

# SPACE JAPAN BOOK REVIEW

From a satcom researcher point of view

Reviewer: Takashi Iida, Editorial Advisor

**Andrew F. Krepinevich and Barry D. Watts: "The Last Warrior Andrew Marshall and the Shaping of Modern American Defense Strategy", Basic Books, 2015.**

Because topic of research and development is considered to be within the defensive range of this column, the activities of the RAND Corporation was treated in this column of Space Japan Review of Dec./Jan. 2010/2011 issue [1][2]. At that time, it was found that RAND Corporation has the objective of not scattering the smartest brains under the support of the US Air Force after World War II ended, and of performing studies based on thinking method that the solution required for the threats on national security is to use rather science than diplomacy. It was also understood that the subtitle of the book "Rise of the American Empire" is why the RAND Corporation produced a lot of advanced theory, which are familiar to us today, including theory of games, MiniMax theorem, linear programming, prisoners' dilemma and packet switching. However, this book, picked up this time, describes that the RAND Corporation has seriously studied the war against Soviet Union in the middle of the Cold War that felt fear keenly. The "Rise of the American Empire" was found to mean that it studies the strategy for survival of the United States under the Cold War by making full use of science, and its result has been contributed to the actual national defense strategy including the human resources. I will introduce this book in my own way of interpretation with adding information around, although this book is included to exceed my understanding. The most of this review are based on Japanese translation version of this book.

This book describes the activities of the US Department of Defense (DOD) and Andrew Marshall, Director of the Office of Net Assessment (ONA). Andrew F. Krepinevich and Barry D. Watts, authors of this book are not a so-called journalist and have experience of career worked actually for many years in the ONA. Krepinevich is graduated from the US Military Academy (West Point) and he worked at ONA in 1989-1996 after 25 years of US Army service. He obtained Ph.D. from Harvard University, and was also a member of the DOD defense policy committee [3]. On the other hand, Watts is graduated from the US Air Force Academy in 1965, and worked at ONA in 1978-1981 and 1985-1996 [4].

This book is not Marshall's biography, and describes how the core idea and vision of the concept for the national security and defense strategy was developed. Marshall was born in 1921 and he became a member of the RAND Corporation after obtaining Masters degree of economics from University of Chicago in 1949. His prominent work performed for the 23 years of RAND Corporation era was an analysis in the framework of the long-term competition of the US-Soviet confrontation in nuclear forces. Such his research at the RAND Corporation has led to the establishment of the net assessment program in the DOD subsequently. He served as Director of ONA until his retirement in 2015.

So, in the first place what is the net assessment. Its definition is not constricted, while the "net" means just "net". In other words, it is intended to estimate the true dominance by covering as much as possible all of the intensity relationship and by offsetting deduction irregularities, in order to carry out a long-term military trend analysis which is strong in the United States and the potential enemy. It reported to the DOD Secretary the result of legible form by perceiving precisely the goals to be studied, and, if necessary, by understanding the overall situation through referring to the experts. Moreover, it is important that almost all of the former Secretary has been favor to the net assessment, although it did not convey what DOD executives should make any decision.

Although there are documents that even ONA in the DOD can not handle due to be classified, there are still classified reports that ONA has created. This book draws some relationship between the national security agencies such as the RAND Corporation, the DOD, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In particular, during the Cold War CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) as well, had claimed that the military expenditure of the Soviet Union in the early 1980s is 15 to 17 percent of gross national product (GNP). However, Marshall questioned in this estimate on the basis of his own information research outsource on military spending and economic scale of the Soviet Union. He was thinking that the military spending of the Soviet Union including spending on overhead and satellite countries would be 32 to 34 percent of GNP in 1988. Marshall was able to provide to the executives such as Weinberger, DOD Secretary, an accurate assessment about what will happen to the long-term competition with the Soviet Union and whether or not deterrence is effective by a consideration of the actual military spending load of the Soviet Union. Such a thought is led to pressure on the Soviet Union by the Strategic Defense Initiative of President Reagan (SDI).

Another achievement of ONA is the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). ONA completed the assessment on "Military Technology Revolution (MTR)" in 1992. MTR is born when the nature and management of military operations are changed fundamentally by the application of the military system of the new technology that is combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptation anticipating the 10 to 15 years. It is pointed out that troops that received a new combat method is strengthened more than 10 times military force as much as the MTR previous troops, if once current MTR became mature. After that, based on that the most important and difficult element of the MTR is not a technology, but is how to build the appropriate operational concept for new military systems and how to organize the troops to take advantage, it is called now as a "Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)." This included in the importance of space technology in a matter of course.

Marshall expected the military performs a strong resistance to the idea of MTR. The military might not be active in

the new technology. This will be the same kind of thing as the former Japanese army was not good command of new technology called radar sufficiently [5]. It was the only salvation for the United States until quite recently, because there has been no country that has technology, resources and intent competed in the precision bombing and combat network with the United States. Chinese military transfers to run the RMA on a sufficient understanding and expands access blocking, area denial (A2/AD) capabilities based on the long-distance detection. The power projection of US forces has been begun to cast a serious challenge in the western Pacific by the development of highly accurate ballistic and cruise missile for these 10 years. On the other hand, the US military is the fact that showed little interest in the rise of China. However, although not written in the book, ONA seems to forecast such as the construction of an artificial island in the South China Sea by the document [6].

The ONA was established in the period of President Nixon and Kissinger, Secretary of State. This era was showing signs that the force of United States declined, and the US was facing suffering from the economic slump, the anti-war movement, and the traditional decline of the social moral value. It was a time that national and even leaders seemed to avoid adventure abroad as much as possible and did not intend to pay an active role in the world. In such a situation, ONA analyzed frankly and objectively what position the United States is in comparison with the Soviet Union in a variety of areas of military competition based on the Vietnam war.

The ONA carried out the peer review activities on the military force of the United States and the Soviet Union in the period of 1950s to 1970s, under the environment of fear that the United States would be defeated in the war against the Soviet Union, if the Soviet Union dominates in the military force than the United States under the Cold War. Though I was a student from 1960 to 1970's, I did not think that the Cold War was so serious. I think that what is written in this book was lurid. The ONA seems to have been careful to military balance of both armies, making nervous about the nuclear war that starts in particular from a dispute with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces and the Warsaw Treaty Organization troops. What is written as one of the frightening scenario is called as "Hamburg invasion". The goal of the Warsaw Army was to take away from NATO member countries the only territory that can be politically disrupting the NATO alliance. Short-term limited attack to Hamburg, that is one of major cities of West Germany and is located approximately 60km from boarder to the East Germany, minimize the risk of exacerbating the situation until the nuclear weapons used by NATO forces, and there had been possibility of taking away Hamburg before the NATO forces goes into action.

When I finished reading this book, I think that military strategy written in this book provides a lot of useful information for the concerned people who are responsible for the actual security, especially it includes a lot of what gives the impression to the idea. This book writes more than 500 of the real name of the US national security officials including some people familiar to us, I think that it provides interesting information in this sense. In addition it has been argued that a net assessment should be started In Japan [7]. Also the book review in the Nikkei Shimbun newspaper [8] may be noted that would be helpful.

It is thought that this book discusses how to use information on the decision-making of policy makers. Marshall thought that the role of the organization is important in the decision-making and that there is a need to avoid the assumption there is no basis for ignoring the uncertainty. This book describes the study referred as "Pearl Harbor Warning and Decision" [9] studied by Wohlstetter, RAND Corporation, through Marshall's advice, that the Pearl Harbor attack could not be predicted. The US side could not recognize warning signs of a Pearl Harbor attack plan because of the unnecessary information noise. So, it is considered as one of the lessons learned how the leaders decide using the information. Policy makers must consider in the diversified and inexplicably conditions, and must have a wide range of eye to accidental events. Finally, although slight digression, it is introduced that there is an interesting sentence in relation to the leaders [10]. "There are lucky leaders in the birth. Some leaders create a fortune by themselves. And there are also leaders that fortune comes tumbling as Russian President Vladimir Putin."

## References

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