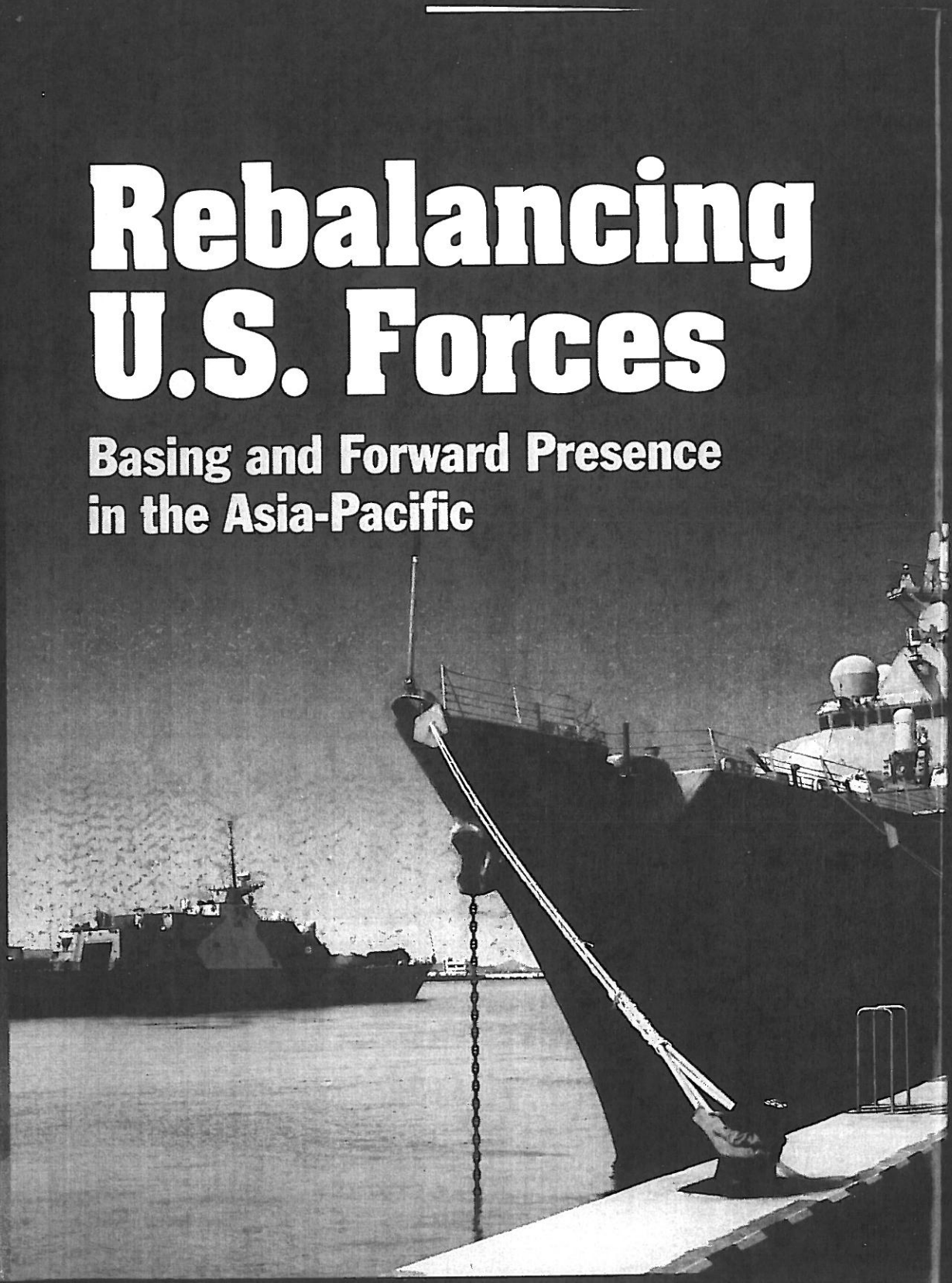
Lord and Erickson Rebalancing U.S. Forces

Rebalancing U.S. Forces

Basing and Forward Presence in the Asia-Pacific



Edited by Carnes Lord and Andrew S. Erickson

Naval Institute Press

Advance Praise for

Rebalancing U.S. Forces

"In *Rebalancing U.S. Forces*, Carnes Lord and Andrew Erickson have drawn together the powerful writing of the very best thinkers concerning the Pacific, U.S. forces in the region, and the atmospheric debates about the levels, location, and employment of military force in this most nautical part of the globe. This is a book that must be on the shelf of any twenty-first-century geopolitical analyst."

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"Maritime power depends on many things, Mahan taught, not least of which is an array of well-positioned, amply supplied, and strongly defended bases. The United States can no longer take for granted its ability to operate unhindered in the Asia-Pacific, which makes this volume of thoughtful essays all the more timely and important. If the shift in American power and interest to Asia is to mean anything, decision makers will have to heed the arguments advanced here."

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"*Rebalancing U.S. Forces* provides a detailed introduction to the complex, often contentious questions surrounding the deployment of U.S. forces in Asia and the Pacific. As the United States pursues an increasingly differentiated basing strategy across the region, a deeper understanding of the history of this issue is much needed, and this volume helps point the way."

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"World order in the twenty-first century will depend more and more upon the terms of the political and strategic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. In this very timely book, Lord and Erickson and their authors examine expertly the likelihood of achievement of an effective U.S. pivot to Asia. This is, and needs to be, largely a maritime shift in U.S. posture. A seismic correction in U.S. geostrategy is happening."

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ISBN-13: 978-1-61251-465-9

9 781612 514659

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PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Naval Institute Press

Lord and Erickson **Rebalancing U.S. Forces**

As the U.S. military presence in the Middle East winds down, the Asia-Pacific is receiving increased attention from the American national security community. The Obama administration has announced a "rebalancing" of the U.S. military posture in the region in reaction primarily to the startling improvement in Chinese air and naval capabilities over the last decade or so. *Rebalancing U.S. Forces* sets out to assess the implications of this shift for the long-established U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific. This presence is anchored in a complex basing infrastructure that is too often taken for granted. In remedying this state of affairs, this volume offers a detailed survey and analysis of the infrastructure, its history, the political complications it has frequently given rise to, and its recent and likely future evolution.

American sea power includes a robust constellation of bases to support global power projection. Given the rise of China and the emergence of the Asia-Pacific as the center of global economic growth and strategic contention, nowhere is American basing access more important than in this region. Yet manifold political and military challenges, including rapidly improving Chinese long-range precision-strike capabilities, complicate the future of American access and security in the region. This book addresses what will be needed to maintain the fundamentals of U.S. sea power and force projection in the Asia-Pacific, and where the key trend lines are headed in that regard.

Rebalancing U.S. Forces demonstrates that U.S. Asia-Pacific basing and access is increasingly vital, yet increasingly vulnerable. This important strategic component demands far

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more attention than the limited coverage it has received to date, and it cannot be taken for granted. More must be done to preserve capabilities and access upon which American and allied security and prosperity depend.

CARNES LORD, professor of strategic leadership at the Naval War College and director of the Naval War College Press, has taught at the University of Virginia and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and served in a variety of senior government positions.

ANDREW S. ERICKSON, an associate professor at the Naval War College and an associate in research at Harvard's Fairbank Center, runs the research websites www.andrewerickson.com and www.chinasignpost.com.

Jacket image: Changi Naval Base, Singapore (July 19, 2013). The littoral combat ship USS *Freedom* (LCS 1) gets under way as the guided-missile destroyer USS *Fitzgerald* (DDG 62) prepares for the at-sea phase of Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT). (U.S. Navy photo by MC1 Jay C. Pugh/Released)

Jacket design: Robin Mahler | Uppercase Creative

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Naval Institute Press | Annapolis, Maryland

Naval Institute Press
291 Wood Road
Annapolis, MD 21402

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Rebalancing U.S. forces : basing and forward presence in the Asia-Pacific / edited by Carnes Lord and Andrew S. Erickson.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-61251-465-9 (hardcover : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-61251-464-2 (ebook) 1. Military bases, American—Pacific Area. 2. United States—Military policy. 3. United States—Military relations—Pacific Area. 4. Pacific Area—Military relations—United States. I. Lord, Carnes, editor of compilation. II. Erickson, Andrew S., editor of compilation. III. Erickson, Andrew S. Guam and American security in the Pacific. Contains (work):
UA26.P3R43 2014
355'.03307305—dc23
2013047470

♾ Print editions meet the requirements of ANSI/NISO z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).
Printed in the United States of America.

22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
First printing

Maps 1–6 created by Christopher Robinson.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

A2/AD	anti-access/area denial
AFRICOM	U.S. Africa Command
ANZAC	Australia–New Zealand Army Corps
ANZUK	Australia–New Zealand–United Kingdom
ANZUS	Australia–New Zealand–United States
AOR	area of responsibility
APS	Afloat Prepositioned Stocks [Army squadron]
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUSMIN	Australia–United States Ministerial Consultations
BIOT	British Indian Ocean Territory
BMD	ballistic missile defense
C4ISR	command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
CARAT	Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CENTCOM	U.S. Central Command
CFC	Combined Forces Command
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNMI	Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands
CNO	Chief of Naval Operations
COMLOG WESTPAC	Commander, Logistics Group Western Pacific
CONUS	continental United States
CSL	cooperative security location
CTS	Combat Training Squadron

DMZ	demilitarized zone
DoD	Department of Defense
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DSP	Defense Support Program
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
EUCOM	U.S. European Command
FISC	Fleet Industrial Support Center
FOS	forward operating site
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangements
GEODSS	Ground-Based Electro-Optical Deep Space Surveillance
GPR	Global Posture Review
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
ISR	intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance
JCTC	Joint Combined Training Centre [Capability]
JHSV	joint high-speed vessel
JI	Jemaah Islamiah
JSDF	Japan Self-Defense Force
K2	Karshi-Khanabad [Uzbekistan]
KMAG	Korea Military Advisory Group
LCS	littoral combat ship
LPP	Land Partnership Plan
MAGTF	Marine air-ground task force
MIDET	Marine Inspection Detachment
MLP	mobile landing platform
MOB	mobile offshore base
MoU	memorandum of understanding
MPF	Maritime Prepositioning Force
MPSRON	maritime prepositioning squadron
MSC	Military Sealift Command
MSCFE	Military Sealift Command Far East
MSFSC SSU	Military Sealift Fleet Support Command Ship Support Unit Singapore
NAVFAC	Naval Facilities Engineering Command
NCIS	Naval Criminal Investigative Services
NCTAMS	Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station
NCTAMS DET DG	NCTAMS Detachment Diego Garcia
NDAF	Navy, Defense Logistics Agency, and Air Force
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty

NRCC	Navy Regional Contracting Center
NRCS	Navy Region Center Singapore
NSA	National Security Agency
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OPCON	operational control
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
P-3	Lockheed P-3 (patrol) Orion four-engine turboprop anti-submarine and maritime surveillance aircraft
PACOM	U.S. Pacific Command
PBY Catalina Flying Boat	Consolidated Patrol Bomber Catalina American flying boat
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PRC	People's Republic of China
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RGS	relay ground station
ROK	Republic of Korea
RSOI	reception, staging, onward movement, and integration
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SLOC	sea line(s) of communication
SM-3	Standard Missile-3
SMA	Special Measures Agreement
SOF	special operations forces
SOFA	status of forces agreement
SSA	space situational awareness
SSBN	nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarine
SSGN	nuclear-powered guided-missile submarine
SSN	nuclear-powered attack submarine / fast-attack submarine
THAAD	Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense
TLAM	Tomahawk land-attack missile
TMD	theater missile defense
TRANET	U.S. Navy Doppler Tracking System
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAV	unmanned aerial vehicle
UKUSA	United Kingdom–United States of America Agreement
UN	United Nations
UNC	United Nations Command

USAG	U.S. Army Garrison
USFK	U.S. Forces Korea
VLF	very-low frequency
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
YRP	Yongsan Relocation Program

Foreword

This edited volume incorporates the work of Naval War College faculty and outside scholars on a subject that is of current strategic interest to the United States and other nations, namely U.S. basing in the Asia-Pacific. The subject of basing for the U.S. Navy has been a topic of study at the College almost since its first class convened in 1886. Alfred Thayer Mahan recognized the value and necessity of overseas naval bases. In the 1890s and early 1900s the United States was "strategically balanced" toward the Caribbean due to the potential importance of a completed Panama Canal and the strategic imperative of the time—enforcing the Monroe Doctrine. Mahan envisioned the establishment of key bases in Cuba and elsewhere to allow the Navy to cover the Atlantic approaches to the canal. With the rise of the Japanese empire and the gaining of Pacific territorial possessions as a result of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Navy gradually rebalanced to the Pacific, establishing major bases at Subic Bay in the Philippines and at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

Even before World War I, the Navy began to regard imperial Japan as a potential enemy, and the Naval War College began conducting games and studies on the possible dynamics of a Pacific war with Japan. Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, logistics and basing figured prominently in many of these games, as chronicled by Edwin Miller in his book *War Plan Orange*. Eventually, the constraints of logistics and the need for expeditionary basing convinced the Navy to abandon a strategy of sailing directly to the Philippines from Pearl Harbor in the event of war with Japan and to adopt instead a sequential campaign via the Mandated Islands so that progressively farther-forward support bases could be established, these being necessary even after refueling and replenishment at sea became an embedded institutional skill.

Since the onset of the Cold War, the study of basing has been more or less episodic and sporadic at the College because one of the legacies of the Allied victory in World War II was a globe-girdling network of bases the Navy could use almost as it saw fit. The end of the Cold War resulted in a gradual drawdown of U.S. military basing, including such once-key bases as Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico. However, the residual global logistic infrastructure was sufficient to support the Navy's strategic pattern of operations. The next surge in the study of basing at the College came after the publication in 2002 of "Sea Power 21," of which one pillar was "sea basing." Sea basing became a frustrating concept to study because the Navy shied away from settling on a precise definition. Part of this reluctance was due to the fact that the U.S. Army, in the period preceding the drawn-out insurgency in Iraq, seized on the notion of sea basing as a way for it to maintain "strategic relevance"—that is, to become more like the Marine Corps. Seeing a potential budgetary Armageddon as a result of having to build the massive platforms the Army envisioned, as well as a potential mission threat to the Marines, the Navy staff retreated into silence about the concept, rebuffing several Naval War College initiatives to conduct games on the subject.

Basing became an auxiliary subject of Naval War College study as its student-advanced directed-research groups studied the implications of growing arsenals of Chinese, North Korean, and Iranian ballistic missiles. The increased range and accuracy of these missiles put at risk a number of the remaining key air and sea bases in both the Middle East and Far East. This fact becomes salient today as the United States rebalances once again to the Asia-Pacific. The confluence of technical, strategic, and political circumstances warrants a robust new focus at the College on matters of forward naval basing, especially in the Asia-Pacific—to include sea basing. This volume represents a running start on that process. The chapters contained herein reveal a much more complex environment with many more impinging factors than Mahan had to take into account when he advocated the establishment of a U.S. naval base in the Caribbean. However, now as then, the Navy has at its disposal an institution where incisive and objective analysis of the subject can take place.

Robert C. Rubel
Dean of Naval Warfare Studies
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Introduction

Carnes Lord and Andrew S. Erickson

In an address to the Australian Parliament on 17 November 2011, President Barack Obama announced that the United States, as part of a general upgrade of its security cooperation with Australia, would deploy up to 2,500 U.S. Marines at Darwin in northern Australia. Although the United States has long enjoyed a close military (and intelligence) relationship with Australia, not since World War II has any significant American military force been stationed permanently on the continent. This move, the president explained, reflected "a deliberate and strategic decision—as a Pacific nation, the United States will play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region and its future."[1] Together with former secretary of state Hillary Clinton's late 2011 visit to Myanmar (Burma), the first by an American secretary of state in more than half a century, this is the most striking manifestation of what appears to be a new determination on the part of the Obama administration to reassert the United States' traditional interests in the Asia-Pacific region, to reassure the United States' friends and allies there of the long-term nature of its commitment to them, and to send an unmistakable signal to the People's Republic of China that the United States is and intends to remain a "Pacific power" fully prepared to meet the challenge of China's rise and its regional ambitions.[2]

It is striking that this very significant upgrade to the U.S.-Australian security relationship (which extends to other measures, such as increased joint exercises and greater access for U.S. aircraft to Australian air bases) passed without a great deal of comment in the United States; yet it is hardly surprising. While they have identified Asia as the most important region to the United States since 2011,

Americans have long taken for granted the global network of military bases and facilities of all kinds that the United States acquired following World War II and has largely if not completely retained ever since.[3] The "forward basing" or "forward presence" of American military forces around the world has become accepted by them as a natural and legitimate expression of America's geographical situation as well as its long-established role as the world's chief security provider. Yet the fact remains that America's global military presence is without parallel in the contemporary world, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a retraction of its military presence in Eastern Europe and other far-flung corners of the Soviet empire.[4] Only Britain and France also regularly maintain military bases and forces abroad, a legacy of their own imperial pasts.[5] But what Americans ignore or take for granted is neither ignored nor taken for granted by many foreigners, including friends and allies of the United States. For the latter, an American military presence on their soil raises inevitable questions of national sovereignty, often leads to frictions of various kinds with the host populations and political complications for their governments, and, not least, threatens to embroil them in unwanted military conflicts. Much skepticism or outright opposition to bases by allied and adversary populations, however, is shaped by the fact that the bases are indeed perceived to be militarily effective. Thus, skeptics or outright opponents in allied nations may emphasize bases' negative side effects or portray them as targets or obstacles to peace, but allied populations overall, over time and in times of crisis, tend to appreciate their utility. Potential adversaries, moreover, are keenly aware of the presence of American troops and warships on their doorstep and highly sensitive to their activities (exercises, notably) as well as to any alteration in their numbers or makeup. While they may vehemently oppose American bases on the territory of their neighbors, they are deterred by them all the more. In the minds of many, American bases abroad are one of the clearest manifestations of the United States' own brand of imperialism, deny or disguise it though we will. Particularly in this regard, in addition to the other aforementioned reasons, it is puzzling that serious students of American national security policy have paid so little attention to the subject of overseas basing over the years.[6]

After the end of the Cold War, the United States substantially reduced the number of American troops stationed abroad, particularly those intended for the defense of West Germany against a massive invasion by the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. During the first half of the 1990s the United States withdrew nearly 300,000 military personnel from abroad and closed or turned over to host governments some 60 percent of its overseas military installations. Major bases closed included Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base in the Philippines and Torrejón Air Base in Spain as well as a complex of bases in Panama.[7] Still, much of the American base infrastructure of the Cold War era remained largely as it had been until after the turn of this century. In the first term of President George W. Bush, then secretary of defense Donald M.

Rumsfeld, as part of a larger project to "transform" America's armed forces for a new strategic and technological environment, launched a major review of the entire American military presence abroad. This initiative, which became known as the Global Posture Review (GPR), was spearheaded by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and involved intensive collaboration with the uniformed military and the Department of State as well as consultation with the affected host countries. In September 2004 the Pentagon released a report titled "Strengthening U.S. Global Defense Posture," which provided a summary of the overall effort—by then well under way—as well as a region-by-region survey of the projected changes.[8]

In a foreword to this document, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas J. Feith made the following comment:

> Since the United States became a global power at the turn of the 20th century, it has changed its forward posture as strategic circumstances have evolved: from bases for administering new overseas territories, to post–World War II occupation duties, and then to a Cold War containment posture. Today, fifteen years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is again time to change our posture to fit the strategic realities of our era: an uncertain strategic environment dominated by the nexus of terrorism, state sponsors of terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Of the "strategic realities of our era," the global threat of radical extremist militant Islamist-inspired terrorism of course holds center stage. This threat in particular suggests a global basing or presence infrastructure quite different from that of the Cold War era—one more highly distributed and emphasizing new capabilities such as remotely piloted drones and special operations forces, and one extending to parts of the world not previously active theaters of American military operations.[9] In other respects, however, the transformation Feith alludes to should not be overstated. A substantial presence of U.S. ground forces in Europe as well as East Asia would continue to be required to give credibility to the U.S. commitment to its traditional allies in those theaters and to undergird regional stability. Under the new plan, some 70,000 U.S. troops were slated to redeploy to the United States over a period of ten years. Among these, some 15,000 would initially be drawn from Asia (South Korea and Japan) while the rest were to be taken from Europe. At the same time, in a number of places the U.S. military presence was actually to be augmented, notably in Eastern Europe (Romania and Bulgaria).

In the years following the release of the GPR, of course, there has been a massive increase in the American military presence abroad owing to the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, which only now is beginning to be reversed. This has included the construction of numerous semipermanent as well as transient military facilities of all kinds in support of these wars, not only in Iraq and

Afghanistan themselves but in neighboring countries such as Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, as well as Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia. The United States has also established a substantial facility in Djibouti in the Horn of Africa dedicated to the prosecution of the fight against radical extremist militant Islamist-inspired terrorism in Somalia and across northern sub-Saharan Africa. It remains unclear at this juncture what the future will hold regarding a permanent U.S. presence in this vital region.

Central to the reconceptualization of America's overseas military presence offered in the GPR report is its threefold categorization of types of bases or facilities. Most important are what the document calls "main operating bases," where American combat troops (and typically their families as well) are permanently stationed in significant numbers in facilities essentially controlled by the United States military, such as Ramstein Air Base in Germany or Kadena Air Base on Okinawa. Then there are "forward operating sites" that are normally maintained by a relatively small U.S. support presence and are used for temporary deployments or training purposes; an example is the Sembawang port facility in Singapore. Finally, "cooperative security locations" are austere facilities shared by the United States and host countries that may have little or no permanent U.S. presence and are designed essentially for contingency use. Clearly, the preferred option for the future is the latter two categories. They are less expensive, less visible, and less vulnerable, and they offer greater strategic and operational flexibility; just as important, they are less likely to create political problems for the host government and in fact serve to promote bilateral security cooperation.[10] Indeed, bases that do not have a foreign host government at all (as in overseas U.S. territories, which offer the additional benefit of spending tax dollars domestically, particularly in an era of fiscal austerity[11]) or at least have no local domestic population (as in the British Indian Ocean Territory that includes Diego Garcia) may be seen to have particular advantages in this regard. As of 2010, according to Defense Department figures, the United States had some 750 overseas bases or facilities of these types, of which 88 are in overseas U.S. territories and the rest in 38 foreign countries.[12]

It is customary in discussions of the U.S. military presence overseas to focus on its most visible manifestations, U.S. military personnel and the bases and facilities they occupy in a particular country and region. The U.S. global posture, properly speaking, is something much broader than this, however. It includes America's political or diplomatic relationships with host nations, the legal arrangements supporting the American presence in (or access to) those nations, prepositioned military equipment, capacity to surge forces overseas, and global logistics capabilities to transport and sustain forward-deployed forces.[13] Moreover, it is critical to understand bases and facilities not merely in the context of their host nation or the region where they are located but rather as part of a global system with complex interdependencies and interactions.[14]

This having been said, the present study takes a largely traditional approach to its subject, restricting itself to one region and organized by individual countries or territories rather than thematically. Practical considerations, however, make such an approach virtually unavoidable. A global survey of the U.S. overseas military posture would inevitably be unwieldy or else superficial. We have preferred to provide detailed data and analysis on the countries or territories hosting American bases in one particular region of increasing strategic salience today: the Asia-Pacific. The principal rationale for doing so is the need to rethink fundamentally the American forward presence in Asia in the light of the rapid growth in very recent years in the "anti-access/area denial" (A2/AD) capabilities of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China.

In the first chapter, "Guam and American Security in the Pacific," Andrew S. Erickson and Justin D. Mikolay examine Guam's role as a strategically central sovereign basing location. They document its great potential as a well-placed and politically reliable location wherein investment supports local Americans. At the same time, however, they explain that Guam requires significant additional resources to fully realize that potential, suffers from local challenges, and is entangled in larger regional dynamics, such as Japan's political difficulty in hosting U.S. forces in Okinawa and China's determination to hold the bases of potential opponents at risk with increasingly sophisticated long-range precision weapons, including ballistic and cruise missiles. As such, they contend, Guam represents an important microcosm and indicator of the wide spectrum of basing investments and efforts necessary if Washington is to retain its Asia-Pacific leadership in the future.

Toshi Yoshihara discusses the extensive and long-standing American military infrastructure in Japan, by far the most important element of the United States' Asia-Pacific basing network. The particular focus of this analysis is the People's Republic of China's (PRC) military buildup of recent years, especially the growing Chinese arsenal of conventional ballistic missiles, and its ramifications for the American forward presence in Japan and U.S.-Japanese defense cooperation generally. Using contemporary Chinese sources, which frequently offer surprisingly detailed and frank treatments of what is obviously a sensitive issue, Yoshihara notes the growing evidence of Chinese interest in the American military presence in Japan and the ways in which the PRC can leverage its missile arsenal as an instrument of coercive diplomacy against it. He pays particular attention to U.S. naval bases in Japan, given the relative scarcity of discussions of this subject (compared to the major U.S. air bases there) as well as the Chinese fixation on American aircraft carriers, one of which is permanently homeported in Japan. Beginning with a discussion of the enduring value of U.S. bases in Japan, something too easily taken for granted by Americans today, Yoshihara explores the Chinese doctrinal literature for insights into the way Beijing views the U.S. military presence in Japan and Asia generally, and how Chinese defense

planners might employ conventional ballistic missiles in an attack on U.S. facilities in Japan. He then provides a critique of some of the assumptions such planners make about the anticipated effects of missile coercion and cautions as to the potential dangers they pose. Finally, Yoshihara identifies some key strategic and operational dilemmas facing the United States and Japan in such an eventuality.

In "South Korea: An Alliance in Transition," Terence Roehrig discusses the American base structure in the Republic of Korea (ROK) in relation to the current status of the U.S.-ROK alliance, formalized at the end of the Korean War. The last decade has seen a major evolution in this alliance, centering on a shift from U.S. dominance to a greater reliance on the South Koreans themselves. According to Roehrig, much of the impetus for this came from the United States in connection with the GPR of the Rumsfeld Pentagon. Modest reductions in U.S. combat troops were accompanied by substantial reduction and consolidation of the American basing infrastructure on the peninsula. Of some 110 separate bases or facilities at the beginning of the decade, 60 had been returned to the ROK government by its end, including some extremely valuable real estate in central Seoul. American forces were relocated in two major ground and air base complexes to the south and east of the capital, while ROK forces assumed responsibility for forward defense at the Korean Demilitarized Zone. This relocation also served to provide these forces greater flexibility for possible use in regional scenarios other than a North Korean invasion. From a U.S. perspective, gaining such flexibility while at the same time reassuring the South Koreans of its continuing strong commitment to ROK security was perhaps the most important outcome of these recent changes.

The following chapter, "The U.S. Strategic Relationship with Australia," by Australian defense analysts Jack McCaffrie and Chris Rahman, explores a topic that has recently attracted widespread interest, as noted earlier, in the context of the joint decision to enhance substantially the American military presence in northern Australia. As the authors note, the history of this relationship has differed greatly in its three phases, World War II, the Cold War, and the post–Cold War era. During World War II, Australia welcomed U.S. combat forces beginning in 1942, and the continent served as a secure rear base and staging area for allied operations in New Guinea and the Central Pacific; at its peak, the United States maintained some 250,000 troops at various bases throughout the continent. During the Cold War, by contrast, in spite of the signing of the ANZUS (Australia–New Zealand–United States) Treaty in 1951, Australia was regarded by the United States as something of a strategic backwater. The U.S. presence there consisted of a handful of facilities (the best known being Pine Gap) dedicated to technical functions such as ballistic-missile early warning, submarine communications, monitoring of Soviet nuclear testing, and communications intelligence. The authors emphasize the political complications surrounding some of these activities, most of them of a high level of secrecy and imperfectly known even to major

elements of the Australian government of the day. At present, however, with the rise of China as a regional military (and especially naval) power, Australia has gained increasing strategic salience for the United States both as a regional ally and as a staging point for air and maritime operations in proximity to the vital Strait of Malacca and the increasingly volatile South China Sea. The authors foresee a growing collaboration between the Australian and American militaries as well as a greater acceptance of such collaboration by the Australian public and a general deepening of an already solid alliance relationship.

Perhaps the link most neglected by observers and analysts of the American military presence in Asia is the Republic of Singapore. In "Singapore: Forward Operating Site," Chris Rahman traces the development of the U.S.-Singaporean strategic relationship over the last several decades. A key moment was the closing of American bases in the Philippines in 1991. Since that time, Singapore has effectively replaced the Philippines as the key logistics hub of American military forces in and in transit through Southeast Asia, although the facilities they use there are operated and shared by the Singaporeans themselves. In 2001 Singapore completed construction of a new naval base at Changi at its own expense (reportedly $60 million) primarily to accommodate and service American warships, including aircraft carriers and submarines. In 2011 the Department of Defense revealed that it plans to permanently station at least two of its new littoral combat ships (LCS) in Singapore. Moreover, Singapore has become a favored venue for security cooperation, training, and exercising with other friendly nations throughout the region, for air as well as naval forces. Though Singapore is not a formal American ally, Rahman suggests that its partnership with the United States now exceeds in strategic significance America's long-standing alliance relationships with the Philippines and Thailand. At the same time, this collaboration remains low-key and politically uncontroversial among the Singaporeans, whose government has long looked to ensure continued U.S. strategic engagement in the region as a key guarantor of its own security.

In the next chapter, "Diego Garcia and American Security in the Indian Ocean," Walter C. Ladwig III, Andrew S. Erickson, and Justin D. Mikolay provide a comprehensive overview of the history, geopolitics, and strategic and operational military functions of the joint U.S.-British base on the remote island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. The largest, and virtually only, American military footprint in the Indian Ocean at the present time (though that is changing with the hosting of U.S. military forces in northern Australia), Diego Garcia has gradually assumed considerable strategic significance for the United States, primarily as a staging base for a disparate range of capabilities such as submarine replenishment, afloat prepositioning of U.S. Army and Marine Corps equipment and munitions, long-range bomber support, and the like. The authors emphasize that while this base is too distant to directly support the projection of U.S. military power ashore throughout the region (with certain exceptions such as B-52

missions) and is too small to house combat or other forces in great numbers, it also has important advantages. Notable among them is its status as a sovereign British territory with virtually no indigenous population and none currently resident, its relative invulnerability to attack, and its presence at the seam of the two American combatant commands that have responsibility for the Indian Ocean. The authors also discuss in some detail the roles and interests of other powers in the Indian Ocean, notably India and China, and how they perceive the U.S. presence there.

The massive U.S. military presence in Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and Afghanistan over the past decade is beyond the scope of this study, but it is highly instructive to look at the experience the United States has had in establishing new bases in Central Asia in support of its operations in Afghanistan. In "U.S. Bases and Domestic Politics in Central Asia," Alexander Cooley argues that domestic politics rather than Russian or Chinese pressure explains the difficulties the United States has encountered with the governments of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan over the bases it gained access to in these countries beginning in 2001. U.S. forces were in fact expelled from Uzbekistan in 2005 in response to growing criticism by the U.S. government of the human rights abuses of the Karimov regime. Kyrgyzstan threatened to follow suit in the same year, though primarily as a ploy to extort financial aid from Moscow; the agreement over U.S. use of the base at Manas was subsequently renegotiated on more favorable terms. In spite of the fact that in both of these cases the bases in question were relatively modest in scale and used primarily as transit hubs for resupply of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, they proved susceptible to manipulation by their host governments for internal political purposes, demonstrating the extent to which U.S. bases are politically vulnerable in nations with whom the United States lacks established diplomatic or economic relations.

Finally, Sam J. Tangredi addresses the role of sea basing in the overall architecture of the United States' overseas military presence. Among military concepts that never quite seem to come into focus, so-called sea basing surely ranks high. Tangredi revisits the doctrinal and bureaucratic state of play on this issue, which for reasons he lays out has largely disappeared from public discussion over the last several years. Sea basing continues to be viewed and evaluated in very different ways by the different services, in spite of its formal status as a "joint" concept. Tangredi offers a cautious defense of the continuing relevance of sea basing, with reference less to the most commonly cited rationale—the potential political vulnerability of bases located in allied or neutral territory—than to the potential physical vulnerability of fixed land bases to long-range ballistic-missile attack. Among other concrete suggestions, he argues that Aegis-equipped ballistic-missile defense platforms need to be an integral part of any notional sea base designed to counter the A2/AD capabilities of our adversaries.

While these chapters together offer insights into many key dynamics of forward-based and forward-deployed American military forces in the Pacific, any fully adequate study would have to take account of a number of factors or options not discussed in this volume.

Although Alaska and Hawaii are integral parts of the United States, their geographical proximity to Asia gives them unique importance in any discussion of military bases on American soil. Both today are home to a significant military presence: Honolulu is the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command and Pacific Fleet, and Alaska has taken on new significance in recent years as one of two locations for the deployment of America's first-generation ground-based ballistic-missile defense system. Both, furthermore, are likely candidates for an enhanced military presence in the coming years as part of the Obama administration's strategic reorientation toward Asia: Hawaii thanks to its central location, and Alaska thanks to its nearly unparalleled strategic depth. It should also be remembered that the United States retains other sovereign or associated territories scattered across the Pacific that currently serve some military functions (notably, the missile-testing facility at Kwajalein) or could serve such functions in the future—as of course many of them did during World War II. It is not difficult to envision the United States reactivating a network of austere sites for contingency use at places like Midway or Wake Island that could provide the nation greater strategic depth in the western and central Pacific than it enjoys today.[15]

In addition, it has not been possible here to provide anything approaching a net assessment of the military capabilities of the United States (or its allies) and China as they bear on the present and future of the U.S. base infrastructure in Asia and the Pacific. Clearly, for example, it makes a great deal of difference whether or not U.S. ballistic-missile defense technologies and fielded systems will be capable at some future point (as they currently are not) of providing serious protection against a conventional missile strike by the Chinese on its forward bases in the western Pacific.[16] Not only fixed land bases, however, but also American naval vessels on the high seas are becoming increasingly vulnerable to attack by the burgeoning arsenal of conventionally armed, precision-guided Chinese ballistic missiles; and the Chinese are also becoming increasingly competitive in air as well as undersea, space, and cyber warfare.[17] All of this raises serious questions as to whether the United States can continue to rely on major surface combatants and, above all, its formidable nuclear-powered aircraft carriers to sustain a forward American presence in the Asia-Pacific region in the coming years.

Notes

1. Jackie Calmes, "Obama Says U.S. to Base Marines Inside Australia," *New York Times*, November 17, 2011.
2. See Brian McCartan, "U.S. Muscle Manifesto for Asia," *Asia Times*, November 24, 2011; and Michèle Flournoy and Janine Davidson, "Obama's New Global Posture," *Foreign Affairs*, July–August 2012, 54–63. Very recently the United States and the Philippines have expressed interest in enhancing the U.S. military presence in that country as well as helping to build up its long-neglected naval capabilities; the United States has been in discussions with Thailand about reestablishing a modest American military presence at U-Tapao airport, a major staging hub for American B-52 bombers during the Vietnam War; and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta became the first high-ranking U.S. official since the end of that war to visit the former U.S. naval base at Cam Ranh Bay, which he declared has "tremendous potential" for use by the U.S. Navy in the future. Craig Whitlock, "U.S. Seeks to Expand Presence in Philippines," *Washington Post*, January 26, 2012; and Craig Whitlock, "U.S. Seeks Return to SE Asian Bases," *Washington Post*, June 23, 2012.
3. On Asia as the most important region, see David J. Berteau, Michael J. Green, Gregory Kiley, and Nicholas Szechenyi, *U.S. Force Posture Strategy in the Asia Pacific Region: An Independent Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 15 August 2012), 13, http://csis.org/publication/pacom-force-posture-review. For the little-known yet fascinating story of American planning for the acquisition of permanent bases after the war, see Elliott V. Converse III, *Circling the Earth: United States Plans for a Postwar Overseas Military Base System, 1942–1948* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press, 2005).
4. The exception is a minor ship-repair and replenishment facility in the Syrian port of Tartus. Russia does, however, retain (or has regained) bases throughout much of the former Soviet space. The largest is the naval base at Sevastopol in Ukrainian Crimea; bases or facilities of varying significance also exist in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Tajikistan. See Zdzislaw Lachowski, *Foreign Military Bases in Eurasia* (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, June 2007), especially the table on p. 46. Recently, the head of the Russian navy expressed interest in reestablishing a naval facility in Cuba: Juan O. Tamayo, "Russian Navy Chief Says His Country Is Studying a Base in Cuba," *Miami Herald*, July 28, 2012.
5. Moreover, the overseas claims and force postures of London and Paris have diminished over time. See Robert E. Harkavy, *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 149–50.
6. The major exception during the Cold War era was the political scientist Robert E. Harkavy; see his *Great Power Competition for Overseas Bases: The Geopolitics of Access Diplomacy* (New York: Pergamon, 1982); and *Bases Abroad: The Global Foreign Military Presence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). More recently, see especially Kent E. Calder, *Embattled Garrisons:*

Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007); Michael O'Hanlon, *Unfinished Business: U.S. Overseas Military Presence in the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: Center for a New American Security, June 2008); Michael O'Hanlon, *The Science of War: Defense Budgeting, Military Technology, Logistics, and Combat Outcomes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009), ch. 3; and Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008). Andrew F. Krepinevich and Robert O. Work, *A New U.S. Global Defense Posture for the Second Transoceanic Era* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2007) is the best and most comprehensive recent treatment. It may be added that the subject has been a special target of (ideological) critics of American "empire" such as Chalmers Johnson; see his *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004), esp. ch. 6 ("The Empire of Bases").

7. The military basing agreement between the United States and the Philippines following its independence, due to expire in 1991, drew increasing opposition in the 1980s from Filipino elites. In June 1991 Clark Air Base was for all practical purposes destroyed in the eruption of nearby Mt. Pinatubo. U.S. and Filipino negotiators could not agree on a formula for the Subic Bay Naval Base; all U.S. forces were therefore removed from the Philippines by the end of 1992. Under the terms of the Panama Canal Treaty of 1979, the Panama Canal Zone and its complex of military bases were returned to the Panamanians by the end of twentieth century. See, for example, William E. Berry Jr., *U.S. Bases in the Philippines: The Evolution of the Special Relationship* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1989); and Anni P. Baker, *American Soldiers Overseas: The Global Military Presence* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004), chs. 6–7. In retrospect, while political opposition and hosting fees had risen to formidable levels, it is difficult to understand why the United States did not make a more concerted effort to retain the incomparable Subic Bay facilities, then its largest overseas naval base.
8. Flournoy and Davidson are incorrect in stating that the "guiding principle" or "cornerstone" of the Rumsfeld effort was simply to bring troops home and save money; Flournoy and Davidson, "Obama's New Global Posture," 55–56. For authoritative accounts of the GPR, see Ryan Henry, "Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture," in *Reposturing the Force: U.S. Overseas Presence in the Twenty-first Century*, Newport Paper 26, ed. Carnes Lord, 33–48 (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College Press, February 2006); and Lincoln P. Bloomfield Jr., "Politics and Diplomacy of the Global Defense Posture Review," in *Reposturing the Force: U.S. Overseas Presence in the Twenty-first Century*, Newport Paper 26, ed. Carnes Lord, 49–64 (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College Press, February 2006). The authors were the lead senior officials for the GPR in the departments of Defense and State, respectively. For the link between the GPR and "transformation," consider especially Henry, "Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture," 34–36.

9. See Krepinevich and Work, *New U.S. Global Defense Posture*, 275–84. It should also be noted, if only in passing, that the clandestine nature of many of these operations as well as the sensitivities of hosting nations (particularly Muslim ones) make it correspondingly more difficult than in the past to develop a full understanding of this new basing network or the political arrangements supporting it.
10. "Changes to our global posture aim to help our allies and friends modernize their own forces, strategies, and doctrines. We are exploring ways in which we can enhance our collective defense capabilities, ensuring that our future alliances and partnerships are capable, affordable, sustainable, and relevant. At the same time, we seek to tailor our military's overseas 'footprint' to suit local conditions, reduce friction with host nations, and respect local sensitivities. A critical precept in our global posture planning is that the United States will place forces only where those forces are wanted and welcomed by the host government and populace." Henry, "Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture," 40.
11. For detailed analysis of relevant financial and strategic choices confronting Washington, as commisioned per the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance via the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year (FY) 2012, see Michael J. Lostumbo, Michael J. McNerney, Eric Peltz, Derek Eaton, David R. Frelinger, Victoria A. Greenfield, John Halliday et al., *Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces: An Assessment of Relative Costs and Strategic Benefits* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 2013), RR-201, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR201.html.
12. *Department of Defense Base Structure Report FY 2010 Baseline* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 2010). The majority of these, however, are in only three countries: Germany (218), Japan (115), and the Republic of Korea (86). (These figures do not include Iraq and Afghanistan.)
13. See especially Henry, "Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture," 40–42. One might also include in this mix global strike forces (including those based in the United States) and global reconnaissance and communications capabilities. See the discussion in Krepinevich and Work, who define global military posture in the following terms: "The deliberate apportionment and global positioning of forward-based and forward-deployed forces, and the development of supporting global attack, global mobility and logistics, forcible entry, global command, control, communications and intelligence forces, and supporting security relationships and legal agreements, in order to facilitate the rapid concentration of forces it time and space across transoceanic distances, to support and sustain US military presence and operations in distant theaters, and to establish a favorable global strategic balance"; Krepinevich and Work, *New U.S. Global Defense Posture*, 4.
14. See the discussion of this issue in the very valuable study of James R. Blaker, S. John Tsagronis, and Katherine T. Walter, *U.S. Global Basing (Task 4 Report): U.S. Basing Options* (Washington, D.C.: Hudson Institute, October 1987).

15. Consider the remarks of Krepinevich and Work, *New U.S. Global Defense Posture*, 294–95.
16. For recent analysis of the significant and growing Chinese and North Korean missile threats to U.S. bases in East Asia, see Lostumbo et al., *Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces*, 395–402; and Brad Hicks, George Galdorisi, and Scott C. Truver, "The Aegis BMD Global Enterprise: A 'High-End' Maritime Partnership," *Naval War College Review* 65 (Summer 2012): 65–80.
17. For recent details, see Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2013*, Annual Report to Congress (Arlington, VA: Department of Defense, 2013), http://www.defense.gov/pubs/2013_China_Report_FINAL.pdf.

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