

The background of the slide is a light beige color with a faint, semi-transparent world map. At the top, there is a dark grey banner with a white border. Inside the banner, on the left, is the text 'MARILYN WARE' and 'CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES'. On the right is the AEI logo, which consists of the letters 'AEI' in a stylized, bold, white font. The banner also features a small, semi-transparent image of a globe and a soldier's helmet.

MARILYN WARE  
CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES



# **Patrol, Hold, Hope**

## **A Dream of Hegemony On the Cheap**

**AEI Team Brief  
29 May 2013**

# BLUF: Strategic Failure Ahead

## **Global system, strategy demand global power**

- Anything less than a two-theater force does not meet strategy
- Withdrawal from Middle East unhinges US global strategy

## **Current program does not maintain two-theater force**

- AEI '2-1-1' strategy only delays decline
- 'Patrol' in East Asia, Middle East
- 'Hold' with airpower in one theater
- 'Hope' nuclear deterrence buys time for mobilization

## **Deeper cuts speed strategic failure**

- Full sequestration cut increases near-term risk, ensures long-term risk
- Half sequestration slightly reduces near-term risk
- 'Balanced' risk is not 'acceptable' risk

# Goals of Strategy

## **Defense of the North American ‘Homeland’**

- Includes Arctic, Canada, Caribbean Basin

## **Favorable global power balance**

- ‘Eurasian’ theaters: Europe, Greater Middle East, South Asia, East Asia
- Security of Commons begins on the far shore

## **Commercial access, local military advantage in**

### **‘Commons’**

- Sea, air, space, cyberspace
- Access to Eurasia runs through Commons

## **‘Legitimate’ international order**

- Prevention, amelioration of humanitarian, natural disasters
- Expanding democratic governance

# PH2: A 'Tight-Rope' Strategy

## Two big bets: Deterring China, rebuilding Middle East

- There can be no 'strategic pause'
- Balancing strategic 'breadth' and strategic 'depth'

## Covering the bets: Posturing the force

- Pacific presence: Sea services to the front
- Middle East: Reestablishing toeholds ashore
- Air Force is the 'swing force'
- Greater reliance on nuclear deterrence

## Presence forces: Global tripwire

- Sea services: Smaller and more modern
- Land forces: Retain manpower, selected modernization

## Reinforcing forces: Strike and mobilize

- 'Two-war' Air Force with more long-range strike
- Recreate reserve components as 'strategic reserve'

# Sea Services Patrol Pacific

## Navy: Shrink and Modernize

- Sequester: Retire 3 carriers; all cruisers, SSGNs; 40% F/A-18s; delay but increase F-35C; delay new SSBN
- Half-sequester: Retire 2 carriers, all cruisers, 1 ARG, 40% F/A-18; add F-35C, LCS, Next-gen cruiser, frigate, basing, DE/Railgun
- Increase readiness in Move 2
- ***No regular carrier presence in Gulf***

## USMC: Shrink and Modernize

- Sequester: Retire 2 ARGs; reduce USMC to 135K; preserve F-35B
- Half-sequester: Retire 1 ARG, Accelerate F-35B (also provide to allies)
- Increase readiness in Move 2
- ***1 ARG Pacific, 1 ARG TBD***

# Land Forces Patrol 'Middle East'

## Army: Keep strength, delay modernization

- Sequester: 400K active duty; 500K RC; retire MRAP; terminate GCV; modernize helicopter fleet; develop and deploy IRBMs; S&T for electric/diesel drive, DE weapons, unmanned systems, G-RAMM
- Half-sequester: 450K active duty
- Increase readiness in Move 2
- ***Build FID and COIN partnerships in GME, retain heavy corps***

## SOF: More FID, Less 'manhunt'

- Sequester: Disband MARSOC, cut 1/3 SF and CA Btns; 1 SEAL team
- Half-sequester: Disband MARSOC, cut 1/3 SF and CA Btns; 1 SEAL team
- ***Indirect versus direct action***

# Air Forces Hold with Global Firepower

## USAF: Retain near-two-war size, modernize

- Sequester: Reduce Predator orbits by two-thirds; retire B-1s, C-5s, reduce B-52s by 40%; legacy fighters by 60%; accelerate new bomber
- Half-sequester: Increase F-35A by 60%, KC-46 by 50%, maintain C-17 line; add long-range AAM; add runway, shelter hardening
- Increase readiness in Move 2
- ***Most immediate area of operational and strategic risk***

## Strategic: Multilateral deterrence

- Sequester: Delay SSBN replacements, retire ICBMs
- Half-sequester: Retire ICBMs, add GPS satellites
- ***New deterrence calculus***

# Final Thoughts

## Mobilization: Requirement for decisive victory

- Scenarios: NORK collapse, China 'snatch,' return to COIN, Iran 'regime change'
- Flash-to-bang: Time to call up, train and deploy 'war-winning' force at least 6 months; irreducible operational risk
- Industrial mobilization would take longer
- Allied participation/mobilization uncertain
- ***Transition from CONUS to theater, 'off-shore' to 'on-shore' extremely risky***

## Self-Inflicted wounds: Costs of retreat

- Middle East: Not 'tide of war' receding but 'tide of American power'
- East Asia: Is China deterred?
- ***International system vulnerable to single-point failure***