

PROJECT ON DEFENSE ALTERNATIVES

RECENT PDA PUBLICATIONS

- **Alleged “Carrier Gap” is Out to Sea.** 30 April 1999 (Briefing Memo 15) 3pp. \$2.00

The April 1999 re-routing of aircraft carriers to support operations in the Persian Gulf and the Balkans has inspired alarm about the effect of the move on America’s military presence in the Pacific. However, the assertions of a serious gap in carrier coverage are groundless. Alarmism about the redeployment misjudges the effect of the move on the military balance in Northeast Asia and betrays a disregard for the one feature of aircraft carriers — their flexibility — that is supposed to give them unique strategic value worthy of their prodigious cost.

- **The Readiness Crisis of The U.S. Air Force: A Review and Diagnosis.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. 22 April 1999 (Briefing Report 10) 73pp. \$25.00

By some accounts, the Air Force is suffering from a systematic readiness crisis brought on by a combination of post-Cold War defense retrenchment and increased operational activity. PDA’s examination of the Air Force’s recent readiness problems and of longer-term trends in readiness and Optempo finds little to support this view. Neither talk of crisis, nor crisis spending are warranted.

- **Defense Sufficiency and Cooperation: A U.S. Military Posture for the post-Cold War Era.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. 1 March 1998 (Briefing Report 9) 54pp. \$15.00

Presents a comprehensive and coherent U.S. military posture option for a fifteen-year period beginning in 1998. While maintaining continuity of key aspects of U.S. security strategy, it finds ample opportunity for further reductions in force size and consequently in budget. Includes specification of force structure, equipment holdings, deployment, modernization plans and defense budgets.

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PDA MISSION STATEMENT

The Project on Defense Alternatives (PDA) seeks to adapt security policy to the challenges and opportunities of the post-Cold War era. Toward this end it promotes consideration of the broadest range of defense options, especially those that promise security and stability at lower levels of armed force and defense spending. Central to the Project’s mission is a view of the international system as poised between a past in which nations sought security primarily through armed deterrence and exclusive alliances and a future in which global agencies and nonmilitary means can play a leading role in guaranteeing the peace. Ensuring the transition from old to new requires a conscious, transitional security policy—one that can build confidence in the willingness and capacity of nations to pursue their security goals in common. In the Project’s perspective, the components of an effective “confidence-building” security policy would:

- Guarantee reliable, cost-effective defense against aggression.
- Rely on military structures and practices that do not contribute to interstate tensions, crisis instability, or arms racing.
- Allow substantial reductions from Cold War levels of armed forces and military spending.
- Foster progress in arms control and in the demilitarization of international relations.
- Facilitate greater reliance on collective and global peacekeeping agencies and nonmilitary means of conflict prevention, containment and resolution.

PDA’s efforts regarding U.S. defense policy have focused on issues of strategy, planning and force structure. The project also has contributed since its inception to the development of defense alternatives in Europe and in the nations of the South. In addition, the project has examined options for reforming and enhancing the UN’s capacity to conduct peace operations, and it has explored means for re-orienting the global arms trade along defensive lines.

PDA is a program of the Commonwealth Institute, located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and is affiliated with the International Study Group on Alternative Security Policy, Bonn, Germany. Carl Conetta and Charles Knight are the project’s directors.

U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE

- **Future Tense: An Assessment of the National Defense Panel Report.** Carl Conetta. 5 December 1997 (Briefing Memo 14) 12pp. \$5.00
Examines the NDP's general recommendation for reducing, in the current low threat environment, emphasis on armed forces quantity in exchange for quality enhancements. While this recommendation makes certain sense, the NDP's failure to specify cuts and its tendency to endorse new investments prematurely are problematic.
- **Backwards into the Future: How the Quadrennial Defense Review Prepares America for the Wrong Century.** Carl Conetta. June 1997 (Briefing Memo 13) 22pp. \$5.00
Offers a rigorous critique of the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review based on a reassessment of global security challenges. Reviewing global military spending trends, weapon and technology proliferation, and the situation of key potential adversary states (including China and the USSR), the report concludes that the QDR seriously misconstrues the strategic environment. The report points instead to other areas of concern including smaller-scale operations and global economic instability.
- **U.S. Defense Posture in Global Context: A Framework for Evaluating the Quadrennial Defense Review.** May 1997 (Briefing Memo 12) 13pp. \$5.00
Originally intended to inform the debate surrounding the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review, this report remains relevant today as an overview of the major issues confronting U.S. defense planners. Among other topics the report reviews post-Cold War changes in force planning methodologies and assesses strategies for fighting major regional wars, preparing for future peer competitors, and adapting to the putative "Revolution in Military Affairs."
- **Post-Cold War U.S. Military Expenditures in the Context of World Spending Trends.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. January 1997 (Briefing Memo 10) 18pp. \$4.00
Based on a review of official data on world military spending, this study finds evidence that the strategic position of the U.S. and its allies has improved immensely relative to the potential threat states. The study also looks at regional trends and offers a perspective on the new and ambitious regional military strategy of the U.S.
- **Modernizing U.S. Air Power: Pivotal Capabilities, Trends, and Supporting Technologies.** Alan Bloomgarden. 1 October 1995 (Briefing Report 5) 26pp. \$6.00
Reviews the essential features of current U.S. air power modernization plans. The report provides a cross-service framework that identifies the leading trends in air power modernization and the new technologies that are driving them. The report pays special attention to information systems and systems for precision ground attack.
- **Build-Down: U.S. Armed Forces Retrenchment in the Context of Modernization.** May 1994 (Briefing Memo 8) 31pp. \$8.00
A detailed examination of how current military modernization programs will interact with planned force reductions in shaping America's future armed forces. The report looks beyond superficial indicators of change to suggest the real, net effect of the current policy on the nation's military capability. Separate sections address personnel, ground force units and weapons, all-service air power, land attack missiles and precision ground-attack munitions, and the Navy's future surface fleet.
- **Rand's "New Calculus" and the Impasse of U.S. Defense Restructuring.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. August 1993 (Briefing Report 4) 33pp. \$8.00
Through a careful review of a key planning study contributing to the "Bottom-Up Review," this report reveals the critical shortcomings of post-Cold War strategic thinking and force planning. The report assesses several planning scenarios and simulations that continue to shape U.S. defense policy. Individual sections address the "two war" standard of sufficiency, the so-called "win-hold-win" strategy, and recent assessments of strategic airlift and combat aircraft modernizations requirements.
- **World Order and American Power: Toward a U.S. Security Policy for the New Era.** April 1993 (Briefing Memo 7) 19pp. \$8.00
Proposes a general framework for developing a post-Cold War U.S. security policy based on a program of global "institution building" and the defensive restructuring of national armed forces. It also assesses the prospects for a "defensive

reorientation” of the arms trade and the creation of a UN legion. The handling of the Yugoslavia crisis serves as a case study of interstate cooperation and its present limits.

- **Adapting U.S. Armed Forces to the New Era: Selected Force Size and Modernization Issues.** March 1993 (Briefing Memo 6) 29pp. \$6.00

From an analysis of security threats this report derives force size requirements for the U.S. Army, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Separate sections examine the potential role of the U.S. National Guard and Reserves in future defense posture, air- and sea-lift requirements, several leading Army and Air Force modernization programs, and the roles and mission debate.

- **The New Realism on the Stationing of U.S. Troops in Europe.** July 1992 (Briefing Memo 4) 8pp. \$2.00

- **U.S. Army Base Force 1995: Active Combat Maneuver Units with Brigade Count.** June 1992 (Briefing Memo 3) 5pp. \$2.00

- **Reasonable Force: Adapting the U.S. Army and Marine Corps to the New Era.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. 20 March 1992 (Briefing Report 3) 82pp. \$18.00

Examines the traditional security concerns of the U.S. in light of new international conditions and offers an answer to the question: How large should ground forces be later this decade? Major sections assess the appropriate U.S. contribution to European defense and the challenges posed by third world military power. Based on this assessment and a review of the Gulf War, the report proposes force levels and structural reforms for the Army and Marine Corp.

- **After Desert Storm: Rethinking U.S. Defense Requirements.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. July 1991 (Briefing Report 2) 26pp. \$6.00

- **Defense Procurement Policy for the 1990s — Selected Army and Air Force Systems.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. March 1991 (Briefing Report 1) 43pp. \$10.00

GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ISSUES

- **America’s New Deal with Europe: NATO Primacy and Double Expansion.** Carl Conetta. 1 January 1998 (Research Monograph 5) 28pp. \$6.00

Analyzes recent U.S. policy on European security issues, including NATO expansion, burdensharing, the Balkans crisis, and relations with Russia and Germany. The recent American debate and public opinion regarding NATO enlargement is reviewed also.

- **On the Threshold of Change: An Assessment of the South African Defence Review.** Carl Conetta, Charles Knight and Lutz Unterseher. October 1996 (Briefing Memo 11) 12pp. \$4.00

Reviews the findings of the draft *South African Defence Review (SADR)--Report on Posture*, released in October 1996. Although the SADR represents an important advance in the new democratic control of the South African military, it has a number of shortcomings in assessing policy objectives and force requirements and design.

- **Key Issues in Current South African Defense Planning.** July 1996 (Briefing Memo 9) 6pp. \$2.00

Addresses four areas of defense policy that will have a major impact on the strategic direction of South Africa and on defense budgets in the coming decade.

- **Building Confidence into the Security of Southern Africa.** Carl Conetta, Charles Knight and Lutz Unterseher. 7 July 1996 (Briefing Report 7) 16 pp. \$4.00

Offers guidelines for the development of co-operative regional security and specifies a South African defense posture that would support and encourage co-operation.

- **Defensive Restructuring in the Successor States of the former Yugoslavia.** Carl Conetta, Charles Knight and Lutz Unterseher. March 1996 (Briefing Report 6) 12pp. \$4.00.

Offers an alternative to attempting to “balance” the arms in the former-Yugoslavia with transfers and military aid, instead illustrating the restructuring of the regions militaries toward greater stability with “mutual defensive superiority.”

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Global and Regional Issues cont.

- **Military Stability and European Security-Ten Years from Now.** Lutz Unterseher. November 1993 (Research Monograph 2) 47pp. \$10.00
Proposes a post-Cold War approach to defense in Central Europe emphasizing the defensive restructuring of armed forces and the resolution of mean-ends mismatches in defense planning. The report pays special attention to the particular problems of national reconstructing in the East. A separate section profiles the German contribution in detail.
- **The US-Saudi F-15E Sale and the Search for Stability in the Middle East.** 27 September 1992 (Briefing Memo 5) 5pp. \$2.00
- **Restructuring America's Arms Trade with the Middle East.** September 1991 (Briefing Memo 2) 7pp. \$2.00
Suggests export guidelines for U.S. arms trade with countries in the Middle East based on a rating of the potential contribution of 35 Army and Air Force weapon systems to deep attack capabilities.
- **Toward Defensive Restructuring in the Middle East.** Carl Conetta, Charles Knight and Lutz Unterseher. 1 February 1991 (Research Monograph 1) 39pp. \$8.00
Examines the character of recent military conflict in the Middle East and outlines a nonoffensive defense posture for nations in the region. It also presents the implications of such a posture for arms transfers and arms control policy. An appendix reviews the pertinent lessons of the 1990-91 Gulf War.

UN AND PEACEKEEPING

- **Design for a 15,000 Person UN Legion.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. February 1996 (Briefing Report 8) 11pp. \$4.00
Prepared for members of the UN Military Force Study Group of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, this report presents a design for a streamlined UN Legion capable of deploying rapidly for a wide range of peace operations. It addresses operational requirements, command and unit structure, equipment, basing, and budget.
- **Vital Force: A Proposal for the Overhaul of the UN Peace Operations System and for the Creation of a UN Legion.** Carl Conetta and Charles Knight. 1 October 1995 (Research Monograph 4) 141pp. \$22.00
Provides a comprehensive analysis of the "crisis of peacekeeping." Building on a variety of UN reform proposals, *Vital Force* offers a blueprint for revitalizing UN peace operations. The center piece of the *Vital Force* proposal is the creation of a division-size standing UN Legion.
- **Why U.S. Conservatives Should Support a UN Legion.** John Heidenrich. April 1995 (Research Monograph 3) 36 pp. \$6.00
Drawing on the thought of leading U.S. conservative spokespeople of the past four decades, the author argues that the UN can serve uniquely as an instrument for reinforcing democratic values and creating a moral counterweight to chaos. The author addresses current conservative concerns in detail, presents the military case for a UN Legion, and suggests the general contours of such a force.

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