Patrol, Hold, Hope
A Dream of Hegemony
On the Cheap

AEI Team Brief
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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 IRBM; 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 Btms; 1 SEAL team
- **Half-sequester:** Disband MARSOC, cut 1/3 SF and CA Btms; 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**