# NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT (NDAA) 2020

## **SECTION 1253 ASSESSMENT**

## Executive Summary



# **Regain the Advantage**

U.S. Indo-Pacific Command's (USINDOPACOM) Investment Plan for Implementing the National Defense Strategy

Fiscal Years 2022-2026

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### UNCLASSIFIED OVERVIEW

The Indo-Pacific is the Department of Defense's priority theater. Section 1253 of the 2020 NDAA requires the Commander of U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) to provide an independent assessment to Congress outlining USINDOPACOM's resourcing requirements for implementing the National Defense Strategy (NDS) no later than (NLT) 15 March 2020. Strategic context and more detailed funding profiles are in the classified full report.

This report assumes USINDOPACOM's requirements, articulated in the FY21 Unfunded Priorities Letter (UPL), are resolved in NDAA-21. This report also outlines a proposed investment plan for resourcing *Regain the Advantage* - USINDOPACOM's concept for establishing the necessary linkages between the strategy, required capacity, capabilities, and budgetary priorities across four focus areas:

#### Focus Areas:

- 1) Joint Force Lethality
- 2) Force Design and Posture
- 3) Strengthen Allies and Partners
- 4) Exercises, Experimentation, and Innovation

This investment plan represents less than 1% of the DoD's total obligation authority over the FYDP and provides the necessary resources to implement a strategy of deterrence by 2026. *Regain the Advantage* is designed to persuade potential adversaries that any preemptive military action will be extremely costly and likely fail by projecting credible combat power at the time of crisis, and provides the President and Secretary of Defense with several flexible deterrent options to include full OPLAN execution, if it becomes necessary. The comprehensive funding profile is as follows:

USINDOPACOM – Regain the Advantage (Costs in millions of dollars)	FY21 Requests	FY22-26 Requests
Joint Force Lethality	606	5,244.0
Force Design and Posture	700.8	5,158.0
Strengthen Allies and Partners	52	332.0
Exercises, Experimentation, and Innovation	100.8	2,774.4
Logistics and Security Enablers	154.8	4,959.7
TOTAL	1,614.4	18,468.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America, Department of Defense, January 2018.

# UNCLASSIFIED JOINT FORCE LETHALITY

The most important action we can take to increase the lethality of the Joint Force and fully implement the NDS is to introduce a 360-degree persistent and integrated air defense capability in Guam – Homeland Defense System-Guam (HDS-G).<sup>2</sup> This system is my number one unfunded priority and is critical for defending the Homeland, including our most important operating location in the Western Pacific. America's day begins in Guam and is not only a location we must fight from, but we must also fight for – given future threats.

In addition to HDS-G, USINDOPACOM requires highly survivable, precision-strike networks along the First Island Chain, featuring increased quantities of allied ground-based weapons. These networks require support from naval, air, electronic warfare, space, cyber, and over-the-horizon radar capabilities. These networks are operationally decentralized and geographically dispersed along the archipelagos of the Western Pacific to deter and defend, by reversing any anti-access and aerial-denial (A2/AD) capabilities intended to limit U.S. freedom of action or access to vital waterways and airspace.

To adequately compete and defend American interests, the most critical investments to increase joint force lethality include the following:

- **Homeland Defense-Guam (HDS-G).** Provides fixed and persistent 360-degree, air missile defense from the Second Island Chain. In the future, this system will provide the opportunity to provide long-range precision strike capability into the First Island Chain.
- Long-Range Precision Fires. Each Service is developing capabilities consistent with their operating concepts in order to provide employment of offensive weapons, including the Navy's Maritime Strike Tomahawk, the Air Force's Joint Air-Surface Standoff Missile with Extended Range (JASSM-ER), the Army's Cross Domain Army Tactical Missile System (CD-ATACMS), and the Marine Corps' Naval Strike Missile for High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS). The integration of these capabilities will enhance Joint force maneuver.
- Tactical Multi-Mission Over-the-Horizon Radar (TACMOR). Planning for construction in Palau provides High Frequency (HF) radar system for persistent, long-range, detect and track capability of air and surface targets.
- Homeland Defense Radar-Hawaii (HDR-H). HDR-H represents the solution for the gap in our ability to detect, track, discriminate, and defeat ballistic, cruise, and hypersonic threats.<sup>3</sup>
- Space-Based Persistent Radar. A constellation of space-based radars with rapid revisit rates with the capability to maintain situational awareness of adversary activities and provide low latency target custody, ground moving target indicator, and air moving target indication.

Joint Lethality Investments (Costs are in millions of \$)	FY21	FY22-26
Homeland Defense System - Guam	77	1,594
Long-Range Precision Fires	267	760
TACMOR - Palau	0	185
HDR-Hawaii	162	905.0
Space-Based Persistent Radar	100	1,800

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> NDAA 2016 mandated report, Section 1686, dated 4 February 2016, by the Missile Defense Agency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Homeland Defense Radar-Hawaii Study, Draft Report, 28 February 2020, performed by the Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation (CAPE).

#### FORCE DESIGN AND POSTURE

USINDOPACOM's force design and posture must enable the convergence of capabilities from multiple domains and create the virtues of mass without the vulnerability of concentration. This is accomplished by distributing forward-deployed forces across the breadth and depth of the battle space that balances lethality and survivability. It is not strategically prudent, nor operationally viable to physically concentrate on large, close-in bases that are highly vulnerable to a potential adversary's strike capability. Distributed operations increase mobility and agility to ensure our ability to "Fight and Win." This requires a force posture and joint force laydown west of the International Date Line (IDL) properly positioned to defend in depth, while possessing the capabilities and authorities to respond to contingences across the region. Forward-based, rotational joint forces are the most credible way to demonstrate U.S. commitment and resolve to potential adversaries, while simultaneously assuring allies and partners.

The United States must be able to deploy an Integrated Joint Force capable of employing the full spectrum of capabilities across all domains, in sufficient scale to seize the initiative and control the narrative across the Area of Responsibility (AOR). This begins with completing the current program of record – Defense Posture Realignment Initiative (DPRI), which enables us to conduct sustainment operations and provide the necessary lift for Marine forces scheduled to relocate to Guam from Okinawa.

Additionally, forward-based air and naval forces need the ability to disperse to expeditionary airfields and ports. This creates temporary windows of localized air-maritime superiority, enabling maneuver, while amphibious forces create and exploit temporal and geographic uncertainty to impose costs and conduct forcible entry operations.

The critical investments necessary to provide the adequate dispersion to preserve deterrence options are arranged by region and include:

- U.S. Territories. Key strategic locations to project power, deter adversaries, and respond to crises across the Indo-Pacific. Investments are focused on divert and dispersal locations, as well as new training facilities.
- Oceania and the Pacific Islands Countries (PIC). Investments are focused on alternative facilities for training and dispersion opportunities to increase air power capacity.
- Southeast Asia. Investments are focused on alternative facilities to support modernized and dispersed power projection airfields to support forward forces and enhance logistics with prepositioned stores and infrastructure.

Location/Component (Costs in millions of \$)	Posture Effort	FY21	FY22-26
U.S. Territories	Power Projection, Dispersal, and Training Facilities	686	4,146
Oceania and PICs	Dispersal, Training, and Prepositioning Facilities	11.8	982
Southeast Asia	Dispersal, Staging, and Prepositioning Facilities	3.0	30

#### STRENGTHEN ALLIES AND PARTNERS

Relationships represent important components of U.S. national power beyond our nation's economic and military strength. The advantage is the attractiveness and power of American values as a foundation for relationships throughout the world. Throughout the region, discussions with foreign national leaders always lead back to the role U.S. values play in shaping global behavior. This is evident based on the network of alliances and partnerships built across the Indo-Pacific over the last 75 years.

These alliances have fostered years of mutual trust, understanding, respect, significant interoperability, information sharing, and a common view of the regional security landscape. They also provide the building blocks for an enhanced, networked security architecture that promotes additional interoperability and coordination. America's alliances and partnerships are the underlying support network of the rules-based international order.

In the Indo-Pacific, this includes a networked security architecture capable of deterring aggression, maintaining stability, responding to man-made and natural disasters, and ensuring free access to the sea, air, cyber, and space domains. The critical investments necessary to provide the command and control systems to strengthen our alliances and enhance partnerships include:

- Mission Partner Environment (MPE). In order to compete across all domains, USINDOPACOM, allies, and partners must work from a
  more resilient, secure, adaptable, and interoperable architecture that supports Multi-Domain Operations. MPE is a critical investment that
  provides for resilient and redundant joint/multinational command and control. From the strategic to tactical level, MPE will provide
  ubiquitous battle management and automated engagement decision-making by accessing a multi-domain sensor network that functions across
  all domains. This environment uses cloud-based technologies, integrated systems, and secure access controls to provide assured command,
  control, and communications (C3).
- Fusion Centers (Counter Terrorism Information Facility; Oceania Fusion Center; Indo-Pacific Maritime Coordination Center). A resilient C2 infrastructure using MPE with contextual analytics and computing model assessments that generate inferences and illuminate patterns of life associated with transnational threats and other pernicious behavior. Singapore and the United States are working together multilaterally with five other ASEAN nations, Australia, and New Zealand to establish a fusion center focused on countering terrorism information sharing.

Most Critical Investments (Costs in millions of \$)	FY21	FY22-26
Mission Partner Environment (MPE)	50	322
Fusion Centers	2	10

## EXERCISES, EXPERIMENTATION, AND INNOVATION

The USINDOPACOM Exercise, Experimentation and Innovation program is essential for generating joint readiness. The U.S. currently holds 90 named military exercises in the Indo-Pacific each year.<sup>4</sup> In order to change the calculus of our adversary, we must deny their ability to control the air and sea around the First Island Chain. U.S. forces must be capable of fighting in highly contested environments against technologically advanced opponents, while also minimizing detection across domains. The Joint Force lacks the capacity to integrate service recommended weapons and capabilities into a warfighting concept that deters the adversary and puts us in a position to win. This challenge can only be met by conducting a series of high-end, multi-domain exercises with a continuous campaign of joint experimentation. The process of experimentation coupled with exercises on an instrumented range complex led the way for the development of AirLand Battle, which was the driving operating concept in Desert Storm and provided the blueprint well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>5</sup>

As part of a FY22 issue nominations for Program Budget Review, USINDOPACOM will initiate the Pacific Multi-Domain Training and Experimentation Capability (PMTEC). This initiative networks the test and training ranges of California, Nevada, Alaska, Hawaii, Kwajalein, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (future), and extends offers to Japan and Australia. This forms the largest coalition range complex in the world with the most advanced capabilities for virtualization, simulation, virtual reality training, and operational rehearsal scenarios over long distances. PMTEC will evolve the current exercises into "OPERATIONS" specifically designed to enhance joint readiness, test emerging capabilities, and drive theater-appropriate requirements in a fully instrumented live-virtual training area.

Ultimately, the PMTEC provides a joint-integrated environment that allows for advanced, ubiquitous battle management and automated engagement decision-making. The objective is to generate joint readiness by incorporating a Joint Fires Network that removes the latency of target quality data between air, ground, and naval forces. This network will provide integrated fire control quality data and overcome individual system limitations to find, fix, and engage targets. Enabled by artificial intelligence and incorporated into both actual and virtual training scenarios using 5G technology, this capability will enable Continuity of Operations (COOP) options. Primary Service ranges include:

- Joint Pacific Alaska Range Complex (JPARC), Elmendorf, Alaska, U.S. Air Force provides all domains integration.
- Pacific Missile Range Facility (PMRF), Barking Sands, Hawaii, U.S. Navy provides surface, subsurface, air, and space operations as the largest instrumented multi-environmental range complex.
- Pohakuloa Training Area (PTA), Hawaii Island, U.S. Army provides joint/combined arms and live-fire for Brigade-size maneuver units.
- (FUTURE) Combined/Joint Military Training (CJMT) Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), U.S. Marine Corps will provide live fire training for battalion and company size units.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Indo-Pacific Strategy Report; Department of Defense, 1 June 2019; and Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the U.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Future of U.S. Military Superiority, 11 September 2019; Defense Science Board.

Additional functional ranges to consider as part of the constellation include:

- Kwajalein Ranges, Kwajalein Atoll, U.S. Army missile and missile-interceptor development, space surveillance, and satellite tracking.
- Nevada Test and Training Range (NTTR), Nellis Air Force Base, U.S. Air Force simulated Integrated Air Defense System and Aerial Gunnery; and Fallon Training Complex, U.S. Navy Naval Carrier Air Wing unit level training.
- Pacific Missile Test Center (PMTC), Point Mugu, California, U.S. Navy test and develop air-to-air, air-to-ground, sea-to-air, sea-to-ground, and high-energy weapons.
- Vandenberg Space and Missile Facility, Vandenberg, California, U.S. Air Force provides Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles, Ground Based Interceptors (GBIs), and civilian space vehicle operations.

The Defense Science Board Study and initial analysis conducted by the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) has identified a number of projects in the FY22-26 timeframe. Additional analysis in FY21 is required to finalize the totality of the requirements for integration.

Identified Range Investments	Posture Effort	FY21	FY22-26
Joint Exercise Program	Traditional Theater Exercise Program	100	711
Strategic Innovations	Experimentation Program	-	1,048.4
Range Study/Program Review*	DPRI - CJMT training ranges – initial construction	0.8	-
Improved Communications System		-	2.5
JPARC Improvements		-	160
War-game and Simulation Capability	Dispersal airfield and preposition	-	16
Joint Region Marianas Operational HQ	Dispersal airfield and preposition	-	1.5
Air Picture Common Operating Picture Systems (4)		-	50
C4ISR Integration in theater		-	8
Acquisition/Engagement Radar Emulators (6)		-	90
Mobile Range Systems and Scoring		-	45
USINDOPACOM HQ Manning for PMTEC		-	30
Environmental Impact Statements		-	72
Australia Initiatives		-	40
Advanced Ranges Initiatives*	Initiatives informed by FY21 Review*		500 (est)

#### LOGISTICS AND SECURITY ENABLERS

- **Logistics.** USINDOPACOM efforts to improve force resilience and enhance distributed operations include establishing additional: dispersal locations, airfield battle-damage, repair capabilities, and infrastructure for C4I, munitions generation, mobility processing, and fuel storage.
- Contingency Construction Authority (Sec 2804). USINDOPACOM's regional footprint is heavily concentrated in Northeast Asia at major installations in Japan and South Korea. This authority provides the flexibility to increase capacity in specific countries where investment could be relatively low with high payoff. The authority to authorize contingency or exercise construction would contribute to a more lethal, distributed, and sustainable force.<sup>6</sup>
- Building Partner Capacity. USINDOPACOM utilizes Global Train and Equip <u>Title 10</u>, <u>Section 333</u> to inform decision-making on security cooperation initiatives outside of the maritime security realm, such as counter-terrorism and bolstering our partners' land and air forces to resist coercion and protect their people. <u>Maritime Security Initiative (MSI)</u>. Security cooperation in the maritime domain remains a top priority. MSI is a building tool to advance allies and partners capacity to sense a threat, share the information, and then contribute to a coordinated interagency and sometimes multinational response. Fully resourcing USINDOPACOM requests would result in a 32 percent increase in theater security cooperation, forming the backbone of the ability to engage, posture, and develop partner nations.
- Joint Interagency Task Force West (JIATF-W). JIATF-W is identified for termination in FY23. JIATF-W's unique capabilities allow USINDOPACOM access to nations that do not have standing militaries (Oceania), or only permit access through law-enforcement channels, such as Burma (Myanmar). Fentanyl and pre-cursor chemicals originating from the PRC are being proliferated across China's border areas and are critical components in the production of most drugs, including cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamine consumed in the United States. Burmese-produced methamphetamine is the principal drug of choice in the Indo-Pacific region. Asia-based drug-trafficking organizations are increasingly working with Western Hemisphere cartels, particularly Sinaloa and Jalisco New Generation Cartel, to traffic directly into the Homeland. JIATF-W is an economically viable, capacity building effort to address the interdiction of drugs into the U.S. from Asia.
- Information Operations. The changing role of information within the Indo-Pacific has allowed state and non-state actors to undermine our relationships with partners and allies. USINDOPACOM encourages a restart of various counter-propaganda tools designed to target malign influence. Funding would bolster efforts and reinforce U.S. commitment to our allies and partners in the environmental security space.

Key-Enablers	FY21	FY22-26
Logistics Enablers	-	1,814.7
Contingency Construction Authorities (Sec 2804)	10	500
Building Partner Capacity (333/MSI)	123	2,500
JIATF-W	15.8	103
Information Operations	6	42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 10 U.S. Code 2804 – Contingency Construction: Authorizes the Secretary of Defense to carry out military construction projects not otherwise by law but consistent with national security interests and submit a report to the appropriate committee of Congress.

# UNCLASSIFIED CONCLUSION

The NSS, NDS, and various intelligence estimates have illuminated the renewed threat we face from Great Power Competition. The greatest danger for the United States is the erosion of conventional deterrence. Without a valid and convincing conventional deterrent, China and Russia will be emboldened to take action in the region to supplant U.S. interests.

Regain the Advantage provides a pragmatic and economically viable approach for implementing the NSS and NDS based on a vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. The costs for implementing Regain the Advantage are modest and represent approximately 80% of what is currently being expended on the European Deterrence Initiative (EDI) in DOD's budget for FY21.<sup>7</sup>

USINDOPACOM's focus is to ensure access and maneuver in the shared domains, which allows USINDOPACOM to deter our adversaries from engaging in acts of aggression or coercion against our allies along the First Island Chain. Ultimately, the steps we take must convince our adversaries they simply cannot achieve their objectives with force. This requires fielding an integrated Joint Force with precision-strike networks, particularly land-based anti-ship and anti-air capabilities along the First Island Chain; integrated air missile defense in the Second Island Chain; and an enhanced force posture that provides for dispersal, the ability to preserve regional stability, and if needed sustain combat operations.

The Department of Defense's enduring mission is to provide the combat-credible military forces needed to deter war and protect the security of our nation. As the military balance in the Indo-Pacific becomes more unfavorable, we are accumulating additional risk that may embolden our adversaries to attempt to unilaterally change the status quo before the U.S. could muster an effective response.

As adversaries continue to challenge the rules-based international order, *Regain the Advantage* manages the risk by increasing joint force lethality and consistently conducting exercises at the operational level of war on high fidelity, instrumented training ranges. Our approach provides the opportunity for a very deliberate and precise experimentation program to reveal or conceal capability at a time a place of our choosing to introduce doubt into an adversary's decision-making calculus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The European Defense Initiative (EDI) has invested \$22 billion since 2014 and the DOD's request for EDI in FY21 is \$4.5 billion.