Part I

Security Environment Surrounding Japan

Chapter 2

National Defense Policies of Countries

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Section 1. The United States

1. Security and Defense Policies

The National Security Strategy¹ released in March 2006 states that the United States can protect its nation by leading efforts of the international community to end tyranny and promote democracy. The United States, however, cannot achieve such idealistic goals alone, and so it is committed to taking a realistic approach that relies on cooperation with allies, partners, and the international community.

The National Defense Strategy released in July 2008² stipulates that the national interests of the United States include protecting the nation and its allies from attack or coercion, promoting international security to reduce conflict and foster economic growth, and securing the Global Commons and, with them, access to world markets and resources. To pursue these interests, the U.S. intends to develop military capabilities, together with diplomacy and economic measures, and use force when necessary.



U.S. President Barack Obama taking the presidential oath at his inaugural ceremony [AFP/JIJI]

In January 2009, Barack Obama became the 44th president of the United States. President Obama said in his inauguration speech, "our power alone cannot protect us. Instead, our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause and the force of our example." In his speech to Congress in February 2009, he said, "America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, but the world cannot meet them without America. To meet the challenges, we will strengthen old alliances, forge new ones, and use all elements of our national power."

1. Assessment of Security Environment

According to the 2008 National Defense Strategy, for the foreseeable future, the security environment will be defined by a global struggle against a violent extremist ideology that seeks to overturn the international state system. It also acknowledges that the world is facing various long-term threats, including irregular challenges, the quest by rouge states for nuclear weapons, and the rising military power of other states. The strategy points out that success in dealing with them will require the orchestration of national and international power over the years or decades to come.

2. Defense Strategy

The United States outlines the strategic objectives in the 2008 National Strategy as follows: 1) defending the homeland; 2) winning the "Long War" against violent extremism³; 3) promoting security; 4) deterring conflict⁴; and 5) winning the nation's wars. In addition, it describes the following five measures to accomplish these strategic objectives:

- 1) Shape the choices of key states: In cooperation with allies and friends, the U.S. helps shape the international environment and the choices that strategic states face⁵
- 2) Prevent adversaries from acquiring or using weapons of mass destruction (WMD): There are few greater challenges than those posed by WMD. Preventing the spread and use of these weapons requires vigilance and obligates us to anticipate and counter threats⁶
- 3) Strengthen and expand alliances and partnerships: Alliance systems remain the key to our success. The United States will assist other countries in improving their capabilities through security cooperation and learn

- valuable skills and information form others
- 4) Secure U.S. strategic access and retain freedom of action: The U.S. requires strategic access to important regions of the world to meet national security needs and thus will continue to foster access to and flow of energy resources vital to the world economy. The U.S. will also continue to transform overseas U.S. military presence
- 5) Integrate and unify our efforts: A new "Jointness": Iraq and Afghanistan remind the U.S. that military success alone is insufficient to achieve victory. The United States as a nation must strengthen not only our military capabilities, but also reinvigorate other important elements of national power and develop the capability to integrate, tailor, and apply these tools as needed.

3. Priority Areas for Capability Development

The 2008 National Defense Strategy continues to emphasize the importance of improvements in capabilities build-up in the following four priority areas requiring particular attention identified in the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR)⁷ released in February 2006.

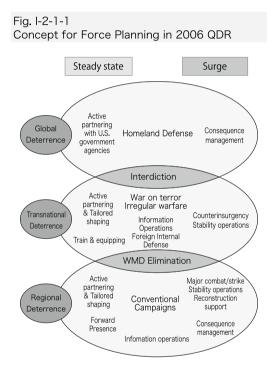
- 1) Defeating terrorist networks: In dealing with irregular challenges, it is necessary to deter the terrorist networks from securing their sanctuaries by attacking them relentlessly. Therefore, in addition to developing intelligence gathering capabilities and special operation capabilities, U.S. forces strengthen their cooperation with interagency partners and provide training to security forces of other countries. To defeat terrorist networks in a battle of ideas as well as in a battle of arms, U.S. forces will strengthen their Strategic Communication and improve language and cultural awareness.
- 2) Defending the homeland in depth: In order to cope with threats to the homeland of the United States, it is essential to strengthen cooperation with interagency partners as well as to maintain the posture to deter invasion. To implement this, U.S. forces need not only to strengthen their deterrence by missile defense and other defense measures, but also to increase capabilities of consequence management in response to emergencies.
- 3) Shaping the choices of countries at strategic crossroads: While the United States encourages the countries that have the potential to affect future security to become constructive partners by expanding its security cooperation and other measures, it hedges against the possibility that cooperative approaches may fail by strengthening the capabilities of allies and partners, further diversifying its basing posture, and maintaining its military primacy in key areas.
- 4) Preventing the acquisition or use of weapons of mass destruction: The United States needs to take both preventive and responsive measures so that it addresses the threat of WMD by adversaries. U.S. forces develop capabilities to lessen the damage in case of WMD attacks while they strengthen their capabilities to identify and track WMD and their related materials as preventive measures.

4. Force Planning

Since the lessons learned from recent operations suggest that U.S. forces need to operate around the globe and not only in and from the four critical regions and that "swiftly defeating" or "winning decisively" against adversaries may be less useful for some types of operations, such as a long duration, irregular warfare campaign, the 2006 QDR concludes that while continuing to take the capabilities-based approach in the 2001 QDR, the United States has refined its force planning construct, dividing its activities into three objective areas: 1) homeland defense; 2) fight against terrorism/irregular (asymmetric) warfare; and 3) conventional campaigns.

1) Homeland defense: In steady state, U.S. forces deter external threats to the homeland of the United States and provide necessary support to interagency partners by conducting joint training and other measures so that they can contribute to homeland defense. In surge, they respond to attacks by means of WMD and other

- weapons, and also take measures to minimize the damage from them.
- 2) War on terror/irregular warfare: In steady state, U.S. forces deter transnational terrorist attacks through forward-deployed forces, and also strengthen capabilities of allies and friends and conduct counterinsurgency operations. In surge they conduct a potentially long-duration irregular warfare campaign, whose level of effort is equal to that of the operations conducted in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- 3) Conventional campaigns: In steady state, U.S. forces deter invasions or coercion by other countries through forward-deployed forces, and also strengthen capabilities of allies and friends through security cooperation such as military exchanges and joint exercises. In surge, they wage two nearly simultaneous conventional campaigns (or one conventional campaign if already engaged in a large-scale, long-duration irregular campaign), while reinforcing deterrence against opportunistic acts of aggression. (See Fig. I-2-1-1)



5. Defense Posture Review of U.S. Forces

The United States is currently working on the review of its global defense posture. Part of this review was disclosed in August 2004, stating that, over the next 10 years, the plan "will bring home about 60,000 to 70,000 uniformed personnel and approximately 100,000 family members and civilian employees." By reviewing the posture of its forces, the United States will redeploy most of its large-scale forces that have been stationed forward to cope with threats in the Cold War era to homeland, and strengthen its cooperation with allies and others, while making efforts to further improve rapid reaction capabilities by moving its most rapidly deployable forces forward in case of emergencies in unpredictable locations. Also, by capitalizing on force transformation, the United States aims to improve the capabilities of the forward-deployed force, while attempting to restore the morale and readiness of the military forces by sending many service members who are stationed abroad back to the United States. (See Fig. I-2-1-2)

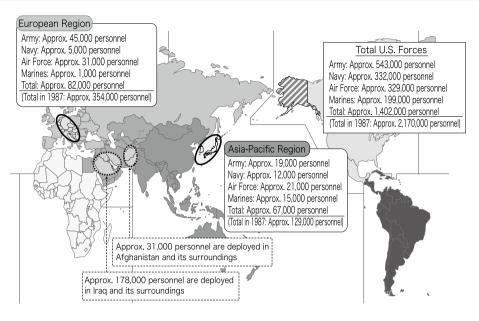


Fig. I-2-1-2 U.S. Forces Deployment Status

Note: Materials are taken from published documents of the U.S. Department of Defense (as of December 31, 2008) and others.

As specific measures in this posture review, in Europe the United States will deploy Striker Brigade Combat Teams¹⁰, reinforce the airborne brigade, and create a joint task force as well as build new bases and training facilities in Eastern European countries. On the other hand, with regard to personnel, two army divisions will be sent back to the homeland and U.S. forces stationed in Europe will be reduced to 24,000 personnel¹¹. However, as preparations for the living quarters of troops returning home remain unfinished, and due to security requisites in the European theater, it has been decided that the plan to reduce two U.S. brigade combat teams in Germany will be postponed for several years¹².

As for Asia, the United States announced that it would improve the capabilities of U.S. forces to deter, dissuade, and defeat challenges in the region through strengthened long-range strike capability, streamlined and consolidated headquarters, and a network of access agreements. Specifically, the United States is working on:

1) the forward stationing of additional expeditionary maritime capabilities in the Pacific¹³; 2) deployment of advanced strike assets in the Western Pacific¹⁴; 3) restructuring U.S. military presence and command structure in Northeast Asia (See Section 2-3 and Part II, Chapter 2); and 4) establishing a network of sites to provide training opportunities and contingency access in Central and Southeast Asia¹⁵.

In Africa, in October 2008, the United States Africa Command (command: Germany) with the area of responsibility covering Africa, which had been previously covered by three Commands – the U.S. European Command, U.S. Central Command and U.S. Pacific Command became an independent unified command. U.S. Africa Command is a joint command that aims to improve the capacity of African nations to deal with conflicts in their own region, through the provision of military assistance in the form of training for peacekeeping, etc., and the purpose of its establishment is to help African leaders to deal with Africa's problems¹⁶.

6. Nuclear Strategy

The Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) announced in 2002 declares a U.S. shift in nuclear force planning from an approach based on threats of Russia: the United States should maintain the minimum required nuclear forces

for the security of the United States, its allies, and friends, and the United States must have new deterrent force composed of nuclear forces, conventional forces, and defense systems (missile defense)¹⁷. The NPR asserts that deterrence should shift from the old triad in the Cold War era comprising: 1) intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM); 2) submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM); and 3) strategic bombers; to a new triad of: 1) non-nuclear and nuclear strike capabilities; 2) active and passive defense systems; and 3) defense infrastructure (defense industry, procurement system, and others). The new triad depends less on nuclear weapons by emphasizing the importance of missile defense and conventional forces (advanced weapons in particular), and makes deterrence more reliable in an environment where WMD are proliferating.

The Secretary of Defense is to review the NPR within 2009 and to submit a report to Congress based on the National Defense Authorization Act of FY 2008¹⁸. President Obama in his foreign policy sets a goal of a world without nuclear weapons and says that he will negotiate a verifiable global ban on the production of nuclear weapons material, while the United States will not disarm nuclear weapons unilaterally.

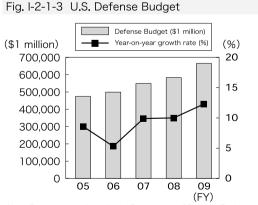


U.S. soldiers assigned patrol duties in a village in eastern Afghanistan near the border with Pakistan [AFP/JIJI]

7. FY 2010 Budget

The United States faces the challenge of how to distribute limited resources between the dual requirements of resolving the current issues and securing its military advantage into the future ¹⁹. The defense budget for FY 2010 is crafted to achieve four principle objectives: 1) strengthening the commitment to care for the all-volunteer force; 2) re-shaping the Department of Defense programs to enhance capabilities to execute tasks of today and the future; 3) beginning a fundamental overhaul of the Department of Defense's approach to procurement, acquisition and contracting; 4) providing

the necessary resources to support the troops in the field. The proposed budget for FY 2010, main contents are supporting the troops and their families, reshaping the forces, modernizing capabilities, reforming procurement²⁰ and supporting troops in the field, amounts to \$533.8 billion and represents an increase of about 4% over the FY 2009 enacted budget. That budget also has allocated \$130 billion for overseas contingency operations²¹. (See Fig. I-2-1-3)



Note: Expenses are shown in the Department of Defense Budget based on Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2010; the amount for FY 2009 is an estimate

2. Military Posture

Regarding nuclear forces, the United States completed the reduction of the number of its strategic nuclear weapons in accordance with the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) by December 2001, the deadline set in the treaty²². The current nuclear forces of the United States consist of 500 ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile), 14 SSBNs (Ballistic Missile Submarine, Nuclear-Powered), 432 SLBMs (Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile), 111 strategic bombers, and 5,951 nuclear warheads. In addition the United States intends to decrease the number of its operationally deployed strategic nuclear warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 by the end of 2012 in accordance with the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty ("Moscow Treaty"). Furthermore, in December 2007, then President Bush approved a significant reduction in the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile by the end of 2007²³.

A report by the Secretary of Defense Task Force on Nuclear Weapons Management was issued in September and December 2008²⁴. In relation to this, the U.S. Air Force released a so-called roadmap, titled "Reinvigorating the Air Force Nuclear Enterprise," to take measures including the establishment of the Global Strike Command having control over nuclear-capable bombers and all ICBMs.

The U.S. ground forces consist of approximately 540,000 soldiers, and approximately 200,000 marines, which are forward-deployed in Germany, the ROK and Japan, among other countries. In order to prepare for prolonged overseas contingency operations, U.S. ground forces are reorganizing their combat and support troops into brigade-sized modular units²⁵. The U.S. Marine Corps is enhancing its special operations forces, which have been playing an important role in the overseas contingency operations. It newly established the Marine Corps Special Operations Command (MARSOC)²⁶ in February 2006, thereby improving its ability to cope with irregular warfare.

U.S. maritime forces consist of approximately 950 vessels (including approximately 70 submarines) totaling about 6.02 million tons. The 2nd Fleet is deployed to the Atlantic Ocean, the 6th Fleet to the Mediterranean Sea, the 5th Fleet to the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and northwest Indian Ocean, the 3rd Fleet to the eastern Pacific, the 4th Fleet to Central and South America and the Caribbean Sea and the 7th Fleet to the western Pacific and Indian Ocean. The 2006 QDR announces that the United States will deploy at least six operationally available and sustainable carriers and 60% of its submarines in the Pacific in order to increase its military presence in the ocean.

The U.S. air forces consist of roughly 3,890 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. In the 2006 QDR, it is noted that the United States will strengthen its offensive capabilities with conventional weapons by developing a new land-based, penetrating long-range strike capability to be fielded by 2018, modernizing B-52, B-1, and B-2 bombers, and accelerating the procurement of unmanned aerial vehicles. On the other hand, it states that the number of the Air Force end strength will be reduced by about 40,000 full-time equivalent personnel²⁷.

As for mobility to deploy U.S. forces to distant locations, the United States is procuring C-17 transport aircraft and modernizing C-5 transport aircraft to improve the transport capabilities of the forces, and tries to preposition equipment at various theaters²⁸.

Furthermore, the former Bush Administration aimed to introduce a Missile Defense (MD) system to Europe around 2011 or 2012, and signed an agreement with the Czech Republic and Poland with regard to the partial deployment of the system in their territories²⁹. The Obama Administration indicated that the United States would go forward with a MD system that is cost-effective and proven as long as the threat from Iran persists. However, if the Iranian threat is eliminated, the driving force for missile defense construction in Europe will be removed³⁰.

The U.S. forces are increasingly depending on space systems for intelligence collection and communications. The country announced the U.S. National Space Policy in 2006, in which it states that space capabilities are vital

to its national interests and that it will preserve its freedom of action in space, deter others from impeding its space systems, take those actions necessary to protect its space systems, and deny, if necessary, the use of space that is hostile to the United States.

3. Military Posture in the Asia-Pacific Region

The United States, which is also a Pacific nation, continues to play an important role in ensuring the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region by deploying the Pacific Command, a joint command consisting of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

The Army is composed of two divisions and deploys a total of approximately 17,000 personnel split between the 25th Infantry Division deployed in Hawaii, and the 2nd Infantry Division and 19th Sustainment Command in the ROK, in addition to approximately 3,000 personnel in Japan, including the I Corps (Forward) and the Commander, U.S. Army Japan³¹.

The Navy consists of the 7th Fleet, which is in charge of the area including the western Pacific and Indian Ocean, and the 3rd Fleet, which is in charge of the area including the eastern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, under the Pacific Fleet, the headquarters of which is located in Hawaii, totaling approximately 180 vessels. The 7th Fleet is comprised mainly of one carrier strike group, with main bases in Japan and Guam. Its major mission is to defend and protect the territory, citizens, sea lanes, allies, and other vital interests of the United States, and ships assigned to the Pacific Fleet including carriers, amphibious ships, and Aegis cruisers.

The Marine Corps deploys one Marine Expeditionary Force in each of the U.S. mainland and Japan under the Pacific Marine Corps, which has its headquarters in Hawaii. Of this force approximately 15,000 personnel are in the 3rd Marine Division and the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, which is equipped with F/A-18 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 Air Force deploys three air forces under the Pacific Air Force, the headquarters of which is in Hawaii. It deploys three air wings equipped with F-15, F-16, and C-130 aircraft 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.