

Part I

Security Environment Surrounding Japan

Chapter 2

National Defense Policies of Countries

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President Obama in conference with Vice President Biden, Secretary of Defense Gates, and others
[Official White House photo by Pete Souza]



A Chinese navy ship-borne Ka-28 helicopter flying near an MSDF escort flotilla

Section 1. The United States

1. Security and Defense Policies

The Obama administration was formed in January 2009 and announced its national security policy and defense policy in 2010 by releasing the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) in February, the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) in April, and the National Security Strategy (NSS) in May¹.

The NSS points out that national interests which the United States pursues are 1) the security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners, 2) the prosperity through a strong, innovative and growing U.S. economy, 3) respect for universal values at home and around the world, 4) an international order that promotes peace, security and opportunity. The NSS emphasizes the necessity of using and integrating all elements of American power, such as military, diplomacy and development, and of cooperating with allies, international organizations and so on, for the purpose of achieving the above national interests.

In addition, the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), which was released in February of this year, notes that the role of the Department of Defense is to protect the United States and its allies, and to maintain and use its military capabilities in order to promote its national interests. The review goes on to indicate that the United States and its allies have the will and ability to exercise the use of force if necessary, and the United States possesses the capacity to act unilaterally if appropriate. In addition, the United States will remain the most powerful actor but must increasingly work with key allies and partners if it is to sustain stability and peace.



Secretary of Defense Gates and Secretary of State Clinton announcing the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) [U.S. Department of Defense]

1. Assessment of Security Environment

The current QDR indicates that the security environment is complex and uncertain due to such factors as wars that the United States is currently fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan, the rise of emerging countries such as China and India², the increase in influence of non-state actors, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and infringements on the global commons — sea, air, space, and cyber space. In addition, conflicts are becoming hybrid in that they are composed of complex characteristics, as the diverse actors that participate in these conflicts use various different means. Fragile states also face concerns of becoming hotbeds for extremism and radicalism, which are causes of conflict.

2. Defense Strategy

In the new QDR the United States lists four priority objectives tailored for this security environment and notes the necessity to balance risk and resources among these objectives.

- 1) Prevail in today's wars: The greatest priority is prevailing in the fight against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and border areas of Pakistan.
- 2) Prevent and deter conflict: The United States shall defend itself from direct attack, deter potential adversaries, and foster regional stability while assuring access to the global commons. For this purpose, the United States will work to develop the capabilities of partners and develop the necessary level of forces for itself as well. Moreover, the United States will maintain the lowest level of safe and effective nuclear weapons consistent

with the interests of the United States and its allies to deter attacks on the United States, its allies, and partners until a world free of nuclear weapons has been achieved.

- 3) Prepare to defeat adversaries and succeed in a wide range of contingencies: It is necessary for the United States to prepare to respond to diverse contingencies in the event that deterrence fails and adversaries challenge its national interests.
- 4) Preserve and enhance the All-Volunteer Force: It is necessary to maintain the All-Volunteer Force over the long-term in order to prevail in the current wars and to prepare for the future.

3. Priority Areas for Capability Development

The current QDR indicates the need to enhance military potential in the following six key mission areas in order to implement the four strategic priority objectives.

- 1) Defend the United States and support civil authorities at home: It is necessary to enhance the necessary posture at home to respond to potential attacks on U.S. soil, as well as to strengthen the cooperative relationships between domestic government-related institutions. For this reason, the United States must take measures such as reorganizing and developing consequence management response forces and enhancing its domain awareness capabilities for land, sea, air, space, and cyber space.
- 2) Succeed in counterinsurgency, stability, and counterterrorism operations: The United States will enhance the necessary capabilities for prevailing in the wars that it is currently fighting. For this reason, the United States will take measures that include increasing its number of rotary wing aircraft, expanding manned and unmanned aircraft systems for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR), and augmenting major equipment for special operation forces.
- 3) Build the security capacity of partner states: In order to maintain a peaceful and stable international order it is important to support the development of capabilities of security forces in partner countries. For this reason, it is necessary to improve language abilities, deepen knowledge on different regions and cultures, etc.
- 4) Deter and defeat aggression in anti-access environments: Countries that possess capabilities such as a wide range of sophisticated weaponry are able to demonstrate anti-access capabilities that hinder the deployment of United States forces. It is necessary for the United States to possess the capabilities to protect itself and its allies even amidst these environments. For this reason, the United States must work to improve long-range strike capabilities and to increase the resiliency of U.S. forward posture³.
- 5) Prevent proliferation and counter weapons of mass destruction: The United States will establish a standing Joint Task Force Elimination Headquarters in sight of eliminating weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In addition, the United States will enhance nuclear forensics, while also ensuring the protection of all nuclear materials in order to prevent the transfer of said materials to the hands of terrorists.
- 6) Operate effectively in cyberspace: The Department of Defense will build an environment in which cyber security is viewed as one of its priority items by developing a comprehensive approach to the cyber space operations. In addition, the United States will train cyberspace experts and centralize command of the Department of Defense cyberspace operations in the newly established U.S. Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM).

4. Force Planning

Following the end of the Cold War, U.S. military forces have been composed based on the idea of fighting and winning two major regional conflicts⁴. However, the new QDR indicates that the current security environment is more complex than when these ideas were adopted, and that it is no longer appropriate for the United States to determine its military's force structure based on these ideas as the United States must address diverse contingencies. The current QDR points out that the U.S. military force structure is led by the previously mentioned four strategic priority objectives and six mission areas, and, while the United States must possess the capacity to address two

capable nation-state aggressors, it must also have the ability to conduct a wide range of operations⁵. For that reason, the United States must rebalance its forces.

5. Defense Posture Review of U.S. Forces

The current QDR requires a cooperative and tailored approach to determine the U.S. global defense posture, reflecting regional political and security dynamics. Moreover, the QDR states the need to consider the five following principles when making decisions about the future U.S. defense posture: 1) forward-stationed and rotationally deployed U.S. forces continue to be relevant and required, 2) the U.S. defense posture will balance the need for a permanent overseas presence with the need for a flexible ability to respond to contingencies, etc., 3) the United States will balance the need for assured access to support ongoing operations with the risks of introducing fragility into its lines of communication, 4) America's defense posture should provide a stabilizing influence abroad and be welcomed by the host nation, and 5) the defense posture will continuously adapt to changes in the strategic environment.

Furthermore, the new QDR will emphasize the following four priorities in adapting and developing its global defense posture over the next five-year period.

- 1) Reaffirm its commitment to Europe and NATO, including through the development of European missile defense capabilities;
- 2) Work with allies and key partners to ensure a peaceful and secure Asia-Pacific region;
- 3) Balance ongoing operations, crisis response, and prevent-and-deter activities in the development of a strategic defense posture in the broader Middle East, Africa, and Central and South Asia; and
- 4) Support partnership capacity-building efforts in key regions and states.

In Europe, in revising its military posture in this way the United States has constructed a forward military posture that is lighter, more flexible, and more deployable. The new QDR states that it will 1) serve to deter the political intimidation of allies and partners, 2) promote stability in the Aegean, Balkans, Caucasus, and Black Sea regions, 3) demonstrate U.S. commitment to NATO allies, 4) build trust and goodwill among host nations, and 5) facilitate multilateral operations in support of mutual security interests both inside and outside the continent. Based on this policy, on the European continent the U.S. military will retain four brigade combat teams and an Army Corps headquarters, while also beginning the deployment of a missile defense system and enhancement of its forward-deployed naval presence.

In the Asia-Pacific, the new QDR states that the United States will place importance on forward-stationed and forward-deployed U.S. forces as U.S. bases and infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific are sparse. In addition, the United States will sustain and strengthen its Asia-Pacific alliances and partnerships to advance mutual security interests and ensure sustainable peace and security in the region. Specifically, the QDR lays down the following policies.

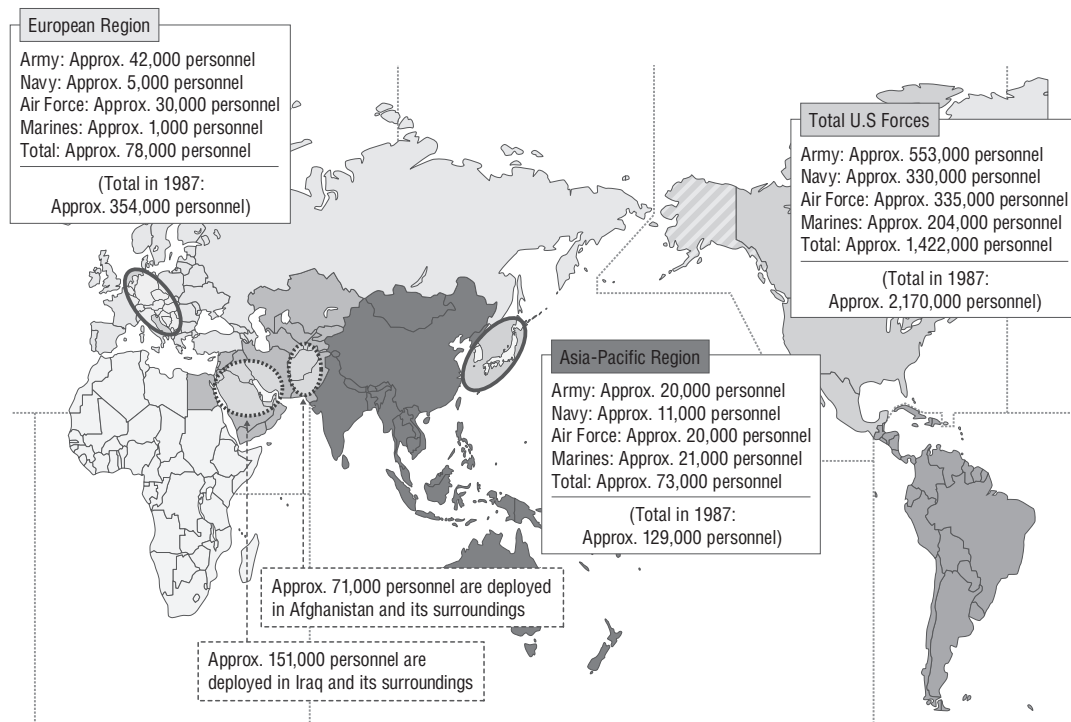
- 1) The United States will continue to adapt its defense presence as necessary to maintain regional stability and assure allies of their security, including through the provision of extended deterrence to Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK). The United States will augment regional deterrence and rapid response capabilities and build the capacity of its Asian partners to respond more effectively to contingencies, including humanitarian crises and natural disasters.
- 2) With Japan, the United States will continue to implement the bilateral Realignment Roadmap agreement that will ensure a long-term presence of U.S. forces in Japan and transform Guam into a hub for security activities in the region.
- 3) The United States will develop a more adaptive and flexible U.S. force presence on the Korean Peninsula to strengthen the alliance's deterrent and defense capabilities. The United States will also transfer the wartime operational control to the ROK in 2012.

- 4) The United States will improve the resiliency of U.S. forces and facilities in the region in order to safeguard U.S., allied, and partner interests in response to emerging anti-access and area-denial capabilities. In addition, the United States will explore opportunities for a more forward-deployed presence that supports increased multilateral cooperation on maritime security and assured access to the sea, air, space, and cyber space.
- 5) The United States will seek additional opportunities for joint and combined training in the Western Pacific, particularly in the areas of humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and maritime security.

In regards to the Middle East, the new QDR indicates that while the United States had prioritized a defense posture necessary for the near-term operational capabilities in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is now time to renew focus on a strategic architecture that better serves U.S., allied, and partner interests through the medium to long term. Moreover, the United States will reshape its defense posture to assure partners of a long-term commitment to mutual security relationships and to deter attacks while balancing that requirement against the regional sensitivity to a large, long-term U.S. force presence. The United States will also strengthen defense capabilities and posture networks as efforts related to security in the Middle East for promoting regional stability and security.

In Africa, in October 2008, the United States Africa Command (headquarters: 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 deal with Africa's problems⁶. In addition, the new

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



Note: Materials are taken from published documents of the U.S. Department of Defense (as of December 31, 2009) and others.

QDR indicates that the United States will continue to maintain a limited military presence in Africa to help build partner security capacity.

In the North and South Americas, the new QDR states that while the region does not require a robust forward presence, the United States will retain a limited presence and seek to improve relationships with the region's countries. In addition, the U.S. Navy will homeport an East Coast carrier in Mayport, Florida in order to mitigate the risk of a terrorist attack or natural disaster.

We must continue to pay attention to how the concepts of global posture review, as outlined in the new QDR, are implemented in the future.

(See Fig. I-2-1-1)

6. Nuclear Strategy

While President Obama aims to realize a world without nuclear weapons, he admits that it is impossible to abolish nuclear weapons soon, 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 of 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 current NPR presents five key objectives based on awareness of this security environment.

- 1) Preventing nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism: In order to bolster the non-nuclear proliferation regime, the United States will reverse the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran and create an environment that subjects parties not compliant with the NPT to heavy sanctions. In addition, in order to prevent nuclear terrorism, the United States will secure the safety of all vulnerable nuclear materials worldwide in four years and take measures such as expanding the budget of the Department of Energy nuclear non-proliferation programs. Furthermore, in order to promote arms control and disarmament, the United States signed a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with Russia and seeks the ratification and early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).
- 2) Reducing the role of U.S. nuclear weapons in U.S. national security strategy: The fundamental role of U.S. nuclear weapons is to deter nuclear attack on the United States, its allies, and partners. In order to reduce the role of nuclear weapons when deterring attacks via non-nuclear means, the United States will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states that are party to the NPT and in compliance with their nuclear non-proliferation obligations (negative security assurance). In response to chemical and biological weapons (CBW) attacks, the United States will answer with a devastating conventional weapon response, but also reserves the right to make any adjustment to this policy with consideration to advancements in biotechnology. In the case of addressing states that possess nuclear weapons and non-nuclear states that do not comply with the NPT, there remains a narrow range of possibilities in which U.S. nuclear weapons may still play a role in deterring a conventional or CBW attack. Therefore, the United States is not prepared at present to limit the role of nuclear weapons to deterring a nuclear attack as its sole purpose. The United States will only consider the use of nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances to defend the vital interest of itself, allies, and partners.
- 3) Maintaining strategic deterrence and stability at reduced nuclear force levels: Under the New START, which was signed with Russia, the United States will maintain deterrence via its nuclear Triad of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM), and strategic bombers while also reducing accountable deployed strategic warheads and delivery platforms. With regards to non-strategic nuclear weapons⁷, these should be included in any future reduction arrangements between the United States

and Russia, but the United States will retain a dual-capable fighter that can be equipped with both conventional and nuclear weapons. Also, the United States will retire the nuclear-equipped sea-launched cruise missile (TLAM-N) as it is possible to substitute these missiles by other means.

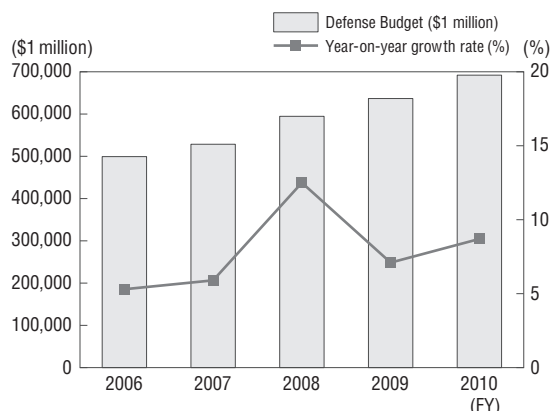
- 4) Strengthening regional deterrence and reassuring U.S. allies and partners: The United States will enhance bilateral and regional security ties and closely cooperate with its allies and partner nations. The United States will also enhance its regional security architectures, which are composed of missile defense, counter-WMD capabilities, conventional power-projection capabilities, and others. The United States will reassure its allies and partners that U.S. extended deterrence is credible and effective.
- 5) Sustaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal: The United States will not conduct nuclear testing and will not develop new nuclear warheads. In order to ensure the safety, security, and reliability of warheads, the United States will implement Life Extension Programs (LEPs) and enhance scientific, technical, and engineering infrastructures needed for implementing LEPs.

7. FY2011 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. The key objectives laid out for the fiscal year 2011 budget are: 1) taking care of people, 2) rebalancing the forces, 3) reforming how DoD does business, and 4) supporting our troops in the field. The 2011 budget shows a nearly 3% increase, or \$548.9 billion, on the approved 2010 budget as well as a budget⁸ for some \$159.3 billion for overseas contingency operations. The budget totals \$708.2 billion.

(See Fig. I-2-1-2)

Fig. I-2-1-2 U.S. Defense Budget



Note: Expenses are shown in the Department of Defense Budget based on Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2011; the amount for FY2010 is an estimate.



A U.S. soldier with a family member [U.S. Department of Defense]

2. Military Posture

In regards to strategic offensive weapons including nuclear weapons, in April 2010 U.S. President Barack Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty to replace START I. The new treaty indicates that the two countries are to reduce their numbers of deployed strategic warheads⁹ to 1,550 and deployed delivery platforms to 700 in seven years following the entry into force of the treaty. Furthermore, in May 2010 the United States announced that it currently possessed 5,113 nuclear warheads¹⁰, noting the necessity

to increase the transparency of nuclear stockpiles in order to promote nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear arms reduction.

In September and December of 2008, a report was released by a special committee on nuclear arms control¹¹. Related to this, the United States took such measures as newly organizing the Global Strike Command (AFGSC) in August 2009 to oversee nuclear bombers and all ICBMs based on Revitalizing Nuclear Missions by the Air Force, which was released by the Air Force in October 2008.

The U.S. ground forces consist of approximately 550,000 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 units¹². The new QDR indicates that the U.S. ground forces are to maintain capabilities to respond to all types of contingencies while focusing on counterinsurgency operations, stabilization operations, and counterterrorism operations. The U.S. Marine Corps is enhancing its special operations forces, which have been playing an important role in the overseas contingency operations, improving its ability to cope with irregular warfare.

U.S. maritime forces consist of approximately 1,010 vessels (including approximately 70 submarines) totaling about 6.03 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 South America and the Caribbean Sea; and the 7th Fleet to the western Pacific and Indian Ocean. The new QDR indicates that U.S. maritime forces will continue to retain a robust forward presence and power projection capabilities.

The U.S. air forces consist of roughly 3,820 combat aircraft across the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps¹³. 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. The new QDR indicates that the increase of fifth-generation fighters will further improve the survivability of the U.S. air forces and strengthen support operations for the security forces of partner countries.

As for mobility to deploy U.S. forces to distant locations, the United States is modernizing C-5 transport aircraft to improve the transport capabilities of the forces, and tries to preposition equipment at various theaters¹⁴.

In regards to missile defense (MD), in September 2009 the Obama administration reviewed the Bush administration's plan to deploy portions of its MD system to the Czech Republic and Poland, and announced a new plan to improve BMD capabilities in a step-wise fashion from 2011 to 2020, and ultimately construct a comprehensive MD structure that responds to intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)¹⁵ as well. As reasons for the revision, the Obama administration has voiced that while the threat from Iran's short- (SRBMs) and intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) is developing more rapidly than previously projected, the development of ICBMs has been slower than estimated and the capabilities and technologies for missile defense, such as interceptor missiles and sensors, have markedly improved¹⁶.

In February 2010 the United States announced the Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR). The review noted that, while it would be difficult to accurately predict the threat of an ICBM fired at the United States, it is still important to watch the trends in North Korea and Iran. The report also mentioned that the development of SRBMs and IRBMs that can be used to attack U.S. troops stationed in other regions as well as allied countries is advancing and that these are a clear threat. Furthermore, in defending United States homeland, the review notes that the United States will use ground-based interceptors to respond to ICBMs from North Korea and Iran. In regards to defense in other regions, the United States will expand investments into MD systems while taking a phased adaptive approach (PAA) that is tailored to each region and improve the BMD capabilities step by step, working with partner countries and properly sharing the burden.

In addition, the U.S. military relies on space systems for much of its information gathering and communications. The United States released the National Space Policy of the United States of America in 2010. This document states that the sustainability, stability, and free access to, and use of, space are vital to the national interests of the United States, and stipulates that the goals of the U.S. space policy includes measures such as strengthening stability in space. With regard to the use of space for national security purpose, the United States will enhance its space situational awareness capabilities and develop its capabilities to deter, defend, and defeat efforts to attack U.S. or allied space systems.

Moreover, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates decided on the creation of U.S. Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM) in June 2009 in order to address the increasing threats in cyber space. It is to oversee operations in cyber space. It attained Initial Operation Capability (IOC) in May of this year and its full capability is set for October of this year¹⁷.

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 such forces as the 25th Infantry Division 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 headquarters, U.S. Army Japan¹⁸.

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 17,000 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 four air forces under the Pacific Air Force, the headquarters of which is in Hawaii. It deploys three air wings equipped with F-16, C-130 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.

Trends in Military Science and Technology (Conventional Prompt Global Strike)

Advanced nations continue to focus on research and development in such fields as precision guidance technologies, information-related technologies such as C4ISR, and unmanned technologies. In addition, these nations now emphasize the research and development of equipment adapted better to respond to regional conflict and energy countermeasures closely linked to climate change.

In February 2010 U.S. Vice President Joe Biden commented that, “We have long relied on nuclear weapons to deter potential adversaries. Now, as our technology improves, we are developing non-nuclear ways to accomplish that same objective,” indicating an example that seems to point to the concept of Conventional Prompt Global Strike, as a capability to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons. This concept consists of utilizing highly precise non-nuclear weapons to penetrate the anti-access capabilities of adversaries and promptly strike, no matter what and where in the world the target may be. According to the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR), the concept is currently studied as a part of long-range strike capabilities. According to the United States, weapons from that concept would count against the new START treaty’s limits of delivery vehicles and warheads.

Conventional strike missiles (CSMs) are the development plan that leads this concept. While retired ballistic missile rockets and others will be diverted for use, confusion with nuclear weapons will be avoided as CSMs move along a depressed trajectory that is clearly different from ballistic missiles.



Comparison of Ballistic Missile and CSM Trajectories (image)