

Section

1

The United States

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Security and Defense Policies

It has been pointed out that the Trump administration, which was inaugurated in January 2017, has significantly changed the patterns of U.S. involvement in the world under the “America First” policy. On the other hand, it can be considered that while the United States is focusing on global competition, the United States has been continuing to play a role for world peace and stability with its comprehensive national power, the largest in the world, based on its belief that the values and influence of the United States, bolstered by its power, would make the world freer, safer, and more prosperous.

In fact, the United States has clarified its stance that it will emphasize the security of the Indo-Pacific region and has clearly indicated its willingness both to build new and stronger bonds with nations that share its values across the region and to maintain a forward military presence in the region, in order to advance the U.S. vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific. After positioning China as a revisionist power and strategic competitor in a strategy document outlining the administration’s national security and national defense policy, the United States disinvited China to the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) exercise. It is reported that U.S. naval vessels carried out repeated “Freedom of Navigation Operations” in the South China Sea and transit through the Taiwan Strait, and that the United States imposed sanctions on a Chinese military organ and a leader. The United States is also sharpening its deterrence stance against China through such moves as imposing tariffs on Chinese hi-tech products, heightening scrutiny of Chinese investment in the United States, restricting exports of U.S. technologies to Huawei, which is a major Chinese communication equipment maker, charging espionage agents, and tightening measures aimed at preventing technology theft and ensuring competitiveness in fields where there is a risk of technology being diverted to military uses. As can be seen from the fact that the provisions of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 include a prohibition on participation by

China in RIMPAC unless China ceased all land reclamation activities and removed all weapons from land reclamation sites, in the South China Sea, and a prohibition on executive agencies from using or procuring telecommunications equipment produced by Huawei Technologies company or other major Chinese telecommunication manufacturers, the Trump administration’s stance on China has bipartisan support in Congress, which appears likely to be maintained going forward. Under the recognition that North Korea’s actions and policies to pursue nuclear and missile programs constitutes an extraordinary threat to the United States, it has maintained sanctions and continues its efforts to pursue the complete denuclearization of North Korea (see 1-3 of this Section).

While the United States has also been dealing with security issues outside of the Indo-Pacific region, moves to withdraw or reduce troops have been seen in some regions since December 2018. In response to the offensive from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and other organizations in Iraq and Syria since 2014, the United States, since August 2014, has led Operation Inherent Resolve (OIR), a military operation against ISIL that includes airstrikes. In December 2018, President Trump expressed his intention to carry out a slow and highly coordinated withdrawal of U.S. Forces deployed in Syria, but, after the voicing of fear and opposition both at home and abroad, subsequently hinted in February 2019 at the possibility that a small force might remain stationed there.

In August 2017, the United States announced its strategy on Afghanistan and South Asia which made clear its continuous involvement with Afghanistan, and in September 2017, it disclosed that reinforcements of over 3,000 U.S. military personnel would be sent to Afghanistan. However, it is believed to have shifted to a policy of seeking a direct talk with the Taliban sometime before July 2018 and in January 2019, it was reported that the United States had reached an agreement in principle with the Taliban on a draft peace pact

that includes the withdrawal of U.S. Forces.¹

Furthermore, the United States has been increasing pressure on Iran from many aspects, stating it is to bring Iran to the negotiation table to conclude a comprehensive deal that addresses activities that destabilize the Middle East region, including the nuclear program.² In these circumstances, in June 2019, the United States revealed that Iran shot down a U.S. drone, which drove the United States to the brink of retaliatory strikes in response. In this way, tensions between the United States and Iran are increasing.³ The United States says that, although it does not want a war with Iran, the United States has been ready to defend its forces and interests in the region, warning Iran not to mistake U.S. restraint for weakness. In addition, when commercial vessels, including one related to Japan, were attacked near the Straits of Hormuz in May and June 2019, the United States pointed out that Iran or its proxies conducted the attacks. The United States proposed efforts by like-minded countries to secure international waterways in the region, indicating its intension to develop them.⁴

The United States has positioned anti-Russian deterrence alongside anti-Chinese deterrence as a priority in its national defense strategy. In December 2018, immediately after Russia's capture of Ukrainian naval vessels in the Kerch Strait and the detention of their crew members, the United States conducted Freedom of Navigation Operations in the vicinity of Peter the Great Gulf, which was the first time of the operation in those waters since 1987. In light of Russian actions concerning Ukraine, in order to strengthen involvement in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) security and deterrence, the investment for the European Deterrence Initiative⁵ has been set at US\$5.9 billion in the FY2020 Department of Defense (DoD) budget request.

On the other hand, in its security policies, the United States considers that certain allies which are pointed out as bearing only a small burden of cost and enjoying security

guaranteed by the United States should shoulder their fair share of responsibility. Under such a perception, the United States has requested NATO member states to swiftly meet their commitments to increase their national defense spending to 2% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Two years have passed since the inauguration of the Trump administration and attention will focus on how the divided Congress resulting from the mid-term election—which left the Republicans holding a majority in the Senate and the Democrats a majority in the House of Representatives—will affect U.S. security and defense policies.

1 Perception about Security Environment

The National Security Strategy (NSS)⁶ released in December 2017 indicates that changes in a regional balance of power can have global consequences and threaten U.S. interests. It mentions the three main sets of challengers against the United States and its allies and partners, which are the “revisionist powers” of China and Russia, the “rogue states” of Iran and North Korea, and transnational threat organizations, including jihadist terrorist groups. Of these, China and Russia are said to challenge American power, influence, and interests and attempt to erode American safety and prosperity, while North Korea and Iran destabilize regions and threaten the United States and its allies.

In addition, the National Defense Strategy (NDS)⁷ published in January 2018 points out that the primary concern in U.S. security is not terrorism but rather long-term strategic competition with China and Russia. It also mentions that China and Russia are undermining the free and open international order constructed by the United States and its allies, and it is increasingly clear that China and Russia want to shape a world consistent with their authoritarian model.

Furthermore, regarding the military actions⁸ carried out with the United Kingdom and France after determining

¹ It has been reported that, after reaching a fresh agreement on a withdrawal on condition that the Taliban does not allow Al Qaeda or ISIL to use Afghanistan's territory, the United States and the Taliban broadly agreed that foreign troops, including U.S. Forces, would withdraw from Afghanistan within 18 months. Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad stated in December 2018 that there had been significant progress on vital issues in this regard, while Secretary of State Mike Pompeo tweeted that the United States was serious about pursuing peace and bringing troops home.

² In May 2019, the United States announced that, in order to respond to threats from Iran to the U.S. forces and interests, the United States was additionally deploying an aircraft carrier strike group, a bomber task force, an amphibious transport dock ship and a Patriot battery to the U.S. Central Command, as well as approximately 1,500 troops comprised of additional intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance aircraft including unmanned drones, and a fighter aircraft squadron. In addition, in June 2019, the United States announced that it was sending approximately 1,000 additional troops to the Middle East in response to a request from U.S. Central Command.

³ President Trump revealed that the United States had been prepared to retaliate against three different sites in Iran in response to Iran's shooting down of a U.S. drone over international waters. However, on hearing a report by a General estimating that the number of Iranian deaths would be about 150, the president thought it disproportionate to the shooting down of an unmanned drone, so 10 minutes before the strike, he stopped it. However, the United States reportedly carried out cyber attacks on Iran, instead.

⁴ Remarks by then Acting Defense Secretary Esper at NATO Headquarters (June 2019)

⁵ This initiative reassures allies and partners of NATO that the United States is committed to their security and territorial integrity by increasing the presence of the U.S. Forces in Europe, conducting further bilateral and multilateral training and exercises with NATO allies and other countries, and strengthening the prepositioning of U.S. equipment in Europe. Until recently it was called the European Reassurance Initiative, but the name was changed to the European Deterrence Initiative in the FY2019 Budget Blueprint.

⁶ The NSS comprehensively indicates political, economic, military and diplomatic policies aimed at protecting U.S. for national security interests and achieving goals.

⁷ The NDS affords the president and secretary of defense the utmost strategic flexibility, decides the force structure to meet needs, and supports the latest national security strategy.

⁸ On April 13 Eastern Standard Time (on April 14 Japan time), the United States together with France and the United Kingdom conducted strikes against three chemical weapons-related facilities of the Syrian administration. The U.S. DoD announced that it believed that all 105 cruise missiles used hit their targets. Of these, the U.S. Forces fired 30 tomahawk missiles from two destroyers, 30 missiles from one cruiser, and six missiles from one nuclear submarine, as well as 19 JASSMs from two B-1B strategic bombers.

that Syria's Assad regime had used chemical weapons in April 2018, President Trump stated that establishing strong deterrence against the production, proliferation, and use of chemical weapons is an important interest for the national security of the United States.

In consideration of this recognition, the United States deems as security threats nations and organizations that attempt to undermine the interests of itself and its allies and threaten the international order. The Trump administration is addressing threats posed by China and Russia with particular emphasis as priority issues and appears to be continuing a policy of dealing with threats posed by North Korea, Iran, radical terrorist groups, and production, proliferation, and use of weapons of mass destruction.

2 Security and National Defense Strategy

The NSS developed by President Trump is rooted in the America First policy and realism in which power plays a central role in international politics, and stresses the need to rethink the policies of the past 20 years that were based on the assumption that engagement with rivals and their inclusion in the international community would turn them into benign actors and trustworthy partners. Moreover, the NSS sets up a strategic policy to protect four vital interests in this competitive world: (1) Protect the American people, the homeland, and the American way of life; (2) Promote American prosperity; (3) Preserve peace through strength; and (4) Advance American influence.

Furthermore, in addition to rebuilding the U.S. military to the strongest armed forces and strengthening capabilities in many areas including space and cyberspace, the United States is also striving to leverage the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific, Europe, and the Middle East. Moreover, while recognizing that allies and partners are a great strength of the United States and close cooperation is necessary, the United States has demanded that its allies and partners demonstrate the will to confront shared threats and contribute the capabilities. It is also pointed out that although the United States is responding to the growing political, economic, and military competition throughout the world, by ensuring American military power is second to none and fully integrating with its allies all instruments of power, the United States will seek areas of cooperation with competitors from a position of strength.

The NDS drawn up by Secretary of Defense Mattis (then) based on the NSS considers the long-term competitions with China and Russia as the principal priorities of the DoD because of the magnitude of the threats they pose to U.S. security and prosperity and the potential for the threats to

increase. Moreover, to expand the competitive space, the following three lines of effort are raised: (1) Building a more lethal Joint Force; (2) Strengthening alliances and attracting new partners; and (3) Reforming the DoD for greater performance and affordability.

Among these, (1) Building military power prioritizes preparedness for war and in order to defeat aggression by a major power and deter opportunistic aggression elsewhere, it advances building flexible theater postures and force deployment that have mobility, resilience, and modernize key capabilities such as nuclear forces, space and cyberspace, C4ISR (command, control, communication, computer, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance), missile defense, advanced autonomous systems, etc. Further, although indicating its commitment to deter aggression, it also demonstrates the stance that dynamic military force employment, military posture, and operations must introduce unpredictability to adversary decision-makers. For 2. Strengthening alliances, the following three matters are emphasized: i. Uphold a foundation of mutual respect, responsibility, priorities, and accountability, ii. Expand regional consultative mechanisms and collaborative planning, and iii. Deepen interoperability. On the other hand, there are expectations that allies and partners contribute an equitable share to mutually beneficial collective security, including effective investment in modernizing their defense capabilities.

3 Involvement in the Indo-Pacific Region

The Trump administration has positioned the Indo-Pacific region as a priority region for the United States and has shown a stance of placing importance on the region through the United States' commitment to the region and strengthening its presence.

During his November 2017 trip to Asia, in consonance with Japan's vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, President Trump expressed his intention to emphasize compliance with principles such as respecting the rule of law and freedom of navigation, and that he would promote a free and open Indo-Pacific region, as well as strengthen alliances in the region.

In relation to this, the NSS emphasizes that China seeks to displace the United States in the Indo-Pacific region and reorder the region in its favor, as well as having mounted a rapid military modernization campaign to limit U.S. access to the region and to provide itself a freer hand there. Moreover, as part of its Indo-Pacific region strategy, while reinforcing its commitment to freedom of the seas and the peaceful resolution of territorial and maritime disputes in accordance with international law, the United States will seek to increase



Vice President Pence making a speech about the United States' policy towards China at a research institute on October 4, 2018 [courtesy of the White House]

quadrilateral cooperation with Japan, Australia, and India and develop a strong defense networks with its allies and partners. In the same way, the NDS points out that China is leveraging military modernization, influence operations, and predatory economics to coerce neighboring countries to reorder the Indo-Pacific region to their advantage and is seeking regional hegemony. It emphasizes that a free and open Indo-Pacific provides prosperity and security, and that the United States will strengthen its alliances and partnerships in the Indo-Pacific to a networked security architecture capable of deterring aggression, maintaining stability, and ensuring free access to common domains. Under this strategic policy, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced at the August 2018 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF) that the United States intends to provide nearly US\$300 million in security assistance to improve security relationships across the Indo-Pacific region.

Meanwhile, the Indo-Pacific Strategy Report (IPSR) of the U.S. DoD, which was released in June 2019, fleshes out this policy in accordance with the characteristics of the Indo-Pacific region while retaining the strategic directions of the NSS and the NDS. Noting first of all that it is necessary to establish a force that is prepared to win any conflict from its onset in order to achieve peace through strength, the IPSR states that the United States will ensure that combat-credible forces are forward-postured in the Indo-Pacific region and will prioritize investments that ensure lethality against high-end adversaries. Next, arguing that the network of allies and

partners is a force multiplier to achieve peace, deterrence and interoperable warfighting capability, the IPSR states that the United States will reinforce its commitment to established alliances and partnerships while also expanding and deepening relationships with new partners. The IPSR also indicates that the United States will evolve U.S. alliances and partnerships into a networked security architecture to uphold the international rules-based order.

In May 2018, regarding China's maritime expansion, the U.S. DoD stated that China had deployed anti-ship missiles and surface-to-air missiles to the features in the Spratly Islands, and pointed out that the placement of these weapon system was only military use. As an initial response to China's continued militarization of areas in the South China Sea, the United States disinvited the Chinese navy to the multilateral Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC) in 2018. In a speech about the United States' policy towards China in October 2018, Vice President Mike Pence remarked that China's aggression had been exposed when a Chinese naval vessel came within 45 yards of the USS Decatur as it conducted Freedom of Navigation Operations in the South China Sea, forcing the U.S. Destroyer to take action to avoid a collision.⁹ He went on to say that, despite such reckless harassment, the U.S. Navy will continue to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows and U.S. national interests demand, and that the United States will not be intimidated and will not stand down.

It is reported that, under the Trump administration, the U.S. Forces have conducted Freedom of Navigation Operations¹⁰ within 12 nautical miles of the islands and reefs in the South China Sea claimed by China on 13 occasions up to May 2019, and have made ten bomber flights over the South China Sea.

Based on such a perception of China and regional strategy, it can be considered that the United States is advancing efforts rooted in the concept of free and open Indo-Pacific region.

In addition, as part of its activities around strengthening its presence in the Indo-Pacific region, in January 2017, the U.S. Forces deployed Marine Corps specification F-35B fighters to MCAS Iwakuni. In October 2017, 12 Air Force specified F-35A fighters were deployed at Kadena Air Force Base for the first time ever in the Asia-Pacific region. Also, in January 2018, nuclear-capable B-2 bombers and B-52 bombers were

⁹ Noting China's military expansion, attempts to push the United States from the western Pacific Ocean, routine patrol around the Senkaku Islands, and militarization in the South China Sea, Vice President Mike Pence stated that China was engaged in forced technology transfer and intellectual property theft, and that its security agencies have masterminded the wholesale theft of technology including military technology. Citing examples of China's use of debt diplomacy to expand its influence, he mentioned the possibility that a port in Sri Lanka for which China provided investment might become a Chinese forward naval military base as Sri Lanka's could not afford its payment. Vice President Pence also highlighted the fact that China had convinced three Latin American nations to sever ties with Taiwan and recognize the Chinese government, and stated that the United States condemns these actions, which he said threaten the stability of the Taiwan Strait. He made clear that, even as it hopes for improved relations with China, the United States will continue to stand strong for its security and economy, and will continue to assert U.S. interests across the Indo-Pacific.

¹⁰ It is regarded that the Trump administration implemented the Freedom of Navigation Operations in May, July, August, and October 2017; January, March, May, September, and November 2018; January, February and May (twice) 2019. The Obama administration implemented the Freedom of Navigation Operations in October 2015; January, May, and October 2016.

deployed to Guam, and in place of the amphibious assault ship USS Bonhomme Richard, the amphibious assault ship USS Wasp that is capable of carrying F-35B fighters arrived in Sasebo.¹¹ Furthermore, in March 2018 the aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson made the first port call by a U.S. aircraft carrier in over 40 years in Vietnam. In addition, the United States reportedly deployed two naval vessels on passages through the Taiwan Strait in July, October, and November 2018, and January, February, March, April and May 2019.

At the same time, under the policy to continue sustaining maximum pressure on North Korea, which was continuing its nuclear and ballistic missile development, the Trump administration was exhibiting its recognition that a military option plays an important role in backing up diplomatic efforts, and also was clearly showing its readiness to respond with overwhelming power in retaliation to any attack by North Korea.

In an historic first, a U.S.-North Korea Summit Meeting took place in June 2018. Both leaders clearly indicated willingness for jointly making efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, and based on the reaffirmed commitment expressed by Chairman Kim toward complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, both leaders confirmed that follow-on negotiations would continue. Responding to this discussion, the U.S. DoD suspended the U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK) command and control exercise Ulchi-Freedom Guardian scheduled for August and two Korean Marine Exchange Program¹² training exercises. It subsequently suspended the scheduled Vigilant Ace U.S.-ROK bilateral annual flying exercise, and then decided in March 2019 to conclude the Key Resolve and Foal Eagle series of exercises usually held by the United States and South Korea every spring. Then Acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan expressed a willingness to maintain U.S. Forces in South Korea, stating that close coordination between the military activities of the United States and South Korea will continue to support diplomatic efforts and that the two countries were committed to ensuring the continued combined defense posture of U.S.-ROK combined forces and maintaining firm military readiness.

The second U.S.-North Korea Summit Meeting was held in February 2019, and an agreement between the U.S. and North Korea could not be reached. Amid a gap between the

two sides over denuclearization, North Korea sought the lifting of all sanctions, but President Trump said he could not give up all of the sanctions, and indicated his intention to maintain them.

In addition, when President Trump visited the ROK in June 2019, he met the leader of North Korea at Panmunjom, and they agreed to proceed with dialogue at the working level. (See Section 3-1-5 (1) Relations with the United States)

4 Innovation Initiatives in the National Defense Field

Although the Trump administration has stopped using the name Third Offset Strategy,¹³ which was touted by the Obama administration, DoD innovation initiatives are positioned as one of the top priorities. In fact, the NSS outlines a policy that the United States must harness innovative technologies that are being developed outside of the traditional defense industrial base. The NDS also states that the DoD needs innovation to surpass revisionist powers, and calls for extensive investment in military application of autonomy, artificial intelligence, and machine learning, including rapid application of commercial breakthroughs, to gain competitive military advantages.

In February 2018, the DoD established the new post of Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, in charge of furthering the nation's military superiority through advanced technology and innovation, and decision-making on game-changing investment. Giving testimony before Congress about innovation in April 2018 after being appointed to this post, Under Secretary of Defense Michael Griffin demonstrated the recognition that, while U.S. Forces are still the most technologically advanced in the world, they are losing their supremacy and need to re-establish and maintain that technological advantage. The DoD, he said, continues to push the envelope with research into new technologies such as autonomous and unmanned systems, artificial intelligence, machine learning, biotechnology, space technology, microelectronics and cyber, both offense and defense. In June 2018, the department established the Joint Artificial Intelligence Center to accelerate the delivery of AI-enabled capabilities and the DoD Artificial Intelligence (AI) Strategy published in February 2019 positions JAIC at the focal point of the department's AI strategy.

¹¹ In April 2019, the U.S. Navy announced the deployment in Sasebo of USS America, an amphibious assault ship which can operate F-35B as a ship-borne aircraft, and USS New Orleans, an amphibious transport dock ship. It was also announced that USS Wasp, an amphibious assault ship deployed in Sasebo, and USS Stethem, a destroyer deployed in Yokosuka, would return to the U.S. mainland for maintenance and refurbishment, respectively.

¹² The Korean Marine Exchange Program (KMEP) is an annually-held joint exercise between the U.S. Marine Corps stationed in Okinawa and the ROK Marine Corps. 19 exercises were planned under the KMEP in 2018, and 11 exercises had been carried out as of June 22, 2018.

¹³ The United States' Third Offset Strategy is based on the concept of offsetting the capacity of the adversary by acquiring asymmetrical means that differ from the capacity of the adversary. There were two previous offset strategies as follows: (1) the nuclear deterrent of the 1950s; and (2) precision-guided missiles and stealth aircraft technologies of the 1970s. In November 2014, Secretary of Defense Hagel (then) announced the Defense Innovation Initiative (DII) that aimed to achieve military superiority through innovation, and stated the expectation that this would develop into the Third Offset Strategy.

5 Nuclear and Missile Defense Policy

The Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) released in February 2018 stated that, although the United States had reduced the role and number of nuclear weapons based on the aspiration that if the United States took the lead in reducing nuclear arms, other states would follow, the global threat conditions have worsened markedly since the most recent NPR¹⁴ released in 2010 and there now exist unprecedented threats and uncertainty, as China and Russia have expanded their nuclear forces and North Korea continues its pursuit of nuclear weapons and missile capabilities. Given these circumstances, the following were raised as the roles of U.S. nuclear forces: (1) Deterrence of nuclear and nonnuclear attacks; (2) Assurance of allies and partners; (3) Achievement of U.S. objectives if deterrence fails; and (4) Capacity to hedge against an uncertain future.

Also, while the United States would only consider the employment of nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances to defend the vital interests of the United States, its allies, and partners, the NPR clearly states that extreme circumstances could include significant non-nuclear strategic attacks against the United States and its allies, and a “no first use” policy is not justified today. It also indicates that the United States remains the policy to retain some ambiguity regarding the precise circumstances that might lead to a U.S. nuclear response. Furthermore, it also revealed that the United States would apply a tailored approach to deter across a spectrum of adversaries, threats and contexts, and in addition to that, it would ensure effective deterrence by enhancing the flexibility and range of its nuclear capabilities through nuclear modernization and the development and deployment of new capabilities. Specifically, in addition to sustaining and replacing the nuclear triad,¹⁵ as new capabilities, in the near-term, the United States would modify a small number of existing SLBM warheads to provide a low-yield option,¹⁶ and in the longer term, pursue a modern nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile (SLCM), leveraging existing technologies, as well as incorporate nuclear capability onto the



President Trump making a speech on MDR at DoD on January 17, 2019 [APF/Jiji]

forward-deployable, nuclear-capable F-35 as a replacement for the current aging dual-capable aircraft (DCA). Also, the United States has shown its commitment to extended deterrence for its allies and, if necessary, maintaining the forward-deployed capability with DCA and nuclear weapons in regions outside Europe, including Northeast Asia.

In October 2018, President Trump expressed his intention to withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with Russia, due to Russia’s material breach, and in February 2019, the United States provided Russia with formal notice that the United States would withdraw from the treaty. The United States also expressed that if Russia does not return to full and verifiable compliance with the treaty in six months, the treaty would terminate.¹⁷ On August 2, 2019, Secretary of State Pompeo announced that the U.S. withdrawal pursuant to Article XV of the treaty took effect that day because Russia failed to return to full and verified compliance. On the same day, Secretary of Defense Esper announced that the DoD will fully pursue the development of intermediate-range, conventional, ground-launched cruise and ballistic missile systems whose test launches, production and possession have been restricted by the treaty. On August 18, 2019, The United States conducted a flight test of a conventionally-configured ground-launched cruise missile with a range of more than 500 km (See Section 4-3-1).¹⁸ President Trump has mentioned the need for arms control involving China, which has beefed up medium-range missile

¹⁴ The NPR released in 2010 called for a world without nuclear weapons, with goals that included reducing the role of the U.S.’s nuclear weapons and maintaining strategic deterrence and stability at reduced nuclear force levels.

¹⁵ The nuclear triad consists of Minuteman III ICBM, Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBN) armed with Trident II D5 SLBM, and strategic bombers B-52 and B-2.

¹⁶ The Department of Energy’s National Nuclear Security Administration announced in February 2019 that it had completed production of the first W76-2 low-yield nuclear warheads to be carried by SLBMs. The initial operational capability of the warheads is due to be achieved and delivered to the Navy by the end of fiscal 2019.

¹⁷ In June 2019, then Acting U.S. Secretary of Defense Mark Esper remarked that should Russia refuse to return to compliance with the INF Treaty by August 2, 2019, the Treaty will cease to exist. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the countries covered by the treaty have increased: the countries covered at present are the United States, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Under Article 15 of the INF Treaty, notification of withdrawal must be made to all signatory countries of the treaty.

¹⁸ On August 2, 2019, Secretary of Defense Esper stated that the United States commenced Treaty-compliant research and development efforts focused on mobile, conventional, ground-launched cruise and ballistic missile systems beginning in 2017, and that those programs were in the early stages. Meanwhile, it was reported in March 2019 that the DoD had announced that it would commence fabrication activities on components to support developmental testing of conventional, ground-launched missiles, and test launches of conventional cruise missiles with a range of about 1,000 km and conventional ballistic missiles with a range of 3,000 to 4,000 km—both of which were restricted under the INF Treaty—are reportedly planned for August and November 2019, respectively. In addition, in August, Secretary of Defense Esper remarked that it was going to take a few years to actually have newly developed ground-launched cruise and ballistic missiles to be able to deploy.

capabilities outside the scope of the INF Treaty.

At the same time, the Missile Defense Review (MDR)¹⁹ published in January 2019 noted that North Korea continues to pose an extraordinary threat to the United States and, with its nuclear missiles, has the ability to threaten the U.S. homeland, as well as U.S. territories, U.S. Forces, and allies in the Pacific Ocean. It also pointed out that Russia and China are developing advanced cruise missiles and hypersonic missiles that challenge existing missile defense systems. The MDR sets out three principles governing U.S. missile defense: (1) homeland missile defense will stay ahead of rogue states' missile threats; (2) missile defense will defend U.S. Forces deployed abroad and support the security of allies and partners; and (3) the United States will pursue new concepts and technologies. It cited the elements of missile defense strategy as (1) comprehensive missile defense capabilities; (2) flexibility and adaptability; (3) tighter offense-defense integration and interoperability; and (4) importance of space. The MDR then presented a policy of adopting a balanced and integrated approach based on a combination of (1) deterrence; (2) active and passive missile defenses; and (3) attack operations.

Under this policy, the United States plans to expand investment in expanding and modernizing U.S. homeland missile defense capabilities by such means as deploying an additional 20 ground-based interceptors by 2023, improving and deploying radar systems, and pursuing efforts to counter intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) using SM-3 Block IIA. For regional defense, on the other hand, the United States will procure additional interceptor missiles for the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD), Aegis, and Patriot systems, as well as increasing the number of Aegis BMD-capable ships²⁰, and equipping Aegis Ashore sites with the SM-3 Block IIA. Regarding the pursuit of new technologies, the MDR sets out a policy of developing the Multi-Object Kill Vehicle²¹ (MOKV) to improve the ability to engage ICBM warheads and decoys, as well as undertaking research and development focused on (1) directed-energy weapons; (2) space-based interceptor systems; and (3) interceptor missiles

with which F-35 fighters can be equipped, to enable space-based sensors to be deployed and interception to be carried out in the boost phase, with a view to countering advanced threats, including hypersonic glide vehicles (HGVs) and hypersonic cruise missiles. As far as collaboration with allies and partners is concerned, the MDR indicates a willingness to focus on deepening interoperability, expanding burden sharing, and encouraging investment by allies in missile defense capabilities that are interoperable with those of the United States.

6 FY2020 Budget

As the budget deficit of the U.S. Government is deepening in recent years, the Budget Control Act enacted in August 2011 stipulated a significant cut in government spending by FY2021.²² Also, in March 2013, the sequestration of government spending including defense expenditure was started based on the provisions of the Budget Control Act. However, after this, sequestration was eased for the budgets from FY2014-FY2017 due to the bipartisan acts passed twice.²³ Furthermore, amid the Trump administration's policy to end the sequestration of defense spending in order to rebuild the U.S. military, the Bipartisan Budget Act was passed in February 2018, and a defense budget framework was approved that drastically raised the limit set by the sequestration for FY2018 and 2019.²⁴

In these circumstances, the defense budget request in the FY2020 Budget Blueprint submitted to Congress in March 2019 allocated US\$718.3 billion for the base budget,²⁵ representing about a 4.9% increase over the previous year.²⁶ In this, the DoD has positioned the purpose of its main budget as deterring or defeating great power aggression through (1) investment in the space and cyber warfighting domains; (2) modernization of capabilities in the aerial, marine, and land warfighting domains; (3) more rapid innovation; and (4) building on readiness gains. In addition, as well as requesting the largest research and development budget in 70 years and the largest ship building budget in 20 years, the department

¹⁹ The Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR) that President Trump had directed to be formulated alongside the NPR was drawn up as the Missile Defense Review (MDR), in light of the growing threat from not only ballistic missiles, but also advanced cruise missiles and hypersonic glide vehicles, among others.

²⁰ The MDR states that the number of BMD-capable Aegis ships will be increased from 38 to 60 by 2023.

²¹ Together with increasing object identification capability, the MOKV development program improves interceptor missile performance by developing the capability to destroy multiple objects through enabling one interceptor missile to load multiple kill vehicles.

²² In January 2012, the DoD announced that the specific national defense annual expenditure reduction based on the enacted act would amount to roughly US\$487 billion over the 10 year period between FY2012 and FY2021 (roughly US\$259 billion during the five year period between FY2013 and FY2017).

²³ Through the passing of the 2013 Non-Partisan Budget Act, the national defense budget limit was raised by US\$22 billion and US\$9 billion in FY2014 and FY2015 respectively. Through the passing of the 2015 Non-Partisan Budget Act, the national defense budget limit was raised to US\$25 billion and US\$15 billion in FY2016 and FY2017 respectively.

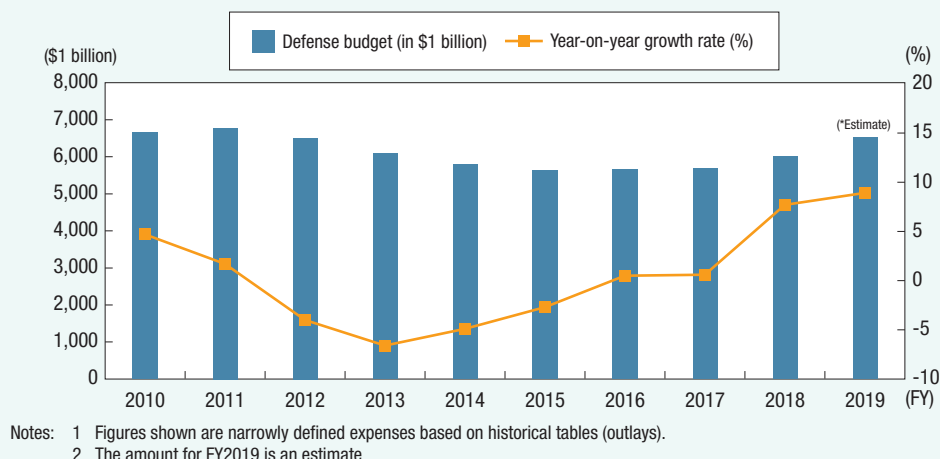
²⁴ Through the passing of the 2018 Non-Partisan Budget Act, the national defense budget limit was raised to US\$80 billion and US\$85 billion in FY2018 and FY2019 respectively.

²⁵ The breakdown is as follows: a base budget of approximately US\$544.5 billion, approximately US\$97.9 billion for overseas contingency operations for the base budget, approximately US\$66.7 billion for overseas contingency operations, and approximately US\$9.2 billion for emergencies. This represents an increase of about US\$33.3 billion from the FY2019 enacted budget level.

²⁶ The total sum of the FY2020 national defense budget request was roughly US\$750 billion, including defense-related budget requests from other departments of roughly US\$31.7 billion (such as the Department of Energy's nuclear-related programs) and the roughly US\$718.3 billion of DoD budget request.

Fig.I-2-1-1

Changes in the U.S. Defense Budget



has asked for year-on-year increases of 15% in the space-related budget and 10% in the cyber-related budget, to make the necessary investment in next-generation technologies, space, missiles, and cyber. Also, the goals for military end strength and procurement were represented in the FY2020 budget request, such as securing 1,339,500 personnel,

adding 6,200 more troops to the services' end strength, and procuring 165 upgraded M-1 tanks (135 tanks in the previous year), 14 battleships (10 in the previous year), and 78 F-35 fighters (77 in the previous year).

[Q See](#) Fig. I-2-1-1 (Changes in the U.S. Defense Budget)

2 Military Posture

1 General Situation

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 command of the Unified Combatant Commands, composed of forces from multiple branches of the armed forces. The Unified Combatant Commands consist of four commands with functional responsibilities and six commands with regional responsibilities.

The U.S. ground forces have about 460,000 Army soldiers and about 190,000 Marines, which are forward-deployed in Germany, the ROK, and Japan, among other countries. Along with a shift from the Obama administration's policy reducing soldiers to a policy of increasing them, in order to deter enemies and achieve battle victories when necessary, the Army has been making efforts to maintain the world's leading ground force capability through necessary investment in ensuring readiness. The Marine Corps aims to acquire forces capable of responding to any threat as a "middleweight force," bridging the seam between smaller special operations forces and larger heavy conventional forces.

The U.S. maritime forces have about 970 vessels

(including about 70 submarines) totaling about 6.7million tons. The 6th Fleet is responsible for the East Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and Africa; the 5th Fleet in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the 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 the Indian Ocean. In addition, the Second Fleet was reestablished in August 2018 to take responsibility for the U.S. East Coast and North Atlantic Ocean.

The U.S. air forces have roughly 3,520 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 regard to strategic offensive weapons including nuclear force, the United States under the former Obama administration proceeded with its reduction based on a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty that came into force in February 2011. In March 2019, it announced that its deployed strategic warheads²⁷ stood at 1,365, while its deployed delivery platforms stood at 656.²⁸ The United States is studying the concept of a Conventional Prompt Global Strike (CPGS), as an effort contributing to the nation's new ability

²⁷ 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).

²⁸ The figure as of March 1, 2019.

to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons.²⁹

Moreover, in addressing the increasing threats in cyberspace, the U.S. Cyber Command was founded in order to oversee operations in cyberspace. The U.S. Cyber Command achieved Initial Operational Capability (IOC) in May 2010 and commended full capability in November in the same year. Furthermore, in May 2018, the Cyber Command, which was previously a subunified command under U.S. Strategic Command, was elevated to a unified combatant command.

Furthermore, in June 2018, President Trump instructed the DoD to immediately start the necessary processes to establish the Space Force as the sixth branch of the Armed Forces, and subsequently directed the department to establish a U.S. Space Command as a unified combatant command that December (See Chapter 3, Section 2-2). In February 2019, in response to a directive signed by President Trump that month, the DoD forwarded to Congress a legislative proposal to create the Space Force within the Department of the Air Force.

Q See Fig. 1-2-1-2 (Structure of the Unified Combatant Command)

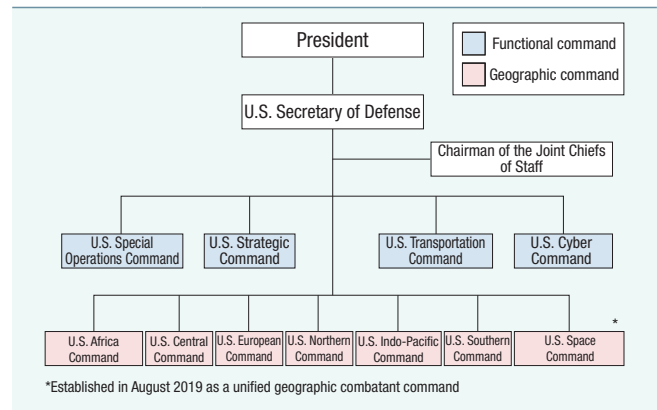
2 Current Military Posture in the Asia-Pacific Region

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 Indo-Pacific Command, a combatant command integrating the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps in the region. The Indo-Pacific Command is a geographic combatant command which is responsible for the largest geographical area, and its subordinate unified commands include U.S. Forces Japan and U.S. Forces Korea.

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

The Army Pacific's subordinate commands include the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii, the 8th U.S. Army in the ROK, which is the Army component of the U.S. Forces in the ROK, and the U.S. Army Alaska. Additionally, the Army Pacific assigns approximately 2,700 personnel to commands

Fig.1-2-1-2 Structure of the Unified Combatant Command



in Japan, such as I Corps (Forward) and the Headquarters, U.S. Army Japan Command.³⁰

The U.S. Pacific Fleet consists of the 7th Fleet, which is responsible for the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and the 3rd Fleet, responsible for the East Pacific and Bering Sea. The U.S. Pacific Fleet in total controls about 200 vessels. The 7th Fleet mainly consists of a carrier strike group with main stationing locations in Japan and Guam. Their mission is to defend territorial lands, people, sea lines of communication, and the critical national interests of the United States and its allies. An aircraft carrier, amphibious ships, and Aegis cruisers and destroyers among others are assigned to the 7th Fleet.

The U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific deploys one Marine Expeditionary Force each in the U.S. mainland and Japan. Of this force, about 21,000 personnel are in the 3rd Marine Division and the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, which are equipped with F/A-18 fighters and other aircraft, in Japan. In addition, maritime pre-positioning ships loaded with heavy equipment and others are deployed in the Western Pacific.³¹

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

Q See Fig. 1-2-1-3 (U.S. Forces Development Status and Their Involvement in the Indo-Pacific Region)

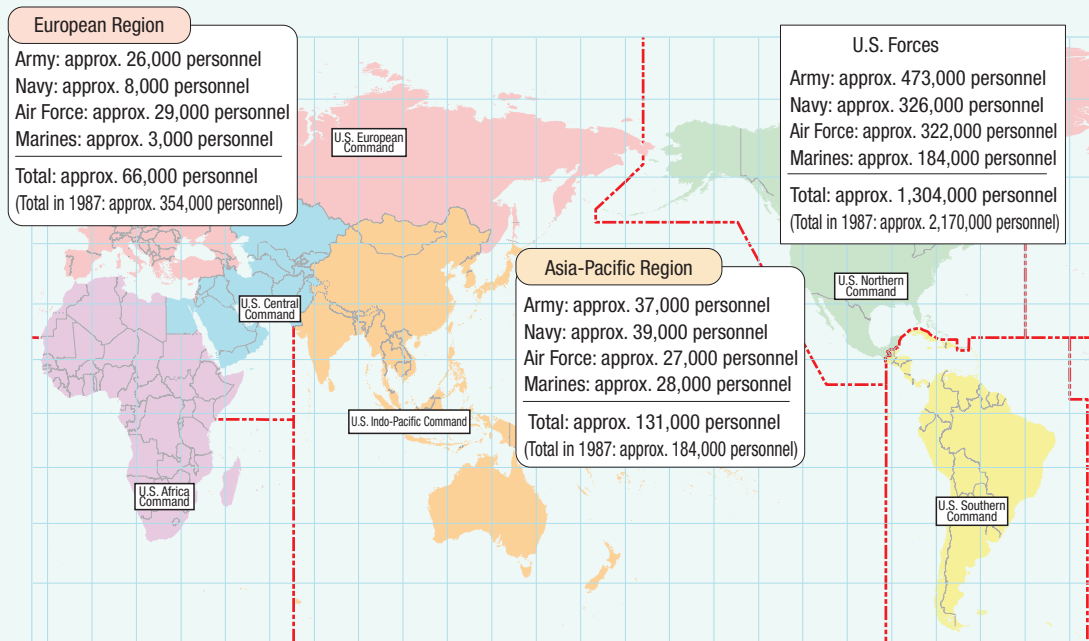
²⁹ The concept is designed to cripple the A2 capabilities of an adversary and promptly strike a target anywhere in the world using non-nuclear long-range guided missiles that hit targets with high accuracy.

³⁰ 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. DoD (as of December 31, 2018), and could change according to unit deployment.

³¹ See footnote 30.

Fig.I-2-1-3

U.S. Forces Development Status and Their Involvement in the Indo-Pacific Region (image)



- Notes: 1 Source: Documents published by the DoD (as of December 31, 2018), etc.
2 The number of personnel deployed in the Asia-Pacific region includes personnel deployed in Hawaii and Guam.

