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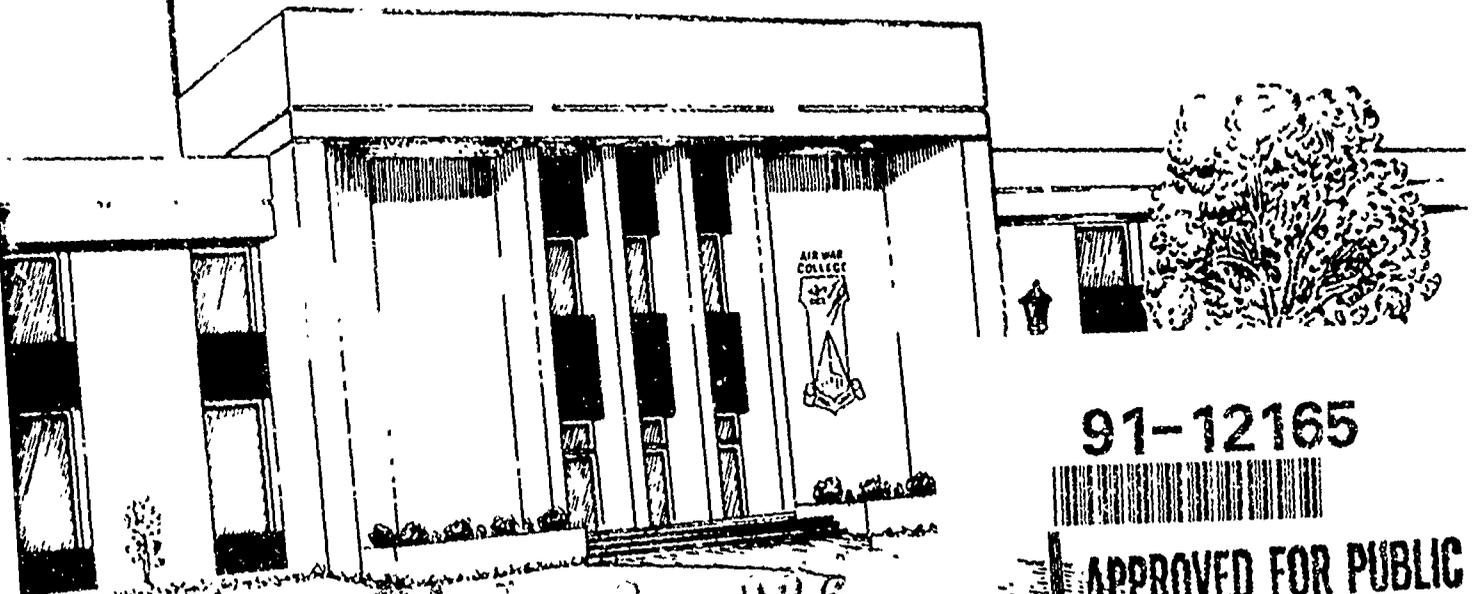


USCINCPAC--NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

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USCINCPAC: NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

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A DEFENSE ANALYTICAL STUDY SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN
FULFILLMENT OF THE CURRICULUM
REQUIREMENT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TITLE: USCINCPAC: Now and in the Future.

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The United States Pacific Command is the oldest and geographically the largest of the unified commands. Dealing with the diversity of such a large area is a challenge. To cope with this, USPACOM is divided into four sub-unified commands and three component commands. It also has established a series of bilateral relationships and treaties. USPACOM has developed a strategy that is based on robust alliances and forward deployment. This strategy is built on the primary U.S. national security interest: a healthy and growing economy, a stable and secure world, strong alliances, the growth of democratic institutions and an open and free market system. The future of USPACOM is bright, but there are some problem areas that lie ahead. There are several changes or trends that indicate an emerging region. These trends include: economics, political independence, arms proliferation, Soviet reform, the perception of a decreasing threat and demographic changes. Considering these changing times, especially in light of Soviet reform, the Command and the Pacific Region are reason for focus. Things are moving in the right direction and USPACOM is well suited and prepared to maintain its place in the Asia-Pacific area, however, it may be forced to make some minor changes in its thinking and structure.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lieutenant Colonel John K. Wilson, III (M.A., Webster College) has been interested in the United States Pacific Command and its area of responsibility since being stationed in the command as the Executive Assistant to the J5 in 1986. He has traveled in Japan, South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia. He served in SAC in Thailand in 1972 and 1973. He is a graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College. His operational experience includes tours in both the KC-135 and FB-111. Colonel Wilson is a graduate of the Air War College, class of 1990.

PREFACE

The first four chapters of this Defense Analytical Study adapts material from several other published documents that include: Air Command and Staff Research Report Number 87-0635 entitled Snapshot of the United States Pacific Command, authored by Captain Kathy J. Davis, USAF, and Major Craig L. Hobbs, USAF; USCINCPAC pamphlet, United States Pacific Command; remarks given by General Merrill A. McPeak to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco; and several USCINCPAC instructions. The first four chapters have also been fully coordinated through and approved by the USCINCPAC Staff.

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CHAPTER I

COMMAND HISTORY AND OVERVIEW

The US Pacific Command (USPACOM) was created on 1 January 1947 as an outgrowth of the unified command structure used during World War II. It is the oldest and largest of the United States unified commands.

The current US Pacific Command Area of Responsibility (AOR) includes areas originally assigned to two other unified commands. Responsibilities of the Far East Command were assumed by US Pacific Command on 1 July 1957. That same day, US Pacific Command assumed some of the responsibilities of the Alaskan Command and individual Army, and Air Force component commands for the Pacific were established in Hawaii. In October 1957, the US Pacific Command headquarters was moved from Makalapa to Camp H. M. Smith, which is also the headquarters of the Fleet Marine Force, Pacific.

The Commander in Chief, US Pacific Command (USCINCPAC), also served as Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet until January 1958, when the US Pacific Fleet became a separate service component with its own commander. Also in 1958, command arrangements were refined to provide a direct chain of command from the President and Secretary of Defense (the National Command Authorities)

through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to USCINCPAC.

Added responsibilities were assigned to USCINCPAC on 1 January 1972 for US military forces and elements in the Indian Ocean, Southern Asia and the Arctic. His area of responsibility was further expanded on 1 May 1976 to the east coast of Africa. The most recent change in 1989 assigned mainland Alaska to the USCINCPAC Area of Responsibility.

The USPACOM headquarters is staffed with approximately 650 Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps officers and enlisted personnel, plus more than 120 civil service employees. Approximately 550 additional personnel are authorized for units which support the staff, such as the Airborne Command Post (ABNCP), Informations Systems Support Group (ISSG), Intelligence Center Pacific (IPAC), Cruise Missile Support Activity (CMSA), and the Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC).

Approximately 331,000 military personnel are assigned within the US Pacific Command area; a number that accounts for only one-sixth of the total US armed forces. In addition, more than 31,999 US civilian employees of the Department of Defense complement USPACOM's military forces.

USPACOM is geographically the largest of the US unified military commands. Its commander, the senior US military officer in the Pacific, is responsible for all military operations (with

minor exceptions) in an area that encompasses more than 100 million square miles, or roughly 50 percent of the entire earth's surface. USPACOM stretches from the west coast of the Americas to the east coast of Africa, from the Arctic to the Antarctic. The area covers 17 of the globe's 24 time zones. To appreciate the military impact of this sheer size, it would take an infantry division moving at 30 miles a day--a fair rate of advance under combat conditions--about a year to cross the area. A naval task force sailing from Long Beach, California would take close to one month to reach the east coast of Africa. Even a modern fighter like the F-16, would require more than a full day to fly across the Area of Responsibility and would need to be air refueled 15 times.

The vital sea lanes of communication (the Bab el Mandeb Strait, Straits of Hormuz and Malacca in Southwest Asia; the Selat Sunda, Selat Lombok and the Formosa in Southeast Asia; and the Tsushima, Tsugaru, Shimonoseki, Tartar and Soya Straits in Northeast Asia) are the linkage for shipping trade and deployment of military forces; both friendly and potentially hostile. Hence, these crucial gateways and potential chokepoints are of vital strategic importance. Around these oceans and sea lanes lie very diverse nations and territories with greatly differing interests.

The Soya Strait separates Japan from the Soviet Union. Japan, consisting of four main islands and 3,300 smaller islands

stretched in a 2,000 mile arc, is also a geographically divided nation. Other examples are the Philippines with 7,107 islands spread over 1,100 miles, and Indonesia with over 13,000 islands extending over 3,200 miles.

The US is also separated by great distances from its territories and commonwealths: Guam; American Samoa; Johnston Atoll (two small islands administered by USAF); Wake Island (three small islands administered by USAF); and Midway Islands (two small islands administered by USN). The US still administers the Northern Mariana Islands and the Palau Islands as Trust Territories, following the creation of the independent Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands in 1986. Two US states, Hawaii and Alaska, are geographically separated from the continental US and located in strategic areas. Another point of interest is the Aleutians Archipelago which divides the Bering Sea from the Northern Pacific and separates the US and Soviet Union. Here is where the territories of the US and the Soviet Union almost meet--only 90 miles divide the superpowers.

These geographic features create strategic issues which challenge military planners. The vastness of the Pacific theater, therefore, poses a difficult time and distance equation. These distances affect all aspects of military activity--operations,

logistics support, communications, and simple human endurance. It also complicates the pursuit of America's complex political, economic, and geo-political interests in the theaters.

CHAPTER II

COMMAND STRUCTURE AND COMPONENT FORCES

Command Channels

The Commander in Chief, US Pacific Command (USCINCPAC), reports to the Secretary of Defense through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

USCINCPAC normally exercises combatant command of major combat-ready forces through the commanders of four subordinate unified commands and joint task forces, when established, and his Army, Naval, and Air Force component commanders. The subordinate unified commands are: US Forces, Korea (USFK); US Forces, Japan (USFJ); Alaskan Command (ALCOM); and Special Operations Command Pacific (SOCPAC). The component service commanders are Commander, US Army Western Command (CDRWESTCOM); Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet (CINCPACFLT); and Commander in Chief, Pacific Air Forces (CINCPACAF). Both subordinate unified and service component commanders are responsible to USCINCPAC for accomplishing assigned missions and tasks.

Subordinate Unified Commands

US Forces Japan. The Commander, US Forces, Japan (COMUSJAPAN) is dual-hatted as the Commander, US Air Forces, Japan (COMUSAFJ), and Commander, Fifth Air Force--one of three numbered air forces in the Pacific. COMUSJAPAN serves as the senior military spokesman in Japan, administers the Status of Forces Agreement under Article VI of the US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, and coordinates joint service matters. As a subordinate unified commander, COMUSJAPAN is directly responsible to USLINFAC. For unified planning actions and during contingencies in Japan, USCINCPAC directs the response of all US forces through this subordinate command structure--not through USCINCPAC's Army, Air Force, or Naval component commanders. As COMUSAFJ the commander also serves as the Air Force component commander for unified actions falling within the jurisdiction of that command, to include Air Force component planning for US-Japan defense cooperation.

US Forces Korea. The Commander, US Forces, Korea (COMUSKOREA), is also multihatted. Other hats include: Commander, Eighth US Army (CDREUSA); Commander in Chief, United Nations Command (CINCUNC); Commander in Chief, Combined Forces Command (CINCCFC); and Commander, Ground Component Command, (CGCC). As a subordinate unified commander COMUSKOREA coordinates US joint service matters in Korea and is directly subordinate to

USCINCPAC. COMUSKOREA directs the US Army, Air Force and Navy forces through: the Commander, Eighth US Army; the Commander, US Air Forces Korea (COMUSAFK); and the Commander, US Naval Forces Korea (COMUSNAVFORKOREA). The position of CDREUSA is another hat worn by COMUSKOREA. Finally, as CINCUNC, the COMUSKOREA reports directly to the National Command Authorities through the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. In this scenario, USCINCPAC becomes a supporting commander to CINCUNC.

The CINCCFC hat is probably the most complex. Upon implementing approved bi-national war plans in response to an attack on South Korea and, if authorized by the National Command Authorities, USCINCPAC transfers OPCON of forces to CINCCFC from COMUSKOREA. As CINCCFC, he receives strategic direction from two combined US and Republic of Korea national policy making bodies--the Security Consultative Meeting and the Military Committee. CINCCFC's force structure is also complicated because US Naval Forces remain under CINCPACFLT control and operate in support of CINCCFC. The Marines become a separate ground force command, US Marine Forces Korea, once sustained ground operations are established ashore (after initial amphibious operations). However, CINCCFC does exercise operational control of the Korean naval forces and the US and Korean army and air forces. CINCCFC's combined army forces are led by the Commander, Combined Ground Forces (CGCF), another hat worn by COMUSKOREA.

Alaskan Command (ALCOM). The Commander, Alaskan Command

(COMALCOM), is a new subordinate unified commander that serves under the combatant command of USCINCPAC. This command is responsible for the unified defense (less aerospace defense) of the land and territorial waters of the State of Alaska, including the Aleutian Islands, and such other missions as directed by USCINCPAC.

COMALCOM's component force commanders are: Commander, US Army Forces, Alaska (COMUSARAK); Commander, US Navy Forces, Alaska (COMMUSNAVAK); and Commander, US Air Force, Alaska (COMUSAFAK). COMALCOM is also the Commander (designated) of Joint Task Force Alaska (JTF-AK), when activated for natural disasters. As the senior Air Force officer in Alaska, COMALCOM simultaneously serves as COMUSAFAK, as the Commander, Alaskan Air Command (COMAAC); and as Commander, Alaskan NORAD Region (COMNAR). It is under this last command that he is responsible for the aerospace defense of Alaska, including the Aleutian Islands, as part of the combined NORAD Command, reporting to CINCNORAD.

As originally established, there is no Air Force Service component commander in Alaska who reports to PACAF. A proposal is being staffed to create an additional PACAF numbered air force.

Special Operations Command Pacific (SOCPAC). SOCPAC is a subordinate unified command under the combatant command of USCINCPAC with theater-wide (less Korea) responsibility to prepare in-theater and augmentation joint special operations forces for

employment. The Commander, Special Operations Command Pacific (COMSOPAC), conducts joint/combined operations and exercises operational control over those in-theater and augmentation joint special operation forces assigned by USCINCPAC. COMSOPAC also advises USCINCPAC on matters pertaining to joint or combined special operations and related military activities where forces of two or more Services or countries are involved. This includes, but is not limited to, all joint special operations forces matters concerning theater strategy, joint/combined interoperability, combat readiness, planning, programming budgeting, resource development, and employment of forces.

Security Assistance Organizations (SAOs). USCINCPAC SAOs provide administrative and logistics support in Pacific and Indian Ocean countries. Although these SAOs belong to USPACOM, they normally report to their respective US Ambassador for country team matters. However, USCINCPAC maintains a significant role in coordination of their security assistance programs with overall US military force planning and strategy in the region.

USCINCPAC Representatives. In certain other areas where no subordinate unified command has been established or where significant forces of two or more Services are stationed, USCINCPAC has designated representatives who coordinate matters of joint concern to US forces stationed in their respective areas. These representatives serve in the Republic of the Philippines (Commander, US Naval Forces Philippines); Guam/CNMI/FSM/Palau

(Commander, US Naval Forces Marianas); Southwest Pacific (USCINCPACREP); Australia (US Defense Attache, Australia); Thailand (Chief Joint US Military Advisory Group, Thailand); Southwest Indian Ocean (US Defense Attache, Madagascar); Sri Lanka/Maldives (US Defense Attache, Sri Lanka; and Republic of the Marshall Islands (Commander, US Army Kwajalein Atoll).

Joint Task Force 5 (JTF5). This command was established in 1989 to carry out USCINCPAC's counter-narcotics mission. The Commander, JTF5, is a Coast Guard officer who reports directly to USCINCPAC. The command consists of a headquarters staff located at Alameda, California, but has no assigned forces under its operational control. The command operates a fusion center which conducts surveillance and detection of drug trafficking and it interfaces with law enforcement agencies.

Component Commands

Pacific Air Forces (PACAF). Headquartered at Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii, PACAF is the Air Force component of the US Pacific Command. PACAF's mission is to plan, conduct and coordinate offensive and defensive air operations within the US Pacific Command. The command's mission responsibilities include:

- Providing ready, mobile, tactical strike forces to meet any emergency.

- Providing tactical aerial reconnaissance.
- Assisting air forces of friendly nations.
- Coordinating with the Military Airlift Command for airlift and support of all US and friendly nation Services.
- Conducting US air defense operations.
- Supporting the air aspects of the US Security Assistance Programs in allied nations.
- Supporting US space programs.

PACAF is organized into three numbered air forces, the Fifth, the Seventh, and the Thirteenth. The Fifth Air Force, headquartered in Japan, operates in North Asia in conjunction with the Seventh Air Force headquartered in Korea, while the Thirteenth Air Force, headquartered in the Republic of the Philippines, operates in Southeast Asia.

PACAF's Hawaii-based units are the 6010th Aerospace Defense Group (ADG) and the 15th Air Base Wing. As a regional air defense commander, the 6010 ADG Commander exercises control of the Hawaii Air National Guard's Hawaii Regional Operations Control Center and

the 154th Composite Group, and plans for the employment of US Army and Navy forces made available for air defense in his area of responsibility. The 15th Air Base Wing provides administrative and logistics support to headquarters PACAF and more than 150 PACAF Central Pacific activities.

In addition, Strategic Air Command (SAC), a separate specified command not part of PACAF, has the 3rd Air Division at Hickam. It is responsible for coordinating the activities of SAC elements in support of the theater and managing air refueling assets. The Military Airlift Command (MAC) is also represented in the AOR with tactical airlift, special operations, medical evacuation units, and a headquarters element, the 834th Airlift Division, located at Hickam AFB.

Army Forces in the Pacific. US Army Western Command (WESTCOM), headquartered at Fort Shafter, is the Army component of the USPACOM. However, USCINCPAC exercises combatant command of assigned Army field units in Japan, Korea and Alaska through his subordinate unified commanders in those countries.

WESTCOM's missions are to command assigned and attached units; manage combat readiness; provide installation support; manage Army resources; execute Army Reserve Component activities; oversee Army procurement activities and serve as the Army

contracting authority in USPACOM (including Japan and Korea); and coordinate planning for and manage the application and use of Army automation resources in USPACOM (including Japan and Korea).

Units assigned to WESTCOM are the 25th Infantry Division; US Army Support Command Hawaii (USASCH); 45th Support Group; US Army Readiness Group, WESTCOM; and Headquarters, IX Corps (Augmentation).

The 25th Infantry Division, based at Schofield Barracks on Oahu, is USCINCPAC's Army Combat Ground Reserve Force. The division is one of the Army's new "light" infantry divisions--smaller, highly deployable, hard-hitting divisions which use lighter and more highly advanced equipment and resources. The 29th Infantry Brigade of the Hawaii Army National Guard includes the 100th Battalion of the 442nd Infantry, US Army Reserve, is a separate brigade.

US Army Support Command, Hawaii, (USASCH) provides installation administrative and logistical support for all Army activities in Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, and Johnston Island. The 45th Support Group provides operational support in the same areas through its chemical, engineer, ordnance, and transportation units. The US Army Readiness Group (WESTCOM) assists Reserve Component (Army National Guard and Army Reserve) units to maintain the highest state of premobilization readiness. Headquarters, IX Corps (Augmentation), augments the active Army Headquarters, IX US

Army Corps in Japan upon mobilization. Its peacetime mission is to control and supervise US Army Reserve units in the Pacific.

US Army in Korea, Japan, and Alaska. USCINCPAC exercises combatant command of the Eighth US Army (EUSA), the US Army Japan/IX Corps, and the 6th Infantry Division (L) through the subordinate unified commanders in Korea, Japan, and Alaska. As Army major commands, the EUSA and US Army Japan/IX Corps respond directly to Department of the Army on uni-service matters. The 6th Infantry Division (L) responds to WESTCOM on uni-service matters.

US Army Japan (USARJ) provides procurement and maintenance facilities, and in times of conflict involving US forces, fulfills hospital requirements in a Western Pacific forward location. The Commander (USARJ) reports to the Commander, US Forces Japan. The Eighth US Army in Korea reports to the Commander, US Forces Korea.

Naval Forces in the Pacific. The US Pacific Fleet (PACFLT) headquartered at Makalapa near Pearl Harbor, is the world's largest naval command both in forces and in area of operations. (See Figure 10, Appendix A) Active in both the Indian and Pacific Oceans, an area of about 100 million square miles, the Pacific Fleet's resources include some 220 ships, 2,600 Navy and Marine Corps aircraft, 238,000 Navy and Marine Corps personnel, and 55 shore installations. With its variety of ships and aircraft, the Pacific Fleet is designed to respond to many types of emergencies,

including natural disasters.

The Pacific Fleet's mission responsibilities include: assuring freedom of movement through essential sea areas and protection of the sea lines of communication; projection of seapower ashore and inland by means of the Navy-Marine Corps team's amphibious forces; providing the extension of US foreign policy as applicable in the visits of naval units to foreign ports of call; and deploying Fleet Ballistic Missile submarines as the Pacific element of the national nuclear deterrent.

The structure of the Pacific Fleet is divided into two parts: operational and administrative. Type commands (administrative) are so named because each is responsible for particular types of ships, such as destroyers, submarines, etc. The type commanders insure that ships are properly manned, basic crew training is accomplished, and logistic support furnished. Operational commands are the two numbered fleets, the Third Fleet and the Seventh Fleet, each commanded by a vice admiral. The Third Fleet is responsible for operations in the Eastern Pacific and along the US west coast. That fleet also provides training exercises to prepare ships for deployment to the Seventh Fleet, and coordinates anti-submarine warfare operations throughout the Pacific. The Seventh Fleet conducts operations in the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean, ensuring US military presence for access and influence.

The vast area of operations demands four overseas area coordinators. The force commanders are: Naval Forces Japan; Naval Forces Marianas; Naval Forces Philippines; and Naval Forces Korea.

Operationally, CINCPACFLT reports to the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Command. Administratively, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet reports to the Chief of Naval Operations.

Fleet Marine Forces in the Pacific. As the largest single US Marine Corps field command, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific (FMFPAC) includes over one-third of the total manpower of the Marine Corps and is comprised of two of the Marine Corps' three active divisions, two aircraft wings and service support groups. Its mission is to provide balanced, combat-ready Marine Air Ground Task Forces (MAGTF's) to the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet for contingencies as may arise.

To meet mission requirements, FMFPAC Marines are strategically situated in three principal regions: the Western Pacific, the Eastern Pacific, and the Mid-Pacific. They constitute three major air/ground task forces with associated support units.

In the Western Pacific, the major subordinate command is the III Marine Expeditionary Force (III MEF) which supports the US Seventh Fleet throughout the Far East. III MEF's Marine

Air-Ground Task Force-teams, which range upwards in size from a reinforced Marine battalion and appropriate aviation and support elements, are constantly at sea with the Seventh Fleet, and additional teams are maintained ashore to reinforce the seaborne forces in any emergency. These additional forces are tailored for movement by air or sea to any crisis area. The III MEF forces are primarily drawn from the 3rd Marine Division (3d MarDiv) and the 3rd Force Service Support Group (3rd FSSG) stationed on Okinawa, and the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing (1st MAW) headquartered in Okinawa with elements also based at Marine Corps Air Station, Iwakuni, Japan. III MEF is also supported by a Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) composed of elements from the I Marine Amphibious Force (I MEF) in Southern California.

In the Eastern Pacific, the I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF) draws its assets from the 1st Marine Division (1st Mar Div) and the 1st Force Service Support Group (1st FSSG) stationed at Camp Pendleton, California, and the 3rd Marine Aircraft Wing (3rd MAW) headquartered at Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) El Toro, California, with subordinate elements at Yuma, Arizona, Camp Pendleton and Tustin, California. Additionally, the 7th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (7th MEB), the planning and participating brigade for the Near Term Prepositioned Shipping Program (NTPS), is based at Twentynine Palms, California. Combined arms doctrine, weapons systems and equipment are constantly being evaluated at the Marine Corps Air-Ground Combat Center (MCAGCC) at Twentynine Palms through realistic training

exercises. Like III MEF's forces, I MEF is capable of moving anywhere in the Pacific when directed.

In Hawaii, the 1st Marine Brigade (1st Mar Bde), composed of the 3rd Marine Regiment, Brigade Service Support Group (BSSG) and Marine Aircraft Group-24, is stationed at MCAS, Kaneohe Bay as the Mid-Pacific alert force.³

FMFPAC is responsive through two command channels. The commanding general reports to the Commandant of the Marine Corps on matters connected with readiness, training and administration of FMFPAC forces and is responsive to the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet, for all operational matters.

CHAPTER III

THE USPACOM AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY

Major Regions and Countries

USPACOM's area of responsibility is divided into four major regions: Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific.

No region in the Pacific is more vital to US interests than Northeast Asia. It is the focal point of five major powers, major economies, major interests, and major rivalries. It also hosts the homeport of the Soviet's largest fleet in Vladivostok. Japan became a major economic power in the world, not just in the Pacific. It is potentially the most crucial area of the world in the next 10 years.

Southeast Asia is the gateway between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It is a region experiencing considerable change and political uncertainty. A principle contribution to stability in Southeast Asia is provided by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It is this economic and political alliance which helps counter-balance the communist influence from the Indo-China peninsula. ASEAN also provides the focus for US regional policy. US military presence in the area not only fosters the ability of

individual ASEAN nations to work together with US forces, but with each other as well. While base facilities in the Philippines are vital to the ability of the US to influence security and stability in the entire region, US presence is more than just military. Economic and political contacts also contribute to the basis of US strength. These security relationships are the cornerstone in the foundation supporting US political and economic interests.

Asia's access to Middle East oil is through the Indian Ocean. India dominates the region by any measure of economic, political, or military power, and its military buildup in both defensive and offensive systems is impressive. India is a democratic country and a successful relationship with the West is in its best interest. Although there could be mutual benefit from more extensive and improved military-to-military relations with the US, an improved relationship between India and the US cannot be at the expense of our other friends in the region. While India holds the potential to be a stabilizing force in the region, many regional neighbors are concerned about an increased military capability or role for India as a regional policeman.

The South Pacific is an area of importance to the US because sea lines of communication crisscross the area. Freedom of navigation for US and allied ships ensures the viability of regional security and contributes to the economic development of the South Pacific and the whole Pacific region. Australia plays a key leadership role in the South Pacific, and the Australian

government remains committed to global deterrence and arms control by participation in joint facilities and granting access for US ships and aircraft. US interests are served by an even closer and stronger relationship with the Australians in the future.

Appendix A provides summary information about the countries in the USFACOM Area of Responsibility.

Treaties and Agreements

In the Pacific theater there are no multilateral treaties to provide regional security equivalent to that provided by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Europe. Most Pacific security arrangements are bilateral, and the US is the linchpin around which region-security is focused. Of ten mutual defense and security agreements to which the US is a party, seven of them are in the Pacific region. These are: the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) Pact; the South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty, or Manila Pact; the US-Republic of Korea Mutual Security Treaty; the US-Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty; the US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security; and the Compacts of Free Association with the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. Through these formal agreements and other informal working arrangements, our forward deployed forces provide the focal point for interoperability and cooperation between the military forces of

other friends in the region and are the basis for integrated regional security.

The US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security is one of our most important security arrangements; not only from the US point of view, but also from the perspective of most other nations in Asia. The memories of Japan's exercise of military power to seek domination of East Asia remains in the minds of most Asians. It is the US military umbrella that guarantees Japan's security, and thus defines the limits of Japanese military requirements. If there is concensus on any one point among our friends in Asia, it is on the need for the US to continue its role as the guarantor of Japan's security.

One major treaty, the trilateral ANZUS Treaty, has been disrupted by New Zealand's decision to implement an anti-nuclear ship policy. This decision left the United States with no acceptable alternative but to suspend our security obligation to New Zealand under ANZUS. Nevertheless, the ANZUS treaty continues to provide the framework for bilateral security cooperation between the United States and Australia, as well as between Australia and New Zealand. Both the US and New Zealand have reaffirmed that mutual rights and obligations under the treaty remain in place and will provide the basis for a resumption of trilateral security cooperation should that become feasible.

Appendix B provides additional details, including much of the texts of these treaties and agreements.

CHAPTER IV

COMMAND STRATEGY

Nothing characterizes the USPACOM Area of Responsibility more today than change and diversity--particularly in the economic and political spheres. New nations are emerging and the winds of democratic reform are being felt. While the economic growth rates of several Pacific countries are the highest in the world, others are among the lowest.

Within the context of national security interests and objectives, this diverse and changing environment has important implications for the definition of USPACOM strategy. Differences in threat perception, political sensitivities and security contributions preclude a coalition approach and lead to reliance on tailored, bilateral relations rather than multilateral relationships. USPACOM must also address threats across the full range of potential conflict, from strategic nuclear exchange to low-intensity conflict.

The command's strategy is built on the foundation of US national interests. Although USCINCPAC looks toward the 1990's as a decade of sweeping change, our national security interests are expected to remain substantially the same because they stem from enduring American values. Americans will continue to hold the

survival of the United States as a free and independent nation as our most basic national interest. Beyond survival, the primary US security interests that influence security strategy in the Pacific include:

- a. A healthy and growing US economy
- b. A stable and secure world
- c. Strong alliances
- d. The growth of democratic institutions
- e. An open and free market system

It is from these interests that USPACOM derives its mission. Simply stated, the mission is to support US policies and security interests and counter threats to them throughout the Pacific Command Area of Operations. In developing a strategy to achieve this mission, USCINCPAC has defined three objectives which must be met. The first is to gain access and develop influence throughout the AOR during peacetime. The second is to achieve a presence and capability that will deter aggression against the interests of the US and its allies during a period of crisis. Finally, should deterrence fail, USCINCPAC must be prepared to employ military forces to terminate a war on terms favorable to the US and its allies.

Although the Soviet Union remains the dominant threat to US interests in Asia and the Pacific, this is not a threat perception that is equally shared by many Asian nations. There has been a

modest reduction in the number of Soviet forces in the Asian theater, as contrasted to the European theater, but these reductions have been offset by significant increases in the capabilities of Soviet forces as the result of force modernization. However, the dramatic changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union and the communist world at large have reduced the probability of Soviet actions that would lead to direct confrontation and conflict. This raises the relative importance of other threats to stability that the command's strategy must address. These threats include: regional conflicts, particularly on the Korean peninsula; internal insurrections; disputes over territorial claims; economic instability; religious and ethnic conflict; and international terrorism. United States interests are universally served by the objectives of a forward presence, access and influence to respond to these threats.

USPACOM Strategy

Strategy is the art of employing the elements of national power to achieve national interests and objectives. In this context, USPACOM seeks to employ its military resources in conjunction with political and economic resources to achieve US objectives in the Pacific AOR.

The overall USCINCPAC strategy is articulated in a Pacific Command Strategy document. The strategy is founded on the

principle of deterrence--convincing potential adversaries that the probable costs of aggression will far exceed any potential gain.

The Pacific Command Strategy emphasizes the importance of forward presence and robust alliances, and describes the way the command intends to fight to bring any war to a rapid and favorable conclusion. It stresses the deterrent value of forward-deployed, ready forces, early warning, rapid reinforcement, and allied support.

Access and influence are key elements of the command strategy. The command intends to focus military, economic, and political resources in peacetime so as to create a secure environment in which democratic ideals can flourish, economies can grow, US economic interests can be served, human rights can improve, and aggression cannot be successfully prosecuted. Should deterrence fail, the "start point" for execution of a conflict will, in large measure, have been determined by the success of the strategy during peacetime, i.e., the US posture in the Pacific AOR.

A basic premises of the strategy is that one of the most valuable contributions another nation can make to both its own and US security objectives is to maintain internal stability and provide for its own defense. Since other countries often perceive their defense requirements differently than the US, the command

must recognize their forces and programs are designed for the missions they deem most important. In the bilateral planning process, USPACOM encourages other nations to assume roles and missions which complement US security objectives. Because of the diversity of nations in the Pacific Command's AOR, planning must be individually tailored to the ability of each country to contribute to mutual security interests.

The resources available to achieve USPACOM's security objectives in peacetime go beyond the traditional employment of military forces. The strategy is a guide for using military resources in ways that enhance bilateral relationships with allies, and in ways that demonstrate to developing nations the benefits that accrue from a positive relationship with the US. By careful employment of resources, tailored to meet the specific needs of each nation, the US demonstrates its commitment and encourages mutual efforts to ensure Pacific stability and security. The command's strategy for the use of various programs that promote its peacetime objectives are outlined below.

Security Assistance. One of the primary programs used to achieve USPACOM's strategy is Security Assistance. Security Assistance is a State Department program managed by the Department of Defense and the Agency for International Development for military assistance and economic assistance respectively. The program is based on several laws, most notably the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the 1976 Arms Export Control Act. The

Security Assistance programs are implemented by the Defense Security Assistance Agency, the military services, and the Security Assistance Organizations in each country. USCINCPAC provides program oversight. Additionally, each component commander monitors service related security assistance activities within the AOR. Security Assistance programs in the USCINCPAC AOR are composed of Grants and Loans (formerly called Military Assistance Program), Foreign Military Sales, International Military Education and Training and Economic Support Funds.

- a. Grants and Loans. These programs provide US defense equipment and services on a grant basis. Recipient countries determine their own requirements and procure items against their grant account. The purchaser retains title to this equipment.

- b. Foreign Military Sales (FMS). In contrast to Grants and Loans, FMS provides sale of US equipment, services and training, on a cash or credit basis. The FMS program also has provisions for military sales financing in terms of forgiven credits or credits at concessional or less than market, interest rates.

c. International Military Education and Training (IMET). IMET provides professional military education in the US, and in some cases, at US military facilities overseas, to selected foreign military and civilian personnel. Specialized training can also be purchased through FMS procedures.

d. Economic Support Fund (ESF). Although the ESF is not administered by the Department of Defense, it is an important contributor to the overall US PACOM Security Assistance Program in that it attacks the major causes of economic and political instability in target countries.

Title 10 Funds. Another source of support for command programs is through Title 10 legislation which provides funds for conduct of cooperative programs with friendly nations. Examples of the types of initiatives that are supported through Title 10 include: humanitarian and civic assistance; specified exercise expenses for foreign personnel participating in combined exercises; and personal expenses for defense personnel from developing countries to attend conferences, seminars, and meetings.

CJCS CINC Initiative Fund. This is a new fund approved by Congress for low cost, high benefit CINC requirements. It

includes items that support relations with other countries such as: joint exercises (including foreign country participation); selected operations; military education and training for military and related civilian personnel of foreign countries; and personnel expenses of defense personnel for bilateral or regional cooperation programs.

Disaster Relief and Recovery Operations. Several statutes enable USCINCPAC to provide critical assistance to developing nations in conjunction with natural disasters. The Foreign Assistance Act covers other nations, while the Disaster Relief Act of 1974 applies to US territories, which includes American Samoa, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, and the Republic of Palau. In addition, it covers the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI). The two phases of disaster relief and recovery operations are: immediate response authority and disaster recovery. Disaster recovery activities may take place months or even years following a major disaster.

WESTCOM Expanded Relations Program (ERP). This is another program that provides the command an opportunity to further its objectives. The ERP evolved from a recognition that the Pacific AOR contains a preponderance of nations whose military is dominated by their Army, even though from an American perspective it is primarily a maritime theater. The ERP serves to increase interaction among Asia-Pacific armies and enhance interoperability

through combined training. The program consists of the Pacific Armies Management Seminars; reciprocal visits; staff information exchange conferences, seminars, and staff exchange meetings; and a large variety of individual military training activities.

Exercises. The USPACOM exercise program prepares US forces to execute warfighting plans. However, equally important is the value exercises have in furthering peacetime objectives. They deter war by demonstrating strength and resolve, while promoting healthy alliances through presence and fulfilling our treaty obligations. The USPACOM exercise program is based on the JCS Exercise Planning Guidance (EPG), which is published annually and covers a five-year period. It is derived from the Defense Guidance, the Joint Strategy Planning Document and a review of previous programs.

The Civic Action Teams (CAT) and Medical Civic Action. The CAT program assists nation building efforts on six South Pacific islands, while projecting a favorable US military image. CAT is a tri-service endeavor with two teams each provided by the Army, Navy, and Air Force. They operate in the Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, Kosrae) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (on Kwajalein Atoll). Medical Civic Action can be conducted anywhere in the AOR. It provides assistance to local populations as a part of Disaster Relief and Recovery operations, ship visits, exercises, or CATs.

Additionally, country specific Medical Civic Action Programs (MEDCAP) have been funded in the Philippines and Thailand. Other initiatives include medical readiness training exercises, hospital ship deployments and medical training seminars.

Ship Visits. The USFACOM strategy objectives are further supported by ship visits which demonstrate US presence, enhancing diplomatic relations, spreading US influence and promote good will. The Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet, has primary responsibility for coordinating and scheduling port visits.

Other Programs. Additional activities of USFACOM that further peacetime strategy goals include high level military-to-military visits by the Commander in Chief (CINC), component commanders and service chiefs; staff-to-staff talks; conferences and bilateral talks.

CHAPTER V

COMMAND'S FUTURE

What is in CINCPAC's future? During the last few years the Command has been forced to make numerous adjustments to its thinking and structure to cope with the diverse and ever changing atmosphere of the Pacific Region. As discussed in earlier chapters, the Pacific Command places much emphasis on its strategy of robust alliances and forward deployment. This chapter will discuss what may lie ahead for the Pacific Command in the upcoming years.

There are six major trends that visibly are impacting events in the region today and will continue to play a role throughout the 1990s. The first trend that portends the coming change in the Pacific environment is the shifting global economy. Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and the Republic of Korea have led spectacular economic growth in the Asia-Pacific region. Some would even add Thailand to this list, with Malaysia and Indonesia close behind. Because of the lack of natural resources, these countries depend upon imported resources, thus making the Pacific economies extremely fragile. Nevertheless, the growth is real, it is constant and it appears to be shifting in global influence from

the traditional military powers to the new economic powers.(4) Admiral Huntington Hardisty, USCINCPAC, recently stated: "The economic future of the United States is inextricably tied to the prosperity of the Pacific and is dependent on our ability to successfully maintain our Pacific economic and security leadership roles".(6:12) U.S. efforts over the past four decades have played a major role in providing stability in the region and set the stage for political and economic development. The success of U.S. efforts has in turn produced a new set of challenges that may very well threaten what has been achieved so far. Those countries that were once dependent upon U.S. aid are now becoming strong economic powers. They are becoming some of the foremost economic competitors in the world.(6:12)

The next trend is an obvious rise of political independence and nationalism. Unfortunately, along with this is often an accompanying nationalism demonstrated through heightened anti-American sentiment. This anti-American sentiment plays big in the picture of forward basing and alliances. This forward access helps the US deter aggression and coercion; it increases the ability to respond to conflicts quickly; it reassures U.S. allies that the commitment is genuine; it discourages regional instability; and it provides a more stable international environment. It is also a major aspect of USPACOM strategy.(4) Former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage has stated that USPACOM and the U.S. need strong allies and friends who possess strong military strength and are capable of contributing

to regional stability. It is imperative and critical to US strategy that these allied forces be able to join US forces in a combined effort to fight together effectively in combined operations. In order to accomplish this action, the US must maintain close contact with Pacific allies and be more willing to share some of the advanced technologies it possesses. Armitage states: "In short, our strategy of forward-deployed forces and strong alliances enables us to husband limited resources, meld them with those of our allies and employ them effectively to deter aggression or, should deterrence fail, defend our interests and restore peace on acceptable terms." (2:39) Admiral Hardisty feels that he must maintain a ready and capable forward deployed force in the Pacific. The removal of such a force would create a vacuum and lead to instability. He feels that the majority of the countries in the region are in favor of U.S. presence. " They feel that reductions could be a major blow to the stability that has fostered the region's economic growth as well as the growth of democratic institutions. Our military presence is basic to maintaining regional stability." (6:16) U.S. presence is even further required because of the modernizing military capability of the Soviets.

The third trend is also related to and dependent upon the newly acquired economic wealth--arms proliferation. The percentage of GNP spent on armaments by lesser developed countries and the third world is on the rise and now exceeds that of the superpowers. The availability of precision munitions, chemical

weapons, and longer range delivery systems makes superpower intervention difficult. Availability is in such a state that practically any country with available resources can purchase whatever weapons desired. (4)

The fourth trend, one that is changing daily, is Soviet reform. The Soviet Union is in dire economic straits and must shift resources from the military to the economic sector. The result is a reduction in Soviet arms. We will likely continue to see Soviet force modernization, especially in their strategic systems. Somewhere the Soviets must curtail their military spending and stimulate economic growth while maintaining their strategic offensive power. (4) John Dorrance, in an article published in the Asia Survey in July 1989, said the following concerning Soviet reform: "Glasnost, Perestroika, and lessening East-West tension but not competition, and upon us together with new Soviet interest in the Pacific". (5:705) No one knows how far internal Soviet reform will be able to go and no one knows what impact these reforms will have on Soviet foreign policy. As USPACOM reviews the Soviet situation in the region politically, economically and militarily, it must continue to consider the Soviet Union our most dangerous adversary. Mr Dorrance goes on to say: "Indeed, Soviet reform without foreign policy change would only assure far more effective competition. In that context the US must take into account the fact that the USSR in the past 15 years has developed a formidable Pacific military capability." The Soviets do not appear to be modifying their Pacific forces through strength but

through modernization. They also continue to maintain their largest navy of over 800 combat ships that includes more than 100 submarines. The Soviet air forces in the Pacific contain over 1,800 combat aircraft of which more than 300 are long-range bombers. Dorrance continues: "Intensive development of air and naval support facilities at Cam Ranh in Vietnam (coupled to bases in the Soviet Far East) provides a capability to interdict Western air and sea lanes throughout much of the Pacific, including mining and closing the critical Indonesian archipelago straits linking the Pacific and Indian Oceans." (S:705-706)

The perception of change leads to the fifth trend--the worldwide belief that there is a decreasing threat. The containment strategy has worked, and we are entering a new era of US-USSR relations. The decline in the perception of a threatening Soviet Union undermines the post war rationale for a bipolar balance of power and increases the freedom of choices and alignments for all powers. (4) "Peace is breaking out all over" is not confined to Europe alone, it also appears to be very accurate in describing the Asia-Pacific Region. Not only are we witnessing improved relations between the US and USSR but also the Sino-Soviet block, the Soviet-Japanese block and the Sino-Indian block. In addition to these relations, there has been a warming or normalization in other Pacific areas as well. The Chinese have made moves toward better relations with Vietnam and all of Indochina. The Thais are expanding relations with Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia while ASEAN is working with these countries as well.

Probably one area that draws considerable attention is the desire of both North and South Korea to reunify. Australian author S. Bilver states: " At the same time, past and positive relationships are said to be consolidating and these include the strengthening of the Sino-American, Sino-Japanese, American-Japanese, American-ASEAN, Japan-ASEAN, South Korea-ASEAN, Sino-ASEAN, especially Sino-Thai, American-South Korea, Indo-Soviet, Soviet-Indochinese and Soviet-North Korea relationships." (3:6) The Soviets have greatly increased their contact with the South Pacific nations thus decreasing the fear once held by the Pacific people of the Soviet "bear". Many events have occurred recently that have given the Soviets this opportunity. For example, the French nuclear testing policy in the South Pacific has left an unfavorable appearance as have the French attempts to continue colonization of French Polynesia. Also, U.S. policies concerning fishing rights in the island Republics in the South Pacific EEZ have strained U.S. relations with these nations. The U.S. continues to appear insensitive to the anti-nuclear sentiments in the region, especially toward those of New Zealand. Another event that continues to occur is that of the Australians appearing to be American puppets. Some South Pacific nations see the Australians as overseers and have alienated themselves from the Aussies. (3:17)

The last trend is demographic change. Population growth in many countries exceeds the expanded agricultural capacities achieved during the "Green Revolution." The people are removing

more and more trees for firewood and farmland, destroying the forest. As this is done, the land is left bare and the rain waters run off the hills faster, taking with it the topsoil and depositing it in the rivers. In turn, the rivers are gradually filling with silt and becoming more and more prone to flooding. There is also a growing shortage of fresh water in many countries due to the recent droughts. The once fertile lands are becoming deserts forcing the populace to move. The population is becoming increasingly urbanized, bringing along with it tremendous political, social, and environmental problems. The average age of the population in some countries is increasing, as well. (4)

It is virtually impossible to predict where these trends will lead or where the Pacific Command will be in the year 2000; however, it is quite probable that certain events will occur. Among those is a weakened US regional position due to growing global economic parity. In turn, this parity coupled with increased nationalism and the perception of a reduced threat could lead the US to face a future of reduced access to forward deployed facilities. With this decline of economic power and forward presence, the Pacific will likely see a multipolar world develop consisting of six major powers including the US. The Soviet Union has worked diligently to improve relations in the Pacific with its internal reforms. The Soviets will likely become more trustworthy in the eyes of many Pacific nations, thus improving relations. The European Community will maintain a foothold on the power-base through its economic integration. India is emerging as a power in

the Indian Ocean region, both militarily and economically. China has become a regional power as well with a slow economic modernization program. Finally, Japan, the world's banker has emerged as a Pacific leader. Japan's only major shortfall is that she is a producer state that is dependent on access to resources and markets. However, her control of finance levies much influence in the world community.(7)

Looking at these trends and the future multipolar world, what can the Command do to improve its position and remain a viable force in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions? First, the Command must continue to think more about what it will be like to live in a world of multiple power centers and multiple competitors. The current approach toward maintaining strong bilateral relationships is the key to doing that. Even today, while the Soviet Union remains the principal concern, attention is increasingly shifting elsewhere. For example, they are already applying bilateral ties and forward forces to regional events and issues. General Covault, former Deputy J5 said: "We talk more and more these days about balance of power. One can envision a future strategic environment in the Pacific similar to the situation at the turn of this century, where between 1900-1910, the US pursued an Asian balance of power strategy."(4)

Second, there is a need to develop more effective means to articulate and integrate political, economic, and security policies. At the US Pacific Command, economic policies now play

heavily in the pursuit of initiatives to share the responsibilities of regional security and stability with allies and friends. If nothing else, the FSX negotiations taught the US that the days are gone when security and economic policies can be pursued independently. (7) Paul Wolfowitz recently stated that he believes the region must avoid trade wars that characterized the 1930's in order to preserve stability and continued prosperity. Several years ago the Prime Minister of Singapore reminded the US Congress that the social turmoil and international conflicts were started by the economic misery of the 1930s and warned that a return to these harsh trade restrictions on the market access today could cause similar problems of equal proportion. Wolfowitz believes that this warning is even more timely today than it was two years ago. Even with the rapid economic growth of the four tigers, coupled with the emergence of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, there still remain millions of Asians who have failed to reap the benefits and live only barely above the poverty level. He feels that "The region's high economic growth rates have brought an impressive level of stability, but in the process they have become almost essential for continued stability." (8:25) Any major slowdown in the economy could have a frightening effect and a steady economic decline would cause a great deal of concern throughout the region that possibly would become devastating. He also feels that our Asian trading partners need to remove trade barriers and encourage fair competition and open trade practices. (8:25) USFACOM needs to deal with the economic issues of the region. To do this effectively, the Command may desire to

slightly reorganize by introducing an economic advisor to the CINC. Possibly, this advisor could come from the Commerce Department and act as a liaison. The overall setup would be similar to that of the political advisor now assigned to the staff. The CINC, with advice from the economic advisor, would be in a better position to make military decisions dealing with economic issues in the Pacific. As it stands now, there is no true economic expertise assigned to the PACOM staff.

Third, U.S. access to overseas bases is no longer assured. USPACOM must continue to develop alternate plans for attaining strategic goals. Currently, the Command is studying and examining alternative basing sites, and also alternative deployment methods and procedures. Command representatives must continue to play an active role in the Philippines bases renegotiation process as well as studying options in Singapore and elsewhere in the region. They must also develop ways to move into a supporting role in the Republic of Korea.(7) The US allies must be made aware of the importance of continued US forward deployment in the Pacific Region. At the same time, the Pacific Command must successfully explain any troop reductions. This explanation must include emphasis on continued US resolve.(4) The Command may need to come on line with Congress in an attempt to increase the U.S. aircraft carrier inventory, especially in the Pacific. The carrier could very well be the only means of forward access in the 21st century, a time when Pacific trade may be at its peak. Also, the CINC may want to consider an increased presence in Guam, however, like the

carrier this may be fiscally constrained. One other alternative may be increased relations with Thailand and a military agreement with ASEAN that would enable forward deployment into that region.

Fourth, as force structure evolves, changes need to be made in the direction of mobility and flexibility. Strategic lift, especially the C-17, is at the top of the USFACOM priority list in the budget process. The major portion of assigned forces are maritime and air units. The mobility and flexibility needed in the Pacific AOR now and in the future lead to an understandable reluctance of USFACOM planners to link European ground force reductions to the Pacific. Reductions in USFACOM force structure is relevant to its strategic objectives in the Pacific regardless of force levels on the central front.(4) Admiral Hardisty and his staff must look at a future strategy that would include a lack of mobility and heavy force reductions that would probably be unacceptable for U.S. national strategy. They need to evaluate what effect this would have on their mission. It may even cause the Command to change its mission to one of protecting Hawaii, Alaska, and the West Coast. The CINC must emphasize to Congress during his testimony the importance of mobility, flexibility and force structure.

The Pacific is a theater of dynamic change and US interests are tied to events in the region more than ever before. The extent to which political and economic interests are supported in the future will be determined by the degree the US remains

actively engaged in the dynamics of the region. To do that, USFACOM must be forward deployed and have as many friends with mutually shared interests as possible.(4)

A successful United States policy requires a stable Pacific region. At the same time, US allies in the Pacific need a strong US. As the "The Pacific Century" dawns, America's defense role in the region will be critical to the US as a superpower, both economically and politically as well as militarily.(1:15)

As one surveys the global situation and attempts to deal with the budgetary and trade problems, he must remember an important point: The continuing outbreak of democracy and growing economies throughout the world are products of US involvement that it has worked so hard to achieve and has protected for decades. There have been good times and bad times as the nation has faced the communist threat around the globe and it is now beginning to see the reward, especially in the Asia and Pacific Region.(1:15)

The Pacific Command can look forward to this decade and the next century as a time of challenge. The Command is in position to play a vital role in the economic, political, military and social aspects of the region. The CINC must ensure that USFACOM remains committed and is able to present its case well, especially to the American people and Congress. The Soviet threat is still real, whether it be militarily or politically, and the stability of the Pacific Rim depends upon U.S. alliances. These alliances depend

upon USFACOM forward deployment. USFACOM needs to continue its effort to remain forward deployed, even if it means with additional carrier battlegroups, or personnel movements into the ASEAN region. Economically, the region is advancing rapidly and the Command must stay in front of the issues. The addition of an economic advisor would enable the CINC to do just that. Politically, Admiral Hardisty must keep Congress informed, thus keeping the pressure on them to prevent trade wars as we saw in the 1930's. This strategy would help keep the many robust alliances healthy. Paul Wolfowitz sums the region nicely: "Some very large uncertainties hang over the future of this region...but the nations and the people of this region can rise to the challenge". USFACOM is among these nations and people and with the correct focus the Command will continue to play a major role.

APPENDIX

A

COUNTRY SUMMARIES

AUSTRALIA

Area: 2,966,200 sq mi, almost as large as the continental US

Capital: Canberra (289,000)

Type Government: Democratic, federal state system

Population: 16,800,000 (.8% annual growth)

Population Density: 6 per sq mi

Languages: English, aboriginal

Ethnic Groups: British 95%, other European 3%,
aborigine 1.5%

Religions: Anglican 28%, Roman Catholic 28%, Uniting Church 14%,

Literacy: 99%

Life Expectancy: 70 years

Gross National Product: \$196 (?) billion

Per Capita Income: \$12,190 Defense Spending: 2.9% of GNP

Major Industries: Mining, iron and steel, equipment, food processing, aircraft, ships, chemicals

Major Exports: Wheat, coal, wool, iron ore, metal manufactures, meat, dairy products, petroleum, machinery

Defense Structure: The principal organ of national defense policy is the Defense Committee. It provides the linkage between the Ministry of Defense and the Prime Minister's Department. The Minister of Defense is responsible for the general control and administration of the defense forces.

History: Australia was discovered by the Dutch in the early seventeenth century but it remained largely underdeveloped. Captain James Cook explored the land in 1770 when the continent was inhabited by a variety of different tribes. The first British colony was established in 1788 at the present day site of Sydney. Within decades, Britain claimed the entire continent. It became a penal colony to replace the American colonies and served that purpose until the 1850s when immigration increased. Discovery of gold in 1851 significantly increased population and industry. The commonwealth of Australia came into being on 1 January 1901. Australia's near invasion by Japan in 1942 highlighted the need for security. It joined the ANZUS pact in September 1951 with the US and New Zealand to provide for collective security.

BANGLADESH

Area: 55,598 sq mi, slightly smaller than Wisconsin

Capital: Dacca (4,470,000)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 114,700,000 (2.70% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 2,063 per sq mi

Languages: Bengali, English

Ethnic Groups: Bengali 98%, Bihari

Religions: Islam 83%, Hindu 16%

Literacy: 29%

Life Expectancy: 45 years

Gross National Product: \$15.2 billion

Per Capita Income: \$150

Defense Spending: 1.4% of GNP

Major Industries: Jute manufactures, food processing, cotton textiles

Major Export: Raw and manufactured jute, leather, tea

Defense Structure: The President is Head of State and controls the armed forces under the provisional constitution. He is also Minister of Defense. The Army has two former Pakistani Bengali infantry regiments at its core which supported Bangladesh in the 1971 civil war. The Army was brought up to full strength by recruiting members of the former liberation army. India has offered to train the armed forces.

History: Moslem invaders conquered the formerly Hindu area in the twelfth century. British rule lasted from the eighteenth century to 1947 when East Bengal became part of Pakistan. Charging West Pakistani domination, the Eastern based Awami League won National Assembly control in 1971. Assembly sessions were postponed and riots broke out. Pakistani troops attacked 25 March and Bangladesh declared independence the next day. In the ensuing civil war, one million died amid charges of Pakistani atrocities. Ten million fled to India. War between India and Pakistan broke out 3 December 1971. Pakistan surrendered in the East on 15 December and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became prime minister. The country moved into the Indian and Soviet orbits, in response to US support of Pakistan, and much of the economy was nationalized. In 1974, Prime Minister Mujibar was assassinated and a series of coups have followed. General H. M. Ershad assumed the presidency in March 1982. On October 15, 1986 Ershad was elected president

for a five-year term.

BHUTAN

Area: 17,800 sq mi, size of Vermont and New Hampshire combined

Capital: Thimphu (30,000)

Type Government: Constitutional Monarchy

Population: 1,500,000 (2.1% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 85 per sq mi

Languages: Dzongkha, Nepali

Ethnic Groups: Bhotia 60%, Nepalese 25%, Lepcha, Indian

Religions: Buddhist 75%, Hindu 25%

Literacy: 15%

Life Expectancy: 46 years

Gross National Product: \$186 million

Per Capita Income: \$218

Defense Spending: not available

Major Industries: Cement, wood products, chemical products, handicrafts

Major Export: Cement, talc powder, agricultural products, timber

Defense Structure: Bhutan is essentially dependent on India for its defense. India is training Bhutan's small defense force.

History: Bhutan's early history is obscure. The region came under Tibetan rule in the sixteenth century. British influence grew in the nineteenth century. After a war in 1865 the British annexed part of southern Bhutan and assumed control of Bhutan's foreign relations in 1910. A monarchy was established in 1907. The country became independent in 1949, with India guiding foreign relations and supplying aid. Links to India have been strengthened by airline service and a road network. Most of the population engages in subsistence agriculture.

BRUNEI

Area: 2,226 sq mi, slightly larger than Delaware

Capital: Bandar Seri Begawan (56,300)

Type Government: Independent sultanate

Population: 300,000 (2.7% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 115 per sq mi

Languages: Malay, English

Ethnic Groups: Malay 65%, Chinese 25%, Indian 3%

Religions: Islam 60%, Buddhist 32%, Christian 8%

Literacy: 45%

Life Expectancy: 67 years

Gross National Product: \$3.4 billion

Per Capita Income: \$10,970 Defense Spending: 7.1% of GNP

Major Industries: Crude, liquefied natural gas, construction

Major Exports: Crude, petroleum products, liquefied natural gas

Defense Structure: The Sultan maintains the Royal Brunei Malay Regiment. Britain maintains a British Gurkha battalion and a training contingent at Brunei's expense. Singapore also has a battalion of troops stationed in Brunei at Brunei's expense.

History: The Sultanate of Brunei was a powerful state in the sixteenth century with authority over all of the island of Borneo as well as parts of the Sulu Islands and the Philippines. In 1888, a treaty was signed which placed the state under the protection of Great Britain. The discovery of petroleum deposits in 1929 laid the basis for the nation's later prosperity. Japan occupied Brunei during World War II. Brunei refused to join when the nation of Malaysia was formed in 1963 by consolidating British colonies. Brunei became a fully sovereign and independent state at the end of 1983.

BURMA

Area: 261,228 sq mi, nearly as large as Texas

Capital: Rangoon (2,500,000)

Type Government: Socialist republic

Population: 40,800,000 (2.3% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 156 per sq mi

Language: Burmese

Ethnic Groups: Burman 72%, Karen 7%, Shan 6%, Indian 6%

Religions: Buddhist 89%, Islam 3%, Christian 5%

Literacy: 78%

Life Expectancy: 51.4 years

Gross National Product: \$8.0 billion

Per Capita Income: \$210

Defense Spending: 3.47% of GNP

Major Industries: Agricultural processing, textiles and footwear, wood, copper, tin

Major Exports: Teak, rice, beans, ores, gems

Defense Structure: The President is the chief of staff of the armed forces and takes advice from a Council Executive Committee made up of senior officers. The Army is the dominating service. There are five Army area commands and three Navy regions. The Burmese Armed Forces are unified in the field.

History: The Burmese arrived from Tibet before the ninth century and displaced earlier cultures. A Buddhist monarchy was established by the eleventh century. Burma was conquered by the Mongol dynasty of China in 1272 and then ruled by Shans as a Chinese tributary until the sixteenth century. Britain subjugated Burma in three wars, 1824-84, and then ruled the country as part of India until it became self-governing in 1937. Independence was achieved 4 January 1948. General Ne Win dominated politics during the 1960s and 1970s. He led a Revolutionary Council set up in 1962 which drove Indians from civil service and Chinese from commerce. Socialization of the economy was advanced and isolation from foreign countries enforced. Lagging production and export have begun to turn around due to government incentives in the agriculture and petroleum sectors and receptivity to foreign investment in the economy.

CHINA

Area: 3,691,521 sq mi, slightly larger than the US

Capital: Beijing (9,330,000)

Type Government: People's republic

Population: 1,103,900 (1.4% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 298 per sq mi

Languages: Mandarin Chinese, Tibetan

Ethnic Groups: Han Chinese 94%, Mongol, Korean, Manchu

Religions: Officially atheist, Confucian, Buddhist

Literacy: 76.5% Life Expectancy: 68 years

Gross National Product: \$293 billion

Per Capita Income: \$280 Defense Spending: 8.5% of GNP

Major Industries: Iron, steel, coal, armaments, textiles, petroleum

Major Exports: Manufactured goods, minerals, agricultural products

Defense Structure: The Ministry of National Defense controls the country's armed forces. The Communist Party Central Committee, through the Politburo, takes major responsibility for policy matters. Operational direction is provided by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

History: A succession of dynasties and interdynastic warring kingdoms ruled China for 3,000 years of her early history. They expanded political and cultural domination to the south and the west, and developed a technologically and culturally advanced society. Rule by foreigners from 1271-1368 and 1644-1911 did not alter the underlying culture. A period of relative stagnation left China vulnerable to internal and external pressures in the nineteenth century. Rebellions left millions dead and Russia, Japan, Britain, and other powers exercised control over large parts of the country. China became a republic 1 January 1912 following the Wuchang Uprising. China was involved in conflicts with Japan from 1894-1945. Following World War II, internal disturbances arose involving the Kuomintang, communists, and other factions. China came under domination of communist armies during 1949-50. The People's Republic of China was proclaimed 21 September 1949 by Mao Tse-tung. The Kuomintang government fled to Taiwan 8 December 1949. The US refused recognition of the new regime. On 26 November 1950, China sent armies into Korea against

US forces and forced a stalemate. US President Nixon visited China in February 1972 ending years of antipathy between the two nations. Diplomatic relations were established with the US 1 January 1979.

FIJI

Area: 7,056 sq mi, the size of Massachusetts

Capital: Suva (75,000)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 800,000 (2.4% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 98.9 per sq mi

Languages: English, Fijian, Hindustani

Ethnic Groups: Indian 50%, Fijian 45%, European 2%

Religions: Christian 50%, Hindu 41%, Islam 8%

Literacy: 80% Life Expectancy: 68.5 years

Gross National Product: \$1.18 billion

Per Capita Income: \$1,660 Defense Spending: 2% of GNP

Major Industries: Sugar refining, tourism, gold, lumber, small industries

Major Exports: Sugar, copra

Defense Structure: Defense of Fiji was the responsibility of the UK until 1970 and today there is still no strong defense force. The Royal Fiji Military possesses a small naval squadron for coastguard and three infantry battalions.

History: Discovered by the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1643, the Fiji Islands were visited by British Captain James Cook in 1774. For many years the region was known as the "Cannibal Islands" because of the reputation of the Fijians as fearsome man-eaters. Tribal wars for tribal supremacy were climaxed in 1855 with the help of neighboring Tonga. Fiji remained under Tonga's domination for the next 20 years. Attempts at confederation failed and tribal chiefs asked the British to intervene. Fiji, a British colony since 1874, became independent 10 October 1970. Cultural differences between the majority Indian community, descendants of contract laborers brought to the islands in the nineteenth century, and the less modernized Fijians, who by law own 83 percent of the land in the communal villages, have led to political polarization.

INDIA

Area: 1,269,420 sq mi, one-third the size of the US

Capital: New Delhi (619,417)

Type Government: Federal republic

Population: 835,000,000 (2.2% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 658 per sq mi

Languages: Hindi, English

Ethnic Groups: Indo-Aryan groups 72%, Dravidian 25%, Mongol 3%

Religions: Hindu 83%, Islam 11%, Christian 3%, Sikh 2%

Literacy: 36% Life Expectancy: 52 years

Gross National Product: \$200 billion

Per Capita Income: \$250 Defense Spending: 3.5% of GNP

Major Industries: Textiles, steel, transportation equipment, cement, jute

Major Exports: Engineering goods, textiles, tea

Defense Structure: The supreme command of the armed forces is vested in the President of India. The responsibility for national defense, however, rests with the Cabinet. All important questions bearing on defense are decided by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs, which is presided over by the Prime Minister. The Defense Minister is responsible to Parliament for all matters concerning the Defense Services. Administrative and operational control of the armed forces is exercised by the Ministry of Defense and three service headquarters.

History: India has one of the oldest civilizations in the world. Excavations trace the Indus Valley civilization back for at least 5,000 years. Aryan tribes speaking Sanskrit invaded from the NW around 1500 BC and merged with earlier inhabitants to create classic Indian civilization. Arab invaders established a Moslem foothold in the west in the eighth century and Turkish Moslems gained control of North India by 1200. The Mongol emperors ruled from 1526-1857. The Portuguese established trading posts from 1498-1503 and were followed by the British. Operating as the British East India Company, the British gained control of most of India. Nationalism grew rapidly after World War I. Mohandas K. Gandhi emerged as the leader. In 1935 Britain gave India a constitution providing a federal congress. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, head of the Moslem League, sought creation of a Moslem nation, Pakistan. On 15 August 1947, the British government partitioned

British India into the dominions of India and Pakistan. India signed a 20-year friendship pact with the USSR on 9 August 1971 at a time when India-US relations soured over Pakistan.

INDONESIA

Area: 741,101 sq mi, size of Alaska and California combined

Capital: Jakarta (7,636,000)

Type Government: Independent republic

Population: 184,600,000 (2.0% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 251 per sq mi

Languages: Bahasa Indonesian, Javanese

Ethnic Groups: Malay, Chinese, Irianese

Religions: Islam 87%, Christian 10%, Hindu 3%

Literacy: 64%

Life Expectancy: 51.4 years

Gross National Product: \$59 billion

Per Capita Income: \$330

Defense Spending: 2.4% of govt budget

Major Industries: Petroleum, textiles, mining, cement, timber

Major Exports: Petroleum, liquefied natural gas, timber, rubber, coffee, copper, tea

Defense Structure: The President is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. The Minister of Defense and Security is responsible to him. A Cabinet Presidium, chaired by the Minister of Defense and Security, is responsible for formulating defense policies.

History: Hindu and Buddhist civilization from India reached the peoples of Indonesia nearly 2,000 years ago, especially taking root in Java. Islam spread along the maritime trade routes in the fifteenth century and became predominant by the sixteenth century. The Dutch replaced the Portuguese as the most important European trade power in the area in the seventeenth century. They secured territorial control over Java by 1850. The outer islands were finally subdued in the early twentieth century when the full area of present day Indonesia was united under one rule for the first time in history. Following Japanese occupation, 1942-45, nationalists led by Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed a republic. The Netherlands ceded sovereignty 27 December 1949 after 4 years of fighting. Sukarno suspended parliament in 1960 and was named president for life in 1963. Russian armed Indonesian troops staged raids in 1964 and 1965 into Malaysia, whose formation Sukarno had opposed. Indonesia's popular, pro-Peking communist party tried to seize control in 1965. The army smashed the coup. Indonesia and Malaysia signed an agreement ending hostilities in 1966. General Suharto, head of the army, was named president for

5 years in 1968 and reelected in 1973, 1978 and 1983. The military maintains a predominant political role.

JAPAN

Area: 147,470 sq mi, slightly smaller than California

Capital: Tokyo (8,354,615)

Type Government: Parliamentary democracy

Population: 123,200 (.5% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 857 per sq mi

Language: Japanese

Ethnic Groups: Japanese 99.4%, Korean 0.5%

Religions: Buddhist, Shinto

Literacy: 99%

Life Expectancy: 73 years

Gross National Product: \$2.644 billion

Per Capita Income: \$21,820 Defense Spending: 1.1% of GNP

Major Industries: Autos, metallurgy, engineering, textiles, chemicals

Major Exports: Motor vehicles, metals, chemicals, textiles

Defense Structure: The Prime Minister exercises supreme civilian authority over the armed forces which are called the Self-Defense Force. Control is exercised through the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA), which comes directly under his control. The Director of the JDA functions as the Minister of Defense.

History: According to Japanese legend, the empire was founded by Emperor Jimmu, 660 BC. Chinese influence was strong in the formation of Japanese civilization. Buddhism was introduced before the sixth century. A feudal system, with locally powerful noble families and their samurai warriors, dominated from 1192. Central power was held by successive families of shoguns (military dictators) from 1192 until recovered by Emperor Meiji in 1868. Japan fought China in 1894-95 and gained Taiwan. After war with Russia in 1904-05, Japan gained the south half of Sakhalin and parts of China. Japan annexed Korea in 1910, took Manchuria in 1931, and started a war with China in 1932. Japan launched war against the US by attack on 7 December 1941 and surrendered 14 August 1945. In a new constitution announced 3 May 1947, Japan renounced the right to wage war, the Emperor gave up claims to divinity, and the Diet became the sole law-making authority. The US and 48 other non-communist nations signed a peace treaty and the US a bilateral defense agreement with Japan, in San Francisco 8 September 1951, restoring Japan's sovereignty as of 28 April 1952. Industrialization was begun in the late nineteenth century.

After World War II, Japan emerged as one of the most powerful economies in the world, and as a technology leader.

KIRIBATI

Area: 277 sq mi, slightly smaller than New York City

Capital: Tarawa (21,393)

Type Government: Democratic republic

Population: 67,638 (1.7% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 245 per sq mi

Languages: Gilbertese, English

Ethnic Groups: Micronesian, Polynesian

Religions: Catholic 48%, Protestant 45%

Literacy: 90% Life Expectancy: 57 years

Gross National Product: \$20 million

Per Capita Income: \$310 Defense Spending: \$0

Defense Structure: The UK provides defense.

Major Industries: Fishing

Major Exports: Copra, fish

History: The first Europeans to sight the islands were Spanish navigators in the 1500s and 1600s. The first settlers in 1837 were deserters from European whaling ships. From the 1850s to the 1870s trading ships visited the islands, kidnapping islanders to work as laborers on plantations elsewhere in the South Pacific. Christianity was brought to the islands by American missionaries in 1857. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands were made a British protectorate in 1892. They became a colony in 1916. The colony was completed with the inclusion of the Phoenix Islands in 1937 and granted self-rule in 1971. The Ellice Islands separated from the colony in 1975 and became independent Tuvalu in 1978. Kiribati became independent 12 July 1979. Under a September 1979 Treaty of Friendship, the US relinquished its claim to several of the Line and Phoenix islands, including Christmas, Canton, and Enderbury. Tarawa Atoll was the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting in the Pacific during World War II.

KOREA

Area: 38,211 sq mi, slightly larger than Indiana

Capital: Seoul (9,900,000)

Type Government: Republic, power centralized in strong executive

Population: 43,200,000 (3% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 133 per sq mi

Language: Korean

Ethnic Group: Korean

Religions: Buddhist 19%, Confucian, Christian

Literacy: 95%

Life Expectancy: 68 years

Gross National Product: \$118 billion

Per Capita Income: \$2,800

Defense Spending: 5.2% of GNP

Major Industries: Textiles, electronics, ship building, automobile production

Major Exports: Textiles, footwear, steel, ships, automobiles

Defense Structure: The President is overall commander of the armed forces and Chairman of the National Security Council (NSC). The NSC includes the Minister for National Defense and the Director of the National Security Planning Agency. The Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff controls the armed forces and reports directly to the Minister for National Defense.

History: Korea, once called the Hermit Kingdom, has a recorded history since the first century BC. It was united in a kingdom under the Silla dynasty in 668 AD. It was at times associated with the Chinese empire. The treaty that concluded the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 recognized Korea's complete independence. In 1910, Japan forcibly annexed Korea. At the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, the 38th parallel was designated as the line dividing the Soviet and American occupation. Russian troops entered Korea 10 August 1945. US troops entered Korea 8 September 1945. The Soviet military organized socialists and communists and blocked efforts to let the Koreans unite their country. The South Koreans formed the Republic of Korea in May 1948. Dr Syngman Rhee was chosen president but a movement spearheaded by students forced his resignation 26 April 1960. In an army coup 16 May 1961, General Park Chung Hee became chairman of the ruling junta. He was elected president in 1963. A 1972 referendum allowed him to be reelected to 6-year terms an unlimited number of times. Park was assassinated by the chief of

the Korean CIA in October 1979. In July 1972, North and South Korea agreed on a common goal of reunifying the two nations by peaceful means but relations remain strained.

MADAGASCAR

Area: 228,880 sq mi, slightly smaller than Texas

Capital: Antananarivo

Type Government: Republic

Population: 9,645,000

Population Density: 42 per sq mi

Languages: Malagasy, French

Ethnic Groups: 18 Malayan-Indonesian tribes, Arab, African

Religions: Christian 51%, Animist 47%, Islam 2%

Literacy: 53%

Life Expectancy: 46 years

Gross National Product: \$2.7 billion

Per Capita Income: \$279
budget

Defense Spending: 10% of govt

Defense Structure: The head of the Supreme Revolutionary Council is the commander of the armed forces. Overall defense authority is vested in the Military Development Committee.

History: Madagascar was settled 2,000 years ago by Malayan-Indonesian people whose descendants still predominate. A unified kingdom ruled during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The island became a French protectorate in 1885 and a colony in 1896. Independence came on 26 June 1960. Discontent with inflation and French domination led to a coup in 1972. The new regime nationalized French owned financial interests, closed French bases and a US space tracking station, and obtained Chinese aid. The government conducted a program of arrests, expulsion of foreigners, and repression of strikes in 1979.

MALDIVES

Area: 115 sq mi, twice the size of Washington DC

Capital: Male (53,800)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 200,000 (3.7% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 1,822 per sq mi

Language: Divehi

Ethnic Groups: Sinhalese, Dravidian, Arab

Religion: Sunni Islam

Literacy: 94%

Life Expectancy: 46.5 years

Gross National Product: \$68.3 million

Per Capita Income: \$440

Defense Spending: \$0

Major Industries: Fishing, tourism

Major Exports: Fish, shells, clothing

Defense Structure: There are no formal armed forces.

History: The islands were ruled as a sultanate by members of the Didi clan from about 1100 until 1968. Arab traders visited in 1153 and converted the people to Islam. In the 1600s the Maldives came under the protection of Sri Lanka, then under Dutch rule. The islands became a British protectorate in 1867 and independent on 26 July 1965. Long a sultanate, the Maldives became a republic in 1968.

NEPAL

Area: 56,136 sq mi, the size of North Carolina

Capital: Kathmandu (400,000)

Type Government: Constitutional monarchy

Population: 18,700,000 (2.5% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 344 per sq mi

Language: Nepali

Ethnic Groups: Descendants of Indian, Tibetan, and Central Asian migrants

Religions: Hindu 90%, Buddhist 5%, Islam 3%

Literacy: 23%

Life Expectancy: 44 years

Gross National Product: \$2.4 billion

Per Capita Income: \$180

Defense Spending: 1.07% of govt budget

Major Industries: Oilseed, sugar, jute, rice, matches, cigarettes, bricks

Major Exports: Rice, jute, timber

Defense Structure: The King is the commander in chief of the armed forces. The Minister of Defense exercises command and control over the armed forces.

History: Nepal was originally a group of petty principalities. The inhabitants of one, the Gurkhas, became dominant about 1769. Wars with Tibet and China, 1791-92, and with British India, 1814-16, set its present boundaries. The Gurkha rulers were reduced to figureheads in 1847 by the Ranas. In 1951 King Tribhubana Bir Bikram, a member of the Shah family, ended the system of rule by hereditary premiers of the Ranas family, who had kept the kings virtual prisoners, and established a cabinet system of government. Virtually closed to the outside world for centuries, Nepal is now linked to India and Pakistan by roads and air service and to Tibet by road.

NEW ZEALAND

Area: 103,883 sq mi, the size of Colorado

Capital: Wellington (829,000)

Type Government: Parliamentary democracy

Population: 3,347,000 (.8% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 33 per sq mi

Languages: English, Maori

Ethnic Groups: European 85%, Polynesian 8.9%

Religions: Anglican 26%, Presbyterian 17%, Roman Catholic 14%

Literacy: 99.5%

Life Expectancy: 70.6 years

Gross National Product: \$38.5 billion

Per Capita Income: \$1,150

Defense Spending: 2.1% of GNP

Major Industries: Food processing, wood and paper, textiles, banking and insurance

Major Exports: Meat, wool, dairy products, forest products, aluminum and alloys

Defense Structure: The Governor General, appointed by the Crown, is nominally the commander in chief of the armed forces. He acts as the representative of the Crown. Executive power is vested in the Prime Minister who exercises authority over the armed forces. The main responsibility for defense matters lies with the Minister of Defense within the Cabinet. He is also Chairman of the Defense Council and directs both the administration and command of the armed forces.

History: The Maoris, a polynesian group from the eastern Pacific, reached New Zealand before the fourteenth century. The first European to sight New Zealand was Dutch navigator Abel Janszoon Tasman, but Maoris refused to allow him to land. British Captain James Cook explored the coasts in 1769-70. British sovereignty was proclaimed in 1840 and organized settlement began. Representative institutions were granted in 1857. Maori Wars ended in 1870 with British victory. The colony became a dominion in 1907 and is an independent member of the Commonwealth. New Zealand fought on the side of the Allies in both world wars and signed the ANZUS Treaty of Mutual Security with the US and Australia in 1951. New Zealand's refusal to allow US ships with nuclear weapons to use their port facilities caused a strain on the ANZUS alliance in 1985. New Zealand joined with Australia and Britain in a pact to defend Singapore and Malaysia. New Zealand

units are currently stationed in those countries. A labor tradition in politics dates back to the nineteenth century. Private ownership is basic to the economy, but state ownership or regulation affects many industries.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Area: 178,704 sq mi, slightly larger than California

Capital: Port Moresby

Type Government: Parliamentary democracy

Population: 3,900,000 (2.7% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 22 per sq mi

Languages: Melanesian, Pidgin, Police Motu, English

Ethnic Groups: Papuan, Melanesian, Pygmie

Religions: Protestant 63%, Roman Catholic 31%

Literacy: 32%

Life Expectancy: 49 years

Gross National Product: \$2.4 billion

Per Capita Income: \$700

Defense Spending: 1.5% of GNP

Major Industries: Saw milling, copper mining, fish canning

Major Exports: Gold, copper, coffee, palm oil, logs, cocoa

Defense Structure: Australia is assisting the country with defense. A well organized army exists in the form of the Pacific Islands Regiment and a fledgling navy.

History: Human remains have been found in the interior of New Guinea dating back at least 10,000 years and possibly much earlier. Successive waves of people probably entered the country from Asia through Indonesia. Europeans visited in the fifteenth century, but land claims did not begin until the nineteenth century when the Dutch took control of the western half of the island. The southern half of eastern New Guinea was first claimed by Britain in 1884 and transferred to Australia in 1905. The northern half was claimed by Germany in 1884 but captured by Australia in World War II. Australia was granted a League of Nations mandate and then a UN trusteeship over the area. The two territories were administered jointly after 1949, given self-government on 1 December 1973, and became independent on 16 September 1975. The indigenous population consists of a huge number of tribes, many living in almost complete isolation with mutually unintelligible languages.

PHILIPPINES

Area: 115,831 sq mi, slightly larger than Nevada

Capital: Manila (1,728,400)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 64,900,000 (2.8% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 560 per sq mi

Language: Filipino, English, Spanish

Ethnic Groups: Malay 90%, Chinese, American, Spanish

Religions: Roman Catholic 85%, Protestant 3%, Islam 4%

Literacy: 88%

Life Expectancy: 63 years

Gross National Product: \$33.1 billion

Per Capita Income: \$540

Defense Spending: 1.7% of GNP

Major Industries: Textiles, wood products, electronics assembly

Major Exports: Sugar, lumber, copper, bananas, garments, nickel, electronic components

Defense Structure: The President is the de facto commander in chief of the armed forces and exercises authority through a Security of National Defense. The Armed Forces Chief of Staff, who is the senior military officer, exercises military command functions over the three services.

History: The Malay peoples of the Philippine islands, whose ancestors probably migrated from Southeast Asia, were mainly fishermen and farmers when first visited by Europeans. The archipelago was visited by Magellan in 1521. The islands, named for King Philip II of Spain, were ceded by Spain to the US for \$20 million in 1898, following the Spanish-American War. Japan attacked the Philippines on 8 December 1941 and occupied the islands during World War II. On 4 July 1946, independence was proclaimed in accordance with a law passed by the US. Ferdinand E. Marcos became President on 30 December 1965. Marcos declared martial law on 21 September 1972. Ruling by decree, he ordered some land reform and stabilized prices. Opposition was suppressed and high population growth rate aggravated poverty and unemployment. Political corruption was believed to be widespread. On 17 January 1973, Marcos proclaimed a new constitution with himself as president. Martial law was lifted 17 January 1981. The assassination of opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr., 21 August 1983, sparked demonstrations calling for Marcos' resignation. An independent commission appointed by Marcos

concluded a military conspiracy was responsible for Aquino's death. The May 1984 elections saw Marcos retain his majority in the National Assembly. On 26 February 1986, following civil unrest resulting from election irregularities and a mutiny within the armed forces, Marcos fled the country. Mrs Corazon Aquino became President.

SINGAPORE

Area: 239 sq mi, smaller than New York City

Capital: Singapore (2,600,000)

Type Government: Parliamentary democracy

Population: 2,700,000 (1.2% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 11,972 per sq mi

Languages: Chinese, Malay, Tamil, English

Ethnic Groups: Chinese 77%, Malay 15%, Indian 6%

Religions: Buddhist, Islam, Hindu, Christian

Literacy: 86% Life Expectancy: 69 years

Gross National Product: \$39.2 billion

Per Capita Income: \$14,435 Defense Spending: 6% of GNP

Major Industries: Rubber processing, electronics, food processing, ship repair

Major Exports: Machinery, manufactured goods, rubber, electronics

Defense structure: The President is commander in chief of the armed forces but his role is largely ceremonial. Major issues are handled by the Minister of Defense who is responsible to the Cabinet and Parliament. The services have separate structures but the Minister of Defense exercises command and control.

History: The earliest known colonizers of Singapore were Sumatrans in the 1000s. Singapore became a Dutch colony in the 1700s. In 1819 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles set up a British trading station. Five years later Britain bought the land from the Dutch and it became a British colony. Singapore was an important British naval base before World War II. In 1941 Japanese forces seized the city after a fierce battle. It was a British colony until 1959 when it became autonomous with the Commonwealth. On 16 September 1963 it joined with Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah to form the Federation of Malaysia. Tensions between Malaysians, dominant in the federation, and ethnic Chinese, dominant in Singapore, led to an agreement under which Singapore became a separate nation on 9 August 1965. Singapore is one of the world's leading ports.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Area: 10,640 sq mi, slightly larger than Maryland

Capital: Honiara (30,499)

Type Government: Parliamentary democracy

Population: 312,196 (3.6% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 24.3 per sq mi

Languages: English, Pidgin

Ethnic Groups: Melanesian 93%, Polynesian 4%

Religions: Anglican 34%, Evangelical 25%, Roman Catholic 19%

Literacy: 60% Life Expectancy: 57 years

Gross National Product: \$115 million

Per Capita Income: \$386 Defense Spending: \$0

Major Industries: Fish canning

Major Exports: Fish, timber, shells, copra, palm oil

Defense Structure: Defense is the responsibility of the UK.

History: Melanesians, possibly from Malaysia, settled the islands centuries ago. The first European to find the islands was Spaniard Alvaro de Mendana in 1568. Britain established a protectorate in the 1890s over most of the group inhabited by the Melanesians. The islands saw major World War II battles. The Japanese captured the islands in May-July 1942. The US began its counteroffensive in the South Pacific with the landing of marines on Guadalcanal on 8 August 1942. Fighting in the Solomons continued until late 1943 when the Japanese finally pulled out. Self-government came on 2 January 1976 and Britain granted independence on 7 July 1978.

SRI LANKA

Area: 25,332 sq mi, slightly larger than West Virginia

Capital: Colombo (664,000)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 16,900,000 (1.6% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 666 per sq mi

Languages: Sinhala, Tamil, English

Ethnic Groups: Sinhalese 75%, Tamil 18%, Moor 7%

Religions: Buddhist 69%, Hindu 15%, Christian 8%, Islam 8%

Literacy: 87%

Life Expectancy: 68 years

Gross National Product: \$7.1 billion

Per Capita Income: \$430

Defense Spending: 2.72% of govt budget

Major Industries: Rubber processing, consumer goods, garments, tea processing

Major Exports: Tea, rubber, textiles, gems, marine products

Defense Structure: The UK provides external defense. The country's present armed forces are only adequate for internal security and limited patrol of the coast.

History: The island was known to the ancient world as Taprobane and later as Serendip. Colonists from northern India subdued the indigenous Veddah's about 543 BC. Their descendants, the Buddhist Sinhalese, still form most of the population. Hindu descendants of Tamil immigrants from southern India account for one-fifth of the population. Parts were occupied by the Portuguese in 1505 and by the Dutch in 1658. The British seized the island in 1796. As Ceylon it became an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1948. On 22 May 1972, Ceylon became the Republic of Sri Lanka. Prime Minister W. R. D. Bandaranaike was assassinated 25 September 1959. In new elections, the Freedom Party was victorious under Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of the former prime minister. In April 1962 the government expropriated British and US oil companies. In March 1965 elections, the conservative United National Party won. The new government agreed to pay compensation for the seized oil companies. After May 1970 elections, Mrs Bandaranaike became prime minister again. In 1971 the nation suffered economic problems and terrorist activities by ultra-leftists, thousands of whom were executed. Massive land reform and nationalization of foreign-owned plantations was

undertaken in the mid-1970s. Mrs Bandaranaike was ousted in 1977 elections by the United Nationals. A presidential form of government was installed in 1978 to restore stability.

TAIWAN

Area: 13,814 sq mi, the size of Maryland and Delaware combined

Capital: Taipei (2,507,620)

Type Government: One-Party system

Population: 20,000,000 (1.1% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 1,604 per sq mi

Language: Mandarin Chinese

Ethnic Group: Han Chinese 98%

Religions: Buddhist 43%, Confucian 49%, Christian 7%

Literacy: 92% **Life Expectancy:** 69.6 years

Gross National Product: \$72.8 billion

Per Capita Income: \$3,750 **Defense Spending:** 8.4% of GNP

Major Industries: Textiles, chemicals, electronics, plywood, ship building

Major Exports: Textile, electronics, telecommunications equipment, metals, plywood

Defense Structure: The President of the Republic is responsible for defense matters and is nominally commander in chief of the armed forces. The Ministry of Defense takes day-to-day responsibility for central administration. The system is structured similar to the US. The Chief of the General Staff acts as Chief of Staff to the President for operational matters and to the Ministry of Defense for administrative matters.

History: Chinese immigration began as early as 618. In 1628 Dutch forces defeated the Spaniards for control of Taiwan. It was administered as part of China after the Manchu conquest in 1683. Taiwan (also called Formosa) was ruled by Japan from 1895-1945. Japan surrendered Taiwan to China in 1945 following World War II. In 1949, the advancing communist forces of Mao Tse-tung forced President Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government to flee mainland China to Taiwan. Two million Kuomintang supporters fled. Both the Taipei and Beijing governments consider Taiwan an integral part of China. Taiwan has resisted Beijing's efforts at reunification. The US, upon its recognition of the People's Republic of China on 15 December 1978, severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan. It maintains the unofficial American Institute in Taiwan while Taiwan has established the Coordination Council for North American Affairs in Washington DC. Land reform, government planning, US aid and investment, and free universal

education have brought huge advances in industry, agriculture, and mass living standards.

THAILAND

Area: 198,500 sq mi, about the size of Texas

Capital: Bangkok (5,174,682)

Type Government: Constitutional monarchy

Population: 55,600,000 (1.7% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 280 per sq mi

Languages: Thai, Chinese

Ethnic Groups: Thai 75%, Chinese 14%

Religions: Buddhist 95%, Islam 4%

Literacy: 85.5%

Life Expectancy: 59.5 years

Gross National Product: \$53 billion

Per Capita Income: \$950

Defense Spending: 4.54% of GNP

Major Industries: Agricultural processing, textiles, wood, tin mining, light industries

Major Exports: Rice, sugar, rubber, tin, tapioca, textiles, integrated circuits, gems

Defense Structure: The President retains responsibility as the nominal commander of the armed forces. He acts through the Prime Minister and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

History: Thais began migrating from southern China in the eleventh century. Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia never taken over by a European power, thanks to King Mongkut and his son King Chulalongkorn who ruled from 1851-1910. King Chulalongkorn modernized the country and signed trade treaties with both Britain and France. A bloodless revolution in 1932 limited the monarchy. Japan occupied the country in 1941. After the war, Thailand followed a pro-western foreign policy. Some 11,000 Thai troops fought in South Vietnam but were withdrawn by 1972. The military took over the government in a bloody 1976 coup. Kriangsak Chomanan, prime minister since a 1977 military coup, resigned February 1980 under opposition to soaring inflation, oil price increases, labor unrest, and growing crime. General Prem Tinsulanonda succeeded Kriangsak. In what became known as the "April Fool's coup," army generals seized control of Bangkok on 1-3 April 1981, in an attempt to overthrow Prime Minister Prem. The royal family fled the capital with Prem and broadcast appeals in his behalf. The rebel officers then surrendered and were later pardoned. An election was held in 1983 and no party won a majority. Prem remained in power heading a

coalition government. Vietnamese troops crossed the border and were repulsed by Thai forces in the 1980s.

VANUATU

Area: 4,707 sq mi, slightly smaller than Connecticut

Capital: Port Vila (15,100)

Type Government: Republic

Population: 200,000 (3.2% Annual Growth)

Population Density: 28 per sq mi

Languages: Bislama, English, French

Ethnic Groups: Melanesian 92%, Polynesian, Micronesian, European

Religions: Presbyterian 47%, Catholic 15%, Animist 9%

Literacy: 15% **Life Expectancy:** not available

Gross National Product: \$84 million

Per Capita Income: \$580 **Defense Spending:** \$0

Major Industries: Fish-freezing, tourism

Major Exports: Copra, frozen fish, meat

Defense Structure: There are no formal armed forces.

History: The islands were discovered by Portuguese explorer Pedro Fernandes de Queiros in 1606. British explorer Captain James Cook gave the islands the name New Hebrides in 1774. French and British traders and missionaries settled in the islands during the early 1800s. The Anglo-French condominium of New Hebrides, administered jointly by France and Great Britain, was established in 1906. The US constructed a huge air and naval base on the main island of Esperitu Santo that was used as a staging area for the invasions of Japanese-held Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and other south Pacific islands during World War II. James Michener based his novel "Tales of the South Pacific" on his experiences while on this island. An appointed advisory council, including French and British resident commissioners, controlled the local government from 1957-75. The advisory council was replaced by an elected assembly in 1976. France and Britain granted Vanuatu independence on 30 July 1980. One of the first acts of the new government was to ask a force of 200 British and French troops to temporarily remain in occupation of the island of Esperitu Santo. A group of rebels armed with bows and arrows threatened to secede from Vanuatu as the separate nation of Vemarana. The British and French troops were replaced by 150 soldiers from Papua New Guinea in mid-August. The rebellion was quelled on 31 August 1980.

APPENDIX

B

REGIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY
AGREEMENTS

ANZUS Pact

THE PACIFIC SECURITY TREATY

Signed 1 September 1951 in San Francisco, CA

The ANZUS Pact derives its name from the initials of the three signatory countries: Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. It came into force on 29 April 1952. The text of the treaty follows:

Preamble

The parties to this treaty: reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific area; noting that the United States has already arrangements pursuant to which its armed forces are stationed in the Philippines, and has armed forces and administrative responsibilities in the Ryukyus, and, upon the coming into force of the Japanese peace treaty, may also station armed forces in and about Japan to assist in the preservation of peace and security in the Japan area; recognizing that Australia and New Zealand, as members of the Commonwealth of Nations, have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific area; desiring to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that any of them stand alone in the Pacific area; and desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and collective security pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific area; declare and agree as follows:

Article 1

The parties undertook, in conformity with the UN Charter, to settle by peaceful means any international disputes in which they might be involved, and to refrain in their international relations from the use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN.

Article 2

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of the treaty, the parties would maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack "by means of continuous self-help and mutual aid."

Article 3

The parties would consult together when, in the opinion of any

one of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of them was threatened in the Pacific.

Article 4

"Each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the other parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety, and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." Any such attack, and all measures taken as a result of such attack, would be reported to the UN Security Council. Such measures would be terminated when the Security Council had taken the necessary steps to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article 5

For the purpose of Article 4, an armed attack on any of the three countries would be deemed to include "an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific, or on its armed forces, vessels or aircraft in the Pacific."

Article 6

The treaty would not affect the rights and obligations of the three countries under the UN Charter, or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 7

The three countries would establish a Council, consisting of their Foreign Ministers or deputies, to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty. The Council would be organized so as to be able to meet at any time.

Article 8

Pending the development of a more comprehensive regional security system in the Pacific, and the development by the UN of more effective means to maintain international peace and security, the Council, established under Article 7, would maintain a consultative relationship with states, regional organizations, associations of states, and other authorities in the Pacific area which were in a position to further the purpose of the treaty and contribute to the security of the area.

Article 9

The treaty would be ratified by the three countries in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Instruments of ratification would be deposited with the Australian Government, and the treaty would enter into force as soon as the ratification of the signatories had been deposited.

Article 10

The treaty would remain in force indefinitely. Any party to the treaty could cease to be a member of the Council established under Article 7 one year after notification to the Australian Government.

Article 11

The treaty, drawn up in the English language, would be deposited in the archives of the Australian Government, which would make copies available to the other signatories.

ORGANIZATION

The Pacific Council

The organ of the ANZUS pact is the Council, known as the Pacific Council, set up under Article 7 of the treaty. It is composed of the Foreign Ministers (or their deputies) of the signatory powers. The Foreign Ministers generally meet once a year, but special Council meetings, attended by the deputies, are held in Washington more frequently. The Council has no permanent staff or funds.

Military Representatives

At the first meeting of the Pacific Council, held in Honolulu on 4-6 August 1952, it was decided to create a military organization. In this organization each of the three signatory countries is represented by a military officer, who attends Council meetings. The military representatives also hold their own meetings from time to time as required by circumstances. Their function is to advise the Council on military cooperation in the Pacific.

ANZUS DECISION ON AFGHANISTAN, 1980

Following the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, it was agreed at a meeting of the UN Secretary of State and the Foreign Ministers of Australia and New Zealand on 27-28 February 1980, to support "the restoration of a truly non-aligned and neutral government in Afghanistan, responsive to the wishes of the Afghan people." It was also agreed that Australia would deploy an aircraft carrier and a task force in the Indian Ocean; that New Zealand would

provide air and naval support; and that the US would increase maritime surveillance, anti-submarine patrolling, and military aid to countries in the region.

SOUTH EAST ASIA COLLECTIVE DEFENSE TREATY

THE MANILA PACT

Signed 8 September 1954 in Manila, PI

The South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty came into force on 9 February 1955. The treaty was concluded by the Governments of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. They also agreed on the establishment of a South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to be headed by the Council provided for in Article 5 of the treaty. This organization was, however, dissolved 30 June 1977 because Pakistan left it in 1972 and France withdrew financial support to it in 1974 after ceasing its participation in the organization's military activities in 1967. In addition, the United States, the Philippines and Thailand had improved their relations with the People's Republic of China. The treaty nevertheless remained in force. It was accompanied by (i) a unilateral US declaration in the form of an "understanding" that the pact was directed against communist aggression; (ii) a protocol on Indo-China; and (iii) the "Pacific Charter", a general statement of principles, signed by all the eight contracting parties. The texts of these documents follow:

Preamble

The parties of this treaty: recognizing the sovereign equality of all the parties; retaining their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the UN Charter, and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and governments; reaffirming that, in accordance with the UN Charter, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire and are able to undertake its responsibilities; intending to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the parties stand together in the area; and desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservative of peace and security, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The parties undertake, as set forth in the UN Charter, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by

peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the UN.

Article 2

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive acts from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article 3

The parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

Article 4

(1) Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties, or against any state or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will, in the event, act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the UN Security Council.

(2) If, in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the treaty area, or of any other state or territory to which the provisions of Paragraph (1) of this article from time to time apply, is threatened in any way other than by armed attack, or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense.

(3) It is understood that no action on the territory of any state designated by unanimous agreement under Paragraph (1) of this article, or any territory so designated, shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned.

Article 5

The parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them

shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this treaty. The Council shall provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the treaty area may from time to time require. The Council shall be organized so as to be able to meet at any time.

Article 6

This treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way, the rights and obligations of any of the parties under the UN Charter or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Each party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the parties, or any third party, is in conflict with the provisions of this treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with the treaty.

Article 7

Any other state in a position to further the objectives of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the area may, by unanimous agreement of the parties, be invited to accede to this treaty. Any state so invited may become a party to the treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Philippine Government.

Article 8

The treaty area is the general area of South East Asia, including also the entire territories of the Asian parties, and the general area of the South West Pacific, not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The parties may, by unanimous agreement, amend this article to include the territory of any state acceding to this treaty in accordance with Article 7, or otherwise to change the treaty area.

Article 9

(1) This treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the Philippine Government. Copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other signatories.

(2) The treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Philippine Government, which shall notify all the other signatories of such deposit.

(3) The treaty shall enter into force between the states which have ratified it as soon as the instruments of ratification of a majority of signatories shall have been deposited, and shall come into effect with respect to each other state on the date of

deposit of its instrument of ratification.

Article 10

The treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but any party may cease to be a party 1 year after notice of denunciation has been given to the Philippine Government, which shall inform the governments of the other parties of each notice of denunciation.

Article 11

The English text of this treaty is binding on the parties, but when the parties have agreed to the French text thereof and have so notified the Philippine Government, the French text shall be equally authentic and binding.

US UNDERSTANDING

The delegate of the United States of America, in signing the present treaty, does so with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack, and its agreement with reference thereto in Article 4, Paragraph (1), apply only to communist aggression, but affirms that in the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult under the provisions of Article 4, Paragraph (2).

PROTOCOL ON INDO-CHINA

Designations of states and territory as to which the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 are to be applicable. The parties to the South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty unanimously designate for the purposes of Article 4 of the treaty the States of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam.

The parties further agree that the above-mentioned states and territory shall be eligible in respect of the economic measures contemplated by Article 3. This protocol shall come into force simultaneously with the coming into force of the treaty.

THE PACIFIC CHARTER

The delegates, desiring to establish a firm basis for common action to maintain peace and security in South East Asia and the South West Pacific, and convinced that common action to this end, in order to be worthy and effective, must be inspired by the highest principles of justice and liberty, do hereby proclaim:

(1) In accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.

(2) They are each prepared to continue taking effective practical measures to ensure conditions favourable to the orderly achievement of the foregoing purposes in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

(3) They will continue to cooperate in the economic, social, and cultural fields in order to promote higher living standards, economic progress and social well-being in this region.

(4) As decreed in the South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty, they are determined to prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the treaty area to subvert freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity.

BILATERAL MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATIES

The mutual defense treaties concluded by the United States in the Pacific area are all similar in both content and wording. In each, the parties undertook to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means; to consult together at the threat of or in the event of an external armed attack and to maintain and develop means to deter such an attack. The parties recognize that an armed attack on either would be dangerous to the peace and security of both, and declare their readiness to act to meet the common danger. The full text of the mutual security treaty between the US and the Republic of Korea follows as an example:

US-Republic of Korea

MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY

Signed 1 October 1951 in Washington, DC

Preamble

The parties to this treaty, reaffirming their desire to live in peace with all peoples and governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific area, to declare publicly and formally their common determination to defend themselves against external armed attack so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that either of them stands

alone in the Pacific area, and to strengthen their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive and effective system of regional security in the Pacific area, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The parties undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means...and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, or the obligations assumed by any party towards the UN.

Article 2

The parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of either of them, the political independence or security of either of the parties is threatened by external armed attack. Separately and jointly, by self-help and mutual aid, the parties will maintain and develop appropriate means to deter armed attack, and will take suitable measures in consultation and agreement to implement this treaty and further its purposes.

Article 3

Each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the parties in territories now under their respective administrative control, or hereafter recognized by one of the parties as lawfully brought under the administrative control of the other, would be dangerous to its own peace and safety, and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Article 4

The Republic of Korea grants, and the United States accepts, the right to dispose US land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea as determined by mutual agreement.

Article 5

This treaty shall be ratified by the Republic of Korea and the United States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, and will come into force when instruments of ratification have been exchanged.

Article 6

The treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Either party may terminate it 1 year after notice has been given to the other

party.

The next few pages contain key provisions of our mutual defense treaties with the Philippines and Japan.

US-Philippines

MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY

Signed 30 August 1951 in Washington, DC

The treaty, intended to reinforce the Pacific security arrangements embodied in the ANZUS pact, entered into force on 27 August 1952. In this treaty it was stated that an armed attack would be deemed to include "an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of either of the parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific, or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific."

AGREEMENTS ON MILITARY BASES

An agreement was signed in Manila on 14 March 1947 by representatives of the US and the Philippines providing for the establishment, for a 99-year period, of 23 American military, naval and air bases in the Philippines. Under the agreement, which came into force on 26 March 1947, certain military bases, established before the Philippines' proclamation of independence in July 1946, would be maintained by the US, while others would pass to the control of the Philippine Government.

In July 1956 the United States affirmed its recognition of the Philippine Government's sovereignty over all US bases on Philippine territory. The agreement on military bases was revised by a memorandum signed on 12 October 1959. Among the decisions embodied in the memorandum were the shortening of the leases granted to the US for military bases from 99 years to 25 years from 12 October 1959, and an agreement that the US Government would consult with the Philippine Government on the operational use of the bases, and before setting up long-range missile sites at American bases.

Under a further agreement signed on 6 January 1979, the US was allowed continued use of the Clark Field Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base (as well as two associated facilities for a further 5 years and was assured "unhampered military operations involving its forces in the Philippines." At the same time the principle of Philippine sovereignty over the bases was reaffirmed; Filipino commanders were to be appointed to the bases (which was

done on 16 February 1979); the land area of the bases was greatly reduced; and the agreement was to be reviewed every 5 years. Under the agreement the US Government undertook to exert its "best efforts" to obtain congressional approval for \$500 million over the next 5 years--\$300 million in military assistance and sales credits to the Philippines and \$200 million in "economic support" assistance--and for granting extra development aid of a further \$500 million.

US-Japan

TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY

Signed 19 January 1960 in San Francisco, CA

The treaty was entered into force on 23 June 1960. The treaty, which was concluded after some 18 months of negotiations, replaced the US-Japanese defense pact signed in San Francisco on 8 September 1951.

Under the 1951 treaty the United States had the right to dispose land, air and sea forces in and about Japan, and to use those forces, at the request of the Japanese Government, "to put down the large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power of powers". The treaty also stated that Japan would not grant, without the prior consent of the United States, any bases, or the right of garrison, or transit of forces, to any third power.

Under the new treaty Japan was no longer treated as the weaker partner, but was placed on an equal footing with the United States.

TREATY PROVISIONS

The most important of the provisions peculiar to this treaty are contained in Articles 2, 6, and 10:

Article 2

The parties will contribute towards the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and encourage economic collaboration between them.

Article 6

For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan. The use of these facilities and areas, as well as the status of US armed forces in Japan, shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the administrative agreement under Article II of the Security Treaty between the US and Japan signed at Tokyo on 28 February 1952, on arrangements for the implementation of the 1951 defense pact.

Article 10

This treaty shall remain in force until, in the opinion of the Governments of the United States and Japan, there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area. However, after the treaty has been in force for 10 years, either party may give notice to the other party of its intention to terminate the treaty, in which case the treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

CLARIFICATION

The treaty was clarified by an exchange of notes. In one of the notes the United States agreed to prior consultation with the Japanese Government over (i) any envisage increase in its forces in Japan; (ii) any essential change in methods of arming and equipping forces (e.g. nuclear weapons); and (iii) the use of Japanese bases for any action outside the treaty area. The treaty area was defined as the territory under Japanese rule at any time. The parties also agreed to consult together in the event of an armed attack or threat of attack against the islands over which Japan claimed residual sovereignty. The principal islands in question were the Ryukyu Islands, the Bonin Islands, Volcano Island and Marcus Island.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

On the expiration of the first 10 years of the treaty's currency (on which either party could give notice of its intention to terminate the treaty) Japan explicitly, on 22 June 1970, confirmed its intention of continuing to adhere to the treaty.

On 21 December 1970, it was announced that during 1971 the US would reduce its armed forces personnel to 28,000 and withdraw almost all its combat aircraft from Japan, and on 30 November 1977, the US military authorities returned to Japan the Tachikawa

Air Base (near Tokyo) held by US forces since September 1945.

President Ford confirmed on 6 August 1975, that the US would continue to uphold its treaty commitments in Asia and in particular those under the 1960 treaty with Japan "in the event of an armed attack against Japan, whether by nuclear or by conventional forces."

In 1976, a sub-committee for defense cooperation was established in Japan to study "modalities of US-Japanese cooperation, including its military aspects, for the effective attainment of the purposes of the security treaty."

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

ASEAN

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established 8 August 1967 to foster regional economic development. The initial member nations were Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. It is headquartered at Jakarta, Indonesia, Brunei joined ASEAN in 1984.

The 1967 declaration contained the following objectives: "In the preamble to the declaration, stress was laid on the importance of increased regional cooperation and of raising the standard of living in the contracting states. The declaration defined the objectives of ASEAN as being to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors; to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of the law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the UN Charter; and to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in matters of common interest, in particular for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, expansion of their trade and improvement of transportation and communications. The declaration also emphasized that all military bases of foreign powers existed only on a temporary basis and with the express consent of the countries concerned and could not be used for direct or indirect interference in the national independence and freedom of the region's states, or in their normal development."

ASEAN is currently concerned with Vietnamese presence in Cambodia because of the possible impact on regional peace and security.

SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM

The South Pacific Forum (SPF) was established in 1971 to provide a forum for its members to discuss problems of mutual

concern. SPF members include Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papu New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa. The first meeting was held 5-7 August 1971 at Suva, Fiji, headquarters for the SPF. Since its inception the SPF has established a South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation and endorsed the concept of a nuclear weapon free-zone in the South Pacific. The nuclear exclusion agreement did not restrict the movements of nuclear warships and submarines.

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