

Power Relationships in East Asia

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CDAI Conference, February 2009

CAUTION

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Some Issues

- Deterrence and Self-deterrence
- War-fighting Capability (vs. perception)
- Likelihood of Conflict
- Nationalism
- Internal Instability
- Islamic Reformation?

An Islamic Reformation?

- Rising fervor
- Lethal Factionalism
- Demands for purity on an impossible scale
- Gross xenophobia
- A fifty-year problem
- Riding out the storm

Past Experience?

- Bad times in Europe encouraged toxic nationalism
- There is almost always a sense of resentment -- borders are never 'just'
- But nationalism alone does not finance conquest
- 'The Asian Way' to handle disputes?
- ASEAN – remember the League of Nations?

A Maritime Area

- Trade is overwhelmingly by sea
- Sea frontiers are far more significant than those on land
- Right now, limited naval power
- Armies often dominate inside countries – for now

What Makes the Naval Balance?

- Ability to sustain operations at long range – including naval logistics
- Ability to project power on a sustained basis – carriers
- Ocean surveillance (local and portable)
- Command/control - unified systems (import issue)

Taiwan Straits

- Perception vs. reality
- PRC missile fire vs Taiwanese air force, to achieve air dominance
- PRC ability (?) to eliminate GRC Navy at the outset
- PRC developing shore bombardment assets
- PRC developing amphibious lift

The U.S. Factor

- PRC emphasis on deterring US Navy
- Strategic deterrence: 'is Taiwan worth Los Angeles?'
- Anti-carrier measures
- Demonstration (?) of ocean surveillance
- Possible anti-carrier ballistic missile

Economic Instability

- Economies are export-led, hence peculiarly vulnerable to the Western slump
- Problems of late 1990s incompletely addressed
- Limited internal demand
- 'We have just arrived, and now...'

Nationalism

- 'The Second Wave' of nationalism in South Asia – e.g., Indonesia
- Local fragmentation issues (Aceh, China)
- Previous use of nationalism in Central Europe, India, China
- Korea-China issue in Manchuria

China

- Collapse of Party legitimacy after Mao, 1989
- 'Mandate of Heaven'
- Use of economic success as justification
- Rise of nationalism
- Historical claims
- Texas in Siberia?

China -- Stresses

- Effect of uneven economic development
- Large-scale unemployment, even in good times
- Paper economy?
- Increasing resentment of Party corruption
- Will a rising middle class demand political power?
- Can the Party ride the nationalist tiger?

China as a Naval Power

- Limited current power
- Emerging ocean surveillance capacity
- Land orientation, growth of naval officer corps by transferring army officers
- Emerging local defense industry (sophisticated part)
- Ex-Varyag?

Japan

- Rising nationalism
- Rejection of 1945 settlement?
- Gradual move to expansive policy
- Testing of limits in armaments?
- Reaction to North Korean arms
- 'The Japan that can say NO'

Korea

- Rising nationalism
- Reunification?
- Tension with Japan
- Tension with China over Manchuria

Indonesia

- Inherent sub-nationalist stress – e.g., Aceh
- Muslim insurgency
- Strategic position

India

- A rising power with regional ambitions
- Sense of rivalry with China (reciprocated?)
- Navy fighting for resources (not getting many of them)
- Pakistan issues