Chapter 2

National Defense Policies of Countries

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1. Security and Defense Policies

The United States recognizes that even with its geographic insularity surrounded by uncontested borders and shielded by two oceans, the insularity no longer confers security for the country against direct attacks, as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks showed. Against this backdrop, the United States has decided to give top priority in its national security to homeland defense.

The National Security Strategy 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 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) released in February 2006 states that the United States is in a “long war” against terrorist networks and needs to reorient the capabilities of U.S. forces to address the new security challenges and to improve capabilities dealing with irregular, catastrophic, and disruptive challenges (See 1 below) while sustaining capabilities to address traditional challenges.

Furthermore, the QDR repeatedly stresses that, as the Department of Defense cannot independently win the “long war” that the United States faces today, it is essential to bear all elements of national power at home and to work in close cooperation with allies and partners abroad.

1. Assessment of Security Environment

The United States considers that the security environment of today is different from that of the Cold War era in that it is difficult to predict who, where, and when will pose threats to and attack the United States, while during the Cold War the Soviet Union was clearly recognized as the enemy. The National Defense Strategy identifies four challenges that the United States is expected to face in today’s uncertain security environment in the course of protecting its freedom and interests. These challenges overlap, and can occur simultaneously.

1) Traditional challenges: Threats of military conflicts among nations employing conventional forces;
2) Irregular challenges: Threats employing such irregular methods as terrorism and insurgency to erode U.S. influence;
3) Catastrophic challenges: Threats involving the acquisition, possession, and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or methods producing WMD-like effects;
4) Disruptive challenges: Threats coming from adversaries who are seeking to exploit U.S. vulnerabilities by using technology, etc., to offset the present U.S. advantage on the account of technical advancement in the fields of biotechnology, cyber operations, space weapons, and such.

2. Defense Strategy

The United States outlines the strategic objectives in the security environment as follows: 1) securing the United States from direct attack; 2) securing strategic access and retaining global freedom of action; 3) strengthening alliances and partnerships; and 4) establishing favorable security conditions. In addition, the National Defense Strategy describes the following four measures to accomplish these strategic objectives:

1) Assure allies and friends by fulfilling alliance and other defense commitments;
2) Dissuade potential enemies from adopting threatening capabilities, methods and ambitions by sustaining and developing the military advantage of the United States;
3) Deter aggression and coercion by maintaining capable and rapidly deployable military forces and, when necessary, demonstrating the strong will to resolve conflicts;
4) Defeat adversaries by employing military power, as necessary, together with other instruments when deterrence fails.
Furthermore, the National Defense Strategy shows the following four implementation guidelines to be followed in pursuing the aforementioned strategic goals:

1) Active, layered defense: It is necessary to defeat challenges to the United States early and at a safe distance. Therefore, preventive actions such as security cooperation, forward deterrence, and non-proliferation initiatives are critical. As these actions cannot be implemented solely by the United States, cooperation with allies and friends is essential. It is also necessary to improve the capabilities to defend the homeland by strengthening missile defense and other defensive measures.

2) Continuous transformation: In order that the United States ensures its advantage, it is necessary to continuously transform U.S. forces by changing long-standing business processes within the Department of Defense and its relationship with interagency and international partners as well as methods of fighting (concepts or warfare, definition of threat, operation style, organization, and composition of weapons).

3) “Capabilities-based” approach: In the current security environment, it is difficult to predict when and where threats to the United States will emerge. However, it is possible to predict the capabilities that enemies will employ to attack the United States. Therefore, the United States focuses on what capabilities are needed to counter enemy capabilities.

4) Managing risks: The United States identifies various risks that may arise in pursuing the strategic objectives with limited resources, and controls them properly.

3. Priority Areas for Capability Development

The 2006 QDR states that it is necessary to improve capabilities dealing with irregular, catastrophic, and disruptive challenges while sustaining capabilities to address traditional challenges on the basis of the security environment and the defense strategy described above. Specifically, it lists the following four priority areas for capability development:

1) Defeating terrorist networks: In order to win the fight against terrorism, 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. (See Fig. I-2-1-1)

**Fig. I-2-1-1 The Four Challenges and Priority Areas of 2006 QDR**

Shifting the portfolio of capabilities to address irregular, catastrophic, and disruptive challenges while maintaining capabilities to deal with traditional challenges

- **Irregular challenges**
  - Threats of unconventional methods, such as terrorism
  - Defeating terrorist networks
  - Preventing acquisition or use of weapons of mass destruction

- **Catastrophic challenges**
  - Threats posed by terrorism or rogue states employing WMD and other weapons
  - Defending homeland
  - Shaping choices of countries at strategic crossroads

- **Traditional challenges**
  - Military conflict by means of conventional military capabilities

- **Disruptive challenges**
  - Threats posed by competitors using technology or means to counter or cancel U.S. military advantages

**4. Force Planning**

The 2001 QDR described that the United States adopted an approach to construct its forces for the following four objectives: 1) to defend the United States; 2) to maintain forward-deployed forces in four critical regions (Europe, Northeast Asia, the East Asia littoral, and the Middle East/Southwest Asia); 3) to defeat adversaries swiftly in two types of operation in overlapping time frames and to defeat an adversary decisively in one of the two theaters; and 4) to conduct a limited number of small-scale contingencies.

However, since the lessons learned from experiences in the fight against terrorism 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, 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 presently 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-2-1-2)


The United States is currently working on the review of its global defense posture. The Bush administration explained in August 2004 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-2-1-3)

As specific measures in this posture review, in Europe the United States will deploy Striker Brigade Combat Teams, 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 personnel. 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 years.

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 Pacific; 2) deployment of advanced strike assets in the Western Pacific; 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 Northeast Asia.

In Africa, in October 2007, the United States established the United States Africa Command with the area of responsibility covering Africa, which was previously covered by three Commands – the U.S. European
Command, U.S. Central Command and U.S. Pacific Command – and preliminary operations were launched under European Command\textsuperscript{12}. 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 problems\textsuperscript{13}.

### 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). 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 2006 QDR follows the concept of the new triad defined in the NPR and declares that the United States holds a wider range of conventional strike capabilities and missile defense capabilities, while maintaining a nuclear deterrent\textsuperscript{14}. 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 2008\textsuperscript{15}.

### 7. FY 2009 Budget

The United States faces the challenge of how to distribute limited resources between the dual requirements of fighting the war on terror and securing its military advantage into the future. The defense budget for FY 2009 represents the base budget of the Department of Defense, excluding the budget for the Global War on Terror (GWOT), and attaches importance to: 1) maintaining a highly trained fighting force and increasing ground forces; 2) improving quality of life for personnel and families such as pay increases and health care; 3) procuring

**Fig. I-2-1-4 U.S. Defense Budget**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Defense Budget ($1 million)</th>
<th>Year-on-year growth rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Expenses are shown in the Department of Defense Budget based on Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2009; the amount for FY 2008 is an estimate.
and maintaining an arsenal of the world’s most advanced weapon systems; 4) improving war fighting capabilities and investing in science and technology; 5) maintaining facilities at sites in the U.S. and around the globe; and 6) maintaining vital intelligence capabilities. The concluded budget for FY 2009 represents an increase in legislative terms of 7.5%, amounting to $515.4 billion.

Furthermore, the budget for the GWOT has been included in the Department of Defense base budget from FY 2008, and as an emergency allowance for the GWOT the defense budget for FY 2009 has allocated $70 billion. (See Fig. I-2-1-4)

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 treaty. The current nuclear forces of the United States consist of 550 ICBMs, 14 SSBNs (Ballistic Missile Submarine, Nuclear-Powered), 432 SLBMs, 113 strategic bombers, and 5,914 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, President Bush approved a significant reduction in the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile by the end of 2007.

The U.S. ground forces consist of approximately 520,000 soldiers, and approximately 190,000 marines, which are forward-deployed in Germany, the ROK and Japan, among other countries. To cope with the fight against terrorism, U.S. ground forces are reorganizing their combat and support troops into brigade-sized modular units. The U.S. Marine Corps is enhancing its special operations forces, which have been playing an important role in the fight against terrorism and in military operations in Iraq. It newly established the Marine Corps Special Operations Command (MARSOC) in February 2006, thereby improving its ability to cope with irregular warfare. Furthermore, to meet operational demands in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in order to expand the capabilities of armed forces and to reduce stress on the force and the personnel caused by deployment in the GWOT, the U.S. government asked Congress that ground forces be increased by 65,000 and Marine Corps forces by 27,000, with Army end strength being increased to 547,000 and Marine Corps end strength to 202,000 by 2012.

U.S. maritime forces consist of approximately 950 vessels (including approximately 70 submarines) totaling about 5.77 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, and the 7th Fleet to the western Pacific and Indian Ocean. It has been announced that the 4th Fleet, which has jurisdiction over Central and South America, the Caribbean and surrounding waters, will be redeployed from July 2008. In addition, 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 3,940 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 personnel.

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 pre-positioning equipment at various theaters.

Furthermore, the United States is aiming to introduce a Missile Defense (MD) system to Europe around 2011 or 2012, and negotiations are ongoing with the Czech Republic and Poland with regard to the partial deployment of the system in their territories.

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 18,000 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 2,000 personnel in Japan, including from the I Corps (Forward) and the Commander, U.S. Forces Japan.

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 14,000 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.