Defense Policies of Countries

The United States

1

Chapter

Section

Security and Defense Policies

Despite its changing influence in relative terms, the United States remains the world's most powerful nation, and it is believed to consistently play a significant role in ensuring peace and stability throughout the world. In January 2012, the Obama administration released the new Defense Strategic Guidance¹. Based on the understanding that the United States is at an inflection point due to factors both inside and outside the country, that is, the U.S. Forces' withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan after a decade of war and the demand for deep cuts in government spending including defense spending under the government's serious fiscal situation, the guidance was developed to review defense priorities and present a blueprint for the Joint Force in 2020. In the new Defense Strategic Guidance, the Obama Administration articulated a policy that would place the Asia-Pacific region at the focus of U.S. strategy, including the security strategy (Rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific Region). In March 2014 the Administration published the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), the second review since President Obama took office. The 2014 QDR builds on the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance and embodies the priorities outlined in it, including rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region, indicating that the Obama Administration continues to place an emphasis on the region.

Meanwhile, as the growing budget deficits of the U.S. government in recent years have called for deep cuts in spending, in January 2012 the Department of Defense announced that the reduction in defense spending will amount to about 487 billion dollars over the 10 years from FY2012 to FY2021². In addition, the government budget sequestration³, including defense spending, was initiated in March 2013, bringing various impacts on the U.S. Forces including suspension of training, delayed deployment of aircraft carriers, and grounding of air squadrons. Although the Bipartisan Budget Act of the Democratic and Republican parties mitigated the sequestration spending cuts for FY2014 and FY2015, the QDR emphasizes that the risks to the U.S. Forces would increase considerably if sequester-level cuts return in FY2016. Much attention will be paid to how the mandatory sequestration cuts in defense spending will impact the U.S. defense strategies and security policies outlined in the QDR and other documents.

1 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR)

In March 2014, the Department of Defense released the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). The QDR outlines policies concerning U.S. Forces' capabilities and composition in antic-



Secretary of Defense Hagel testifying before Congress in March 2014 on the QDR and other matters [Source: U.S. Department of Defense website]

¹ The formal title of the document is "Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense."

² According to the document published by the DoD concerning the FY2013 budget request that was submitted to Congress in February 2012, "the amount of reduction" here means the difference between the total DoD base budget for 10 years estimated at the time of the FY2012 budget request (submitted to Congress in February 2011) and the total DoD base budget for 10 years estimated at the time of the FY2013 budget request.

³ It has been pointed out that the sequestration in defense expenditure resulting from the Budget Control Act will amount to about 500 billion dollars by the time of the budget for FY2021.

ipation of the security environment of the next 20 years. The United States Code mandates that the Secretary of Defense submits the QDR to the Congress every four years. The 2014 QDR builds on the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance and embodies the priorities outlined in it.

(1) Understanding of Security

The 2014 QDR states that the future international security environment remains uncertain and complicated due to the shifting international balance of power; the greater interaction between states, non-state entities and private citizens; the proliferation of technology; and the rapidly accelerating spread of information. In addressing this challenging environment, the QDR states that the United States collaborates with allies and partners to accomplish a wide range of goals, and leverages the technological and human capital strengths of the U.S. Forces.

The ODR recognizes that the Asia-Pacific region is increasingly central to global commerce, politics and security. At the same time, the report points out that defense expenditure in the region continues to rise and countries within the region continue to enhance their military and security capabilities, bringing greater risk that tensions arising from long-standing sovereign disputes or claims to natural resources will spur disruptive competition or erupt into conflict. In particular, it notes that the rapid pace and comprehensive scope of China's military modernization continues, combined with a relative lack of transparency and openness regarding both military capabilities and intentions. In relation to North Korea, the review says that its long-range missile and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs, particularly its pursuit of nuclear weapons in violation of international obligations, constitutes a significant threat to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia and is a growing, direct threat to the United States.

As for the Middle East, the report suggests that the sectarian divide is among the sources of trans-national division, while competition for resources will worsen tensions and could escalate into broader conflicts, particularly in fragile states. The report states that Iran remains a destabilizing actor that threatens security by defying international law and pursing capabilities that would allow it to develop nuclear weapons. Even as Iran pledges not to pursue nuclear weapons, its other destabilizing activities including development of mid- and long-range missiles and support to terrorists and insurgents, will continue to pose a threat to the security of the Middle East and the U.S. allies and partners.

Furthermore, it states that as countries in the Middle East and Africa undergo political and social change, terrorist groups seek to expand their influence, and internal strife in Syria has become a magnet for global jihad, bringing ongoing spillover effects including an influx of foreign fighters and a flood of refugees into neighboring countries. In Africa, it mentions that terrorists, criminal organizations and pirates exploit ungoverned and under-governed territory, causing potential for rapidly developing threats, particularly of terrorist attacks in fragile states, that could pose acute challenges to U.S. interests.

The report says that Europe remains the principal partner in promoting global security, particularly in addressing challenges such as persistent unrest and violence in the Middle East and North Africa.

The QDR states that while the United States is willing to undertake security cooperation with Russia, both in the bilateral context and in seeking solutions to regional challenges, Russia's multi-dimensional defense modernization and actions that violate the sovereignty of neighbors present risks and thus the United States will engage Russia to increase transparency and reduce the risk of military miscalculation.

Concerning the global trends, the report refers to the emergence of international partners with the capacity to play security roles in their respective regions, as well as international cooperation and shared norms of behavior at unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness. At the same time it also states that the spread and proliferation of technology offers new tools for state and non-state adversaries such as terrorists to pursue asymmetric approaches in the 21st century operational environment. Furthermore, the report states that in coming years, countries such as China will continue seeking to counter U.S. strengths using anti-access and area-denial (A2/AD)⁴ approaches and by employing other new cyber and space control technologies. It also says that elements such as cyberspace, space, sophisticated technology, WMD, terrorism and climate change poses additional challenges.

(2) Defense Strategy

The 2014 QDR emphasizes the following three pillars, which are interdependent and mutually reinforcing, in order to embody priorities outlined in the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance including rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific region and strong commitment to stability in Europe and the Middle East.

- (1) Protect the Homeland: Maintain the capability to deter and defeat attacks on the United States. Protection of the homeland includes assisting U.S. civil authorities in protecting U.S. airspace, shores, and borders, and in responding effectively to domestic disasters.
- (2) Build security globally: Continue a strong U.S. commitment to shaping world events in order to deter and prevent conflict and to assure the allies and partners of the shared security.
- (3) Project power and win decisively: the U.S. Forces deter

⁴ See Part I Overview, Section 2, footnote 4

acts of aggression in one or more theaters by remaining capable of decisively defeating adversaries, while projecting power to provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

The QDR states that across the three pillars, the U.S. Forces are capable of simultaneously implementing the following undertakings, and if deterrence fails at any given time, U.S. forces could defeat a regional adversary in a large-scale multiphased campaign, and deny the objectives of—or imposing unacceptable costs on—another aggressor in another region⁵.

- 1) Defending homeland
- 2) Conducting sustained, distributed counterterrorist operations
- 3) Deterring aggression and assuring allies through forward presence and engagement in multiple regions.

Furthermore, in order to achieve the three pillars, the Department of Defense seeks innovative approaches to how to fight, how to posture the force, and how to leverage the asymmetric strengths and technological advantages. More specifically, the QDR mentions positioning additional forward-deployed naval forces in critical areas, such as the Asia-Pacific region, and deploying new combinations of ships, aviation assets, and crisis response forces.

(3) Rebalancing of the Joint Force

Given major changes in the U.S. security environment including geopolitical changes, changes in modern warfare, and changes in the fiscal environment, the 2014 QDR states that the Department of Defense will rebalance the Joint Force for a broad spectrum of conflict, rebalance and maintain the presence and posture abroad, and rebalance capability, capacity and readiness. The QDR also says that while the force will become smaller, it will become more modern as well, with readiness improving. Furthermore, it states that particularly in an era of reduced budget and other resources, the Department will redouble its efforts to protect key capability areas listed below, that are most closely aligned to the pillars of the defense strategy.

- 1) Missile defense: Increase the number of Ground-Based Interceptors and build depth into the sensor network. Deploy a second radar in Japan that will improve early warning and tracking of any missiles launched by North Korea. Increase defense interceptor reliability and effectiveness to improve discrimination capabilities, and to establish a more robust sensor network. Study the best location in the United States for an additional missile defense interceptor site.
- Nuclear deterrence: Continue to invest in modernizing the essential nuclear delivery systems, warheads, command and control, and nuclear weapon infrastructure.

- 3) Cyber: Develop the Cyber Mission Force that operates and defends the Department networks and supports military operations worldwide by 2016. In addition, the Department migrates its information systems to a common, Defense-wide network infrastructure known as the Joint Information Environment.
- 4) Space: Diversify and expand the coverage of Space Situational Awareness (SSA) through international partnerships. In the near-term, investment in technology demonstrations and capabilities required to evolve toward more resilient architectures. Additionally, accelerate initiatives to counter adversary space capabilities including adversary intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR), and space-enabled precision strike.

See Part I, Chapter 2, Section 4-1 (Outer Space and Security)

- 5) Air/sea: Invest in combat aircraft, including fighters and long-range strike, survivable persistent surveillance, resilient architectures, and undersea warfare to increase the Joint Force's ability to counter A2/AD challenges. Deepen collaboration with key allies and partners as they develop future forces and capabilities to counter more sophisticated aggressors.
- 6) Precision strike: The Air Forces will procure air-tosurface missiles that allow both fighter and bomber aircraft to engage a wide range of targets effectively, even when the enemy's air defense have not been fully suppressed. The Navy is developing a new, joint, long-range anti-ship cruise missile, which will improve the Joint Force's ability to engage surface combatants in defended airspace.
- 7) Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR): Rebalance investments toward systems that will be effective in defended airspace and denied areas, in the wake of the drawdown of forces from Iraq and Afghanistan and in light of growing challenges from state adversaries. Make critical space based systems more resilient by expanding the access to commercial and allied space ISR systems.
- 8) Counter Terrorism and Special Operations: Grow overall Special Operations Forces (SOF) strength to 69,700.⁶ As forces are withdrawn from Afghanistan, more SOF will be available to support Combatant Commanders' efforts to counter a range of challenges across the globe.
- 9) Resilience: Improve the resilience of air, naval, ground, space and missile-defense capabilities, even in the face of large-scale, coordinated attacks. Disperse land-based and naval expeditionary forces to other bases and operating sites and provide ability to operate and maintain front-line combat aircraft from austere bases while using only

⁵ The 2010 QDR stated that the U.S. Forces possess the capability of countering attacks by two countries while also being able to conduct a wide range of operations. The 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance states that the United States maintain forces that are able to fully deny a capable state's aggressive objectives in one region while being capable of denying the objectives of – or imposing unacceptable costs on – an opportunistic aggressor in a second region.

⁶ The number of Special Operations Forces personnel as of March 2014 is 66,000.

a small complement of logistical and support personnel and equipment.

The QDR emphasizes that if sequester-level cuts return in FY2016, risks for the U.S. forces posed by shifts in the security environment would grow significantly⁷.



F-35 fighter jets of the U.S. Air Force conducting training [U.S. Air Force website]

Rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific Region

As indicated by the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance and the 2014 QDR, the United States places emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region and is continuing a policy to enhance its presence in the region. In November 2011, U.S. President Obama delivered a speech in the Australian Parliament, clearly stating, for the first time, that he will give top priority to the U.S. presence and mission in the Asia-Pacific region and indicating that the U.S. will maintain its strong presence in Japan and the Korean Peninsula, while enhancing its presence in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the 2014 QDR states that the centerpiece of the Department of Defense commitment to the rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region is to modernize and enhance security alliances with Australia, Japan, the ROK, the Philippines and Thailand.

Concrete examples of the enhancement of U.S. Forces' presence in the Asia-Pacific region include enhanced presence of the U.S. Forces in Australia. In November 2011, U.S. President Obama and then Australian Prime Minister Gillard jointly announced U.S.-Australia force posture initiatives, which include: (1) the rotational deployment of U.S. marines to Darwin and Northern Australia for around six months at a time where they will conduct exercises and training with the Australian Defence Force⁸; and (2) increased rotations of aircraft of the U.S. Air Force through northern Australia, which will offer greater

opportunities for joint training and exercises with the Royal Australian Air Force. The joint initiatives are described as part of the efforts to embody the basic concept of the force posture of the U.S. Forces presence in the Asia-Pacific region, which intends to pursue "a more geographically distributed, operationally resilient, and politically sustainable military presence." Other examples include the rotational deployment of up to four Littoral Combat Ships (LCS)⁹ to Singapore announced by then U.S. Secretary of Defense Gates in June, 2011. In April 2013, LCS Freedom arrived at Singapore and started the first rotation. Also, the United States repeatedly conducted joint military exercises with and provided military technologies and assistance to Southeast Asian countries in an effort to build up trusting relationships and strengthen the readiness of the countries. Furthermore, the 2014 QDR states that 60 percent of U.S. Navy assets will be stationed in the Pacific by 2020 including enhancements to its critical naval presence in Japan, and the Air Force will move forces such as ISR assets to the region.

The United States has been expressing its stance to emphasize the Asia-Pacific region not only to its allies and partners but also to China. The 2014 QDR states that the United States is building a sustained and substantive dialogue with China to improve the ability to cooperate in concrete, practical areas such as counter-piracy, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. At the same time, the United States will manage the competitive aspects of China-U.S. relations in ways that improve regional peace and stability consistent with international norms and principles.

3 Nuclear Strategy

While U.S. President Obama aims to realize a world without nuclear weapons, he notes that this will not be realized in the near future, and indicates the need to maintain a nuclear deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist.

The Nuclear Posture Review (NPR), which was released in April 2010, indicates that the nuclear security environment is changing and nuclear terrorism and nuclear proliferation are an imminent threat today. Furthermore, it points to the necessity of working on the issue of ensuring strategic stability with existing nuclear powers, in particular Russia and China.

The NPR presents five key objectives based on awareness of this security environment: (1) preventing nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism; (2) reducing the role of U.S. nuclear weapons; (3) maintaining strategic deterrence and stability at reduced nuclear force levels; (4) strengthening regional deter-

9 Fast and agile war vessels designed to defeat asymmetrical threats with A2 capability in near-shore environments

 ⁷ Some of the implications anticipated in the case of the return of the sequester-level cuts include a reduction in end strength of active Army to 420,000, retirement of the USS George Washington aircraft carrier (10 aircraft carriers), a reduction in end strength of marine corps to 175,000, a further retirement of air force aircraft and a slowdown of purchases of F-35 aircraft.
8 The initial deployment would consist of a company of 250 US marines and aims to eventually establish a rotational presence of up to a 2 500-person Marine Air-Ground Task Force including

The initial deployment would consist of a company of 250 U.S. marines and aims to eventually establish a rotational presence of up to a 2,500-person Marine Air-Ground Task Force including aircraft, ground vehicles, and artilleries over a few years. From April to October of 2013, about 200 U.S. Marine Corps personnel were deployed as the second rotation.

rence and reassuring U.S. allies and partners; and (5) sustaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal.

In June 2013, U.S. President Obama delivered a speech on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Berlin, which was then followed by the release of the Report on Nuclear Employment Strategy by the Department of Defense on the same day. The report revealed U.S. intentions to negotiate with Russia to pursue up to a one-third reduction in deployed strategic nuclear weapons. See Part I, Chapter 2, Section 2-1 (Nuclear Weapons)

FY2015 Budget

As the budget deficit of the U.S. Government is deepening in recent years, the Budget Control Act enacted in August 2011 established a deep cut in government spending by FY2021. In January 2012, the DoD announced that the reduction in defense spending in light of the act will amount to about 487 billion dollars over the 10 years from FY2012 to FY2021 (about 259 billion dollars over the five years from FY2013 to FY2017). In March 2013, the mandatory sequestration of government spending including defense spending started based on the provisions of the Budget Control Act. The Bipartisan Budget Act by the Democratic and Republican parties which passed in December 2013 mitigated the sequestration caps for FY2014 and FY2015. The FY2015 budget request that was announced following the Act includes 495.6 billion dollars¹⁰ to fund base defense programs. For Overseas Contingency Operations, the



See Fig. I-1-1-1 (The Impact of Mandatory Reduction of Government Expenditure on Defense Budget); Fig. I-1-1-2 (Shifts in the U.S. Defense Budget)



Fig. I-1-1-2 Shifts in the U.S. Defense Budget

cluding defense spending.



Notes: 1. Figures shown are narrowly defined expenses based on Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, FY2015.

2. The amount for FY2014 is an estimate.

Created based on the "FY2012 budget request" and "FY2013 budget request" published by the U.S. DOD.

10 A reduction of about 400 million dollars compared to the FY2014 budget under the Bipartisan Budget Act that mitigated the sequestration caps. A reduction of about 31 billion dollars compared to the FY2014 government budget request

11 See Part I, Chapter 1, Section 1, Footnote 7

Military Posture

General Situation

In regard to strategic offensive weapons including nuclear force, the United States is moving ahead with its reduction based on a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty that came into force in February 2011. In April 2014, it announced that its deployed strategic warheads¹² stood at 1,585, while its deployed delivery platforms stood at 778¹³. The United States is studying the concept of a Conventional Prompt Global Strike (CPGS), as an effort contributing to the nation's new ability to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons¹⁴.

In regard to Missile Defense (MD), the United States announced the Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR) in February 2010. On homeland defense, the review noted that the United States would use ground-based interceptors to respond to ICBMs from North Korea and Iran, and that in regard to regional defense, the United States would expand investments in MD systems while taking a phased adaptive approach (PAA) that is tailored to each region and improve the MD capabilities step by step, working with partner countries and properly sharing the burden. However, in January 2012, the United States announced that it will continue investments in MD programs in its homeland and Europe while reducing the spending for deployable regional MD systems with a view to increasing reliance on its allies and partners in the future. Further, in March 2013, the United States announced that it will additionally deploy ground-based interceptors in the U.S. homeland and mobile radars for BMD in Japan in order to bolster homeland security in response to North Korea's nuclear test and the advancement of its long-range ballistic missile development, while restructuring the program of the standard missile (SM-3) Block IIB scheduled for deployment in Europe.

The operation of the U.S. Forces is not controlled by the individual branches of the broader armed forces, rather it is operated under the leadership of the Unified Combatant Commands, comprising leaders from multiple branches of the armed forces. The Unified Combatant Commands consist of three commands with functional responsibilities and six commands with regional responsibilities.

The U.S. Army consist of about 520,000 soldiers, and about 190,000 marines, which are forward-deployed in Germany, the ROK, and Japan, among other countries. As described in the Defense Strategic Guidance, the Army continues its transi-

tion to a smaller yet capable force fully prepared to conduct a full range of operations worldwide. The Marine Corps aims to acquire forces capable to respond to any threat as a "middleweight force," bridging the seam between smaller special operations forces and larger heavy conventional forces. In January 2012, the DoD announced that it will reduce the number of active Marine Corps personnel to 182,000 and in February 2014 the number of active Army personnel to 440,000– 450,000, with further reductions to both in the future.

The U.S. maritime forces consist of about 1,030 vessels (including about 70 submarines) totaling about 6.10 million tons. The 6th Fleet is deployed in the East Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and Africa; the 5th Fleet in the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and northwest Indian Ocean; the 3rd Fleet in the eastern Pacific; the 4th Fleet in South America and the Caribbean Sea; and the 7th Fleet in the western Pacific and Indian Ocean.

The U.S. air forces consist of roughly 3,500 combat aircraft across the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. In addition to carrier-based aircraft deployed at sea, part of the tactical air force is forward-deployed in Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan and the ROK.

Moreover, in addressing the increasing threats in cyberspace, the U.S. Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM) was founded in order to oversee operations in cyberspace. The U.S. Cyber Command attained Initial Operational Capability (IOC) in May 2010 and commended full capability in November in the same year¹⁵.

See Fig. I-1-1-3 (Structure of the Unified Combatant Command)



12 Warheads that have been equipped in deployed ICBMs and Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) and nuclear warheads equipped in heavy bombers. (A deployed heavy bomber is counted as one nuclear warhead)

¹³ The figure as of March 1, 2014.

¹⁴ The concept is designed to address anti-access (A2) challenges and enable prompt strikes of any target in the world using non-nuclear long-range precision guided missiles.

¹⁵ As cyber-related units, Army Cyber Command (ARCYBER), Fleet Cyber Command (FLTCYBERCOM), 24th Air Force/Air Force Cyber Command (AFCYBER), and Marine Corps Forces Cyber Command (MARFORCYBER) have been newly formed.

2 Current Military Posture in the Asia-Pacific Region

The United States, a Pacific nation, continues to play an important role in ensuring the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region by placing the Pacific Command, a joint command consisting of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. The Pacific Command is a command with regional responsibilities for the largest geographical area, and its component commands include U.S. Forces Japan and U.S. Forces Korea. In order to broaden the perspective of the U.S. Forces and promote better understanding of the U.S. Forces from allies, the Pacific Command headquarters accept personnel from allies in the region. Under this scheme, personnel from Canada and Australia are currently serving in the Pacific Command as deputy director level-officials.

The Pacific Command consists of the U.S. Army Pacific, U.S. Pacific Fleet, U.S. Marine Forces Pacific, and U.S. Pacific Air Forces, which are all headquartered in Hawaii¹⁶.

The U.S. Army Pacific (USARPAC) is composed of two divisions and deploys such forces as the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii and the 2nd Infantry Division and 19th Sustainment Command in the ROK, in addition to about 2,300 personnel in Japan, including the I Corps (Forward) headquarters and the headquarters, U.S. Army Japan¹⁷.

The U.S. Pacific Fleet consists of the Seventh Fleet, which

is responsible for the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and the Third Fleet, responsible for the East Pacific and Bering Sea. The U.S. Pacific in total controls about 180 vessels. The Seventh Fleet is centered on a carrier strike group with main stationing locations in Japan and Guam. Their mission is to defend territorial lands, people and sea lines of communication and the critical national interests of the U.S. and its allies. The fleet consists of aircraft carriers, amphibious ships and the Aegis combat system.

The U.S. Pacific Marine Corps deploys one Marine Expeditionary Force each in the U.S. mainland and Japan. Of this force, about 16,000 personnel are in the 3rd Marine Division and the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, which are equipped with F/A-18 fighters and other aircraft and are both deployed in Japan. In addition, maritime pre-positioning ships loaded with heavy equipment and others are deployed in the Western Pacific.

The U.S. Pacific Air Force deploys three air forces, of which three air wings (equipped with F-16 fighters C-130 transport aircrafts) are deployed in the 5th Air Force stationed in Japan, and two air wings (equipped with F-16 fighters) in the 7th Air Force stationed in the ROK.

See Fig. I-1-1-4 (U.S. Forces Deployment Status and the Recent Trend of the U.S. Forces in the Asia-Pacific Region)

¹⁷ The figures of the U.S. Forces mentioned in this paragraph are the numbers of active personnel recorded in the published sources of the U.S. Department of Defense (as of December 31, 2013), and could change according to unit deployment.

Fig. I-1-1-4 U.S. Forces Deployment Status and the Recent Trend of the U.S. Forces in the Asia-Pacific Region



Notes: 1. Source: Documents published by the U.S. Department of Defense (as of December 31, 2013) and other materials. 2. The number of personnel deployed in the Asia-Pacific region includes personnel deployed in Hawaii and Guam.

