it's within that five Guard division equivalent that we're talking about the enhanced readiness brigades. How the division headquarters would be used to support those enhanced readiness brigades, we are still discussing and debating.

The Navy, from its high of roughly 15 plus one carriers down to 13, is going to 11 plus one. Eleven full-up active carriers outperforming force presence missions. This 12th carrier will, for the most part, stay off of the East Coast of the United States, be manned at about 80 percent active, 20 percent reserves. It will use reserve training wings to come and go. It can be surged quickly and sent somewhere if need be. That's the beauty of it. We get this 12th carrier at much, much less expense than one of the other 11 carriers.

The overall size of the Navy continues to decline. Remember the first cartoon, the North Atlantic. The North Atlantic is gone. There is no Soviet navy out there that's threatening us. If we had to go back to Europe it might well be with the assistance of the Soviet navy rather after resistance of the Soviet navy. We can make prudent reductions in the size of the Navy, very significant reductions in the overall size of the Navy, preserving, though, that unique capability that comes with the aircraft carrier. We're looking for more flexible ways to use that unique capability, and that's why I think it is a very sound decision to keep that number fairly robust.

The Air Force will continue to go down to 13 active fighter wings and seven reserve component fighter wings.

The Marine Corps end strength I've already touched on, coming down from its 1990 high of 197 down to 174 -- a significant reduction in the size of the Corps, but because they are so busy in this very calm, new world order we expected, it isn't prudent to take them down any further, and so this is a case where we are holding and building back up from previous decisions.

Strategic nuclear forces. Not much change to the previous plans. This will be the subject of intense review by the Secretary and his staff and the Chiefs in the months and years ahead.

There you have it. there's the force structure associated with the Bottom-Up Review, and I think I've covered adequately the strategy that led to the force structure. I'll turn it back over to the Secretary.

Secretary Aspin: Thank you very much, Colin.

Let me more briefly cover some of the modernization issues here, because this is the next item here. As I say, there are a whole bunch of things here to cover, but under the modernization choices, I'll talk about ballistic missile defense, and then more briefly, theater air, submarines and aircraft carriers. And the rest of it, I'll wait and see if you have any questions on it. But let's start with the ballistic missile defense and where we came out on that issue.

Here is the key considerations for all of the modernization choices that we undertook. These are the factors that went into our decisions as to which choices, the options we looked at, and which ones of the options did we pick. The only thing I would point out to you is the industrial base here. That's new. Previous reviews of modernization issues probably did not give the same weight to the industrial base that we did. So I think that one of the things that I think is important here to point out is that we do give some weight to the industrial base considerations in our choices.

Let's start with the ballistic missile defense program. Here are the problems, as you see, and the alternatives for how to deal with it. Basically what we have is a near-term problem of theater ballistic missile threats to the United States allies, friends, and American forces stationed abroad. That's here and now. That starts from Iraq. That we saw in Desert Storm. That is a near-term threat right here.

A longer-term threat is the threat to the continental United States from intercontinental ballistic missiles. That one depends upon the development of that capability by a whole bunch of countries that are looking at it but do not have that capability now. So there is a need for a theater missile defense right now. There is a need for doing some research, at least, on a national missile defense program.

The other part of it, of course, is that we are in an ABM treaty with the Soviet Union, so whatever option we pick here, whatever combination of things we pick here, it must be consistent with the ABM Treaty.

So there are two ways to proceed. One is the question of how much theater missile defense you get, and the second is the question of what you do with the national missile defense -- all of it consistent with the ABM Treaty. Let me show you a chart that's better than Colin's. I've got some charts that make that thing that Colin put up there look easy. (Laughter) Some of them I'm not going to show you, but there are a couple in here that are really good. This is a nice chart. This is much better than Colin's chart.

What it has here is the theater missile defense on one axis, for you mathematicians, and the national missile defense on the other axis. This is the Y axis, this is the X axis. Do you remember that? (Laughter)

Theater missile defense. In the theater missile defense, we have a core program. All of the options under the theater missile defense have the core program listed here. Then it builds more theater missile defense into the program as you move up. This is a \$9 billion program, \$10 billion program, to \$12, and here's a \$14. So the higher you are on this chart, the more robust theater missile defense program you've got.

On the other hand, you've got a series of options here on the national military missile defense program. You can have two versions of a technology program -- one with Brilliant Eyes, one without it; you can have a tech demonstration program which would be more expensive; and then you've got acquisition program options which are even more expensive yet.

The bottom line is, you can pick a number in there. Or pick one of these boxes is what the Bottom-Up Review had to do, pick somewhere in the boxes. Basically, the philosophy I think we came to was that the right place to be is up in here, with a more robust theater missile defense, but a fairly research-oriented national missile defense. The option we picked was that one.

The program that we picked is the box there. It's the selected program. It emphasizes theater missile defense development and deployment. It's very robust, it's got that whole core program plus a good chunk of the other stuff in the theater missile defense. It focuses on national military, on technology development, is the \$3 billion program with Brilliant Eyes. Here, it's a \$12 billion theater missile development and \$3 billion national missile... plus a \$3 billion overhead, it's an \$18 billion program. It complies with the ABM Treaty, and it reduces the ballistic missile defense budget by \$21 billion because it compares with the current [one] in the base force, in the Bush budget, the FY95 to 99 budget, the \$39 billion. This is an \$18 billion option. You can pick others. You could pick a \$15 or a \$20 or a \$23 or a \$25. What this shows is, it shows you in more detail than I'm going to on the others, but if you're interested in it, what we looked at, what kind of choices we were looking at, what considerations drove us to what we wanted to do. Anyway, what we picked was the one that is \$12 billion over the five-year period of a theater missile defense program, and a \$3 billion national missile defense program.

Let me then go on. We will not go into that kind of detail on the other programs, but I'd just like to go, very briefly, in terms of the theater air and the attack submarines and the aircraft carriers just briefly, and then, if you've got questions, we can go to those on the other weapons.

Let's look at the theater air. The problem with the theater air is to define the theater air capability, here it is, and here's the problems. The current program has these kind of problems associated with it. The question is what are we going to do and what did we come up with. I won't go through the same discussion of the analysis, but let me just jump to the bottom line here of the option that we picked. Here is the option that we picked. Those of you who have the pieces of paper in front of you can take it and look at it. I'd just like to call attention to a couple of issues here on the options that we picked.

The first thing about these options that we picked is that we concentrated very heavily on the near term problems, the problems that are most acute right now. So point number one, we're focusing very carefully on the near term problems.

Second, I'd like to point out this line here -- the joint advance strike technology program. We are looking towards developing the commonality in the next fighter that we will develop, between the Air Force and the Navy. All of us in the Pentagon -- in the uniformed services and in the civilian -- have been in the Pentagon before, and we know the anguish that that produces. And indeed, the whole McNamara TFX fight of the past.

What we tried to do is to take a different approach to this, and this really is a unique attempt to solve the problem. What we are doing is seeing if we can't get components which we can make common to the two planes, to the Navy plane and the Air Force plane. Try and make components common. Where most of the money is in the components -- the avionics, the engine, what have you. Try and make them common, even though the silhouette of the plane may look differently. So you drive the commonality in driving at the commonality of components. That's the approach -- to try and save money by maybe getting 70, 80 percent of the components of the Air Force plane and the Navy plane common. We'll save a lot of money even though, as I say, the silhouette may look differently, and the silhouette may be very important for the Navy's purpose of flying it off of a carrier or whatever. This is a fairly brand new approach, a very interesting approach.

Two more things to point out before we leave this. One is that we're going big time into making the nuclear bomber force, the B-1 and the B-2, conventional capable. Wholly refocusing where we're going with those bomber programs, and to make them part of this theater air solution, is going to be to take the strategic assets from the old Cold War nuclear scenarios to see whether we can make them into silver bullets, use them as silver bullets or whatever in terms of dealing with theater air.

Finally, to focus not just on the platforms, but on the standoff weapons that come off of the platforms. In other words, some of these platforms we're not going to change as fast as we would like to have them changed. To keep the capability there and to have the capability to deal with these deep targets off of the carrier, we're going to have to improve the standoff weapons. So there are two ways to deal with it. One is to deal with the weapons, the other is to deal with the platforms. In cases where, because for one reason or another we can't deal with the platforms, or at least certainly not right away, we're looking at dealing with the problems with the standoff weapons. That's theater air.

Let me do the submarine program. The issue of the submarines is, of course, essentially at its core an industrial base issue. The fact of the matter is that we're not going to need the same number of submarines in the future -- maybe down to half the number of submarines. We have 81 submarines in the inventory now. In the long run we're looking at maybe in the range of 45 to 50 submarines. What that means is that you just don't have to build a submarine for awhile. What happens to the industrial base in the period in which you would not be building submarines?

So these are the questions. The alternatives here are two. We can shut down the program and then restart it when you need to build it -- there would be a gap then. You've got a gap when you don't need to build submarines. You can shut something down and then start it up again. Or you can put something in the middle in there and bridge the production between where we are now on submarines and building the new submarines that we will build.

What we have done is we have decided to do the bridge option. We have planned to complete a third submarine, a third Seawolf at Groton, Connecticut. That maintains the two nuclear-capable shipyards. It also would be...the other part of it is, of course, to develop and build a new attack submarine which would be part of the next generation of submarines. Again, I've just listed the problem and listed the solution that we picked without going into the analysis. If you're interested in the analysis, we can go into that.

Here's my other chart which is pretty good. What it talks about is, Colin pointed out earlier, the number of carriers that we're going to buy. The point that this chart makes is that the number of carriers that you want is a combination of the two MRC's, the fighting of the two MRC's, but also the function of presence. In other words, you need aircraft carriers to fight and win two MRC's -- major regional contingencies -- as Colin was explaining in his presentation.

How many carriers do you need to do that? What we looked at and what we came up with was, frankly, a number like 10 would probably do it. But the number of carriers that you need to fight and win two nearly simultaneous MRC's -- an MRC West, an MRC East -- ten is probably a number that would work for you. But there's a second consideration. That is a consideration of carriers for presence in peacetime. As Colin also pointed out in his part of the presentation, that's a very important part of the use of carriers, is to show the flag, to be able to project power, to be able to get power, aircraft power to places where we don't have access to airfields. It's an important part of our present strategy.

With the demise of the Soviet Union, what we have discovered is that the presence requirements drives the number of aircraft carriers more than the major regional contingencies. If you had just major regional contingencies, you would probably buy ten aircraft carriers. If you are looking at the need for presence, it's one that makes attractive having more than ten aircraft carriers. This shows you the numbers down here at the bottom.

If, for example, you had ten aircraft carriers, what it shows is that you have... You have three regions of the world -- the Med, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific -- that you need aircraft carriers present. With ten aircraft carriers in the current kinds of ways they get deployed and the time on station, et cetera, you would have full, 100 percent presence at one of the three places, but half, six months out of the year, 50 percent of the time it would not be covered in the other two. If you get up to 11, you would have 12 months of the year coverage in one out of the three, and eight months coverage in the other two. If you get up to 12 you do a little bit better than that. Those are the numbers.

Looking at all of this, looking at that plus the dollars and all of the other things, we came to the conclusion that Colin had in his force structure presentation, to have an 11 carrier force with a reserve carrier as the 12th carrier which is essentially a training carrier, but it does give you a little bit of presence in time of an emergency, and maybe even a little war fighting in time of an emergency.

That's essentially the modernization choices. There are more than are listed here. We shouldn't go through the whole proposition here, but there will be ample opportunity to ask us or ask [deleted and Admiral deleted], who are going to be available to talk to you, and we'll have more that we're going to put out.

Just to talk very briefly about the rest of it, you've got the initiatives [points to chart]. You don't want to spend any time, but here are the initiatives. These will add money to the defense budget, but this is the new world, this is doing something about democracy, the concern about the reversal of reform and the economic security issues. These are wrapped in this part of the program. I won't spend the time to go through it, but that's where these are. As you know, this building has been very much involved in a whole bunch of those issues.

The foundations are important.

The readiness, as you all know, is one of the things that we are very, very anxious to maintain and to maintain the quality of the readiness, and that, of course, means money. There's two ways that you can get some money out of the foundations, and one of them is extraordinarily important. And that is that we continue to downsize the overhead -- the infrastructure, the bases -- that as the forces go down, we not get top-heavy on the infrastructure. It's incredibly important. It's very tough to do. It's a very difficult part of this thing, but this is absolutely critical.

Reforming the defense acquisition process, more about that from this building, Bill Perry and others, later. But this is also a very important part of the overall problem. Again, just to show you the comprehensiveness of the exercise.

Finally, let me do this. This is the bottom-up review. What does it change? It's the chart that tells you how this is different from what was scheduled before, what was different from the base force. The red stuff are reductions, the green stuff is additions. And I'd just let you look at it. You all got a copy of the chart in the handout. It is essentially at the core of the bottom-line difference. When you look at everything that we have done with this bottom-up review and then just take it over and set it alongside the base force, these are the differences that come out [points to chart].

And as Colin was explaining, the base force was kind of a transitional budget. It was put together in a different era. It was put together after the Warsaw Pact had collapsed but while the Soviet Union was still a major threat, and so of course it's going to look differently than this. I mean they still were looking very much at the possibility of going to war with the Soviet Union. We think that Soviet Union now, thanks to a few more years of looking at it... There are certain circumstances under which Russia could become a major regional threat, but it's hard to see how that Humpty Dumpty called the Soviet Union ever gets put back together. And that changes everything. That does change everything. And it allows us to make the kinds of changes that you see in these two charts.

Let me put this over here, and we'll finish just with the quote that Bill Clinton had said in 1993: "The men and women who serve under the American flag will be the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting force in the world so long as I am president." And we have taken that to heart. That is exactly what we had in mind, exactly what we were dealing with when we did this.

Thank you all very much, and let's -- Colin, do you want to come up and we'll answer some questions.

Q: Mr. Secretary, President Clinton, you and the administration have made much of the defense industrial base. You touched on it briefly here. The previous administration went under the theory that if you cut arms programs or hurt industries that it would seek its own level, that jobs would be repaired. The only concrete example that I can see here is the fact that you're building an extra billion-dollar Sea Wolf submarine, which you, as a member of Congress, many other congressmen and even people in this building questioned the need for. Could you go a little bit into about how you're going to maintain this artificial industrial base, if you would, at high cost to the taxpayers in order to...

SEC. ASPIN: Let me tell you a little bit more about the industrial base because it goes beyond the issue of the Sea Wolf submarine.

I think that what we are talking about here in the industrial base is the relationship between the US defense budget and the US economy and what role we can play in both promoting an economy and in strengthening the defense of the future. And let me give you some examples.

The industrial base...as we downsize the defense budgets of the United States, we're going to free up some resources. When you free up those resources, the question is what do you do with them? This administration, the Clinton administration, is going to be much more proactive, much more aggressive about finding ways to employ those resources in commercial products. We've got a big deal going on base closings and other things, so we have a big program for it. The previous administration was a little more laid back about being aggressive about doing that, under the grounds that eventually these things would find their own employment et cetera. So one difference between us on this industrial base issue is to be more aggressive about employing the resources that are freed up.

Secondly, we are much more concerned, as you say, about the ability to produce weapon systems in the future. In other words, what kind of a base are we doing as we go through this downsizing?

And going through the period of the downsizing is the most difficult, because once you hit a constant base, you'll be all right because you'll be able build a certain number of ships and tanks and planes on a regular schedule. You'll be able to do some work. It's getting from here to there, where you're not buying anything. Because, if you start out with 81 submarines and you're heading for 45, well, the first thing is that you're always above what you need and you're -- and the submarine fleet keeps getting younger because you keep taking out the older ones. So it'll be a long time before you build a submarine -- you need to build a submarine.

We are concerned about whether there are some critical technologies that will be lost when you run into those kind of gaps. And as you rightly point out, the submarine is one example.

Q: Do you have any idea how much this is going to cost? If you will, again, artificially maintain this base --

SEC. ASPIN: Yeah, it's -- what it means is that it's about a \$1.8 billion cost and you get a submarine out of the deal.

Q: But I'm talking about in other programs, too. Won't we have any idea of what the overall cost --

SEC. ASPIN: This -- no. This is the big one. There's nothing else like this.

Q: But what about aircraft carriers (inaudible) maintaining the aircraft carrier industrial base? I assume you've developed CVN-76?

Q: And are you essentially creating an industrial policy with the --

SEC. ASPIN: Not one that would be applied nationwide. I mean, we're talking about a policy which is essentially focused on the defense budgets.

Let me just -- there's one other part to Charlie's question that relates to what you're asking. That is the question -- and it has to do with this industrial policy or the interaction between defense and economics -- and that is that one of the things we'd like to do is to make the US economy create more jobs, be more competitive internationally. And the question is, is there some role that the Defense Department can plan in that? The answer is yes. The Defense Department, in its R&D budget, is amazingly able to invent new technologies. We are also the best country in the world to take that technology and weaponize it as the experts say, turn it into effective weapons, highly-accurate weapons.

So we develop R&D breakthroughs, and then we weaponize it. But what has been happening in the world is that other countries have been taking our R&D and commercializing it. It's a long list -- the fax machine, VCRs -- it's a long list of products that have been developed by the United States and principally by the US military for military uses and have been commercialized by some other country. Part of what we have going here is an attempt to make it easier for American companies to commercialize the spin-offs of our military R&D. That's where you create jobs. That's where you create high-tech jobs. That's where you create high-paying, high-wage jobs, is to get these R&D products that are developed for military uses and figure out how to install them in the commercial market. So that's the third part of this three-part program.

But as I say, it's an industrial policy that relates to defense. We have not thought in terms of doing behind defense.

Q: Mr. Secretary, it seems that your transition from "win, hold, win" to win two nearly simultaneous regional conflicts is more political rhetoric than it is substance, because you actually go -- you have fewer forces to do it. You have one less army National Guard division. You have one extra carrier, but you can't deploy it because you have one fewer carrier air wing. I mean -- and you're -- and timing of when you redeploy to the second contingency is an open-ended thing. So it's basically "win, hold, win" by a different name.

SEC. ASPIN: No. Not true, but let Colin explain. (Laughter.)

Q: You're a short-timer. You can do it. (Laughter.)

GEN. POWELL: I don't think that's an accurate assessment. The carrier you're talking about can be surged. It can pick up maybe a reserve air wing, or it could pick up an active air wing that happens to be in the continental United States at the time working up for another carrier deployment. So there's flexibility with respect to that.

Obviously, as a conservative military officer, I always like to have more, but looking at this strategy carefully with the chiefs and with the Joint Staff and running a lot of war games and examining the changes that have taken place in the world, we are comfortable that we can move from our previous plan down to this new level that came out of the bottom-up review and still be able to, at an acceptable level, give us the ability to deal with these two major regional conflicts near simultaneously.

The real constraint is lift, getting to them, depending on how separated they are in time. I can't help you with how separated they are in time, because that's the uncertainty we deal with. I hope that they remain separated in time forever. The best guarantee of that happening is to make

sure that you show that second regional potential aggressor that you have the capability to get there near simultaneously to deal with that conflict.

So I don't think it is a political statement at all. I think that the force structure we have arrived at is a solid one. It is clearly linked to the political objectives that the president and the secretary have laid down to us. It is achievable with the dollars that I suspect will be available to the department. And I think it's a good, sound military strategy.

SEC. ASPIN: Let me just finish up on that question that Otto asked. The basic difference between "win, hold, win" and "win-win" is not in the force structure, as you've noticed. The force structure essentially looks like the same for both of them. The key is how fast can you get something in there, and the obvious answer to moving from "win, hold, win" to "win-win" is to get more lift. A problem is that in the short run you can't get more lift. I mean, you know, there's a certain time limit to get the more lift. Plus, we have problems with one of the key elements of this lift, which is the C-17.

So the question then is, is there some other way, other than lift, to get more capability into the theater there earlier which would be the equivalent of more lift? And the answer was that chart that Colin had on the enhancements. And it is things like pre-positioning. It is things like having another carrier which allows you to get carrier air support in there earlier. It is things like having these new weapons and a capability to stop the invading army through airpower. It's a whole series of enhancements that you're looking at that substitute for the lift.

But basically the number of forces that you have to fight both of these wars is not different. I mean, it's a two MRC scenario in either case. The question of whether you can get them there and what you can get there early is the key, and that's what changes a "win, hold, win" strategy into a "win-win" strategy.

Q: Mr. Secretary?

SEC. ASPIN: Yes, sir?

Q: A two-part question, if I may -- one, force structure, and the other -- well, since you're the boss, maybe you can handle both. Supposing you have more than two contingencies with -- given the world the way it is, it's possible. The other question really comes under the category of what I would call the "emperor's new clothes." I mean, as you consider gaming at the war colleges, it would seem to me that you're going to cut forces anyway at the end of the Cold War. Four divisions would seem fairly obvious along with the air wings and others. And if this is a comprehensive, extensive review, and I think gaming could accomplish the missions for two of these in a relatively short time, my bottom-line question to you is what's really new?

SEC. ASPIN: A lot of things are new. The focus of this effort is towards two regional contingencies, which is very different from the base force. I mean, the base force --

Q: Suppose you have more than two.

SEC. ASPIN: Well, I mean, let's get to that question second. But if you look at the layout of what we're trying to do here, we've got some initiatives in this bill that you would not have had before. You've got dealing explicitly with two MRCs, and you've got identified the possible bad guys that you may need to deal with with the MRCs. What you've got is, of course, is force structure which is smaller than what we had before, but we've got a force structure which in some cases has got more, as the chairman pointed out with the Marines. It is a force...a defense budget which has changed its focus from one threat -- Soviet Union/Warsaw Pact -- to a new world of a whole new

of threats. And that shapes the budget, and that is what shapes it. That's what's new. It's fundamental propositions.

We then go through and see how many...what we've got to work with. We're going to need resources, as we will see, in terms of R&D. We're going to need some capabilities that we don't have. This drives you to consideration that there are certain kinds of capabilities that we don't have in our inventory. But what you've got in the first instance is a set of weapons systems and force structure that was designed for a different purpose.

Now we look at what we need for this new purpose we find that some of it we don't need, so cancelling as some of those weapons -- some of those aircraft that we had. We find that some things that we need, we have; we can still use exactly the way they were designed. Great. Some of the things that we had we can use but we have to redesign them for something else. The B-2, instead of being a nuclear bomber, will be a silver bullet kind of conventional bomber like the F-117 was at the outset of the war. We find that there are certain capabilities that we wish we had in this new world that we don't have because we never had the R&D program for it because we were thinking in terms of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. We're going to have to get an R&D program to develop that.

Q: The other part of the question? Two or more?

EC. ASPIN: Two or more.

Q: I mean, you -- the whole contingency is for two. How did you arrive at the magic two? What about if it's three, four or half a dozen?

SEN. POWELL: Pick a number, and I'll try to give you a force structure associated with that. But our best assessment was that these two areas of the world pointed out for major contingencies are the two most likely, and the two that would be absolutely devastating to our interests. We would have to do something about them. So, as a minimum, we have to be able to deal with these two.

Now, if others come along, we may have to use the force -- remember my chart that said the force that actually comes along may have to use the forces we prepared for these two. If they all start to come along simultaneously, it starts to look like World War III and the Cold War again and -- you may have to build your force back up.

We can't be sure that, at some point in the future, the world starts to look different and it requires a buildup. But our best projection right now of what the world is liable to look like is that this is a pretty sound analysis of what we have to be able to do and the structure that we designed will allow us to do that.

Q: This is a two-part question. Number one, which of your future opponents -- theoretical threats -- justifies the need for even 45 to 50 attack submarines and 18 boomers? That's part one. Number two, in projecting ahead as to future opponents, did you foresee them making any doctrinal changes or developing with the possible exception of the occasional -- the small number of nuclear weapons -- but did you see them developing any new type of threat that would be qualitatively different from the Iraq that this country demolished in 1990, '91?

EC. ASPIN: Well, let me ask Colin to address the second one. In terms of the submarine force that we looked at was a number of -- there are a number of different ways of using submarines beyond the traditional use of submarines which are going to be looked at and which have been suggested and we're taking a look at. That's why we say we're looking at a number between 45

and 55. For the purposes of this five-year defense budget, we're going to have a 55 force anyway. I mean, you don't come down that fast. We have time to look at this question. It may turn out that 45 is too many, but I think that we're going to continue to look at that and to look at the question of what does it mean for submarines now in this world, what kind of thing it is.

The 18 -- as you say, the nuclear-carrying -- the Trident-carrying submarines -- that's a wholly different thing. That's being driven at this point essentially by START I and START II considerations, and we're looking -- we will be -- when we finish this bottom-up review, the presentation of it and getting it incorporated in the next round of POMs, we will go back and look at the strategic forces. We did not look at the strategic forces very heavily here because they were driven by the START I agreement and the START II agreement and those numbers were kind of fixed in the short run. So we saw no chance to influence those, except later.

Colin, do you want to talk about the --

GEN. POWELL: With respect to -- I might add a point on submarines. We found the other capabilities of submarines particularly useful -- the ability to fire Tomahawks. And so I think there is a continuing role for our submarines. I might point out that there have been a proliferation to some extent of diesel submarines around the world, sort of a weapon of cheap choice. You may notice there are now some submarines prowling the Persian Gulf which do not belong to us or any of our friends. So I think there's a continuing role for the submarine.

And your question with respect to is there anyone else around that rises to the level, say, of what we thought the Iraqi looked like in '90 and '91 we're able to deal with --

Q: (inaudible) projected a more thoughtful or crafty foe?

GEN. POWELL: Well, I don't know. I hope -- at the moment I don't see one. I hope it stays that way, but I will never recommend to any of my civilian leaders that we should, therefore, reduce the quality of our forces or the sophistication of our forces to the lowest common denominator. The reason we were so successful is we, in Desert Storm, made that investment in quality and high technology. We also have to, I think, be very sensitive to some of the developments we see around the world with respect to accuracy of chief weapons. The information revolution is, perhaps, making it possible for some of these Third World countries to develop capabilities quite rapidly that might look rather sophisticated in a few years.

SEC. ASPIN: Last one.

Q: Mr. Secretary?

SEC. ASPIN: There's other people who will be here to ask questions, so we're not the only guys you can talk to. Go ahead.

Q: Back to industrial policy. On military infrastructure and support --

SEC. ASPIN: Before we do that. Bob, on your question, who else might do it, the other possible -- I mean, the other capable, I would think, out there would be a reversal of reform in Russia as a potential. Where would there be a real challenge. Not just -- you're saying not just a challenge in manpower and in tanks, but a challenge in new technology and new capability. You know, no, it's not likely to come from the Iraqs of the world, but it...and, you know, maybe two or three years from now we'll feel more comfortable about being able to predict for certain the future of Russia.

Go ahead, Tom.

Q: On military infrastructure and support, we have this enormous tail out there, and you seem to have looked at it and come out with the same conclusion as the roles and missions, which is, "Gee, somebody should do something about all that." My question is, what are you going to do about it, or are you just going to leave it to the BRAC?

SEC. ASPIN: In terms of which, the...

Q: The giant military infrastructure, the support services, all the tail.

SEC. ASPIN: Well, yeah, it's a long story, and it's not completely worked out yet. But it is something that we will take it very, very seriously. The whole infrastructure problem is being given

...
I'll tell you what. When [deleted] comes here in a little while, you ask old [deleted].
(Laughter.) Yeah.

GEN. POWELL: Can I --

SEC. ASPIN: Go ahead. Go ahead. Sure.

GEN. POWELL: I wish we didn't have to just leave it to the BRAC, but the BRAC is the process that the Congress established so we could look at drawing down our bases and our depot structure in a sensible way. So we get a bite at the apple every couple of years. And we have taken a big bite of the apple in '93. I suspect the Secretary will have to take another big bite of the apple in '95.

SEC. ASPIN: Bigger. Bigger.

GEN. POWELL: But the department is trapped to some extent by the political reality of infrastructure drawdown and base closures.

Q: Well, General Cairns, in the Air Force, had an entirely different approach, which was to downsize the depots through contract by contract, and you seem to have rejected that approach.

SEC. ASPIN: Well, I mean, not totally. We'll look at that. This is important, and the only thing to say is that we started with the items that you see before us. The last thing we got to there was the foundations, and the infrastructure's in there. That is absolutely critical. Also critical is establishing some kind of benchmarks, some kind of incentives. I mean, we're talking about a major attempt to figure out how to do that, and we'll be back to you.

Should we give Charlie Cordrey one last...

Q: Thank you, sir.

SEC. ASPIN: In honor for his age and decrepitness? (Laughter.)

Q: The question is for General Powell. When Congressman Aspin said that the base force did not take account of a post-Soviet situation, you described him as mistaken in a television program.

SEC. ASPIN: That's nicer than how he described me, though.

Q: General, briefly, what changed your mind? But specifically, how much additional risk do these top-down cuts impose on the defense establishment?

GEN. POWELL: I don't think they pose any additional risk.

Q: You mean there's no difference between ten divisions and 14?

GEN. POWELL: Of course there is. Of course there is. You know, I could make an argument that we probably -- you know, I could make an argument that maybe you want to stay at 18 until this period of uncertainty is completed. But that really wasn't in the cards. It wasn't an argument I could reasonably make.

In 1990 and '91 and into '92, when we were developing and presenting the base force, we presented it as a force that looked to us as a prudent force to go down to in light of what we saw at that time. It was controversial. There were those who thought we were going too fast, those who thought we were going too slow. And you remember all of those battles, Charles.

Your colleague and friend, Secretary Aspin, now my boss, he wins the debates now. He didn't always win the debates. (Laughter.) But we had great fun and a lot of excitement debating that issue. The Secretary pointed out at that time that he didn't believe we took fully into account the total collapse of the Soviet Union in December of 1991. The point we made back at the time is that we had anticipated a fundamental change in the nature of the Soviet Union, and I think that's a true statement, but we didn't predict its absolute collapse the way it happened.

The Secretary and I have also discussed that even since those days of intense debate, we've seen something of a third revolution. I mean, nobody quite thought we would see Eastern Europe looking the way Eastern Europe is looking today. Nobody back then thought of a Somalia, and this was really with the background of Desert Storm. So with a little more time passing, with another review of the strategy, I think the base force served its purpose as a transitional concept coming out of the Cold War period, and as Secretary Aspin testified, if I may, Mr. Secretary -- when we were testifying on the budget earlier, he said what we're now doing in the bottom-up review is kind of the -- like the successor to the base force, and builds on some of the work we did during the base force because the strategy underpinning is quite similar, and it ought to be quite similar because the world looks the same to us, whether you were wearing base force eyes or bottom-up review eyes. You have those two major regional contingencies that it is prudent for us to be able to deal with.

So I'm very comfortable with where we are, as are all my colleagues on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as are the commanders of the unified commands who will have to go out and fight these conflicts.

SEC. ASPIN: And the other thing, Charlie, is the -- I mean, the lift study that you guys [JCS] did. They began a lift study and a few other studies under the base force which is absolutely critical. I mean, we just -- it's been tremendously helpful in putting together the bottom-up review. That actually laid out exactly what we need to have here.

So a lot of that work was done that we've been building on -- a lot of the work under the base force we've been building on here.

Thank you all very much. Thank you.

(end)



Bottom-Up Review

1 September 1993

Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense

Colin Powell, General, USA
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff



New Dangers

Bottom
Up
Review

- **Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction, Delivery Systems**
 - Other Countries - North Korea, Iran, Iraq, etc.
 - Former Soviet Union
- **Regional Dangers**
 - Large-Scale Aggression, Intimidation
 - Ethnic, Religious, and Internal Conflict
 - State-Sponsored Terrorism
- **Dangers to Democracy, Reform and Civil Order**
 - In the Former Soviet Empire
 - In Developing World
- **Dangers of a Weak Economy**
 - Lack of Domestic Prosperity
 - Lack of International Competitiveness
 - Lack of Environmental Security



Bottom - Up Review: Analytic Process

Bottom
Up
Review

**POST-COLD WAR
WORLD:
NEW
DANGERS,
OPPORTUNITIES**



**STRATEGY TO
ADDRESS
DANGERS,
SEIZE
OPPORTUNITIES**



Force Structure Options

- Major Regional Conflict
- Reserve Components
- Peace Enforcement Operations
- Overseas Presence
- Strategic Mobility/Prepositioning
- Deter the Use of WMD

Modernization Choices

- Ballistic Missile Defense
- Theater Air
- Submarines
- Aircraft Carriers
- Space Lift
- Military Satellite Comms
- Attack Helicopters

Initiatives

- Cooperative Threat Reduction
- Counter New Nuclear Dangers
- Democratization/ Humanitarian Ops
- Defense Reinvestment

Foundations

- Readiness
- Acquisition Reform
- Infrastructure



Unprecedented Collaborative Effort

Bottom
Up
Review

Bottom - Up Review

OSD Policy

Marine Corps

OSD
Acquisition

Air Force

Joint Staff

Navy

Army

Steering Group

- OSD
- Program Analysis & Evaluation
 - Comptroller
 - Personnel & Readiness
 - Reserve Affairs
 - C3I

CINCs

- USDA - Chair - Mr Deutch
- VCJCS - ADM Jeremiah
- SR&R
- PA&E
- Personnel & Readiness
- Reserve Affairs
- Comptroller
- Services



Bottom-Up Review: What Does It Change?

Bottom
Up
Review

- *Defense Strategy*
- *Defense Planning Assumptions*
- *Force Sizing Criteria*
- *Modernization Criteria*
- *Role of Defense - Initiatives*
- *Management of Infrastructure and Defense Foundations*



Bottom - Up Review: Force Structure

Bottom
Up
Review

**POST-COLD WAR
WORLD:
NEW
DANGERS,
OPPORTUNITIES**



**STRATEGY TO
ADDRESS
DANGERS,
SEIZE
OPPORTUNITIES**



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Foundations

- Readiness
- Acquisition Reform
- Infrastructure



Purpose of U.S. Armed Forces

Bottom
Up
Review

We The People ...

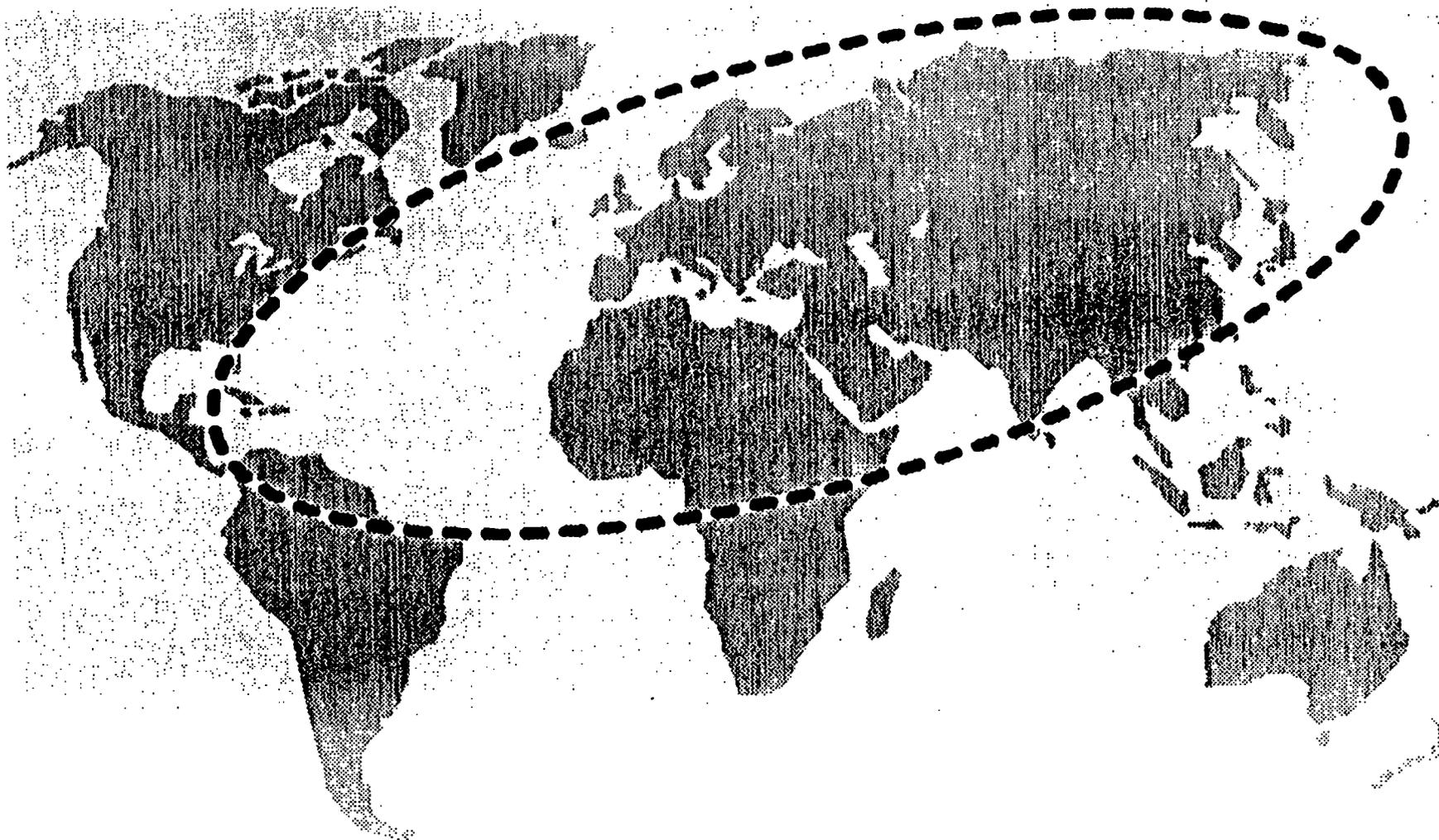
*...To Provide for the
Common Defense...*

- ***To Fight and Win
the Nation's Wars***



Cold War Force Planning

Bottom
Up
Review





Assumptions

Bottom
Up
Review

Cold War

New World

Threat Forces

Soviet Empire

Iraq, Korea ??

Warning Time

One to Two Weeks

One Day / Years

Coalition

Known

Depends on Issue

Conflict Environment

Europe/Heavy Force

Tropics to Desert

Mobility Factors

Crossing the Atlantic

Global

Risk

Nuclear Threshold

Spread of Conventional
and WMD Dangers

Maintenance & Support

Robust

Right-Sized to
Force Structure

Sustainability

Years

Months

Base Structure

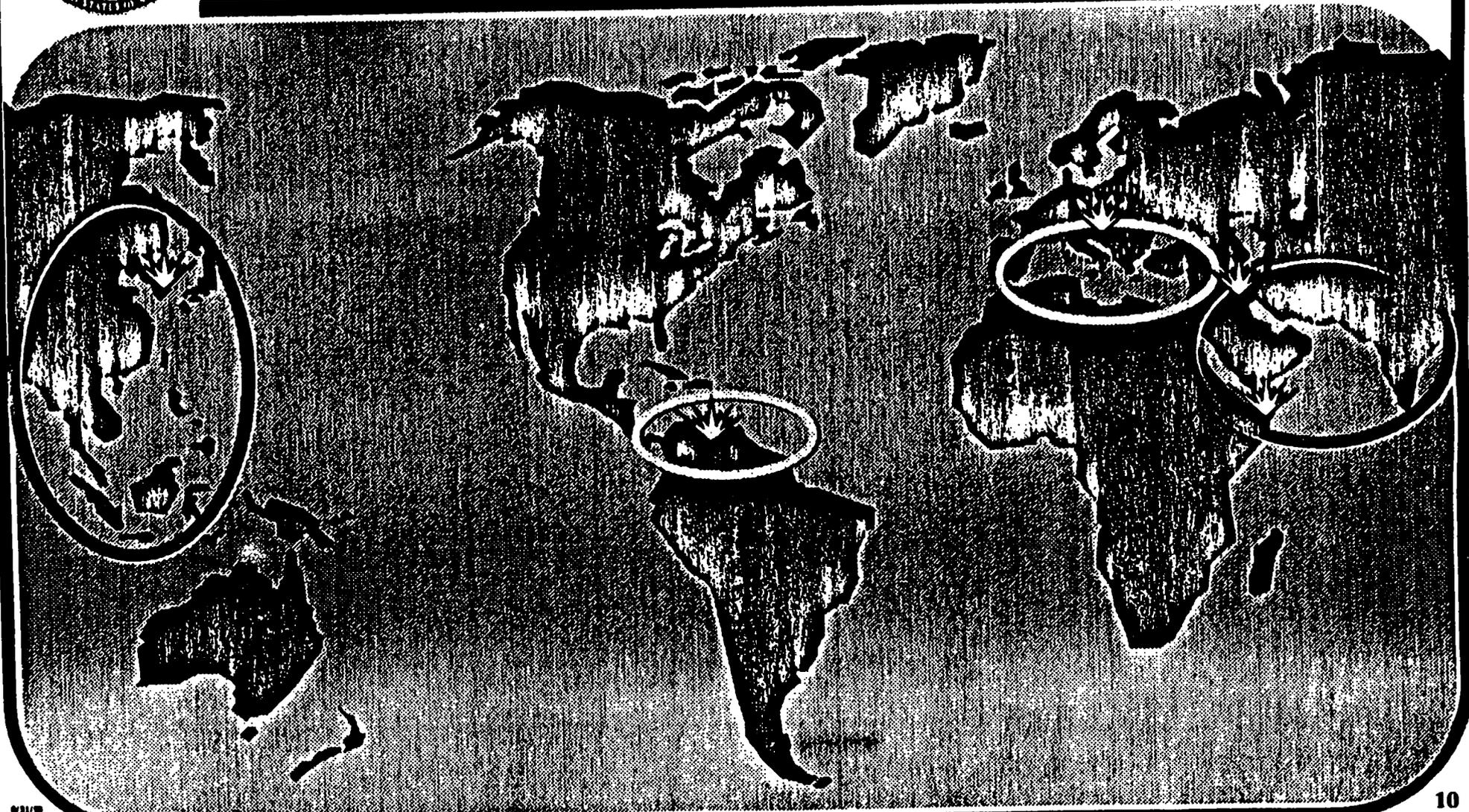
Robust

Right-Sized to
Force Structure



New World Regional Challenges

Bottom
Up
Review



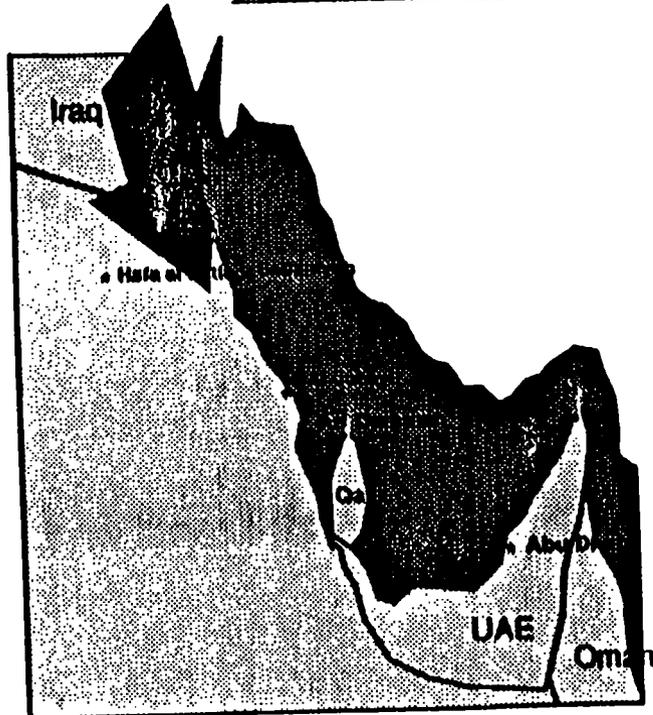


Force Sizing Major Regional Conflicts

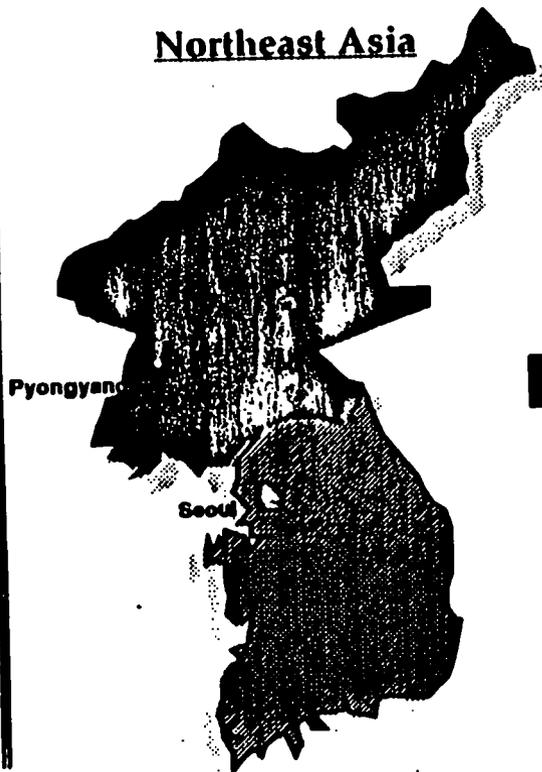
Bottom
Up
Review

Assessment

Southwest Asia

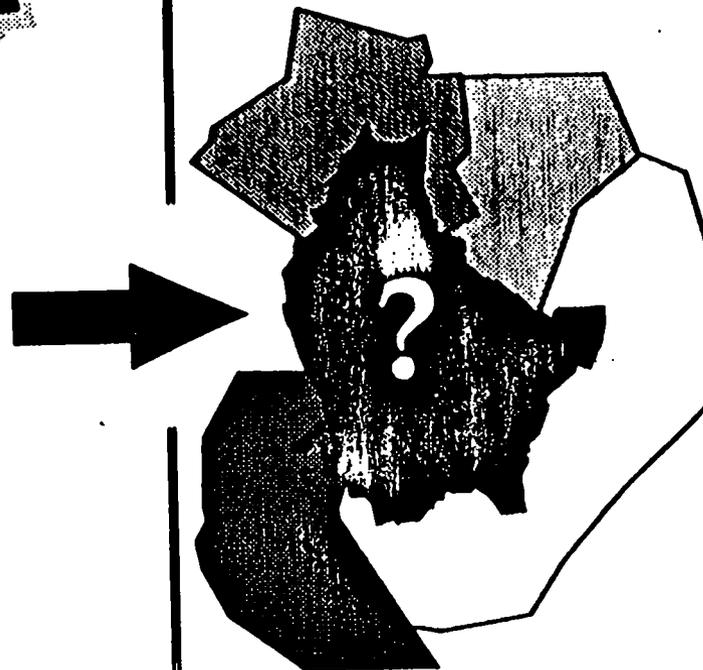


Northeast Asia



Employment

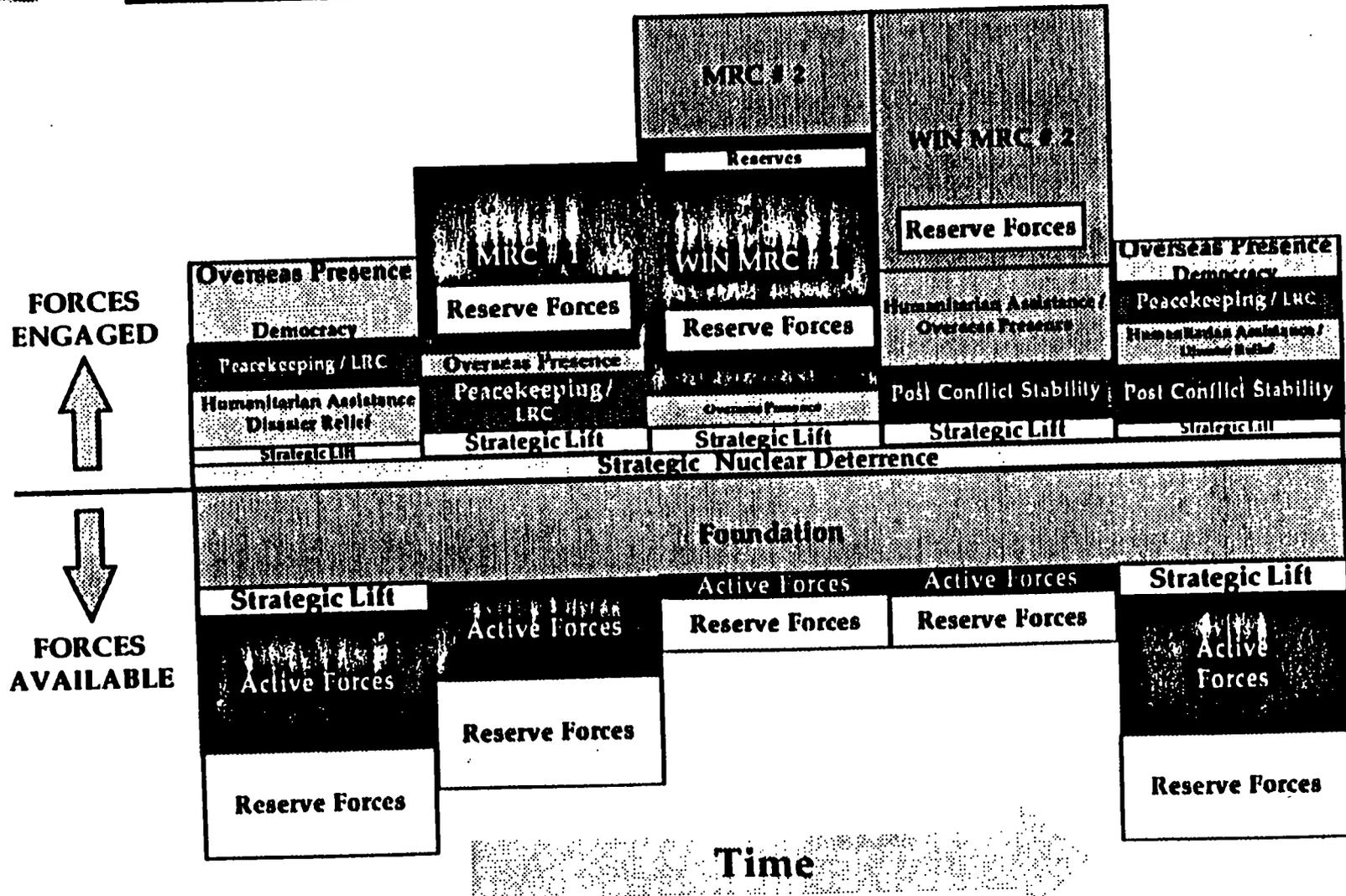
Country "X"





Conflict Dynamics

Bottom
Up
Review





Winning Two Nearly Simultaneous Major Regional Conflicts

Bottom
Up
Review

Campaign Phases.

Major Regional Conflict #1

Halt the Invading Force

Build up Forces;
Conduct Air Campaign

Mount Decisive Counteroffense

Provide for Post-War Stability

Deploy and Sustain Forces

Major Regional Conflict #2

Halt the Invading Force

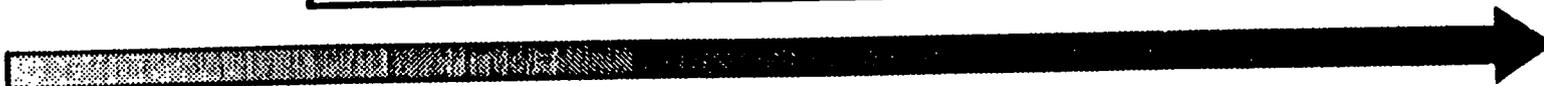
Build up Forces;
Conduct Air Campaign

Mount Decisive Counteroffense

Provide for Post-War Stability

Deploy and Sustain Forces

Time





Major Regional Conflict Force Options

Bottom
Up
Review

1

2

3

4

STRATEGY

	Win 1 Major Regional Conflict	Win 1 Major Regional Conflict with Hold in 2nd	Win in 2 Nearly Simultaneous Major Regional Conflicts	Win in 2 Nearly Simultaneous Major + Regional Conflicts
Forces:				
Army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8 Active Divisions • 6 Reserve Division Equivalents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 Active Divisions • 6 Reserve Division Equivalents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 Active Divisions • 15 Reserve Enhanced Readiness Brigades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 Active Divisions • 8 Reserve Division Equivalents
Navy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8 Carrier Battlegroups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 Carrier Battlegroups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 Carrier Battlegroups • 1 Reserve/training Carrier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 Carrier Battlegroups
Marine Corps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 Active Brigades • 1 Reserve Division 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 Active Brigades • 1 Reserve Division 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 Active Brigades • 1 Reserve Division 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 Active Brigades • 1 Reserve Division
Air Force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 Active Fighter Wings • 6 Reserve Fighter Wings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 Active Fighter Wings • 7 Reserve Fighter Wings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 Active Fighter Wings • 7 Reserve Fighter Wings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14 Active Fighter Wings • 10 Reserve Fighter Wings
			Force Enhancements	



Critical Force Enhancements

Bottom
Up
Review

- Additional Army prepositioned equipment
- Additional airlift/sealift
- Improved anti-armor and precision-guided munitions
- More early-arriving Navy air
- Improve Army National Guard combat brigade readiness
- Improve Army Guard and reserve support force readiness
- Improved Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence assets
- Retained Marine Corps endstrength



Overseas Presence

Bottom
Up
Review

- Europe - About 100,000 troops
- East Asia - About 98,000 troops
 - Korea
 - 2 Army brigades
 - Air Force wing
 - Expanded prepositioning
 - Japan
 - Carrier battle group
 - Amphibious ready group
 - Marine Expeditionary Force
 - Marine airwing
 - Air Force wings
- Southwest Asia
 - Periodic deployments of naval, air and ground forces
 - Expanded prepositioning
- Global Maritime Presence

Objectives

- Display U.S. commitment
- Deter regional aggression
- Prevent regional arms races
- Improve coalition effectiveness
- Provide initial response



Peacekeeping and Other Military Operations

Bottom
Up
Review

- **Disaster Relief**
- **Humanitarian Assistance**
- **Peacekeeping**
- **Peace Enforcement**
- **Embassy Evacuations**
- **Lesser Regional Conflicts**

*Forces for peacekeeping and peace enforcement
need specialized training, doctrine and
equipment*



U.S. Force Structure

Bottom
Up
Review

Forces	FY 1990	FY 1993	Bottom-Up Review
Army			
Active Divisions	18	14	10
National Guard Division Equivalents	10	6 (+2 Cadre)	5+
Navy			
Aircraft Carriers	15 + 1	13 + 0	11 + 1
Active/Reserve Airwings	13 / 2	11 / 2	10 / 1
Ships	546	443	346
Air Force			
Active Fighter Wings	24	16	13
Reserve Fighter Wings	12	12	7
Marine Corps			
Active Endstrength	197,000	182,000	174,000
Reserve Endstrength	44,000	42,000	42,000
Strategic Nuclear Forces			
Ballistic Missile Subs	34	22	18
Strategic Bombers (PAA)	301	201	Up to 184
ICBMs	1000	787	500



Bottom - Up Review: Modernization

Bottom
Up
Review

**POST-COLD WAR
WORLD:
NEW
DANGERS,
OPPORTUNITIES**



**STRATEGY TO
ADDRESS
DANGERS,
SEIZE
OPPORTUNITIES**



Force Structure Options

- Major Regional Conflict
- Reserve Components
- Peace Enforcement Operations
- Overseas Presence
- Strategic Mobility/Prepositioning
- Deter the Use of WMD

Modernization Choices

- Ballistic Missile Defense
- Theater Air
- Submarines
- Aircraft Carriers
- Space Lift
- Military Satellite Comms
- Attack Helicopters

Initiatives

- Cooperative Threat Reduction
- Counter New Nuclear Dangers
- Democratization/ Humanitarian Ops
- Defense Reinvestment

Foundations

- Readiness
- Acquisition Reform
- Infrastructure



Modernization

Bottom
Up
Review

- **Ballistic Missile Defense**
- **Theater Air**
- **Attack Submarines**
- **Aircraft Carriers**
- **Space Launch**
- **Military Satellite Communication**
- **Attack and Reconnaissance Helicopters**



Key Considerations

Bottom
Up
Review

- **Driven by New Dangers and New Strategy**
- **Prospects for Technology**
- **Different Nuclear Threat**
- **Industrial Base**
- **Acquisition Strategy**
- **International Cooperation**

**Consideration of Effectiveness and
Cost of Alternatives**



Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) Program Review

**Bottom
Up
Review**

Problems:

- **Regional theater ballistic missile threat here today**
- **New ballistic threat to US may emerge in future**
- **How much Theater Missile Defense (TMD)?**
- **Need for National Missile Defense (NMD)?**
- **How to reconcile programs with ABM treaty?**

Alternatives:

- **Core Theater Missile Defense (e.g. Patriot upgrades, etc.)
through robust Theater Missile Defense**
- **National Missile Defense - technology program or system
development or deployed system**



TMD / NMD Program Options

Bottom
Up
Review

Current FY 95 -99 is \$39B

TMD \ NMD		Technology Program		Tech Demo \$ 7 Billion	Acquisition Program	
		\$ 2 Billion Without BE:	\$ 3 Billion With BE:		\$ 8 Billion	\$ 10 Billion
PAC-3 CORE AEGIS / SM-2 Block IVA + BM / C	Additional TMD Investment \$ 14B					
	e.g. Sea- based Upper Tier \$ 12B		12 3 (18)			12 10 (25)
	Corps Sam \$ 10B			10 7 (20)		
	Ascent Phase \$ 9B	9 2 (15)				9 10 (23)

Costs are FY 95 - 99 TY \$ in Billions from CAIG

○ = Total Program (All Options Include Approximately \$3B for FOT and R&S)

Y = TMD

Z = NMD

□ = Final Options



Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) Program Review

**Bottom
Up
Review**

Selected Program:

- **Emphasizes theater missile defense development and deployment**
- **Focuses National Missile Defense on technology development**
- **Complies with ABM treaty**
- **Reduces BMD budget by \$ 21 billion**



Theater Air

Bottom
Up
Review

- **The Problem:**
 - Define Theater Air Capability that Meets Military Need at Affordable Costs

- **Current Program**
 - Too Many New Airplanes
 - » F-22, A/F-X, F/A-18E/F, MRF
 - Aging Fleet
 - » A-6, F-15C, F-14
 - Too Large Force Structure



Theater Air

Bottom
Up
Review

Decisions:

- Proceed with F/A-18E/F (2001); ground attack upgrades for F-14; retire A-6; cancel F/A-18C/D after 1997
- Proceed with F-22 (2003) with ground attack capability
- Cancel A/F-X, MRF now; cancel F-16 after FY94
- Joint Advanced Strike Technology Program
 - Critical components
 - Technology demonstrators
 - Joint munitions
- Conventional capabilities for B-1, B-2
- Standoff Weapons for deep strike / hard targets



Attack Submarine Program Review

Bottom
Up
Review

Problem:

- Maintaining capacity to build submarines we need

Questions:

- When do we need to build submarines again?
- What is the best way to get the new submarines?

Alternatives:

- Shutdown, then restart production
- Bridge production



Attack Submarine Program Review

Bottom
Up
Review

Decisions:

- Complete third SSN 21 at Groton, CT to maintain two nuclear capable shipyards
- Develop and build New Attack Submarine (NAS)



Carrier Force Levels, Warfighting Risk and Overseas Presence

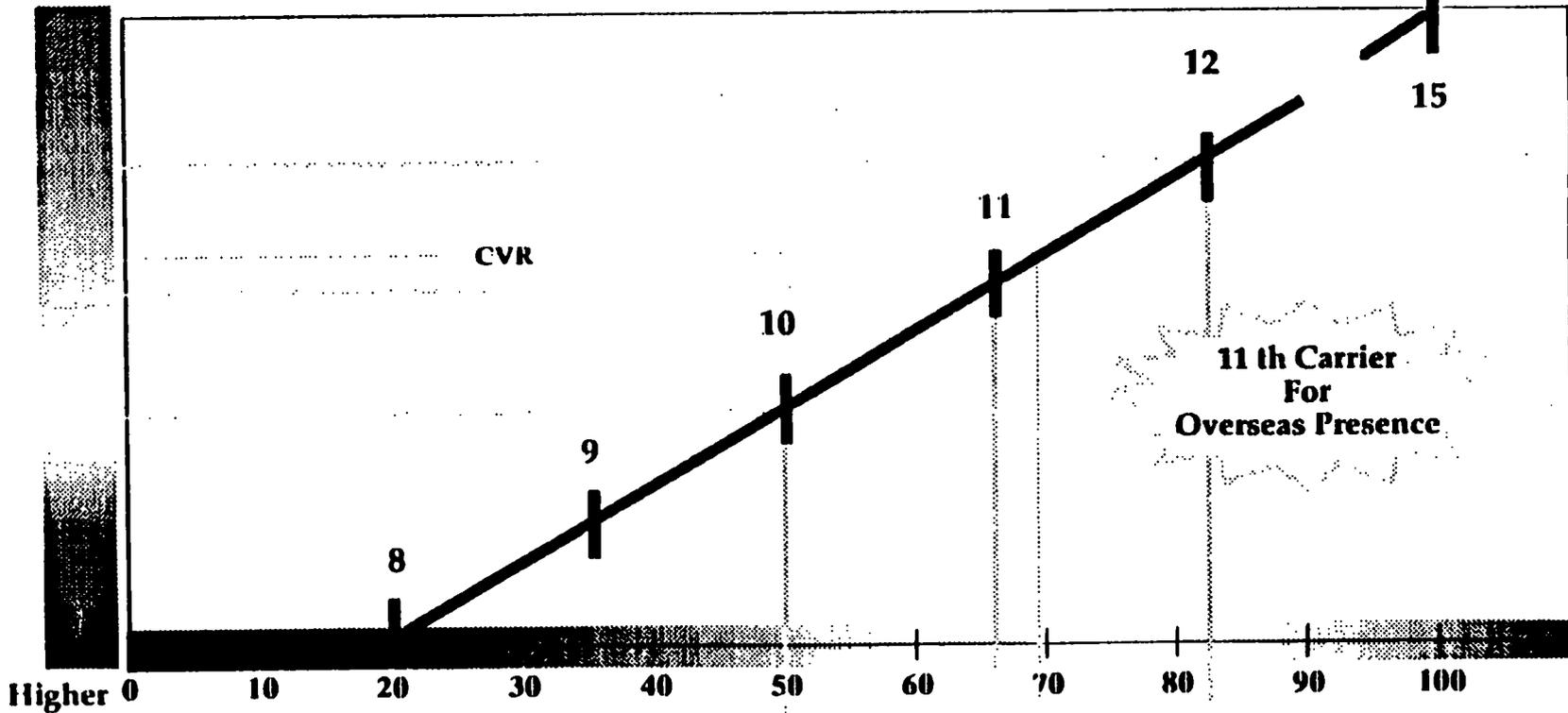
Bottom
Up
Review

Warfighting Risk

Lower

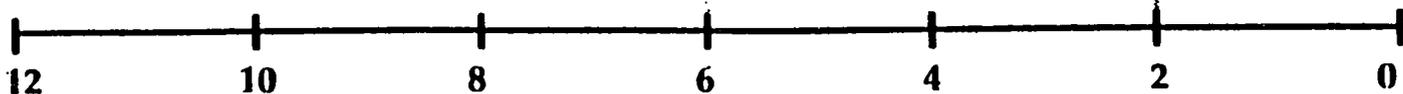
Carrier Force Level

Win 2 Nearly Simultaneous MRCs



Percent Presence in Two Regions with Full-Time Presence in Third Region

Average gap (Months) in Other 2 Regions





Bottom - Up Review: Initiatives

Bottom
Up
Review

**POST-COLD WAR
WORLD:
NEW
DANGERS,
OPPORTUNITIES**



**STRATEGY TO
ADDRESS
DANGERS,
SEIZE
OPPORTUNITIES**



Force Structure Options

- Major Regional Conflict
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Modernization Choices

- Ballistic Missile Defense
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- Space Lift
- Military Satellite Comms
- Attack Helicopters

Initiatives

- Cooperative Threat Reduction
- Counter New Nuclear Dangers
- Democratization
- Humanitarian Ops
- Defense Reinvestment

Foundations

- Readiness
- Acquisition Reform
- Infrastructure



Initiatives

Bottom
Up
Review

- **Cooperative Threat Reduction**
- **Counter New Nuclear Dangers**
- **FSU Defense/Military Partnership**
- **Environmental Security**
- **Dual Use Technology**



Bottom - Up Review: Foundations

Bottom
Up
Review

POST-COLD WAR
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NEW
DANGERS,
OPPORTUNITIES



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Infrastructure

Bottom
Up
Review

Eliminate Excess Infrastructure

- Close or realign bases
- Consolidate training, maintenance and supply
- Reduce costly overhead

**Reform the defense acquisition
process**



Bottom-Up Review: What Does It Change?

Bottom
Up
Review

FY95 - 99

- **Provides** additional Army prepositioned equipment
- **Enhances** readiness of Army National Guard combat brigades
- **Retains** additional Marine Corps endstrength
- **Proposes** New Initiatives to meet New Dangers
- **Develops** V-22
- **Provides** precision strike capabilities for F-14, F-22, B-1, B-2
- **Establishes** Joint Advanced Strike Technology Program for next generation aircraft
- **Preserves** submarine industrial base
- **Preserves** carrier industrial base
- **Begins** acquisition reform
- **Properly sizes** support establishment
- **Restructures** Ballistic Missile Defense Program



Bottom-Up Review: What Does It Change?

Bottom
Up
Review

FY95 - 99

- **Reduces Infrastructure**
Reduces about 115,000 civilian personnel
- **Reduces about 160,000 active personnel**
- **Cancels A/FX**
- **Cancels MRF**
- **Cancels F-16 after FY94**
- **Cancels F/A-18C/D after FY97**
- **Retires A-6**
- **Cuts 2 active Army divisions**
- **Cuts 1 reserve Army division**
- **Cuts 3 active Air Force fighter wings**
- **Cuts 4 reserve Air Force fighter wings**
- **Cuts 1 active Navy airwing**
- **Cuts 1 reserve Navy airwing**
- **Cuts 1 aircraft carrier**
- **Reduces carrier force level to 11**
- **Cuts 55 surface ships and submarines**



Bottom-Up Review: What Does It Protect?

**Bottom
Up
Review**

“The men and women who serve under the American Flag will be the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting force in the world, so long as I am President.”

**President Bill Clinton
February, 1993**

THE BOTTOM-UP REVIEW:

Forces For A New Era



**Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense**

September 1, 1993

NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD

Introduction

The Cold War is behind us. The Soviet Union is no longer. The threat that drove our defense decision-making for four and a half decades — that determined our strategy and tactics, our doctrine, the size and shape of our forces the design of our weapons, and the size of our defense budgets — is gone.

Now that the Cold War is over, the questions we face in the Department of Defense are: How do we structure the armed forces of the United States for the future? How much defense is enough in the post-Cold War era?

Several important events over the past four years underscore the revolutionary nature of recent changes in the international security environment and shed light on this new era and on America's future defense and security requirements.

- In 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism throughout Eastern Europe precipitated a strategic shift away from containment of the Soviet empire.
- In 1990, Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait signaled a new class of regional dangers facing America — dangers spurred not by a global, empire-building ideological power, but by rogue leaders set on regional domination through military aggression while simultaneously pursuing nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons capabilities. The world's response to Saddam's invasion also demonstrated the potential in the new era for broad-based, collective military action to thwart such tyrants.
- In 1991, the failed Soviet coup demonstrated the Russian people's desire for democratic change and hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union as a national entity and military foe.

In the aftermath of such epochal events, it has become clear that the framework that guided our security policy during the Cold War is inadequate for the future. We must determine the characteristics of this new era, develop a new strategy, and restructure our armed forces and defense programs accordingly. We cannot, as we did for the past several decades, premise this year's forces, programs, and budgets on incremental shifts from last year's efforts. We must rebuild our defense strategy, forces, and defense programs and budgets from the bottom up.

The purpose of the Bottom-Up Review is to define the strategy, force structure, modernization programs, industrial base, and infrastructure needed to meet new dangers and seize new opportunities.

An Era of New Dangers

Most striking in the transition from the Cold War is the shift in the nature of the dangers to our interests, as illustrated in Figure 1.

The new dangers fall into four broad categories:

- **Dangers posed by nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction**, including dangers associated with the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons as well as those associated with the large stocks of these weapons that remain in the former Soviet Union.
- **Regional dangers**, posed primarily by the threat of large-scale aggression by major regional powers with interests antithetical to our own, but also by the potential for smaller, often internal, conflicts based on ethnic or religious animosities, state-sponsored terrorism, and subversion of friendly governments.

New Dangers

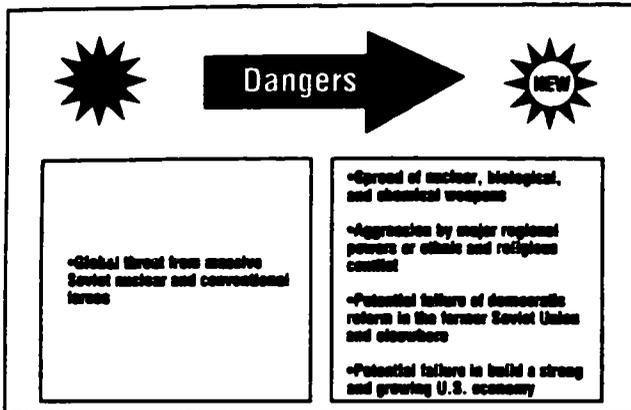


Figure 1

- Dangers to democracy and reform, in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere.
- Economic dangers to our national security, which could result if we fail to build a strong, competitive and growing economy.

Our armed forces are central to combating the first two dangers and can play a significant role in meeting the second two. Our predictions and conclusions about the nature and characteristics of these dangers will help mold our strategy and size and shape our future military forces.

An Era of New Opportunities

During the Cold War, few entertained realistic aspirations for a markedly safer, freer world. Our strategy of containment was, perforce, defensive in nature, designed primarily to hold the Soviet Union and China in check. Today, there is promise that we can replace the East-West confrontation of the Cold War with an era in which the community of nations, guided by a common commitment to democratic principles, free-market economics, and the rule of law, can be significantly enlarged.

As Figure 2 shows, beyond new dangers, there are new opportunities: realistic aspirations that, if we dedicate ourselves to pursue worthy goals, we can reach a world of greater safety, freedom, and prosperity. Our armed forces can contribute to this objective. In brief, we see new opportunities to:

- Expand and adapt our existing security partnerships and alliances and build a larger community of democratic nations.
- Promote new regional security arrangements and alliances to improve deterrence and reduce the potential for aggression by hostile regional powers.
- Implement the dramatic reductions in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the United States and the former Soviet Union achieved in the START I and II treaties.
- Protect and advance our security with fewer resources, freeing excess resources to be invested in other areas vital to our prosperity.

New Opportunities

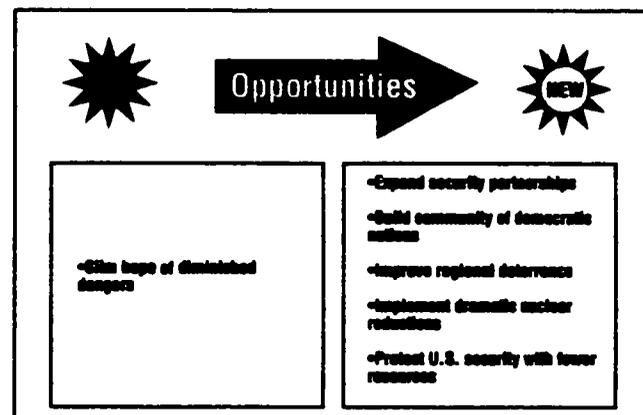


Figure 2

Objectives and Methodology of the Bottom-Up Review

We undertook the Bottom-Up Review to select the right strategy, force structure, modernization programs, and supporting industrial base and infrastructure to provide for America's defense in the post-Cold War era.

Figure 3 shows the step-by-step process we used to develop key assumptions, broad principles, and general objectives and translate them into a specific plan for our strategy, forces, and defense resources.

These steps included:

1. Assessing the post-Cold War era, and particularly the new dangers, opportunities, and uncertainties it presents.
2. Devising a U.S. defense strategy to protect and advance our interests in this new period.

Methodology of the Bottom-Up Review

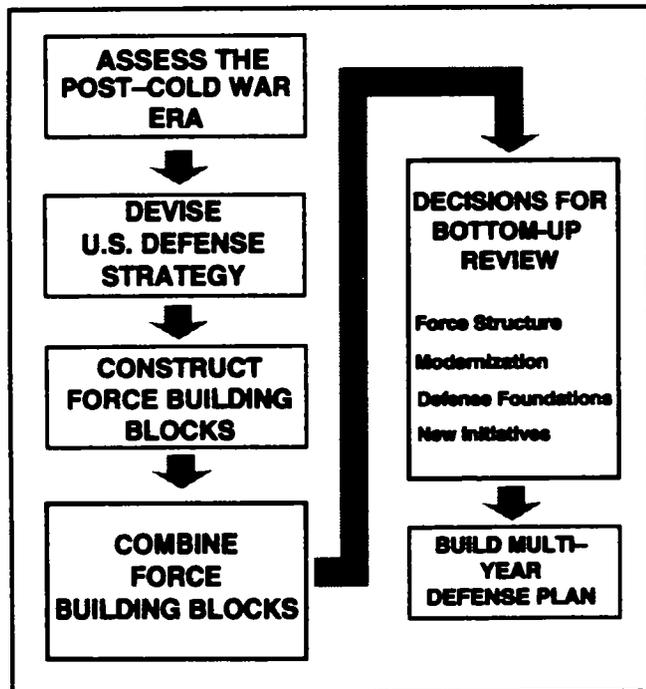


Figure 3

3. Constructing building blocks of forces to implement this strategy.

4. Combining these force building blocks to produce options for our overall force structure.

5. Complementing the force structure with weapons acquisition programs to modernize our forces, defense foundations to sustain them, and policy initiatives to address new dangers and take advantage of new opportunities.

With the Bottom-Up Review now complete, we will utilize its results to build a multi-year plan for America's future security, detailing the forces, programs, and defense budgets the United States needs to protect and advance its interests in the post-Cold War period.

The Bottom-Up Review represented a close collaboration between the civilian and military sectors of the Department of Defense. Task forces were established—including representatives from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the unified and specified commands, each of the armed services and, where appropriate, other defense agencies—to review the major issues entailed in planning defense strategy, forces, modernization programs, and other defense foundations. Numerous studies helped to formulate the key issues for decisionmakers and provided the analytical underpinning for our review.

We offer this plan for public consideration as a means of forming a new national consensus on America's strategic role in global affairs, the military instruments needed to fulfill that role, and the level of resources necessary to provide those instruments.

Building Future Capabilities: Guiding Principles

Certain other underlying principles guided our effort during the Bottom-Up Review. In his inaugural address, President Clinton pledged to keep America's military the best trained, best equipped, best prepared

fighting force in the world. To fulfill that pledge, we must keep it the focus of our effort throughout the planning, programming, and budgeting process.

First, we must **keep our forces ready to fight**. We have already witnessed the challenges posed by the new dangers in operations like Just Cause (Panama), Desert Storm (Iraq), and Restore Hope (Somalia). Each of these was a "come as you are" campaign with little time to prepare our forces for the challenges they met.

The new dangers thus demand that we keep our forces ready to fight as a top priority in allocating scarce defense resources. We must adequately fund operations and maintenance accounts, maintain sufficient stocks of spare parts, keep our forces well-trained and equipped, and take the other steps essential to preserving readiness.

A key element of maintaining forces ready to fight is to **maintain the quality of our people**, so that they remain the best fighting force in the world. This means keeping our personnel highly motivated by treating them fairly and maintaining their quality of life. It also means continuing to recruit talented young men and women, expanding career opportunities for all service personnel, and putting in place programs to ease the transition to civilian life for many of our troops as we bring down the size of our forces.

We must also **maintain the technological superiority** of our weapons and equipment. Operation Desert Storm demonstrated that we produce the best weapons and military equipment in the world. This technological edge helps us to achieve victory more swiftly and with fewer casualties. We must design a balanced modernization program that will safeguard this edge and the necessary supporting industrial base without buying more weapons than we need or can afford.

FORCES TO IMPLEMENT OUR DEFENSE STRATEGY

Major Regional Conflicts

During the Cold War, our military planning was dominated by the need to confront numerically superior Soviet forces in Europe, the Far East, and Southwest Asia. Now, our focus is on the need to project power into regions important to our interests and to defeat potentially hostile regional powers, such as North Korea and Iraq. Although these powers are unlikely to threaten the United States directly, these countries and others like them have shown that they are willing and able to field forces sufficient to threaten important U.S. interests, friends, and allies. Operation Desert Storm was a powerful demonstration of the need to counter such regional aggression.

Potential regional aggressors are expected to be capable of fielding military forces in the following ranges:

- 400,000 – 750,000 total personnel under arms
- 2,000 – 4,000 tanks
- 3,000 – 5,000 armored fighting vehicles
- 2,000 – 3,000 artillery pieces
- 500 – 1,000 combat aircraft
- 100 – 200 naval vessels, primarily patrol craft armed with surface-to-surface missiles, and up to 50 submarines
- 100 – 1000 Scud-class ballistic missiles, some possibly with nuclear, chemical, or biological warheads.

Military forces of this size can threaten regions important to the United States because allied or friendly states are often unable to match the power of such a potentially aggressive neighbor. Hence, we must prepare our forces to assist those of our friends and allies in deterring, and ultimately, defeating aggression, should it occur.

Scenarios as Planning Tools. Every war that the United States has fought has been different from the last, and different from what defense planners had envisioned. For example, the majority of the bases and facilities used by the United States and its coalition partners in Operation Desert Storm were built in the 1980s, when we envisioned a Soviet invasion through Iran to be the principal threat to the Gulf region. In planning forces capable of fighting and winning major regional conflicts (MRCs), we must avoid preparing for past wars. History suggests that we most often deter the conflicts that we plan for and actually fight the ones we do not anticipate.

For planning and assessment purposes, we have selected two illustrative scenarios that are both plausible and that posit demands characteristic of those that could be posed by conflicts with a wide range of regional powers. While a number of scenarios were examined, the two that we focused on most closely in the Bottom-Up Review envisioned aggression by a remilitarized Iraq against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and by North Korea against the Republic of Korea.

Neither of these scenarios should be regarded as a prediction of future conflicts, but each provides a useful representation of the challenge presented by a well-armed regional power initiating aggression thousands of miles from the United States. As such, the scenarios serve as yardsticks against which to assess, in gross terms, the capabilities of U.S. forces. Figure 4 illustrates the scenarios and their relationship to planning for force employment across a range of potential conflicts.

In each scenario, we examined the performance of projected U.S. forces in relation to many critical parameters, including warning time, the threat, terrain, weather, duration of hostilities, and combat intensity. Overall, these scenarios were representative of likely ranges of these critical parameters.

Both scenarios assumed a similar enemy operation: an armor-heavy, combined-arms offensive against the outnumbered forces of a neighboring state. U.S. forces, most of which were not present in the region when hostilities commenced, had to deploy to the region quickly, supplement indigenous forces, halt the invasion, and defeat the aggressor.

Such a short-notice scenario, in which only a modest number of U.S. forces are in a region at the commencement of hostilities, is both highly stressing and plausible. History shows that we frequently fail to anticipate the location and timing of aggression, even large-scale attacks against our interests. In such cases,

it may also not be possible, prior to an attack, to reach a political consensus on the proper U.S. response or to convince our allies to grant U.S. forces access to facilities in their countries.

We also expect that the United States will often be fighting as the leader of a coalition, with allies providing some support and combat forces. As was the case in Desert Storm, the need to defend common interests should prompt our allies in many cases to contribute capable forces to the war effort. However, our forces must be sized and structured to preserve the flexibility and the capability to act unilaterally, should we choose to do so.

Scenarios as Planning Tools

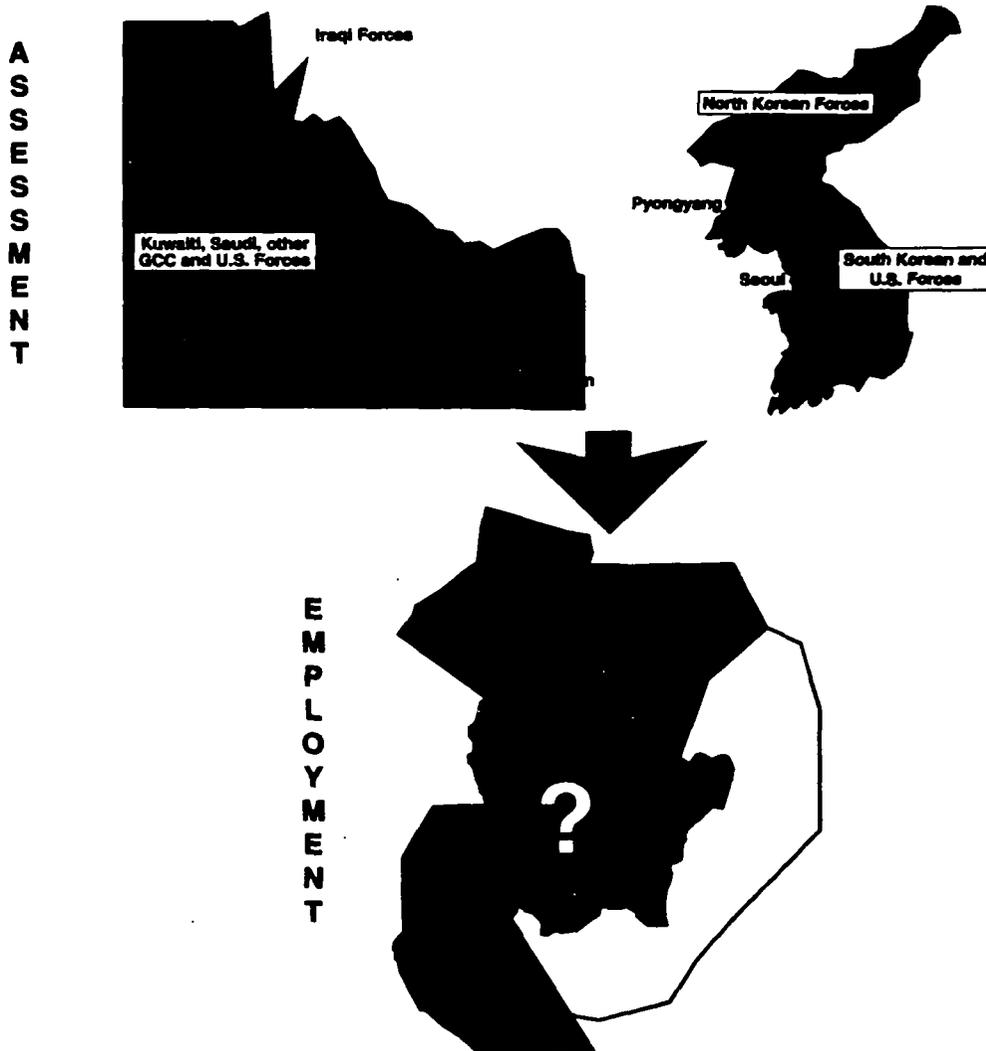


Figure 4

The Four Phases of U.S. Combat Operations

Our first priority in preparing for regional conflicts is to prevent them from ever occurring. This is the purpose of our overseas presence forces and operations, joint exercises, and other military capabilities — to deter potential regional aggressors from even contemplating an attack. Should deterrence fail and conflict occur, it is envisioned that combat operations would unfold in four main phases:

Phase 1: Halt the invasion. The highest priority in defending against a large-scale attack will most often be to minimize the territory and critical facilities that the invader can capture. Should important strategic assets fall to the invader, it might attempt to use them as bargaining chips. In addition, stopping the invasion quickly may be key to ensuring that the threatened ally can continue its crucial role in the collective effort to defeat the aggressor. Further, the more territory the enemy captures, the greater the price to take it back: The number of forces required for the counteroffensive to repel an invasion can increase, with correspondingly greater casualties, depending on the progress the enemy makes. In the event of a short-warning attack, more U.S. forces would need to deploy rapidly to the theater and enter the battle as quickly as possible.

Phase 2: Build up U.S. combat power in the theater while reducing the enemy's. Once the enemy attack had been stopped and the front stabilized, U.S. and allied efforts would focus on continuing to build up combat forces and logistics support in the theater while reducing the enemy's capacity to fight. Land, air, maritime, and special operations forces from the United States and coalition countries would continue to arrive. These forces would seek to ensure that the enemy did not regain the initiative on the ground, and they would mount sustained attacks to reduce the enemy's military capabilities in preparation for the combined-arms counteroffensive.

Phase 3: Decisively defeat the enemy. In the third phase, U.S. and allied forces would seek to mount

a large-scale, air-land counteroffensive to defeat the enemy decisively by attacking his centers of gravity, retaking territory he had occupied, destroying his war-making capabilities, and successfully achieving other operational or strategic objectives.

Phase 4: Provide for post-war stability. Although a majority of U.S. and coalition forces would begin returning to their home bases, some forces might be called upon to remain in the theater after the enemy had been defeated to ensure that the conditions that resulted in conflict did not recur. These forces could help repatriate prisoners, occupy and administer some or all of the enemy's territory, or to ensure compliance with the provisions of war-termination or cease-fire agreements.

Forces for Combat Operations

Described below are the types of forces that are needed to conduct joint combat operations in all four phases of an MRC.

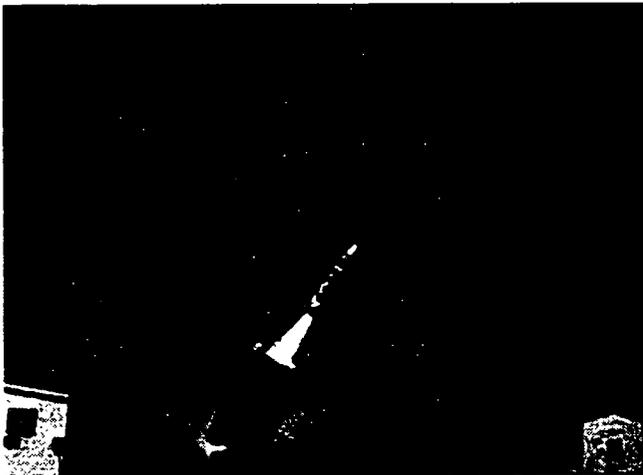
Forces for Phase 1. Primary responsibility for the initial defense of their territory rests, of course, with our allies. As forces of the besieged country move to blunt an attack, U.S. forces already in the theater would move rapidly to provide assistance. However, as already mentioned, we are drawing down our overseas presence in response to the end of the Cold War. Thus, the bulk of our forces, even during the early stages of conflict, would have to come from the United States. This places a premium on rapidly deployable yet highly lethal forces to blunt an attack.

The major tasks to be performed in this phase and beyond are:

- Help allied forces establish a viable defense that halts enemy ground forces before they can achieve critical objectives.
- Delay, disrupt, and destroy enemy ground forces and damage the roads along which they are moving, in order to halt the attack. U.S. attacks would be mounted by a combination of land- and seabased

strike aircraft, heavy bombers, long-range tactical missiles, ground maneuver forces with antiarmor capabilities, and special operations forces.

- Protect friendly forces and rear-area assets from attack by aircraft or cruise and ballistic missiles, using land and sea-based aircraft, ground- and sea-based surface-to-air missiles, and special operations forces.
- Establish air superiority and suppress enemy air defenses as needed, including those in rear areas and those accompanying invading ground forces, using land- and sea-based strike and jamming aircraft as well as surface-to-surface missiles, such as the Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS).
- Destroy high-value targets, such as weapons of mass destruction, and degrade the enemy's ability to prosecute military operations through attacks focused on his central command, control, and communications facilities. For such attacks, we would rely heavily on long-range bombers, land and sea-based strike aircraft, cruise missiles, and special operations forces.
- Establish maritime superiority, using naval task forces with mine countermeasure ships, in order to ensure access to ports and sea lines of communication, and as a precondition for amphibious assaults.



An ATACMS launch.

Forces for Phase 2. Many of the same forces employed in Phase 1 would be used in the second phase to perform similar tasks — grinding down the enemy's military potential while additional U.S. and other coalition combat power is brought into the region. As more land- and sea-based air forces arrived, emphasis would shift from halting the invasion to isolating enemy ground forces and destroying them, destroying enemy air and naval forces, destroying stocks of supplies, and broadening attacks on military-related targets in the enemy's rear area. These attacks could be supplemented with direct and indirect missile and artillery fire from ground, air, and sea forces.

Meanwhile, other U.S. forces, including heavy ground forces, would begin arriving in the theater to help maintain the defensive line established at the end of Phase I and to begin preparations for the counter-offensive.

Forces for Phase 3. The centerpiece of Phase 3 would be the U.S. and allied counteroffensive, aimed at engaging, enveloping, and destroying or capturing enemy ground forces occupying friendly territory. Major tasks within the counteroffensive include:

- Breaching tactical and protective minefields.
- Maneuvering to envelop or flank and destroy enemy forces, including armored vehicles in dug-in positions.
- Conducting or threatening an amphibious invasion.
- Dislodging and defeating infantry fighting from dug-in positions; defeating light infantry in urban terrain.
- Destroying enemy artillery.
- Locating and destroying mobile enemy reserves.

Combat power in this phase would include highly mobile armored, mechanized, and air assault forces, supported by the full complement of air power, special

operations forces, and land- and sea-based fire support. Amphibious forces would provide additional operational flexibility to the theater commander.

Forces for Phase 4. Finally, a smaller complement of joint forces would remain in the theater once the enemy had been defeated. These forces might include a carrier battle group, one to two wings of fighters, a division or less of ground forces, and special operations units.

Supporting Capabilities

The foregoing list of forces for the various phases of combat operations included only combat force elements. Several types of support capabilities would play essential roles throughout all phases.

Airlift. Adequate airlift capacity is needed to bring in forces and materiel required for the first weeks of an operation. In Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, the United States delivered to the Gulf region, on average, more than 2,400 tons of material per day by airlift. We anticipate that at least the same level of lift capacity will be needed to support high-intensity military operations in the opening phase of a future MRC and to help sustain operations thereafter.

Prepositioning. Prepositioning heavy combat equipment and supplies, both ashore and afloat, can greatly reduce both the time required to deploy forces to distant regions and the number of airlift sorties devoted to moving such supplies. Initiatives now underway will accelerate the arrival of the Army's heavy forces in distant theaters.

Sealift. In any major regional conflict, most combat equipment and supplies would be transported by sea. While airlift and prepositioning provide the most rapid response for deterrence and initial defense, the deployment of significant heavy ground and air forces, their support equipment, and sustainment must come by sea.

Battlefield Surveillance; Command, Control and Communications. Accurate information on the

location and disposition of enemy forces is a prerequisite for effective military operations. Hence, our planning envisions the early deployment of reconnaissance and command and control aircraft and ground-based assets to enable our forces to see the enemy and to pass information quickly through all echelons of our forces. Total U.S. intelligence and surveillance capability will be less than it was during the Cold War, but it will be better able to provide timely information to battlefield commanders. Advanced systems, such as the Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS), the upgraded Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), and the MILSTAR satellite communications system, will ensure that U.S. forces have a decisive advantage in tactical intelligence and communications.



Maritime prepositioning ships.

Advanced Munitions. As U.S. operations in the Gulf War demonstrated, advanced precision-guided munitions can dramatically increase the effectiveness of U.S. forces. Precision-guided munitions already in the U.S. inventory (for example, laser-guided bombs) as well as new types of munitions still under development are needed to ensure that U.S. forces can operate successfully in future MRCs and other types of conflicts. New "smart" and "brilliant" munitions under development hold promise of dramatically improving the capabilities of U.S. air, ground, and maritime forces to destroy enemy armored vehicles and halt invading ground forces, as well as destroy fixed targets at longer ranges, reducing exposure to enemy air defenses.

Aerial Refueling. Large numbers of aerial-refueling aircraft would be needed to support many components of a U.S. theater campaign. Fighter aircraft deploying over long distances require aerial refueling. Airlifters can also carry more cargo longer distances if enroute aerial refueling is available. Aerial surveillance and control platforms, such as AWACS and JSTARS, also need airborne refueling in order to achieve maximum mission effectiveness.

The MRC Building Block

In planning future force structure and allocating resources, we established forces levels and support which should enable us to win one MRC across a wide range of likely conflicts. Our detailed analyses of future MRCs, coupled with military judgment of the outcomes, suggest that the following forces will be adequate to execute the strategy outlined above for a single MRC:

- 4 - 5 Army divisions
- 4 - 5 Marine Expeditionary Brigades
- 10 Air Force fighter wings
- 100 Air Force heavy bombers
- 4 - 5 Navy aircraft carrier battle groups
- Special operations forces

These forces constitute a prudent building block for force planning purposes. In the event of an actual regional conflict, our response would depend on the nature and scale of the aggression and circumstances elsewhere in the world. If the initial defense fails to halt the invasion quickly, or if circumstances in other parts of the world permit, U.S. decisionmakers may decide to commit more forces than those listed (for example, two additional Army divisions.) These added forces would help either to achieve the needed advantage over the enemy, to mount the decisive counteroffensive, or accomplish more ambitious war objectives, such as the complete destruction of the enemy's war-making potential. But our analysis also led us to the conclusion that enhancements to our military forces, focused on ensuring our ability to conduct a successful initial defense, would both reduce our overall ground

force requirements and increase the responsiveness and effectiveness of our power projection forces.



U.S. Marines conducting amphibious assault exercise.

Fighting Two MRCs

In this context, we decided early in the Bottom-Up review that the United States must field forces sufficient to fight and win two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. This is prudent for two reasons:

- First, we need to avoid a situation in which the United States in effect makes simultaneous wars more likely by leaving an opening for potential aggressors, to attack their neighbors, should our engagement in a war in one region leave little or no force available to respond effectively to defend our interests in another.
- Second, fielding forces sufficient to win two wars nearly simultaneously provides a hedge against the possibility that a future adversary — or coalition of adversaries — might one day confront us with a larger-than-expected threat. In short, it is difficult to predict precisely what threats we will confront ten to twenty years from now. In this dynamic and unpredictable post-Cold War world we must maintain military capabilities that are flexible and sufficient to cope with unforeseen threats.

For the bulk of our ground, naval, and air forces, fielding forces sufficient to provide this capability involves duplicating the MRC building block described above. However, in planning our overall force struc-

ture, we must recognize two other factors. First, we must have sufficient strategic lift to deploy forces when and where we need them. Second, certain specialized high-leverage units or unique assets might be "dual tasked," that is, used in both MRCs.

For example, certain advanced aircraft — such as B-2s, F-117s, JSTARs, AWACS, and EF-111s — that we have purchased in limited numbers because of their expense would probably be dual-tasked.

Force Enhancements to Support Our Strategy

As previously mentioned, we have already undertaken or are planning a series of enhancements to our

forces to improve their capability, flexibility, and lethality. These enhancements are especially geared toward buttressing our ability to conduct a successful initial defense in any major regional conflict.

As shown in Figure 5, these enhancements include improving: (1) strategic mobility through more prepositioning and enhancements to airlift and sealift; (2) the strike capabilities of aircraft carriers; (3) the lethality of Army firepower; and (4) the ability of long-range bombers to deliver conventional smart munitions.

Strategic Mobility. Our plans call for substantial enhancements to our strategic mobility — most of

Force Enhancements to Halt a Short-Warning Attack

		Today's Force	Future Force
Persian Gulf Region	Prepo	1 Battalion Training Set 1 Maritime Prepositioning Ship (MPS) Squadron 7 Prepositioning Ships	2 Brigade Sets ashore 1 Brigade Set afloat* 1 MPS Squadron 7 Prepositioning Ships
	Forces	1 Carrier Battle Group (Tether)	1 Carrier Battle Group (Tether)
PHASE I Halt Invasion		FAIR - Lack of heavy forces to help stop invader - Insufficient prepositioning - Limited antiarmor capability - Limited Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM) capability	GOOD - 3 heavy brigade sets of prepositioned equipment - Increased early-arriving land-based and carrier aircraft and long-range bombers - Air, land, and sea antiarmor enhancements - Improved ATBM capability
	PHASE II Build Up Forces in Theater for Counteroffensive	FAIR - Slow closure due to modest sealift capability	GOOD - Airlift and sealift upgrades support rapid closure of heavy forces
KOREA	Prepo	1 Brigade-Sized Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) 1 MPS Squadron	1 Brigade Set ashore 1 Brigade Set afloat* 2 Brigade-sized MEF (2 MPS Squadrons)
	Forces	1 Division (2 Brigades) 2.4 Fighter Wings 1 Carrier Battle Group 1 MEF	1 Division (2 Brigades) 2.4 Fighter Wings 1 Carrier Battle Group 1 MEF
PHASE I Halt Invasion		GOOD - Substantial in-place forces - Established Command, Control and Communications/Intelligence (C3I) network - Rapid reinforcement from Japan, Okinawa - Limited ATBM capability	GOOD - 2 heavy brigade sets of prepositioned equipment - Increased early-arriving land-based and carrier aircraft and long-range bombers - Air, land, and sea antiarmor enhancements - Improved ATBM capability
	PHASE II Build Up Forces in Theater for Counteroffensive	FAIR - Slow closure due to modest sealift capability	GOOD - Airlift and sealift upgrades support rapid closure of heavy forces

* Brigade Set would be positioned to "swing" to either region.

Figure 5

which were first identified in the 1991 Mobility Requirements Study (MRS). First, we will either continue the program to purchase and deploy the C-17 airlifter or purchase other airlifters to replace our aging C-141 transport aircraft. Development of the C-17 has been troubled from the start and we will continue to monitor the program's progress closely, but significant, modern, flexible airlift capacity is essential to our defense strategy. A decision on the C-17 will be made after a thorough review by the Defense Acquisition Board is completed over the next several weeks. Second, we plan to keep an Army brigade set of heavy armor afloat on ships deployed abroad that could be sent either to the Persian Gulf or to Northeast Asia on short notice. Other prepositioning initiatives would accelerate the arrival of Army heavy units in Southwest Asia and Korea. Third, we will increase the capacity of our surge sealift fleet to transport forces and equipment rapidly from the United States to distant regions by purchasing additional roll-on/roll-off ships. Fourth, we will improve the readiness and responsiveness of the Ready Reserve Force (RRF) through a variety of enhancements. Finally, we will fund various efforts to improve the "fort-to-port" flow of personnel, equipment, and supplies in the United States.

Naval Strike Aircraft. The Navy is examining a number of innovative ways to improve the firepower aboard its aircraft carriers. First, the Navy will improve its strike potential by providing a precision ground-attack capability to many of its F-14 aircraft. It will also acquire stocks of new "brilliant" antiarmor weapons for delivery by attack aircraft. Finally, the Navy plans to develop the capability to fly additional squadrons of F/A-18s to forward-deployed aircraft carriers that would be the first to arrive in response to a regional contingency. These additional aircraft would increase the power of the carriers during the critical early stages of a conflict.

Army Firepower. The Army is developing new, smart submunitions that can be delivered by ATACMS, the Multiple-Launch Rocket System (MLRS), the Tri-Service Standoff Attack Missile (TSSAM) now under development, and by standard tube artillery. In addition, the Longbow fire control radar system will in-

crease the effectiveness and survivability of the AH-64 Apache attack helicopter. We are also examining more prepositioning of ATACMS and MLRS and having Apaches self-deploy from their overseas bases so that all would be available in the early stages of a conflict.

Air Force Long-Range Bombers and Munitions. The Air Force enhancements will be in two areas, bombers and munitions. First, we plan to modify the Air Force's B-1 and B-2 long-range, heavy bombers to improve their ability to deliver "smart" conventional munitions against attacking enemy forces and fixed targets. Second, we will develop all-weather munitions. For example, the Air Force is developing a guidance package for a tactical munitions dispenser filled with anti-armor submunitions that can be used in all types of weather. These programs will dramatically increase our capacity to attack and destroy critical targets in the crucial opening days of a short-warning conflict.

In addition, two other force enhancements are important to improving our ability to respond to the demanding requirement of two nearly simultaneous MRCs:

Reserve Component Forces. We have undertaken several initiatives to improve the readiness and flexibility of Army National Guard combat units and other Reserve Component forces in order to make them more readily available for MRCs and other tasks. For example, one important role for combat elements of the Army National Guard is to provide forces to supplement active divisions, should more ground combat power be needed to deter or fight a second MRC. In the future, Army National Guard combat units will be better trained, more capable, and more ready. If mobilized early during a conflict, brigade-sized units could provide extra security and flexibility if a second conflict arose while the first was still going on. In addition, the Navy plans to increase the capability and effectiveness of its Navy/Marine Corps Reserve Air Wing through the introduction of a reserve/training aircraft carrier.

Allied Military Capabilities. We will continue to help our allies in key regions improve their own defense capabilities. For example, we are assisting South Korea in its efforts to modernize its armed forces and take on greater responsibility for its own defense — including conclusion of an agreement to co-produce F-16 aircraft.

In Southwest Asia, we are continuing to improve our defense ties with our friends and allies in the region through defense cooperation agreements, more frequent joint and combined exercises, equipment repositioning, frequent force deployments, and security assistance. We are also providing modern weapons, such as the M1A2 tank to Kuwait and the Patriot system to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, to improve the self-defense capabilities of our friends and allies in the Gulf region.

Peace Enforcement and Intervention Operations

The second set of operations for which we must shape and size our forces includes peace enforcement and intervention. The types, numbers, and sophistication of weapons in the hands of potential adversaries in such operations can vary widely, with enforcement-type operations being the most demanding. For planning purposes, we assume that the threat we would face would include a mix of regular and irregular forces possessing mostly light weapons, supplemented by moderately sophisticated systems, such as antitank and antiship guided missiles, surface-to-air missiles, land and sea mines, T-54 and T-72-class tanks, armored personnel carriers, and towed artillery and mortars. Adversary forces might also possess a limited number of mostly older combat aircraft (e.g., MiG-21s, 23s), a few smaller surface ships, (e.g., patrol craft), and perhaps a few submarines.

In most cases, U.S. involvement in peace enforcement operations would be as part of a multinational effort under the auspices of the United Nations or another international body. U.S. and coalition forces would have several key objectives in a peace enforce-

ment or intervention operation, each of which would require certain types of combat forces to achieve:

- Forced entry into defended airfields, ports, and other facilities and seizing and holding these facilities.
- Controlling the movement of troops and supplies across borders and within the target country, including enforcing a blockade or quarantine of maritime commerce.
- Establishing and defending zones in which civilians are protected from external attacks.
- Securing protected zones from internal threats, such as snipers, terrorist attacks, and sabotage.
- Preparing to turn over responsibility for security to peacekeeping units and/or a reconstituted administrative authority.

The prudent level of forces that should be planned for a major intervention or peace enforcement operation is:

- 1 air assault or airborne division
- 1 light infantry division
- 1 Marine Expeditionary Brigade
- 1 – 2 carrier battle groups
- 1 – 2 composite wings of Air Force aircraft
- Special operations forces
- Civil affairs units
- Airlift and sealift forces
- Combat support and service support units
- 50,000 total combat and support personnel.

These capabilities can be provided largely by the same collection of general purpose forces needed for the MRCs, so long as those forces had the appropriate training needed for peacekeeping or peace enforcement. This means that the United States would have to forgo the option of conducting sizable peace enforcement or intervention operations at the same time it was fighting two MRCs.

Overseas Presence

The final set of requirements that we use to size general purpose forces are those related to sustaining the overseas presence of U.S. military forces. U.S. forces deployed abroad protect and advance our interests and perform a wide range of functions that contribute to our security.

The Bottom-Up Review reached a number of conclusions on the future size and shape of our overseas presence.

In Europe, we will continue to provide leadership in a reinvigorated NATO, which has been the bedrock of European security for over four decades. We plan to retain about 100,000 troops there — a commitment that will allow the United States to continue to play a leading role in the NATO alliance and provide a robust capability for multinational training and crisis response. This force will include about two and one-third wings of Air Force fighters and substantial elements of two Army divisions, along with a corps headquarters and other supporting elements. Equipment for bringing these in-place divisions to full strength will remain prepositioned in Europe, along with the equipment of one additional division that would deploy to the region in the event of conflict.

U. S. Army forces will participate in two multinational corps with German forces. Their training will focus on missions involving rapid deployment to conflicts outside of central Europe and “nontraditional” operations, such as peace enforcement, in addition to their, long-standing mission of stabilization of central Europe. These missions might lead, over time, to changes in the equipment and configuration of Army units stationed in Europe. The Air Force will continue to provide unique theater intelligence, lift, and all-weather precision-strike capabilities critical to U.S. and NATO missions. In addition, U.S. Navy ships and submarines will continue to patrol the Mediterranean Sea and other waters surrounding Europe.

In Northeast Asia, we also plan to retain close to 100,000 troops. As recently announced by President

Clinton, our commitment to South Korea's security remains undiminished, as demonstrated by the one U.S. Army division consisting of two brigades and one wing of U.S. Air Force combat aircraft we have stationed there. In light of the continuing threat of aggression from North Korea, we have frozen our troop levels in South Korea and are modernizing South Korean and American forces on the peninsula. We are also exploring the possibility of prepositioning more military equipment in South Korea to increase our crisis-response capability. While plans call for the eventual withdrawal of one of our two Army brigades from South Korea, President Clinton recently reiterated that our troops will stay in South Korea as long as its people want and need us there.

On Okinawa, we will continue to station a Marine Expeditionary Force and an Army special forces battalion. In Japan, we have homeported the aircraft carrier *Independence*, the amphibious assault ship *Bellau Wood*, and their support ships. We will also retain approximately one and one-half wings of Air Force combat aircraft in Japan and Okinawa, and the Navy's Seventh Fleet will continue to routinely patrol the western Pacific.



U.S. F-15 fighter leads two Japanese Self Defense fighters.

In Southwest Asia, local sensitivities to a large-scale Western military presence on land necessitate heavier reliance on periodic deployments of forces, rather than routine stationing of forces on the ground. The Navy's Middle East Force of four to six ships,

which has been continuously on patrol in the Persian Gulf since 1945, will remain. In addition, we plan to have a brigade-sized set of equipment in Kuwait to be used by rotating deployments of U.S. forces that will train and exercise there with their Kuwaiti counterparts. We are also exploring options to preposition a second brigade set elsewhere on the Arabian peninsula.

These forces have been supplemented temporarily by several squadrons of land-based combat aircraft that have remained in the Gulf region since Operation Desert Storm and, along with other coalition aircraft, are now helping to enforce U.N. resolutions toward Iraq.

Another significant element of our military posture in Southwest Asia is the equipment prepositioned on ships that are normally anchored at Diego Garcia. In addition to a brigade-sized set of equipment for the Marine Corps, we have seven afloat prepositioning ships supporting Army, Air Force, and Navy forces.

In **Africa**, we will continue important formal and informal access agreements to key facilities and ports which allow our forces to transit or stop on the African continent. We will also deploy forces to Africa, as in recent operations like Sharp Edge (Liberia) and Restore Hope (Somalia), when our interests are threatened or our assistance is needed and requested. Today, more than 4,000 U.S. troops remain deployed in Somalia as part of the U.N. force seeking to provide humanitarian assistance to that country.

In **Latin America**, our armed forces will help to promote and expand recent trends toward democracy in many countries. They will also continue to work in concert with the armed forces and police of Latin American countries to combat drug traffickers. The United States will also retain a military presence in Panama, acting as Panama's partner in operating and defending the Canal during the transition to full Panamanian control of the canal in 1999.

Naval Presence. Sizing our naval forces for two nearly simultaneous MRCs provides a fairly large and

robust force structure that can easily support other, smaller regional operations. However, our overseas presence needs can impose requirements for naval forces, especially aircraft carriers, that exceed those needed to win two MRCs. The flexibility of our carriers, and their ability to operate effectively with relative independence from shore bases, makes them well suited to overseas presence operations, especially in areas such as the Persian Gulf, where our land-based military infrastructure is relatively underdeveloped. For these reasons, the force of carriers, amphibious ships, and other surface combatants in the Clinton-Aspin defense plan was sized based on the exigencies of overseas presence, as well as the MRCs.

U.S. Navy and Marine forces play important roles in our approach to overseas presence in these three regions, as well as others. In recent years, we have sought to deploy a sizable U.S. naval presence — generally, a carrier battle group accompanied by an amphibious ready group — more or less continuously in the waters off Southwest Asia, Northeast Asia, and Europe (most often, in the Mediterranean Sea). However, in order to avoid serious morale and retention problems that can arise when our forces are asked to remain deployed for excessively long periods, we will experience some gaps in carrier presence in these areas in the future.



The aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower transiting the Suez Canal.

In order to avoid degradation in our regional security posture, we have identified a number of ways to fill these gaps and to supplement our posture even when carriers are present. For example, in some circumstances, we may find it possible to center naval expeditionary forces around large-deck amphibious assault ships carrying AV-8B attack jets and Cobra attack helicopters, as well as a 2,000-man Marine Expeditionary Unit. Another force might consist of a Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missile-equipped Aegis cruiser, a guided missile destroyer, attack submarines, and P-3 land-based maritime patrol aircraft.

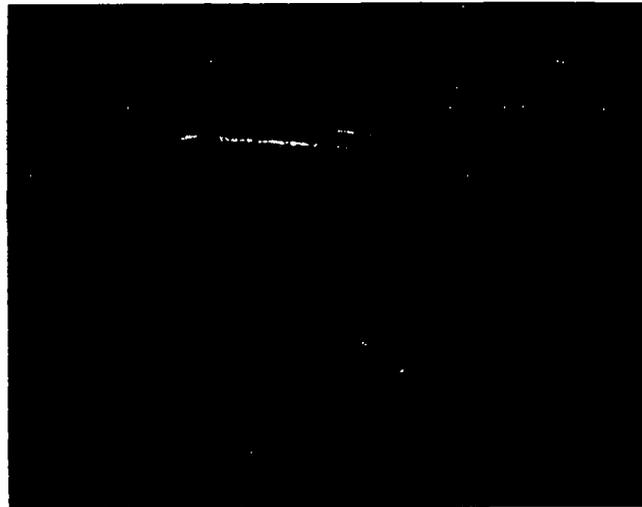
In addition to these "maritime" approaches to sustaining overseas presence, a new concept is being developed that envisions using tailored joint forces to conduct overseas presence operations. These "Adaptive Joint Force Packages" could contain a mix of air, land, special operations, and maritime forces tailored to meet a theater commander's needs. These forces, plus designated backup units in the United States, would train jointly to provide the specific capabilities needed on station and on call during any particular period. Like maritime task forces, these joint force packages will also be capable of participating in combined military exercises with allied and friendly forces.

Together, these approaches will give us a variety of ways to manage our overseas presence profile, balancing carrier availability with the deployment of other types of units. Given this flexible approach to providing forces for overseas presence, we can meet the needs of our strategy with a fleet of eleven active aircraft carriers and one reserve/training carrier.

Strategic Nuclear Forces

The changing security environment presents us with significant uncertainties and challenges in planning our strategic nuclear force structure. In light of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the break-up of the Soviet Union, the conclusion of the START I and II treaties, and our improving relationship with Russia, the threat of massive nuclear attack on the United States is lower than at any time in many years.

However, a number of issues affecting our future strategic nuclear posture must still be addressed. Tens of thousands of nuclear weapons continue to be deployed on Russian territory and on the territory of three other former Soviet republics. Even under START II, Russia will retain a sizable residual nuclear arsenal. And, despite promising trends, the future political situation in Russia remains highly uncertain.



B-2 bombers being refueled by KC-10 tanker.

In addition, many obstacles must be overcome before the ratification of START II, foremost of which are Ukrainian ratification of START I and Ukraine's and Kazakhstan's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as nonnuclear-weapon states — a condition required by Russia prior to implementing START I. Moreover, even if these obstacles can be overcome, implementation of the reductions mandated in START I and II will not be completed for almost 10 years. Thus, while the United States has already removed more than 3,500 warheads from ballistic missile systems slated for elimination under START I (some 90 percent of the total required), in light of current uncertainties, we must take a measured approach to further reductions.

Two principal guidelines shape our future requirements for strategic nuclear forces: to provide an effective deterrent while remaining within START I/II limits, and to allow for additional forces to be reconstituted, in the event of a threatening reversal of events.

The Bottom-Up Review did not address nuclear force structure in detail. As a follow-up to the Bottom-Up review, a comprehensive study of U.S. nuclear forces is being conducted. For planning purposes, we are evolving toward a future strategic nuclear force that by 2003 will include:

- 18 Trident submarines equipped with C-4 and D-5 missiles.
- 500 Minuteman III missiles, each carrying a single warhead.
- Up to 94 B-52H bombers equipped with air-launched cruise missiles and 20 B-2 bombers.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of its comprehensive assessment of future U.S. defense needs, the Bottom-Up Review determined that the reduced force structure shown in Figure 6, which will be reached by about the end of the

decade, can carry out our strategy and meet our national security requirements.

This force structure meets our requirements for overseas presence in peacetime and a wide range of smaller-scale operations. It will also give the United States the capability to meet the most stressing situation we may face -- the requirement to fight and win two major regional conflicts occurring nearly simultaneously.

In addition, this force structure provides sufficient capabilities for strategic deterrence and defense. It also provides sufficient forces, primarily Reserve Component, to be held in strategic reserve and utilized if and when needed. For example, they could deploy to one or both MRCs, if operations do not go as we had planned. Alternatively, these forces could be used to "backfill" for overseas presence forces redeployed to an MRC. Finally, this force structure also meets an important new criterion for our forces — flexibility to deal with the uncertain nature of the new dangers.

U.S. Force Structure – 1999

Army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 divisions (active) • 5+ divisions (reserve)
Navy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 aircraft carriers (active) • 1 aircraft carrier (reserve/training) • 45-55 attack submarines • 346 ships
Air Force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 fighter wings (active) • 7 fighter wings (reserve) • Up to 184 bombers
Marine Corps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 Marine Expeditionary Forces • 174,000 personnel (active endstrength) • 42,000 personnel (reserve endstrength)
Strategic Nuclear Forces (by 2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18 ballistic missile submarines • Up to 94 B-52 H bombers • 20 B-2 bombers • 500 Minuteman III ICBMs (single warhead)

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