Hindsight,
Insight,
Foresight

Thinking About Security in the Indo-Pacific

EDITED BY

ALEXANDER L. VUVING

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DANIEL K. INOUYE ASIA-PACIFIC CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

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The Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies is a U.S. Department of Defense executive education institution that addresses regional and global security issues, inviting military and civilian representatives of the United States and Indo-Pacific nations to its comprehensive program of resident courses and workshops, both in Hawaii and throughout the Indo-Pacific region. Through these events the Center provides a focal point where military, policy-makers, and civil society can gather to educate each other on regional issues, connect with a network of committed individuals, and empower themselves to enact cooperative solutions to the region's security challenges.

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Thinking About Security in the Indo-Pacific

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FOREWORD

Rear Admiral Peter A. Gumataotao, USN (Ret)
Director, Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies

An anniversary is a time for reflection, to appreciate our past, embrace opportunities of the present, and encourage innovation and creative ideas for the future. As the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS) celebrates its 25th anniversary, our faculty members reflect on the past, weigh the opportunities and challenges of today, and contemplate scenarios for the future. *"Hindsight, Insight, Foresight"* is the theme of our Center's 25th anniversary. It also is the title of this book, which is authored by 20 current and former members of DKI APCSS.

Knowledge is power and knowledge shared has advanced our mission since the inception of DKI APCSS 25 years ago. Our executive education program, including lectures and seminars from our in-resident courses, as well as our workshop discussions, is enhanced immensely from diverse perspectives. Such collaboration, fostered in a non-attribution environment built on transparency, mutual respect, and inclusion, has produced invaluable foresight for ongoing alliances that further our mission. This book illustrates the agility of the Center to innovatively advance its educational mission toward the future. It also offers an evolutionary perspective to look at enduring transnational challenges including strategic competition, the rise of China, terrorism, governance, and technology.

As Winston Churchill noted, "The longer you can look back, the farther you can look forward."[1] Essentially, hindsight and insight enable foresight. Equipped with this perspective, the book sheds light on how different aspects of security have evolved through history and how it may also evolve in the future. Most importantly, it adds an important dimension to better understand the complexity of our security environment and the potential opportunities to develop mutual solutions. I hope you enjoy reading it as much as the Center has enjoyed creating it.

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1   Speech, March 1944, quoted in "Winston Churchill (1874 – 1965)," in *Oxford Essential Quotations*, ed. Susan Ratcliff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191826719.001.0001/q-oro-ed4-00002969

INTRODUCTION

Alexander L. Vuving

Teaching executive courses at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies is a wonderful way to live two worlds at the same time. The courses must be most relevant to policymakers and they must offer something that the policymakers routinely miss in their everyday work. This something is, as many of our course participants told me, a "10,000 miles above the ground" that permits one to see both the big patterns and the deep structures of the landscape. This dual requirement and the engagement with the course participants, who are security practitioners from around 40 countries in the Indo-Pacific region, place the teaching at DKI APCSS in the interface between the practitioner's world and the analyst's world.

This book is part of this interface. It provides both an overview of the strategic landscape and insights into the currents that shape this landscape; it addresses security aspects that are important to the practitioners; and it answers the "so what" question central to the practitioner's job. To this end, one theme underlies every chapter of this book—the complexity of the real world. As the chapters of this book attest, this complexity manifests itself in various ways. One face of the complexity of the social world is embedded in the structure of a situation, which often remains invisible to the participants and defies linear thinking. The complexity of our world affects every action, choice, and decision we make by giving them multiple orders of effects, many of which may go beyond, even against, our purposes.

> ### What drives an individual, an organization, a nation to fight?
>
> "This age-old question warrants a high level of critical thinking due to the unintended consequences of decisions. For some, it comes down to believing there's a threat to their nation's interests or territorial integrity. For others, it may be deeper than just that … citizens may voluntarily support, even sacrifice, if the "cause" is deemed fundamental beyond material worth. I would offer this idea: a cause that resonates with values, identity, beliefs, and aspirations can be compelling enough for people to act. Nationalism played a defining role in both World War I and World War II. The Cold War is known both as an ideological and existential clash. In this prolonged contest, Americans were buoyed by the fundamental creed of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, defining elements of American identity, while the Soviet Union embraced an authoritarian approach where more emphasis was placed on control and order than to free thinking. Although some might find parallel themes in the current Strategic Competition discussion, it is worth mentioning that the complexity and the interconnectedness of our world and societies warrant a deeper understanding of consequences and opportunities. Unintended consequences may lead to instability, whereas cooperation and collaboration may reveal opportunities for countries to enjoy more prosperity in a secure and stable world."
>
> *Pete Gumataotao, DKI APCSS Director*

The book's 21 chapters discuss a wide spectrum of topics:

- the rise of China;
- the strategic competition among the great powers;
- the nexus between security and science and technology;
- the quest of individuals, groups, and nations for resources, rights, power, and places in the international arena;
- the question of war and peace;
- the architecture of regional security;
- issues of governance in response to the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century.

Although DKI APCSS is a U.S. organization, several of our authors are non-U.S. nationals and, more importantly, this book deliberately avoids U.S.-centrism. The authors have been encouraged to take a broad regional or global perspective that would allow them to make their discession relevant to as many security practitioners and analysts in the contemporary world as possible. For example, the discussion of China's rise and great

power competition in this book is not a response to some uniquely American concerns, but it addresses a common interest shared by an increasing number of people in the region and the world. In this context, it is worth quoting at length some thoughts by Director Pete Gumataotao of DKI APCSS:

> I wanted to insert an important viewpoint in this discussion on Strategic Competition that is raised not just by the United States but by many of our Allies and Partners in the region, namely, a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. This concept has been highlighted by countries such as Japan and India years before the United States formally put it in the strategic discourse. For decades, countries in the region have made the fundamental connection that economic security is national security. Simply stated, many countries in the region have benefitted economically from stability in the region: open access to international waters, airways, cyber and space domains; open and transparent investment and financial transactions. I would offer that the prosperity we enjoy today goes beyond monetary value. It is grounded by fundamental principles of respecting individual rights and liberties and, at the national level, freedom from coercion by other countries and adherence to the international standards where all benefit regardless of size or ambitions. I do believe the sky is the limit if we work collaboratively to continue to promote this time-tested concept of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific.

A major part of security studies involves the phenomenon of violence. True to its comprehensive character, this book discusses not only war and terrorist attacks, but it also dedicates more than one chapter on structural violence, cultural violence, and sectarian violence, as well as different shades of coercion. These chapters do not end at the analysis of violence and coercion; rather, the analysis serves as the foundation for a solution of the issue, which the chapters will offer.

Taking the evolutionary perspective, each chapter of the book situates the topic of its study in the grand scale of time in order to mine lessons from the past and draw implications for the future. These hindsight and insights, then, enable the authors to look far into the future and make policy recommendations for the security practitioners of today. The book's substantive chapters are organized into three parts: Part I discusses the contours of the big picture, Part II examines the changing faces of regional security, and Part III exhibits the local dynamics of regional security.

Part I starts with a discussion, in Chapter 1 by Scott McDonald, about how to decipher the actions and decisions of China, the weightiest and highly enigmatic actor in Asia. The author argues that ideas will drive the Indo-Pacific and shows specifically why Chinese philosophy can help us make sense of China's strategic behavior. Philosophy, as the author notes, is often marked by cultural norms and provides the context within which policy options are deemed ethical and efficacious by policymakers. Chapter 2 by Alexander Vuving turns to great power competition, a phenomenon that profoundly shapes the strategic environment at the international level. Benefiting from the hindsight of millennia of great power history, the chapter identifies the major structures and dynamics that give each case of great power competition a distinctive form. Accordingly, the strategic structure of the U.S.-China rivalry in the 21st century is markedly different from that of the hegemonic contest between Athens and Sparta in the 5th century BC and the Thucydides Trap that made war inevitable between Athens and Sparta does not exist in the U.S.-China strategic competition. The contest's strategic and configurative structures render some outcomes more likely than others and some strategies more viable than others. The chapter also suggests the strategic imperatives that the contestants must heed if they want to win.

Intertwined with, but distinct from, the Sino-U.S. strategic competition, the Fourth Industrial Revolution is another paramount development that defines the first half of the 21st century. In Chapter 3, Virginia Watson examines the impact of this paradigm-shifting revolution on society, governance, and geopolitics. The chapter outlines the challenges and opportunities in governing the emerging technologies as well as the "big tech" companies that are driving this revolution. While Chapter 2 argues that conflicts in the "gray zone" between peace and war will abound given the strategic structure of the current great power competition, Chapter 3 adds the digitization of geopolitics and war as a key driver of gray zone conflicts. Both chapters highlight the role of "big tech" companies as a major disruptive force that is changing the international system based on their position as the gatekeepers of the virtual world. In Chapter 4, Inez Miyamoto focuses on an important nexus between technology and security. For millennia, surveillance has been a central technique of government and security. Now enhanced tremendously by artificial intelligence, surveillance technologies are posing enormous challenges to the political culture of democratic states because, as the author argues, they conflict with the agreement between democratic governments and their citizens for privacy and civil liberty protections. Based on case studies and a dis-

cussion of the roles of the private sector and the state, the author suggests several recommendations that states should take to resolve these new challenges. Chapter 5 by James Minnich concludes Part I by discussing a security aspect that affects the entire humanity but has largely evaded traditional security studies. The chapter examines global manifestations of societal violence against women in peace as well as in conflict and makes a strong case for gendered security. It also provides a detailed "gendered security analysis tool" for assessing comprehensively the multidimensional operational environment.

Zooming in the Indo-Pacific, the 10 chapters of Part II shed light on major security dynamics that are shaping the face of the region. Tracing the evolution of political violence, particularly terrorism in South Asia and terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia, Chapters 6 and 7 by Shyam Tekwani and Sam Mullins, respectively, provide an historical overview of these issues and identify their political and social wellsprings, along with current and emerging threats that may shape the nature of terrorism in the decades to come. Both chapters draw several lessons learned from history to help minimize future violence. Political and societal violence also results from exclusionary politics and religious nationalism. Chapter 8 by Saira Yamin argues that government restrictions on religious freedoms combined with rising religious nationalism are increasing insecurity and instability in the region. Through case studies of the efforts of "Sinicization" and mass detention camps in Xinjiang against Uyghurs and other Muslims and religious nationalism against Muslims in India and Myanmar, the author detects a regional contagion effect of exclusionary state policies that is reinforced by China's norm-recasting power. For a solution to this challenge, the author offers the example of the Mongol empire with its model of inclusive governance, a secular policy that champions religious coexistence and multiculturalism.

Turning to regional architecture, Chapter 9 by John Hemmings traces the evolution of the U.S. alliance system in the Indo-Pacific, the most enduring feature of the regional security architecture, and highlights the growing minilateralism both within the alliance system and with non-allies as exemplified by several trilateral mechanisms and the "Quad." The author argues that this alliance system will continue to exist in the coming decades but its original "hub and spokes" structure will be transformed to meet the challenges of a new era and the needs of its members. As evident in most chapters of this book, the new era is characterized by the rise of China and the responses of others to China's growing power. Chapter 10

by Anu Anwar examines One Belt One Road (OBOR), China's epoch-shaping effort to expand its influence, in the context of South Asia. As the author notes, OBOR is an essential component of China's grand strategy, with the potential to reshape South Asia's security architecture and alter the balance of power in the entire Indian Ocean region in Beijing's favor. Highlighting the significance of OBOR for South Asia and of South Asia for OBOR as well as China's unique approach to South Asia, the chapter delineates the security risks posed by OBOR in each of its subregional frameworks and the way forward for South Asia to mitigate these risks. The fulcrum of OBOR is infrastructure investment but it is not living up to expectations. The United States and its like-minded partners have introduced the Blue Dot Network to promote transparent, sustainable, and quality infrastructure investment, an initiative seen as a counter to OBOR. In Chapter 11, Jerre Hansbrough proposes to further develop the Blue Dot Network into the Blue Dot Marketplace as a platform to bring together numerous construction and financial vendors to increase the quality and quantity of global infrastructure investment. Undergirded by an inclusive governing architecture detailed by the author, the Blue Dot Marketplace could serve as a way to cooperate amid the strategic competition.

A look at the map reveals that the Indo-Pacific region is dominated by the maritime domain—the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. Not only does it cover most of the region's area, but it also supplies most of the hydrocarbons and much of the protein consumed by the region. The best way to trade between China and India, the world's two most populous countries, is to ship goods through the sea lines of communication that hug the southern and eastern coast of the Asian continent, not by crossing the Himalayas, which form the land border between the two. The main conduit of regional trade, the East and South Asia seas are also the central arena of strategic competition. Chapter 12 by Mizuho Kajiwara brings us to the undersea domain, where the strategic competition is crucial to the global balance of military power. Surveying the history of underwater competition between major powers, the chapter draws numerous lessons on this "cat and mouse" game and the game-changers. It also discusses the recent developments in the Indo-Pacific and suggests specific measures that Japan, a key player in the region, should take to meet the challenges in this domain. Based on these hindsight and insights, the author predicts that new detecting or tracking systems for unmanned underwater vehicles (UUVs) could be a game-changing technology and help establish supremacy in the undersea domain. Chapter 13 by Ben Crowell and Wade Turvold discusses a major issue in the maritime domain—illegal, unreported,

and unregulated (IUU) fishing—and its impacts on maritime security. The chapter's global survey of the activity shows that IUU fishing is involved in a wide range of threats including environmental destruction, human slavery and trafficking, smuggling of drugs and weapons, piracy, armed robbery, and the "gray zone" tactic of some nation-states, most notably China. With hindsight and insights gleaned from this survey, the authors make several recommendations for addressing these threats.

In the industrial age, the strengths of the major powers and the security of the international communities hang heavily on the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) capacities and nuclear weapons arsenals of those powers. Surveying the way China is boosting its STEM capacity, Chapter 14 by Ethan Allen argues that Beijing's state-driven approach to STEM innovation is itself a security concern because it encourages the acquisition of STEM capacities via illegal methods, the violation of widely accepted norms and ethical standards, and the destruction of the environment. Contrasting this state-driven approach with the scientist-driven model, the chapter draws several implications for STEM governance and the relationship between STEM and security. Concluding Part II, Chapter 15 by Bill Wieninger notes that six of the nine global nuclear powers contest in the Indo-Pacific region and the world's three new nuclear-armed states since 1995 all come from the region. It argues that the danger of a nuclear holocaust is larger today than it was 25 years ago because these nuclear powers pursue their self-interest without considerations for the others' security needs. Stuck in this security dilemma, the security of these nuclear powers—and with them that of the whole world—will not improve however much they spend on their own defense. While making predictions on the state of nuclear weapons, the chapter also offers some insights on new risks stemming from new technologies and new doctrines as well as how to mitigate the risks of Armageddon.

Part III runs a tour of the region through some important locations to capture the local dynamics of regional security. It dwells on Russia, China, and India, the three major nuclear-armed powers on the Asian continent, and South Korea, Myanmar, and Taiwan, which represent different kinds of gateways linking the land and maritime domains of the region. Chapter 16 by Wade Turvold argues that Russia's interests and historical experience in the Indo-Pacific are significantly different from its interests and experience in Europe, thus, Moscow can behave very differently in the two theaters. The chapter catalogues the overlaps of long-term interests between Russia and many other states in the Indo-Pacific region,

including the United States and its allies, and makes recommendations for grasping these opportunities for cooperation. Chapter 17 by James Minnich examines the military alliance between South Korea and America, the only mutual defense pact currently existing between a country on the continent side of the Indo-Pacific and an offshore power. Surveying the major challenges and key values of the alliance, the author suggests that a strong rationale for the alliance in the future can be established if it evolves from a security partnership into a comprehensive strategic alliance with strategic flexibility of forward-stationed U.S. forces in Korea and embedded in a networked security architecture that involves many other allies and partners.

Looking inside China and looking back decades of its "reform and opening" era, Chapter 18 by Sungmin Cho suggests that a cycle of relaxing and tightening (*fang-shou*) can help us decipher the future of Chinese politics. This cycle results from the wax and wane of major factions within the Chinese Communist Party as they respond differently to domestic and international challenges. If this mechanism continues, the author argues, we should expect a period of liberalization—but not necessarily democratization—of Chinese politics in the decades ahead. Chapter 19 by Srini Sitaraman focuses on the military conflict between the two most populous countries in the world—China and India. Placing this conflict in the historical context of the Sino-Indian territorial disputes, the regional context of their relations with Tibet and Pakistan, their external and internal balancing efforts, and other international and domestic factors, the chapter examines the prospects and implications of three scenarios—status quo, grand bargain, and hot war—in the short, medium, and long terms.

Strategic primacy in Asia hinges on access to both the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. China's dream of "restoring" its top position at the apex of the hierarchy of nations in Asia is thus contingent to a considerable extent on Beijing's influence in countries like Pakistan, Myanmar, Indonesia, and, if the Kra Canal is built, also Thailand, which control the gateways to the Indian Ocean from China and the South China Sea. With Pakistan firmly entrenched as a Chinese ally, Indonesia vigilantly guarding its independence, and the Kra Canal not built, Myanmar is the softest of the major spots of the strategic competition in Asia. Has Myanmar become China's back door to the Indian Ocean? Chapter 20 by Miemie Byrd poses this question after examining the history of U.S.-Myanmar relations and recent vital gains China has reaped in Myanmar when the United States imposed sanctions on Myanmar's top military leaders against their human

rights abuses. The author argues that a strategy of engagement with Myanmar can meet U.S. objectives regarding both its strategic competition with China and its promotion of human rights, a long-term process that the American engagement with South Korea can attest. Concluding Part III and the book, Chapter 21 by Michael Burgoyne turns the spotlight to Taiwan, which is situated at the double gateway between the East China Sea and the South China Sea and between China and the open oceans. Taiwan lost the China seat in the United Nations to Beijing in 1971 and since then has been fighting a continuous struggle for international space in international organizations and relations with individual states. This fight is not only an existential struggle for Taiwan, but it is also a major way for China to enlarge and deepen its worldwide influence. After briefly surveying this struggle, the chapter argues that fateful decisions by Beijing and Taipei related to the 2020 presidential election in Taiwan, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the governance of Hong Kong have the potential to reverse the long-term trend in this fight between Taiwan and China.

Even with 21 chapters, this book still does not exhaust the list of security issues in the Indo-Pacific region. Several important topics and places such as natural and man-made disasters, the water-food-security nexus, the impact of demography on security, the space domain, Oceania, the Arctic, Antartica, the Mekong subregion, to name just a few, are left for our future publications to address at length. This book does, however, provide a *tour d'horizon* of the most consequential issues that are defining the global and regional security landscape. With hindsight, insight, and foresight in each of its chapters, the book offers a perspective to see this landscape in its dynamic making and re-making.

Part I: Understanding the Big Picture

PHILOSOPHY AND POLICY:

WHY IDEAS WILL DRIVE THE INDO-PACIFIC

Scott D. McDonald

When immersed in the daily cycle of meetings and position papers, it is easy for the security practitioner to become focused on the minutiae of the crisis of the day. Even when one has time to step back and look at strategic trends more broadly, it is too easy to assume one grasps a state's strategy and intended security policy by tracing the trails of individual decisions and positions. In hindsight, events appear to have a logic of their own and it is tempting to extrapolate from one's own experience to hypothesize *why* leaders of a state behaved a certain way, rather than attempting to understand their intellectual context.

However, the study of international security policy entails the study of the human animal. Humans make decisions within a context. The various schools of international relations theory have offered the international system, institutions, and culture as candidates for placing policy within an understandable context. However, if decision-makers matter—and the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS) invests a lot of time and effort on the assumption that they do—then we need to understand the context brought to the problem by the individual decision-makers that ultimately drive policy.

Throughout human history, ideas have driven the development and orientation of civilization. Our unique means of survival—the rational faculty—demands we make judgments about the world around us to act, survive, and prosper. To accomplish this, each individual accepts a set of assumptions about the way the world works and their individual relationship to it. These assumptions form the basis of the individual's philosophy.

Philosophy is the science devoted to understanding the fundamental nature of existence, knowledge, and choice. It is the tool-kit for assisting individuals in making sense of their world and acting within it. As American philosopher Ayn Rand summarized for the West Point graduating class of 1974, an individual's philosophy provides answers to the basic questions of a human's life: "Where am I, how do I know it, and what should I do?"[1] The answers to these questions reflect an individual's fundamental philosophic orientation regarding the three primary branches of philosophy: metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics. Whether these questions are answered explicitly, through a process of study and analysis, or implicitly, as the received wisdom of those who influenced one's education and moral development, individuals use the fundamental outlook provided by these assumptions to guide them as they attempt to understand the world and succeed within it.

HINDSIGHT

With the aid of hindsight, it seems obvious that an individual's ideas are important in policy creation. However, the individual decision-maker in general, and ideas specifically, have been underemphasized in the international relations field in the search for parsimonious theories. Ideas are hard to measure and track, while individuals retain volition—the ability to choose—and are resistant to prediction. Conversely, looking across the span of human history, we see how general trends in fundamental ideas about the world have shaped the organization of society and the interaction of political units.

In Europe, Catholicism, its understanding of the world, knowledge, and ethics, shaped society and politics for a thousand years—from the fall of Rome to the Enlightenment. The individualist philosophy of the Enlightenment then changed our understanding of those fundamentals, leading not only to revolts across Europe and the birth of the United States, but to changes in the way those polities interacted with one another. Similarly, in Southwest Asia, the rise of Islam not only shaped individual lives, but influenced the expansion of the spice trade and complex networks stretching across the seas and into Southeast Asia. In East Asia, the Confucian philosophy shaped China, the imperial system, and the way it attempted to order its relations with those along its periphery. With hindsight, it is clear that all these thought systems—and many others—led directly to different norms of human interaction within the societies that held them.

Insight

Early in my career, the Marine Corps trained me as a Foreign Area Officer (FAO) and educated me in the history, culture, politics, and economics of China. As a FAO, my mission was to bring an understanding of this broad and rich topic to my commanders and fellow Marines. In doing so, I was always looking for an overriding theme that could tie everything I had learned about China together and concisely communicate it to various audiences in a manner that was useful. A tour on the faculty at DKI APCSS gave me the opportunity to explore these ideas in an academic setting and apply them to security policy.

The key insight from this research is that an understanding of traditional Chinese philosophy brings order and coherence to the policies and operations being pursued by the People's Republic of China (PRC). In short, to better understand what General Secretary Xi Jinping is doing, one should consult Confucius and Laozi. As a FAO, I was supposed to provide the perspective of those I studied. Philosophy allowed me to get behind the policies and explain how decision-makers in the PRC view the world and understand it. Moreover, it provided insight into what sort of policy options would seem ethical and efficacious to those operating within the context of Chinese philosophy. As I distilled my new knowledge, I was able to derive philosophy-based strategic tenets that helped me understand and explain a Chinese philosophical approach to strategic thought.

Though I find a lot of value in this approach, attempting to employ it highlights the difficulty of discerning an individual's philosophy. Many people have not taken the time to explicitly define their philosophy and fewer have committed it to writing. With politicians the problem is often mitigated with speeches and policy statements that provide insight, but these are unlikely to include an explicitly stated philosophy. However, an individual's answers to those three basic questions—where am I, how do I know it, and what should I do?—are central to how they think and act. Therefore, in analyzing a leader's philosophy one must often use proxies. The most obvious, which is already explored within the international relations field is culture. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, culture is composed of "distinctive ideas, customs, social behavior, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period."[2] While the fields of sociology, anthropology, and political science all have extensive literatures arguing over the definition of culture, the key point for this discussion is that embedded within the way individuals within a culture act, one can find evidence of the *ideas* that drive those customs, social behaviors,

and other outward manifestations of a culture. In studying philosophy, the goal of using culture is to understand what ideas about the world, knowledge, and ethics influence security policy decision-making.

In contemporary international relations literature, culture is usually discussed in association with the Constructivist School. However, this body of literature tends to treat "cultures" and "societies" as black boxes that *determine* behavior, rather than ideas that *influence* choices. The leading scholar of this school, Alexander Wendt, argues that cultures are given "meaning by the ideas they share with other states—that *cognition* depends on states systemic culture."[3] Although Wendt is speaking at a systemic level, constructivists in general agree that norms are created through an "inter-subjective consensus" within a society. While some, such as Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, make a case for norm entrepreneurs affecting change, it is only to establish a new consensus, which is then used to explain the population under study.[4] In short, constructivists' use of culture actually focuses on collectives, discounts the individual as agent, and transfers the level-of-analysis back to the state- or system-level and the ideas that shapes a consensus there.

If the individual decision-maker is important in understanding security policy, a cultural analysis should focus on providing insight into the philosophy that guides individual action. Culture aids this by providing a baseline of understanding on general norms that are operative within a society, as depicted in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Cultural Norms as Markers of the Answers to Philosophical Foundations

Cultural Norms as Markers of the Answers to Philosophical Foundations	
Metaphysics: Where am I?	What is the nature of existence? Is existence stable, changing predictably, or utter chaos? Is existence real, or is it a figment of my imagination?
Epistemology: How do I know?	Is that world knowable through my senses or am I doomed to watch shadows on a cave wall as Plato surmised? Is knowledge discovered through reason, faith, or tradition?
Ethics: What should I do?	What is moral? How should I treat others? Politics: How should society be governed? Aesthetics: What is beauty?

As one starts digging into a culture with a philosophic mindset, trends in assumptions about metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics become apparent. Insights into individual thinking provided by these cultural cues enable one to better understand others, predict how they might act, and communicate more effectively. In fact, though it is not labeled a philosophical exercise, security practitioners at DKI APCSS are already practicing this when they learn to identify, understand, and respond to norms when conducting cross-cultural communication.

Analysis of the philosophical ideas resident in a populace can provide similar insight into these tendencies. For example, since its founding in 1949, the PRC has alternately turned its back on and embraced traditional Chinese philosophy. In order to establish whether it still plays a role in establishing and reinforcing norms within a society, one can look to the contemporary culture to see that the basic underlying foundations of society continue to conform to the metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical prescriptions of classical philosophy. However, understanding how policy-makers use philosophy is more difficult than mapping general cultural trends, because each individual retains volition and the ability to go against cultural norms. Therefore, cultural analysis must be cross-checked with authoritative sources, such as government press releases, personal writings, and biographies to discern the intellectual influences that may have shaped that particular individual's philosophy. For example, growing up as the son of a prominent Chinese Communist Party (CCP) official, then being subjected to the Cultural Revolution, Xi Jinping experienced an array of cultural influences. Even if the evidence of classical Chinese philosophy is prominent in the populace, additional verification must be used to verify it is operative in Xi Jinping's decision-making. For confirmation, one can look to his own writings, speeches, and policies to examine the extent to which he uses these ideas and test their ability to correctly describe his policy choices. These sources suggest he continues to be influenced by Chinese philosophy, not only in the terms he uses, but in the policies he is pursuing. Thus, by combining cultural analysis and research into individual thought and actions, the security practitioner can gain key insights into the fundamental ideas and assumptions regional decision-makers use to define, understand, and interact with their world.

Foresight

If philosophy provides insights into how decision-makers act, then security practitioners would benefit from understanding the philosophical sys-

tems that influence regional leaders. In conducting exercises and thought experiments with DKI APCSS Fellows, I always found it important to get into the decision-makers' heads and attempt to see the world through their eyes. Of course, this is not new, but the rigor of breaking down an individual's approach to the world that is encapsulated in philosophy goes beyond understanding what type of interests or policies they may advocate, focusing instead on the assumptions that make those possible so that one may confidently apply those principles to other situations. Given the diversity of thought systems held in the Indo-Pacific, it is understandable that the assumptions upon which policy is built vary across the region as well. Consequently, to improve our foresight regarding the Indo-Pacific order, we must look to the philosophies held by regional decision-makers.

What does philosophy tell us about the future of the Indo-Pacific? What ideas are driving regional leaders and how will it shape their interaction with the region? My research is focused on the PRC. Here, the philosophic traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism competed and mixed over the centuries into a syncretic philosophy that still influences the population today. Some have argued the legacy of Marxism-Leninism, or Mao Zedong Thought are equally important, but cultural and historical analysis suggests otherwise. The CCP certainly began with an attraction to Marxism-Leninism, and Maoism had a dramatic impact in the revolution and Cultural Revolution. However, neither of these thought systems managed to supplant the norms of traditional Chinese society and philosophy. Though they were certainly driven underground during the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, once government sanction was removed, traditional values quickly took hold. This is evident in the manner in which the PRC implements policy, its official pronouncements, and in the way the average subject of the PRC lives their life and interacts with others.

Consequently, when attempting to understand the foundational ideas behind PRC policy, it is not Marx, Lenin, or Mao that one must turn to, but Confucius and Laozi. This is not to say there are not many influences in PRC society today, but that the ideas advocated by the intellectual schools inspired by these philosophers form the basis of the philosophy that guides General Secretary Xi today. This philosophy's foundational views of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics can aid security practitioners exercising strategic foresight to understand the future trajectory of the PRC.

Metaphysically, Chinese philosophy teaches the cosmological centrality of China (中國; *zhōngguó* or Central Kingdom) and the primacy of the

family as the basis for society. Consequently, the emperor sits atop a world family.[5] Daoist metaphysics suggests that PRC leaders see the world as constantly changing, by nature, in a cycle where power ebbs and flows in a zero-sum system.[6] To act in this context, one must understand the concept 勢 (*shì*, situational potential)[7] and leverage the opportunity of change to steer the natural development of history in one's desired direction, but do so by 無為 (*wúwéi;* non-action), better understood as minimal disruption of the natural order of things.[8]

Epistemologically, Confucius teaches that knowledge is gained primarily from the ancients[9] and can be manipulated through the power of a name.[10] Meanwhile Laozi offers that you never can truly know reality and that enlightenment comes to the one who sits alone, detached from the world in contemplation.[11]

In ethics, Daoists refer back to *wúwéi* and argue one should act in accordance with nature and disturb its course as minimally as possible.[12] The Confucians agree, noting that nature is built on the family and hierarchical relations that give order to society.[13] This structure assigns each individual a place in relation to others and an individual acts morally by fulfilling one's assigned role.

Politics, which is a subbranch of ethics, asks how a society should be governed. For Confucius, this remains a question of proper roles and hierarchy: "the ruler is the ruler; the minister is minister; the father is father; and the son is son. That is government."[14] Moreover, according to the concept of "all under heaven" (天下; *tiānxià*), that hierarchy properly encompasses the entire world and the emperor sits at the apex of the world family. [15]

Taken together, one can see that a leader in Beijing who accepts these premises would seek to take advantage of U.S. retrenchment and reestablish a hierarchical order with the PRC at its apex. Not surprising, perhaps, but knowing that this is founded on a belief in the metaphysical centrality of China and the natural potential of a situation helps to explain why General Secretary Xi and the CCP think this is not only morally right, but a fact of existence. Understanding the important role of a name in epistemology helps to explain why the PRC insists on odd terminology and sees certain language as an existential assault. In short, the foundational principles behind these policy positions suggest why some things are more important than others, why some can be traded away and others are sacrosanct. Philosophy may not provide an answer for every concrete policy, but it provides the context in which those decisions are made.

Additionally, appreciation for regional philosophical systems may provide a better explanation for the emergence of international norms, as well as provide tools for crafting and refining them. These are inherently questions of ethics. Each nation, each leader, will approach international norms based on their own concept of morality. Understanding this, the security practitioner can look to philosophy to understand what norms are valued by various leaders and be better prepared to search for common ground. Thus, understanding philosophy can aid in establishing agreed upon norms of behavior that are likely to be more durable because they rest not on transient interests, but the foundational morality of all involved.

The opposite side of that coin involves recognizing where two philosophies will necessarily find themselves in opposition. Even this is valuable as security practitioners look for ways to identify points of contention and establish mechanisms to mitigate or prevent conflict. If a leader's philosophy is understood, it is easier to understand why they hold the positions they do and devise policy options that make cooperation more palatable, because proposals can be crafted that move towards common objectives without undermining the core principles of those with whom one disagrees.

CONCLUSION

The very word "philosophy" too often frightens security practitioners, who tend to be unaccustomed to dealing with abstract concepts and feel more at home in the concrete details of daily foreign and security policy. However, exploring philosophy need not be frightening, rather, it is part of good cross-cultural preparation that many practitioners are already incorporating into their tool-kit. Philosophy provides the foundational framework for incorporating that knowledge and using it to understand how individual decision-makers will relate to the world, and the pressing issues that are faced every day by legions of mid-career diplomats, military officers, and civil servants across the Indo-Pacific region.

By the 50th anniversary of DKI APCSS, staffs may sit down with their policy-makers to prepare for international fora and begin, not with the problems faced in the upcoming multilateral meeting, but with philosophy. Perhaps evaluations of other leaders will begin not with "what does Xi Jinping want," but with "what are his metaphysics?" A stretch perhaps, but at a minimum, security practitioners should learn to understand the powerful impact of the foundational assumptions that each of us carries into every interaction.

Philosophy is too important to leave only to the academics in ivy-covered buildings. As the philosopher told the future leaders of the U.S. Army, philosophy exists to help us understand and resolve "concrete, particular, real-life problems—i.e., in order to be able to live on earth."[16]

Notes

1   Ayn Rand, "Philosophy: Who Needs It?" *Philosophy: Who Needs It?* (New York, NY: Signet, 1982), 2.

2   The *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed 26 February 2020, https://www.oed.com.

3   Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 372. Emphasis in the original.

4   Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998).

5   Fan Ruiping, "A Confucian Notion of the Common Good for Contemporary China," in David Solomon and Luo Bingxiang, eds. *The Common Good: Chinese and American Perspectives* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2014), 202.

6   Laozi, *Daodejing*, James Legge, trans, available at https://ctext.org/dao-de-jing. 36.

7   For a discussion on the translation of shi (势) see Scott D. McDonald, Brock Jones, and Jason M. Frazee, "Phase Zero: How China Exploits It, Why the United States Does Not," *Naval War College Review* 65, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 124. Though I ultimately disagree with his translation, Sawyer provides an excellent discussion of the concept and its translation in Ralph D. Sawyer, ed., *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1993), 429, note 37.

8   Laozi, *Daodejing*, 2. See also explanation in Chan Wing-Tsit, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 136. By *wúwéi* it "is not meant literally 'inactivity' but rather 'taking no action that is contrary to Nature'—in other words, letting Nature take its own course."

9   Confucius, *Analects*, James Legge, trans., available at https://ctext.org/analects, III: 14, VII:1, VII: 5.

10   *Analects*, XIII:3.

11   *Daodejing*, 47. See also 14. The importance of pursuing development through contemplation and reflection is also reflected in Confucianism. See *Analects*, XIV:42; Mencius, *Book of Mencius*, XIII: 1 and XIV:78, James Legge, trasn., available at https://ctext.org/mengzi.

12   *Daodejing*, 2. See also Chan Wing-Tsit, 137. "Man is to follow Nature but in doing so he is not eliminated; instead, his nature is fulfilled."

13   *Analects*, XVIII:10. See Also *The Book of Rites* [Liji], IX (Li Yun):31, James Legge, trans., available at https:// https://ctext.org/liji/li-yun.

14   *Analects*, XII:11. Author's translation.

15   *Analects*. In III:11 and IV:10 one sees how *tianxià* is used interchangeably for the entire world and the area which is ruled.

16   Rand, 4.

GREAT POWER COMPETITION:
LESSONS FROM THE PAST, IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Alexander L. Vuving

When we march into the future, the road is foggy and obscured. Our only light is the past which illuminates fragments of the paths we may take. The future is filled with countless possibilities, but not all are created equal. Some possibilities are more likely than others due to the structure of the field of possibilities. It is through the past that we can discern how the field of possibilities is structured.

This essay will mine the past for lessons about great power competition by examining the impact of human dynamics, technology, and geography on the rise and fall of the great powers, the balance of power among them, and the character of their relations. The history of great power competition dates back to the late 4th millennium BC, when the most powerful of the earliest states in the world vied for supremacy in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the world's most productive areas at that time.[1] In the 52 centuries that followed, numerous factors have shaped the interaction among great powers, but the most consequential, and most permanent, are human dynamics, technology, and geography. This essay revolves around a number of key questions: What tips the balance of power among the great powers? Apart from the general balance of power, what are the key structures of great power relations? What shapes and changes these structures, and why?

The first three sections of this paper will discuss the impact of human dynamics, technology, and geography on great power competition. The lessons drawn from this discussion will inform the implications for the future, which will be addressed in the latter part of the paper. In this

future-oriented part, I will focus on these major questions: Will great power competition continue in the future? What will perpetuate it, and what will arrest it? How do the key structures of great power relations shape the hegemonic contest of our time? What strategies are critical to winning that contest? Apart from the great powers, what emerging actors can cause profound changes and disrupt the balance of global power in the coming decades? I hope the discussion in this paper will light the path of great power competition for decades to come.

Impact of Human Dynamics

As with any human community, the fate of great powers hangs in significant part on the decisions made by its members, individually or collectively. Although great powers are highly complex organizations, the major decisions to steer their course have often been concentrated in the hands of a few people, much of the time even a single individual. As power was concentrated on a few people, their beliefs, personalities, preferences, and relationships disproportionately affected the course of the state they ruled. The personal ambition of an empire's founder invariably lay at the root of the empire's rise and expansion, which was also contingent on his talent, leadership skills, and vision. These personal factors of his successors, the influence of their advisors, family members, and friends, and the relations among the ruling factions would continue to play a large role in the life—and death—of the empire.

The concentration of power on a few is itself a universal human dynamic. Sometimes it reflects the attraction of leadership and the practice of followership; sometimes it results from the coercive force of a few over the many; sometimes it is maintained by a "social contract" in which the rulers get more wealth and freedom in exchange for providing the ruled with security and prosperity; oftentimes it is a confluence of all three. The phenomenon of the great powers is itself the manifestation of this human dynamic at the international level. The more power is concentrated, the more it reflects the beliefs and desires, as well as the whims and caprices, of the powerful.

Many countries in the past were regarded as the real estates of their rulers or the families of their rulers. As most people wanted to enlarge their own real estates, so did these rulers and their families. Sometimes, the cohesion and strength of a great power diminished significantly because it was divided up among the sons of its ruler after his death. This was the case, most glaringly, with the Carolingian empire and the Mongol empire. Sometimes, several countries were merged into a larger one through the marriage of their rulers. The emergence of Spain as a great power has its root in the marriage of Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1469). A marriage of their rulers also united the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the Iberian Union (1580 – 1640). Marriage was the main way through which the House of Habsburg expanded their holdings and knit together the largest power in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries.

The belief that a country is the property of its ruler, although widespread, was a specific case among the different beliefs about the right to own a land and the right to rule a people. These and other belief systems, which we call ideology, religion, superstition, or science, were indispensable and impactful in guiding the thoughts of people—rulers and ruled alike—on almost everything. Apart from its thought-guiding function, ideology (called religion when tied to one or more gods) always played an important role in beefing up and breaking up the cohesion and strength of the states in general and the great powers in particular. When the Arabs defeated both great powers of their time, the Persian empire of the Sassanids and the Byzantine empire, and created a new great power, the Rashidun Caliphate, they relied not only on the superiority of their military tactics and the talent of their generals, but also on the religious fervor of their combatants, the religious difference between the rulers and the populace of the Persian empire, and the religious oppression of the Byzantine empire against many of its citizens in the Levant and Egypt.[2]

The Arabs provide a glaring example not only of the impact of ideology but also of who I will call "system-changers." Examples of system-changers abound throughout the history of the great powers.[3]

System-Changers

The Amorites, the Hurrians, the Kassites, the Phrygians, and the Aramaeans (21st – 11th centuries BC). Their nomadic lifestyle and tribal structures made them superior in terms of mobility and flexibility to the great powers of their time. Their migrations, infiltrations, and invasions led to the collapse of those great powers, but most adopted the civilizations of their adversaries afterward. The Amorites and the Hurrians later founded the ruling dynasties of three great powers: Assyria, Babylon, and Mittani. The language and alphabet of the Aramaeans became the common tongue of the Middle East by 500 BC.

The Yuezhi (Tokharians) and the Sakas (which meant "nomads" in Iranian). When these Indo-Iranian steppe peoples fled westward and southward in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, they effectively merged the two hitherto independent systems of states, one in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent and another in East Asia, into a single system that included all states in the world at that time. The expansion of the Xiongnu drove the Yuezhi westward, who in turn pushed the Sakas southward. A branch of the Yuezhi settled in Bactria and founded the Kushan empire, which in its heyday in the 2nd century AD stretched from the Aral Sea to the Indian Ocean and was one of the four great powers of that time, together with the Roman Empire, the Parthian empire, and the Han empire.

The Germanic peoples, most notably the Visigoths and the Vandals (4th – 5th centuries). Their rebellions and invasions contributed heavily to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. Many of these people had been embedded in the Roman Empire as *foederati* (treaty-bound allied people), though their loyalty ultimately lay with their kings and nobles. Treated unfairly by the Romans, they revolted, led by the Germanic elements of the Roman Army, and founded new Germano-Roman states on the soil of the Roman Empire.

The Vikings and the Normans (9th – 12th centuries). These Nordic peoples excelled in mobility as sailors and founded several kingdoms scattered from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Their migrations were generally led by a coalition of warlords and individuals seeking opportunities for themselves and their followers. It was rare for a Norse or Norman head of state to lead an invasion, such as the case of William the Conqueror's invasion of England. This flexibility in leadership, combined with a nearly unmatched naval ability, allowed the Nordic peoples to severely hinder both the Byzantine and Carolingian empires, displace the Khazars as the dominant traders in the Pontic steppes, and establish numerous colonies from Greenland to Antioch.

Various Turkic groups such as the Pechenegs, the Oghuz, and the Karluks (10th – 11th centuries). Their migrations, military campaigns, and involvement in political affairs of the states they served massively disrupted the balance of power in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. Among their exploits was driving the Byzantines out of Anatolia, embedding themselves in the Caucasus, toppling Persian powers such as the Samanids and Abbasids, and introducing Islam into Northern India. Their success can be attributed to their mobility and military excellence. Another advantage was the prevalence of Turkish mamluks in military positions, which allowed them to stage coups and revolts such as the Ghaznavid takeover of the Samanid empire.

> **System-Changers (continued)**
>
> **The European adventurers, most notably the Spanish conquistadors, the Portuguese traders, and the Russian pioneers (merchants, Cossacks, peasants), in the 16th – 17th centuries.** While seeking fortune for themselves, they acquired territory in service of their state. Although many adventurers held strong ties to their sovereign, the limited communication between the two parties gave the adventurers significant leeway in their actions. The Portuguese displaced the Arabs as the dominant traders in the Indian Ocean and fundamentally changed warfare and politics in Japan during the critical Sengoku period. The conquistadors toppled both the powerful Aztec and Incan empires, while the Cossacks pushed Russian sovereignty as far as Kamchatka and warred with the Qing empire and various Mongol successor states.
>
> **The British East India Company,** a joint-stock company with close ties to the British government. The company's private army in the 18th century played a large role in conquering India, thus securing monopoly trade rights for the company. The company governed the conquered territories until the Regulating Act of 1773. In the mid-19th century, the company was a driving force behind the two Opium Wars that marked the beginning of what the Chinese later called their "century of humiliation."
>
> **The Islamic fundamentalists** in the late 20th and early 21st century (to be addressed below).

What these diverse communities, movements, and organizations have in common is that more than the secondary states in the international system, which have to *take* the system as it is, they are able to *change* the system, thanks largely to the extraordinary dynamism of their quest for opportunities, but less than the great powers, they are, for the moment, still unable to *make* the system, i.e., to stabilize it. Some, such as the Kushans and the Arabs, quickly crossed the threshold to become system-makers by building empires or influential states of their own. Others, such as the conquistadors, the Russian pioneers, and the British East India Company, engaged in a close relationship with a sovereign state to obtain government sanction and support. While they maintained a considerable room for independent actions, they were often the frontier forces that expanded the sphere of influence, even the territory, of their sovereign. Still others, such as the Amorites and the Kassites, captured existing states, replaced their ruling elite, and changed the character of these states.

In the post-Cold War period, when the United States remained the world's sole superpower, a debate broke out among scholars of international relations about the longevity of this unipolarity. Skeptics argued that

it would not last long because sooner rather than later other major powers would gang up against the hegemon.[4] Believers contended that America's global hegemony was there to stay because the immense power gap between the United States and the next biggest powers would both discourage and thwart any attempts at balancing it.[5] As it turned out, the skeptics were somewhat right in their conclusion—U.S. unipolarity did not last longer than a quarter of a century—but wrong in their reasoning—the only weighty anti-American coalition was that of China and Russia, but this arrived late toward the end of the unipolar period.[6] Both sides of the debate missed the mark because they ignored the role of the system-changers. The September 11, 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon by Islamic fundamentalists changed the world in an enormous way. The Bush administration immediately turned to a "global war on terror," which would consume much of Washington's foreign policy attention, energy, and spending for more than a decade. In the 15 years from 2001 to 2016, China, which presidential candidate Bush characterized as early as 1999 as the "strategic competitor" of the United States,[7] enjoyed what its leaders recognized as a prolonged "strategic opportunity" during which it was able to quadruple its economic output, catapult from the sixth-largest to the second-largest economy in the world, and turn the South China Sea into a chokepoint it can control by building several large artificial islands on disputed reefs in the middle of the sea.[8]

Human dynamics that are highly consequential to great power competition often come in three forms. First, some actors that have previously been at the margins of the system or not even existed—the "new kids on the block"—now bring in enormous new energy created by their superior mobility, ideological fervor, or economic resources. Second, some actors get ahead of others due to major innovation in military technology and governance organization. Third, some actors acquire a vast amount of knowledge and skills by learning from the most advanced and from experiences of the past, and by integrating aspects of other cultures, which are beneficial, into their own. These new energies, innovations, learning, and integration invariably lie at the root of the rise of new great powers. On the other hand, great powers that lose energy, lack major innovations, and fail to learn from others and integrate new cultures are bound to diminish.

Impact of Technology

Technology has two chief structural effects on great power competition: it can tip the balance of power and it can change the structure of the

strategic game among the great powers. Technology is one of the few underlying factors that distinguish great powers from lesser states. Without superior technology, no actor can become a great power. However, rarely has the edge in a single technology tipped the balance among the great powers. One reason for this is the rapid diffusion of technology. When great powers are in intense competition with one another, a newly innovated and applied technology is quickly learned once it demonstrates some advantage. As a result, being the innovator of a major technology does not guarantee superiority; sometimes a quick learner who adds smaller innovations in accessories can beat the first innovator.

When technology tips the balance among great powers, what makes the difference is often one or more clusters of related technologies supported by socioeconomic and organizational factors. As warfare has often been the ultimate arbiter of success in international relations, besides the more general issues such as morale, communication, and logistics, great powers usually had to compete for higher mobility, firepower, and defense of military forces. The chariot, the sling, the composite bow, the horse saddle, the saddle stirrup, and the various types of armor had greatly enhanced these abilities in the agricultural age. So did their successors in the industrial age: the nuclear warhead, the cruise missile, the ballistic missile, the combustion engine, the submarine, and the missile defense system. Missile superiority can sometimes shift the balance between great powers, but what constitutes missile superiority is a combination of technological innovation, a robust economic base, and organizational prowess.

Perhaps the largest impact of technology on great power competition is that of nuclear weapons. They can change the structure of the strategic game between states and with it, the best strategies for the players and the stable outcomes of the game. Nuclear weapons do so by helping people to exceed the "overkill" threshold.

Prior to the nuclear age, most great powers saw their own predominance as the best option, their own subordination as the worst, a division of power as the second-best, and war as the second-worst, or third-best, option. We can express this preference order as P>D>W>S, where P stands for predominance, D for division of power, W for war, and S for subordination. When two players having this preference order engage in a strategic competition, they are locked in a situation called "prisoner's dilemma." This situation has a distinctive structure that renders the best strategy for each player invariably to "defect"—to pursue its self-interest regardless of whether the opponent will cooperate or not. This strategy

corresponds with the stable outcome of the game, called "Nash equilibrium" after the mathematician John Nash, who has shown mathematically how the structure of a strategic game dictates the best strategies for the players and determines the stable outcomes of their game (Nash was awarded a Nobel Prize in economics 40 years later for this work). The stable outcome of the prisoner's dilemma, its only Nash equilibrium, is war when the players are competing great powers. The Greek historian Thucydides's comment on the war between the hegemonic contenders of his time and place, "It was the rise of Athens and the fear that this inspired in Sparta that made war inevitable," was a 5th-century BC statement of the prisoner's dilemma's Nash equilibrium.[9]

The structure of the prisoner's dilemma hinges on a key perception: nothing, including war, is worse than subordination. This perception was prevalent among the great powers of the past; indeed, the subordinated was guaranteed to lose everything most valued in life: honor, wealth, independence, freedom. Nuclear weapons upend this perception. Because of its "overkill" effect, war between nuclear-armed states can be worse than subordination. An all-out nuclear war between two great powers can destroy both. This perception structurally transforms a hegemonic contest from a "prisoner's dilemma" to a "chicken game."

In a great power competition structured as a chicken game, the best option for the players remains their own predominance and the second-best option a sharing or division of power, but the worst option is war and the second-worst, or third-best, option is subordination (P>D>S>W). With the structure of the game transformed, the best strategy and stable outcome of the game are also changed. The most striking difference between the prisoner's dilemma and the game of chicken is the reverse of their stable outcomes. If war is inevitable in a great power competition structured as a prisoner's dilemma, peace is equally attainable in a great power competition structured as a game of chicken. There are three Nash equilibria in the game of chicken, corresponding to three stable outcomes and three sets of best strategies for the players.[10] A game of chicken between two hegemonic contenders may result in either a division of power that both contenders more or less honor or the predominance of one of the contenders. The first hegemonic contest of the nuclear age, the "Cold War" between the Soviet Union and the United States, was so dubbed because it did not involve open warfare between the two great powers. Conforming with the Nash equilibria of the chicken game, the Cold War took the form of an extremely tense but relatively stable division of Europe, its

central theater of contest, throughout the conflict and eventually resulted in U.S. hegemony when the Soviet Union imploded.

Recently, Professor Graham Allison of Harvard invoked Thucydides and coined the term "Thucydides Trap" to describe the inclination to war of great power competition. He raised the specter of war between the two hegemonic contenders of today and asked, "Can America and China escape Thucydides's trap?" But his thesis is misplaced at best because it is based on a fundamentally flawed assumption. It assumes that all cases of great power competition share a similar structure as illustrated by Thucydides's famous quote about the inevitability of war between Athens and Sparta. Hence it posits the existence of the Thucydides Trap where this does not exist: in games of chicken (P>D>S>W) such as the strategic rivalries between Portugal and Spain in the late 15th century and between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 20th century, in the "called bluff" game (a combination of the game of chicken and the prisoner's dilemma) between Britain and the United States in the early 20th century, and in the "concord" game (D>P>S>W) between Britain/France and Germany in the 1990s.[11] Yet, these "peace" cases are treated as anomalies in the Thucydides Trap thesis, while the "war" cases are regarded as normal.[12] In light of the strategic game structure, however, the "no war" outcomes of these rivalries are predicted perfectly by their Nash equilibria. The risks of war still exist in the games of chicken, but they lie in human errors, machinery defects, or other non-structural factors, not in the Thucydides Trap.
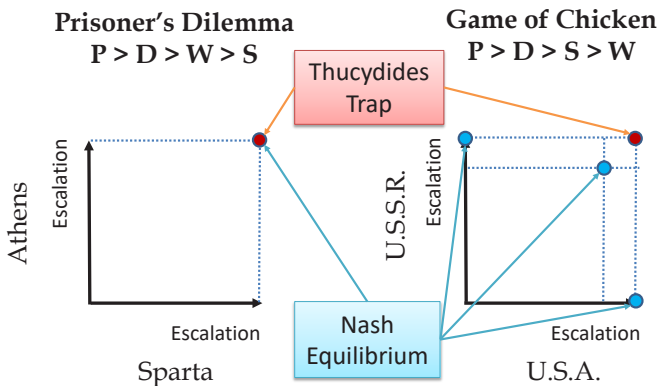

Figure 2.1. Strategy and Outcome of Great Power Competition

IMPACT OF GEOGRAPHY

Nuclear weapons are not the only factor that can transform a prisoner's dilemma into a game of chicken. A contested region far from the core area of a great power can make this contender perceive the cost of subordination in that region smaller than the cost of war, especially if war can reach the core area. This perception—that war is worse than subordination—renders the competition over a remote region a game of chicken (P>D>S>W), not a prisoner's dilemma (P>D>W>S). The hegemonic contest between Portugal and Spain over the non-Christian world in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was a game of chicken because both great powers competed for areas far from their home territories and still largely unknown to them. The competition between the United States and the United Kingdom for supremacy in the Western Hemisphere in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was an asymmetric game, named "called bluff" by game theorists, in which Britain played chicken because the contested site lay far from its home while America played the prisoner's dilemma because Washington was ready to wage war to assert its primacy. Predicted by their Nash equilibria, both rivalries resulted in agreements on spheres of influence.

Like technology, geography can elevate a state into great power status, tip the balance of competition, and change the structure of the game among great powers. But if technology can be a great equalizer, geography is a great un-equalizer. In the geography of Earth, all places are created unequal given their different climates, terrains, resources, and locations. Throughout history, a few places were privileged by these and other factors such as human dynamics, technology, and timing to become the seats of great powers. Uruk, Tjeni, and Magadha, the first great power in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and India respectively, each combined a fertile hinterland and a strategic crossroads of important trade routes. Macedon, Qin, and later, Britain and America shared a similar characteristic: they were supported by a relatively large and resource-rich region and, at the same time, protected by relatively insurmountable geographic barriers—distance, sea, or mountains.

On a larger scale, the Eurasian continent and its adjacent regions in the North Atlantic, North Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the Western Pacific are geopolitically privileged over Earth's other landmasses. Its big size and the diversity of its terrains and climate zones, amplified by its east-west orientation, have endowed its inhabitants with more resources, great-

er immunity to pathogens, and better chances of development, as Jared Diamond has vividly described in his book *Guns, Germs, and Steel*.[13] The largest among the areas of intense human interaction on Earth, Greater Eurasia was the seat of all great powers throughout history until the rise of the United States at the turn of the 20th century.

From a geopolitical perspective, Greater Eurasia consists of a *heartland* at its continental core, a *rimland* that stretches along its western, southern, and eastern seaboards, and some *offshore* islands such as Britain, Japan, and Java. The primary strategic edge of the Heartland was the superior mobility provided by its steppes and the horse native to this area. However, the Heartland lacked the fertile alluvial soil and the right climatic conditions that made a few Rimland regions—the valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Ganges, and Yellow River—the birthplaces of the first civilizations and great powers. Throughout history, the Rimland boasts the largest number of inhabitants, production centers, and major powers on Earth. One reason for the productivity of the Rimland is that it has enough water to support life on a very large scale. The productive areas of the Rimland have repeatedly given rise to great powers—Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Rome, India, and China, to name a few—but each remained the hegemon in its own region and never became a global hegemon.

In order to dominate all of the Rimland, one must gain direct access to each of its productive areas, to Europe, the Middle East, India, and China. This geographical imperative gives the hegemonic power of the steppe zone that spans the south of the Heartland from east to west and the hegemonic power of the world's oceans a clear edge over any regional hegemon in the Rimland. The largest contiguous state ever known was the Mongol empire, a great power based in the Heartland which achieved its partial hegemony over Eurasia thanks partly to its central geographic position and the mobility and formidability of its military, both enabled by the Heartland. But the largest state by land area the world has ever had was the British Empire. Based on a large offshore island of Europe, it controlled most of the world's maritime trade routes and dominated the world's oceans, which served as the backbone of its global empire. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States was a direct match of full strength between the hegemon of the Heartland and the hegemon of the maritime domain. The United States emerged victorious from this contest not least because of its favorable geography, which endowed it with a better climate, better protection, and better access to the sea. With direct access to and protection by both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the United

States was "the most favored state in the world from the point of view of location," as Nicholas Spykman noted on the eve of World War II.[14] Spykman had refined Halford Mackinder's original idea about the configuration of Earth and developed the concept of the Rimland in conjunction with those of the Heartland and the Offshore. His insights, succinctly summarized in the dictum, "Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia; who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world," would inform much of the U.S. grand strategy in the Cold War, the "containment" strategy.[15]

Offshore powers draw their advantage from the ocean: it provides superior protection and, since the invention of ocean-going ships, supreme connectivity. Like a unified network of gigantic rivers that connects the world's most productive areas, the world's oceans created, before the ages of airplanes and the Internet, the global system of transportation and is still the backbone of this system even when the transportation of goods and data can take place in the air, space, and cyber domains. This advantage of the maritime domain was graphically captured by Alfred Mahan, the author of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783*, in an early 20th-century debate with Halford Mackinder, the originator of the idea that the "geographical pivot of history" was the Heartland: "As a highway, a railroad competes in vain with a river—the greater speed cannot compensate for the smaller carriage."[16]

The geographic configuration of planet Earth has a profound impact on almost everything in the biosphere. It dictates the distribution of habitats for animals and plants and constrains the chance of development for nations.[17] At the geopolitical level, it suggests the seats of great powers and shapes the propensity of great power competition. The specific configuration of land and sea on Earth implies that global hegemony presupposes supremacy in the maritime domain and that among all great powers the biggest Offshore power has the largest chance to obtain this.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

A Recurrent Theme

Great power competition has been a recurrent theme in history since the emergence of the phenomenon in the late 4th millennium BC. Whenever there was more than one great power in a system of states, there was great power competition. In periods of unipolarity, it disappeared from the surface but remained active in various forms of non-peer competition. However, its repeated occurrence, even continuous existence, in the

past does not guarantee its recurrence in the future. Competition between great powers is unlikely if the expected costs of competition outweigh the expected benefits of predomination.

Nuclear weapons, or more precisely, a large number of nuclear warheads, have rendered an all-out nuclear war prohibitively costly. Nevertheless, great power competition continues to exist in the forms of arms races, proxy wars, and "wars by other means," as we have witnessed since the advent of the nuclear age. Some new technologies in the future—autonomous weapons being one of the candidates—may prove so destructive that they further inhibit war between the great powers, but no technology can eliminate all forms of great power completion. Human ambitions and human ingenuity will find ways for great powers to pursue "low-cost competition" such as indirect warfare, psychological warfare, economic warfare, and other forms of "war by other means."

The geographic configuration of Earth also places a limit on great power competition. Heartland and Rimland powers are heavily disadvantaged against Offshore powers in competition for the dominance of the maritime domain, a sine qua non of global hegemony. But this geographic impediment does not raise the costs of the competition prohibitively high. Thus we will continue to see Rimland and Heartland powers compete with each other and with Offshore powers for mastery over the world's oceans.

Great power competition is nearly identical to hegemonic contest. This is because most great powers prefer their own predominance over a division or sharing of power with competitors. Historical experience can upend this preference and remove the hegemonic contest from a great power competition. The rivalry among Germany, Britain, and France in post-Cold War Europe is a case in point, albeit at the regional level. Leaders and elites of these countries, especially Germany and France, have deeply learned the bloody lessons of World War II, World War I, and the many wars that ravaged Europe in the preceding centuries. This deep historical learning, combined with the fear of a nuclear war, has changed their preference order to D>P>S>W, rendering their power competition a game called "concord," whose only Nash equilibrium is a division of power. When the United Kingdom left the European Union following a referendum in 2016, it did not seek supremacy in Europe, but continued to be committed to a division of power in the region.

Historical experience is unique to each nation and each region. West Europeans' preference for a division of power over regional hegemony has evolved from their experience with the repeated failure of bids for hegemony, by Habsburg Spain, France, and Germany, and the destructive force of hegemonic wars in the last 500 years. East Asia, the cockpit of the hegemonic contest in the early 21st century, has a different historical experience. For most of the last 500 years, China was the hegemon in this region with a very few wars waged against Vietnam, Myanmar, and Japan in the south and the east, in part because the Middle Kingdom was focused on conflicts in the north and the west with Inner Asian powers. Perceiving itself as the legitimate overlord of the region, China is dreaming of redressing the "century of humiliation" it suffered at the hands of foreign powers in the 19th and early 20th century and restoring its "rightful" place at the top of the hierarchy of nations.[18] Hegemonic contest, and not simply great power competition, will stay with us for a long time.

A Game of Chicken

The "overkill" effect of nuclear weapons requires that a great power in the nuclear age must be a nuclear-armed state. At the same time, it makes direct warfare between great powers more appalling than their own subordination. This change in preference has drastically reduced the number of possible strategic structures for hegemonic contest from nine to two.[19] A hegemonic contest in the nuclear age can take one of two forms: the symmetric game of chicken and an asymmetric game in which a hegemonic contender plays chicken (P>D>S>W) and the major counter-hegemonic powers play concord (D>P>S>W). Lacking a common name by game theorists, I will call this latter game "peace-lover's dilemma" (to be explained below).

The hegemonic contest of our time is centrally between the United States and China. Russia and Islamic fundamentalists are also major global challengers of America but Russia's hegemonic ambition is regional, not global, and the Islamic fundamentalists are not a great power. These "new kids on the block" are a social movement and militant groups seeking to capture the state in countries that have a Muslim majority. The strategic competition between China and the United States is most intense in the Indo-Pacific, where both countries have a part or whole of their territory. The system-makers of this region include America, China, and to a lesser extent, India and Japan.

As seen in the previous sections, different preference orders of the players create different structures of their strategic game, which profoundly affects the best strategies they can pursue and the stable outcomes of their game. The sense of entitlement for supremacy is deeply ingrained in the Chinese psyche and finds its policy expression in the "China Dream"—rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and restoration of China's supreme position in the international system. This dual goal has been embraced and pursued by successive generations of Chinese leaders regardless of their political orientation for more than a hundred years, from Sun Yat-sen to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, to Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and now Xi Jinping.[20]

With regard to nuclear weapons, after a brief period thinking that China's massive population could help the country survive major nuclear attacks, Chinese leaders realized that with a sufficient nuclear arsenal, a country can deter major attacks from its nuclear-armed enemies.[21] China's preference order in its hegemonic contest is, therefore, that of a chicken game player (P>D>S>W); indeed, China has played the game of chicken masterfully.[22]

The nuclear taboo—the thinking that nuclear war is morally unthinkable—is even more entrenched in the United States.[23] But America is less determined than China in pursuing international primacy. The United States has fundamentally two strategic choices. If it prefers its predominance over a division or sharing of power with China, its preference order will be that of a chicken game player, and the game it plays with China will be the symmetric game of chicken. But if it prefers a division or sharing of power with China over its own supremacy, its preference order will be that of a concord game player (D>P>S>W) and the game it plays with China will be the asymmetric game I call "peace-lover's dilemma." It is a dilemma for the game's peace-loving players because the game's only Nash equilibrium—its stable outcome—is the dominance of the more aggressive (the chicken game player) over the less aggressive (the concord game player).[24] The less aggressive strategy of the concord game player has eliminated two of the three Nash equilibria of the symmetric game of chicken, leaving only one stable outcome for the asymmetric game. As this game is ultimately unfavorable to the United States, Washington is—after learning it the hard way—behaving more like a chicken game player than a concord game player. Indeed, the strategic imperative of the hegemonic contest with China is that America prefers its own supremacy over sharing power with China.

According to the logic of the chicken game, World War III is unlikely to occur, although high tensions and dangerous crises will abound and localized, conventional conflicts are possible. The structure of the game entails that none of its three Nash equilibria is a Thucydides trap. If both players in the prisoner's dilemma are bound to clash, they are bound to avoid their clash in the game of chicken. With regard to strategy, if one side escalates and the other side de-escalates, the more aggressive side will gain and the gains tend to be frozen into the status quo. But if both sides escalate, they will eventually reach some sort of agreement, expressly or tacitly. Knit together, these agreements will form a division of power between the main contenders, creating their spheres of influence in the major domains of the contest.

How should the United States behave when China is assertive and escalating? One option, as many have advocated, is to concede to China what it claims to be its core interests, avoid confrontation with Beijing, and if push comes to shove, share power with China or simply abandon the pursuit of Pax Americana.[25] This strategic choice will effectively turn the symmetric game of chicken into the asymmetric peace-lover's dilemma. It remains a sensible strategy for one of the chicken game's three Nash equilibria—but the worst of the three for America. A better strategy that can prevent both war and Chinese dominance is holding the line when China is testing your resolve and matching its escalation with your own while maintaining a channel for talks.

Assertiveness pays off in the game of chicken. As China has brilliantly shown in practice, this "aggressive but not very aggressive" kind of action operates in the gray zone between war and peace. Gray zone approaches play on the gap between the fluid nature of reality and the rigid character of rules, norms, and conventions. This gray zone has three dimensions, and a master player of the game of chicken must leverage all three dimensions of the gray zone, in tactics such as fait accompli, salami-slicing, and "cabbage"—surrounding a target like a cabbage wrapping itself with layers of non-military forces on the front and paramilitary forces in the middle, supported by military forces over the horizon. Based on the principles of deniability, camouflage, stealth, indirection, gradualism, and fait accompli, these tactics and others that will be invented or reinvented will gain strategic importance in the coming decades.

As kinetic war becomes too risky in the nuclear age, war by other means, such as political warfare, information warfare, psychological warfare, economic warfare, "lawfare" (the use of law as a weapon of conflict),

and the weaponization of the non-military—the media, tourists, universities, relationships, international organizations, to name just a few—will be critical to future power competition.[26] An effective tactic in the game of chicken is "riskfare," as exemplified by China in its recent "assertiveness."[27] Riskfare is the deliberate use of risks that plays on the opponent's fear of escalation. As the fear of escalation tends to spread more freely and more quickly in open societies and smaller countries, China has a strong edge in weaponizing risks to achieve its objectives without the use of kinetic force.

The Winning Geography

The symmetry of the game of chicken or the prisoner's dilemma refers to the symmetry of the players' preference orders, not that of their capacities. Although states can reach parity in economic output or weapons arsenals, they remain unequal with respect to location. As we have seen in a previous section, a significant part of a state's capacity comes from its position in the configuration of Earth. The U.S.-China competition shares its strategic structure—the chicken game—with the Cold War, but it is unprecedented regarding its configurative structure. While the Soviet Union was a Heartland power, China is a Rimland power. As Offshore vs. Rimland struggles, the Britain vs. France competition of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and the Britain vs. Germany rivalry in the early 20th century are nearer to the Sino-U.S. contest in this respect. But the geography of Europe is radically different from that of Asia. In terms of configurative structure, the nearest precedent to the present great power competition in Asia is the concurrent rivalry between Japan and China and between Japan and Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But if Japan, an Offshore power, was the rising power at that time, it is China, a Rimland power, that is rising this time.

Today the lifeline of Asia, which carries more than half of the region's trade, is the waterways that run through the East China Sea, the South China Sea, and the northeastern section of the Indian Ocean. About 90% of the crude oil imported by China, Japan, and South Korea, nearly two-thirds of South Korea's energy supplies, around 60% of Japan's and Taiwan's energy supplies, and four-fifths of Southeast Asia's international trade are shipped through the South China Sea alone.[28] As the world's economic center of gravity is shifting to Asia, where 60% of the world's population lives, to paraphrase Spykman, who controls the Western Pacific and the Eastern Indian Ocean rules Asia; who rules Asia controls

the destinies of the world. A number of places are critical to the control of these waterways because they dominate the chokepoints of these sea lines of communication. They are—from northeast to southwest—Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia, India, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and the Chagos Archipelago (the British Indian Ocean Territory). Among these places, Japan, India, Taiwan, and Indonesia, given their locations and their resources, hold the key to the balance of power between China and the United States. If China expands its sphere of influence to the rest of Asia but these four stay closer to the United States, then the world balance of power can still tilt toward the latter. A principal imperative for the United States as well as for China in their strategic contest is to gain influence in and access to these places.

New Kids on the Block

In the last 500 years at least, technological and economic changes advanced in waves and were in close relationship with the cycle of hegemonic conflict.[29] Each of the past waves of the Industrial Revolution was accompanied by a hegemonic struggle: the First, by the Napoleonic Wars; the Second, by World Wars I and II; and the Third, by the Cold War. Starting after the Cold War, the Fourth Industrial Revolution is now also accompanied by the hegemonic contest between China and the United States. Since the Second Industrial Revolution, each wave of the Industrial Revolution has made a new domain available to human activities: the Second added the air domain to the land and maritime domains, the Third opened up the space domain, the Fourth created the cyber domain.

Already indispensable for human life and a critical domain of human activities, the cyber domain has become a lifeline during the COVID-19 pandemic, carrying much of human communications and social activities—tens of millions of people depend on it when working from home or in lockdown. The Fourth Industrial Revolution, with its reliance on mobile networks and the Internet of Things, is making the cyber domain essential for economics, politics, and security. In some respects, it has become more important than the air and space domains because it carries information that everyone relies on. Human communications and social activities are present in the form of data in the cyber domain. These data can be collected, controlled, and manipulated by those that provide the applications, devices, physical networks, and virtual platforms for the com-

munications and activities to take place. As it stands today, a small number of "Big Tech" companies dominate the markets for these goods and services. Their access to data and devices and their control of networks and platforms make them critical actors in the geopolitical system. These "new kids on the block" have the power to *change* the system, though the power to *make* the system still lies in the hands of great powers.

Together with the maritime domain, the cyber domain provides a central theater of contest for the hegemonic contenders of our time. Today, the division of the cyber domain into a Chinese sphere of influence and a U.S. sphere of influence is well underway, with Huawei, the world's largest producer of 5G equipment, leading the effort to enlarge the Chinese sphere of influence. Like the British East India Company, Huawei is a private company that expands the power of its sovereign by conquering vast and critical areas, this time in the physical layer of the cyber domain. Nonexistent before the 1990s, the cyber domain is virtual but not nonphysical because it has a physical layer upon which the networks are built. Spheres of influence in this physical layer often reflect and reinforce those in the land domain. Once established, they are far harder to change than spheres of influence in the maritime domain and the virtual space of the cyber domain.

Conclusion

Great power competition is inherent in the phenomenon of great powers—as long as there are great powers in a system of states, there is competition between them. Underlying this phenomenon are human dynamics such as the concentration of power and the ambitions of individuals. Although great powers are the makers of the international systems, their rise and fall and the balance of power among them are heavily affected by the system-changers, who are not necessarily state actors but gain their advantage from the extraordinary dynamism of their quest of opportunities, which sometimes manifests in their superior mobility, their organizational flexibility, or their frontier position in a critical domain.

There are three major kinds of structures that shape the relations between great powers. The first includes the belief systems of the elite and the populace. They mold their thought and guide their action, thus directly impact the course and the strength of the state. In the form of historical experience and ideology, beliefs can profoundly shape and change the character of great power relations. The second is the strategic structure

that emerges from the interaction of the preference orders of the great powers involved. This strategic structure ensures that some outcomes of the competition are more stable than others and some strategies of the contenders are more viable than others. Understanding the strategic structure of great power competition will help us answer key questions related to war and peace and strategy. Thirdly, great power competition is also structured by geography. The configuration of land, sea, and terrain on Earth gives the arena of great power competition a distinctive form. Reflecting the locations of the great powers, the production centers, the transportation routes, and the geographical barriers, the configurative structure of great power competition also restricts—and enables—the capabilities and strategies of the great powers. It suggests that, more than any great power in the Heartland and Rimland of Eurasia, the biggest Offshore power has the best chance to achieve global primacy.

The advent of nuclear weapons has required that a great power be a nuclear-armed state. This frightening fact has eliminated the structural cause of war between the great powers—a "trap" famously noted by the 5th-century BC Greek historian Thucydides in his comment on the inevitability of war between the hegemonic contenders of his time and place. However, the risk of war still exists in human errors, machinery defects, and some idiosyncratic factors. Beliefs—the first kind of structures mentioned above—can help humanity to minimize the risks of a nuclear holocaust.

Notes

1   Toby Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010). Harriet Crawford, ed., *The Sumerian World* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

2   Gérard Chaliand, *A Global History of War: From Assyria to the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Michèle Mangin-Woods and David Woods (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 100-107.

3   See boxes for some examples of system-changers and John Haywood, ed., *Atlas of World History* (New York: Fall River Press, 2009) for brief discussions of these groups in the context of world history.

4   For example, Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* 17, no. 4 (Spring 1993): 5-51; Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 44-79; Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 7-41.

5   For example, William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 5-41.

6   A number of events between 2008 and 2016 marked the end of the unipolar period and the beginning of a U.S.-China bipolar era. Shortly after the 2008 financial crisis, China overtook the United States as a leading trade partner of most countries, including many U.S. allies such as Japan, South Korea, and Australia. See Alyssa Leng and Roland Rajah, "Chart of the Week: Global Trade through a US-China Lens," *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute, December 18, 2019, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/chart-week-global-trade-through-us-china-lens. When China set up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in 2015, several U.S. allies, including Australia, South Korea, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, applied to join it despite U.S. opposition. China and Russia formally declared a "comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership" in 2011. The same designation had been awarded to China's relationship with Vietnam in 2008, Laos in 2009, Cambodia in 2010, and Myanmar in 2011. Beijing and Moscow formally upgraded their relations to "comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership for a new era" in 2019.

7   For George W. Bush's view of China as a "strategic competitor," see his campaign remarks in 1999 and 2000: George W. Bush, "A Distinctly American Internationalism," speech at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999, https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/wspeech.htm; and George W. Bush in CNN, Larry King Live Show, South Carolina Republican Debate, aired on February 15, 2000, transcript at http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0002/15/lkl.00.html. Hinting at China, *the Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (QDR) of the U.S. Department of Defense, dated September 30, 2001, noted, "The possibility exists that a military competitor with a formidable resource base will emerge in the region. The East Asian littoral - from the Bay of Bengal to the Sea of Japan - represents a particularly challenging area" (p. 4). The QDR identified "[p]recluding hostile domination of critical areas, particularly Europe, Northeast Asia, the East Asian littoral, and the Middle East and Southwest Asia" as one of the "enduring national interests" of the United States (p. 2), https://archive.defense.gov/pubs/qdr2001.pdf. A year later, the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (NSS) issued by the Bush administration in September 2002 directed the focus on the "war on terror" and emphasized "strengthen[ing] alliances to defeat global terrorism" and "develop[ing] agendas for cooperative action with other main centers of world power" (pp 1-2). On China, the NSS stated, "We welcome the emergence of a strong, peaceful, and prosperous China" and "The United States seeks a constructive relationship with a changing China" (p. 27), https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf.

8   Chinese President Jiang Zemin stated in 2002 that the following 20 years would be a "period of strategic opportunity" for China to develop its comprehensive

national strength, international competitiveness, and global influence due to a favorable strategic environment. See Jiang Zemin, "Build a Well-off Society in an All-Round Way and Create a New Situation in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," report delivered at the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Beijing, November 8, 2002, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/3698_665962/t18872.shtml and Xu Jian, "Rethinking China's Period of Strategic Opportunity," *China International Studies* (March/April 2014): 52. China's gross domestic product in 2001 is estimated at US$ 2.418 trillion, while the figure for 2016 is US$ 9.524 trillion; both are in constant 2010 US$, according to the World Bank's data: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD?locations=CN.

9   Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Richard Crawley, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7142/7142-h/7142-h.htm.

10 Andrew M. Colman, *Game Theory and Its Applications: In the Social and Biological Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

11 For names of games and their preference orders, see the "periodic table" of strategic games in Bryan Randolph Bruns, "Names for Games: Locating 2x2 Games," *Games* no. 6 (2015): 495-520.

12 The fullest statement of the Thucydides Trap thesis is Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017). Allison explains the four "no-war" anomalies by recourse to a plethora of ad hoc factors ranging from the Pope's authority, to economic, political, and security institutions, to the role of statesmen, timing, cultural commonalities, to nuclear weapons and economic interdependence (pp. 187-286). From the perspective of Occam's razor, Allison's explanations are clearly inferior to an explanation based on the strategic structure of hegemonic contest.

13 Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

14 Nicholas J. Spykman, "Geography and Foreign Policy, I," *American Political Science Review* 32, no. 1 (February 1938): 43.

15 Antero Holmila, "Re-thinking Nicholas J. Spykman: From Historical Sociology to Balance of Power," *The International Historical Review*, 2019, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07075332.2019.1655469. The quote is in Nicholas John Spykman, *The Geography of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, 1944), 43.

16 A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1898). H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographic Pivot of History," *The Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (April 1904): 421-444. The quote is in A.T. Mahan, *The Problem of Asia and Its Effect upon International Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900), 38.

17 Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*.

18 Howard W. French, *Everything Under the Heavens: How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017).

19 The nine strategic structures of hegemonic contest include the three symmetric games of deadlock, chicken, and the prisoner's dilemma, the three asymmetric combinations of these three, and the three asymmetric variants of the "stag hunt" pairing with either the prisoner's dilemma, deadlock, or chicken.

20 Orville Schell and John Delury, *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Random House, 2013). Friso M.S. Stevens, "China's Long March to National Rejuvenation: Toward a Neo-Imperial Order in East Asia?" *Asian Security* (2020), https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14799855.2020.1739651.

21 Xu Weidi, "China's Security Environment and the Role of Nuclear Weapons," in *Understanding Chinese Nuclear Thinking*, eds. Li Bin and Tong Zhao (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2016). M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, "China's Search for Assured Retaliation," *International Security* 35, no. 2 (2010): 48-87.

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23 Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

24 Bruns, "Names for Games," 499.

25 For example, Allison, *Destined for War*, 235-238; Hugh White, *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

26 Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare* (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, 1999), translated by FBIS, https://www.c4i.org/unrestricted. pdf. Alexander L. Vuving, "China's Strategic Messaging: What It Is, How It Works, and How to Respond to It," in *China's Global Influence: Perspectives and Recommendations*, eds. Scott D. McDonald and Michael C. Burgoyne (Honolulu: Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2019), https://apcss.org/wp-content/ uploads/2019/09/10-Chinas_strategic_messaging-vuving.pdf. Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris, *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

27 Jonathan G. Odom, "China's 'Riskfare,'" *Proceedings* (of the United States Naval Institute) 145, no. 3 (March 2019): 1,393.

28 China Power Team, "How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?" *China Power*, August 2, 2017, updated October 10, 2019, https://chinapower.csis.org/ much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/. Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* (New York: Random House, 2014), 9. U.S. Energy Information Administration, "More than 30% of Global Maritime Crude Oil Trade Moves through the South China Sea," *Today in Energy*, August 27, 2018, https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=36952.

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THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS DISCONTENTS:
GOVERNANCE, BIG TECH, AND THE DIGITIZATION OF GEOPOLITICS

Virginia Bacay Watson

Introduction

In 2016, World Economic Forum founder and Executive Chairman Klaus Schwab published a book, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution,*[1] a concept that has since held currency as the umbrella term to frame and examine the impact of emerging technologies on all aspects of society in the early 21st century. Artificial intelligence (AI), fifth generation mobile networks (5G), three-dimensional (3D) printing, cloud computing, robotics, drones, virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR), the Internet of Things (IoT), genomics, biometrics, and blockchain are commonly included in the list of present-day emerging technologies anticipated to provide human societies with the means to overcome global challenges like disease, poverty, and ignorance.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is distinct from prior revolutions in at least three ways. First, building upon the legacy of digital networks from the Third Industrial Revolution, the speed, scope, and scale of technological advance and diffusion in 4IR is quite unlike the world has ever seen before. It is evolving at an exponential rate and transforming virtually every industry in every country and all aspects of societal life. Second, it is about the dynamic fusion of digital, physical, and biological technologies. This merging is producing innovations that are issuing paradigm-shifting norms and upending existing ones. And third, many of the emerging technologies are personalized in nature that, while facilitating rapid societal integration, also create new normative challenges that

require major changes in the foundations of existing technology governance institutions.

All told, these features of 4IR animate disruptions in all aspects of society. The disruptions go beyond connecting smart, advanced machines and systems and the growing harmonization and integration of multiple disciplines and inventions: these developments are spurring conceptual breakaways and breakthroughs, forcing functions that are altering our ways of being, doing, perceiving, and thinking. Three factors will figure significantly in this revolution: technology governance, the role of Big Tech and platform companies, and the digitization of geopolitics.

Emerging Technologies, New Governance

Although still in its nascent period, 4IR is already marked by an inundation of innovations that are generating benefits and opportunities for people all over the world. However, not unlike all technological advancements, societal gains accruing from 4IR inventions are matched by negative disruptions and challenges. Laying the foundations for a different future virtually unchecked and in rapid fashion, the potential harm and risks associated with 4IR technologies are—at least in the West—causing great concern among various stakeholders, including governments, members of the science and technology (S&T) community, the private sector, nongovernmental organizations, ethicists, and a whole array of citizens' groups.

At the core of this concern are two interrelated issues—the ethical and legal dimensions of the innovations, and oversight over the direction and future development of emerging technologies to ensure that benefits are maximized while costs and risks are minimized. As a World Economic Forum White Paper on technology governance puts it:

> The speed with which new technologies converge, resulting in new applications and new technological combinations, increases the rate of obstacles and dilemmas for institutions and societies. At all levels—global, national, municipal, organizational and even familial—we are struggling to develop and enforce new sets of rules and behaviors at an equivalent speed in order to get the most out of emerging technologies while managing their risks . . . At this stage of the Fourth Industrial Revolution . . . there is no central point of reference for technology governance, and relatively few "leading practices."[2]

How can we ensure that innovations in AI, robotics, and gene-splicing do not violate human dignity and the core values of being human? What principles and rules should govern the conduct of cyberwar and drone use? What might an ethics of surveillance look like? Who should assess the risks and benefits of innovation? How do we guarantee responsible and ethical innovation in an unequal world? What are the universal design principles and values that should guide our thinking, design, and development of technology?[3]

These questions illustrate the kinds of dilemmas and conditions that must inform multi-stakeholder technology governance discussions. They point to two overarching imperatives. First, the need to know and understand the values of the inventors. Technological innovations do not happen in a vacuum: the disruptive nature of emerging technologies stems from the offer of new normative, organic (i.e., "still-in-the-making") criteria derived from the intent of the creators and users. And second, the need to create the world's future in a principled manner.[4] Moving the global governance discourse forward requires a "whole-of-world," multi-stakeholder effort that treats technology-making and technology futures as dynamic, governable spaces that humankind can shape.

Current efforts to improve global technology governance face serious gaps and challenges. First, governance approaches around the world are diverse in terms of institutions, processes, and priorities depending on the countries' levels of technological and economic development. Second, countries have different national interests, and national governance strategies reflect to protect these differences. Third, there is a dearth of governance bodies that function in the fashion of 4IR and emerging technology dynamics, ie., multi-stakeholder, multi- and cross-disciplinary, multi-domain, multilevel (domestic-regional-global), innovative, and adaptable.[5] Fourth, governance initiatives that do exist have a short shelf life, quickly becoming ineffective when pitted against the normative requirements of new and rapidly evolving innovations. And fifth, stakeholders may prefer the absence of technology governance mechanisms in order to have a wider range of strategic options insofar as the use of particular emerging technologies is concerned to protect national interests.[6]

There is great opportunity to define the as yet sparsely populated space of emerging technology governance to parallel the development of the cyber domain as human territory. The gaps and challenges mentioned in brief here are lessons from past revolutions, submitting that if the gov-

ernance of emerging technologies is to work, its tenets should be as disruptive as the intent and consequences of the technologies themselves.

Big Tech: Bigger Than Ever

In 1995, 25 years ago, the Internet started with 16 million users, or 0.04% of the world's population of around 5.7 billion. Today the number of users is at 4.7 billion (58.7% of the world population), just one billion over the 1995 population.[7] Whether information is like oil or "sunlight,"[8] it is becoming, in this nascent period of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the most valuable, strategic, and contested resource in the world.[9] One of the most dominant themes of the discourse on the Information Revolution is the growing importance of data in all aspects of human society: as centerpiece of the 21st century economy, driver of socio-ethical change, and lynchpin of geopolitical and security dynamics.

Controlled by the very few in Silicon Valley at the outset, the emergence of information as a new resource created a technology oligarchy of immense wealth, power, and influence. The economic weight of Big Tech[10]—as they are known today—dominates global trade and investment. Four of America's top five tech firms (Alphabet, Amazon, Apple, and Microsoft) are each worth over $1 trillion each. The combined value of the five—including Facebook (#7 in revenue)—is around $2 trillion, roughly equivalent to Germany's entire stock market,[11] the ninth largest in the world. Alibaba, Baidu, Huawei, JD.com, and Tencent hold similar rankings in China's tech industry, and together with America's five, round out the list of the world's top 10 tech revenue earners. Seven of these firms (America's five plus Alibaba and Tencent) are among the world's top 10 most valuable companies.[12] Combined, the firms' value, earnings, resources, scope, and reach of investments and influence put them in the leading position to continue informing the techno-economic agenda of 4IR.

Attendant to its tremendous economic value is Big Tech's role in framing the socio-ethical debates pertaining to privacy and emerging technologies such as AI. While the Third Industrial Revolution paved the way for universal access to information and individual empowerment through the Internet, it also gave the tech oligarchs a new kind of unregulated power to control virtual information and to manipulate and shape human behavior with the help of AI-based innovations. The construct of this discourse, however, is quite different between America's Big Tech and

China's tech titans owing to the profound differences between the two countries' political systems.

In the United States up until recently, the tech giants were on the receiving end of a "techlash"—public criticism, among other issues, for their alleged disregard of individual rights to privacy in the digital domain[13] and for failing to incorporate environmental, social, and governance (ESG) criteria into their business strategy and decisions.[14] Of late however, the idea that firms "with a sense of purpose" could address issues like social injustice, climate change, and inequality is sweeping across sectors of the business community.[15] This proposition proceeds from the notion that the firms' increased power imposes new demands on them. Per Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella, the combination of having a sense of purpose with a mission that is "aligned with what the world needs" is a powerful way to win public trust. And because trust matters, the core of Microsoft's business model is purpose. He goes on to say that:

> As technology becomes so pervasive in our lives and society, we as platform companies have more responsibility, whether it's ethics around artificial intelligence, cyber-security or privacy . . . There is *moral obligation*.[16] [emphasis added]

Today, this vision recalibration finds a more visible presence of American Big Tech and other Western firms in multilateral deliberations that address the impact of emerging technologies on societies. International fora such as the World Economic Forum have become important venues for them to articulate their techno-social responsibility policies and plans on issues like privacy, ethics, and AI. This normative space will likely continue to expand for the private sector not only because they have extensive resources, but also because state capacity to wrestle with technology-based legal/ethical dilemmas is simply outmatched by the speed of technological invention and diffusion. Making themselves a part of the discussion will further enhance the private sector's influence in the broader process of "norm-shaping" moving forward.

On the other side of the world in China, the world's other five Big Tech firms inform the digital information discourse in a significantly different way. Unlike their Western counterparts, China's Big Tech is under the authoritarian state's tacit control, and the power and authority that undergirds the ownership and use of citizens' personal data is exclusively

exercised by the state—i.e., the Chinese Communist Party. Domestically, Big Tech's development of 4IR technologies including AI-powered surveillance devices and systems have become a critical feature of the state's strategy to further enhance and assert its power and repressive capacity. The government's relentless and systematic use of advanced and invasive surveillance in its crackdown on the minority Uyghur population in Xinjiang and the million or so in detention camps is cited as the prime example of how technology can be used to establish complete population control.

This Chinese model of digital authoritarianism has caught the attention of other autocracies.[17] Its tech giants and data platform companies have been instrumental not only in selling digital technologies to these countries, but in the process of doing so, also exporting the Chinese model of "cyberspace management." Studies show that the transfer of China's authoritarian DNA to existing repressive regimes have transformed the latter into "durable digital autocracies,"[18] with the imported technology platforms providing the wherewithal to support repressive cultures. Arguably, this group of "early adaptor" countries could serve as important allies to China in its global drive to promote an alternate vision of international order.

Seen in this light, Big Tech serves at the forefront as "vectors"[19] of China's geopolitical agenda, supporting the strategic objectives of the state in the domestic and international fronts. While their counterparts in the West are wrestling with trying to strike a balance between their techno-economic interests and their social and ethical responsibilities, China's tech giants are inventing, using, and diffusing new technologies that promote and support the values of state authoritarianism.

Competition among the world's top 10 tech firms (five each from the United States and China) for technological leadership in the virtual domain is thus platformed on two fundamentally different propositions of the digital future and cyberspace reality—one grounded on the principles of liberal democracy, and the other on the tenets of authoritarianism. Working through the governance of the digital world as it is will be a daunting task but will be even more so if the power players proceed by defaulting to their respective normative corners. There are indications that cyberspace currents are already headed that way (see next section). In concert with a central geopolitical motif, technology rivalry and normative power have the United States, China, and their respective tech and data platform companies as the most prominent players.

Geopolitics in the State of the Cloud

The digitization of geopolitics is the process--currently in its early phases—that transfers the scope of political reality into the virtual domain. However, digital geopolitics should not only be seen as "a layer superimposed on conventional geopolitics, but as a major geopolitical force itself that will create its own new alignments among new actors, and not only states."[20] The process of migration itself generates new sources of geopolitical currents. The previous section examined the pivotal role of the tech giants in shaping the cyber domain discourse. The choice of platform company matters because it is linked to regime type. Under the rubric of U.S.-China strategic competition, the ongoing debates about the risks and benefits of using Huawei's 5G to upgrade national telecommunications infrastructures are no longer just matters of economic or technology policy, but one of national security and the future of the international order. As a British study of Huawei and 5G puts it:

> . . . we should remind ourselves that China's military strategists perceive a world in which the military and the civilian will be fused into a single plane of conflict. The ability to control communications and the data that flows through its channels will be the route to exercise power over societies and other nations.[21]

From this vantage point, the decision of traditional American allies, Thailand and the Philippines, to opt for Huawei 5G and/or other Chinese data platform companies is unsettling one of the cornerstones of post-World War II international security architecture. These deviations suggest that variations exist among allies' views on the global role of China, and that the strategic value of the ally's relations with China has risen to rival the alliance agenda, alongside changes in its bilateral relations with the United States.

Absent emerging technology governance on the global level, the expectation is the emergence of a wider spread of new regulatory or governance regimes as countries and/or regions attempt to manage the impact of technological advancements. For instance, the digital overlay on the "conventional" geopolitical map suggests an emerging "new technological global divide" between the United States and Europe based on differing

views of technology as a strategic instrument.[22] Consequently, whereas the European Union (EU) has established an "extensive regime around data, data privacy and human rights," the United States has been focused on technology-building complemented by "light-touch regulations" that put the onus of managing the consequences of technology use to companies and societal groups.[23]

The EU's preoccupation with data and data privacy is not excessive. The strategic, economic, and monetary value of digital information has given rise to cybercrime. Cyber criminals are taking advantage of weak, diverse, or absent, cyber governance laws to operate globally, anonymously, and with impunity. Their activities can be politically consequential: they can be hired to undermine political rivals or enemies, destabilize a country by damaging critical infrastructure, paralyze business operations that can cause societal panic, steal state secrets for ransom, and so forth. They present serious political, diplomatic, legal and security challenges to all states, and for as long as cybersecurity is not collectively addressed, cyber criminals will continue to occupy dangerous and unregulated territory in the cyber domain.

The Planet and the Cloud

The coexistence of the virtual and the real has spurred the introduction of new concepts, connotations, and constructs in the language of geopolitics. The digitization of war—cyberwar—not only extends warfighting into the virtual; writing on the state of military art today, professor of war studies Lawrence Freedman finds that the common theme

> . . . was of the blurring of boundaries—between peace and war, the military and the civilian, the conventional and unconventional, the regular and the irregular, the domestic and the international, and the state and the non-state, the legitimate and the criminal.[24]

He also examines "gray zone" conflicts, located "somewhere between peace and war, where the action chosen was deliberately kept below the threshold that would spark major war."[25]

These states of "blur and between-ness" essay the role of advanced digital and emerging technologies in a complex geopolitical landscape of

two spaces (virtual and real). They expose the inadequacy of traditional concepts and tools of statecraft to explain and address the changes attendant to the process of digitization.

Both Russia and China are proving to be highly successful operators in this dual environment. The seminal work on "sharp power" specifically refers to Russia and China as authoritarian states who use "aggressive and subversive" policies to project state power in democratic countries with the intention to "manipulate their targeted audience by distorting the information that reaches them."[26] Indeed, Russia's preferred gray zone tactic is using disinformation campaigns (such as in the U.S. 2016 presidential elections) to undermine political institutions, while China uses a more "materially threatening form" in its conduct of gray zone operations.[27]

Operating along blurred conceptual lines and in gray zones are pivotal venues in the contest of global narratives and power projection. Thus far, the United States and its allies have yet to come up with a strategy to address rapidly emerging gray zone challenges in a timely, responsive manner.[28] In order for the United States to enhance its strategic advantage over Russia and China, it needs to be present in these new areas of contested spaces. Whoever assumes control over the levers of power in the real and digital arenas will be in a position of global leadership.

In the virtual world thus, we see a distinct architecture of interconnectivity that features a more prominent role for Big Tech and platform companies and other non-state actors (to include terrorists, underworld criminal organizations, individuals, and citizens' groups). We also detect the emergence of new divides among states, the resurgence of Russia as a potential cyber power, weakening and/or shifting alliances, and potential nation-based coalitions organized along techno-authoritarian lines. The digitization of geopolitics is reshaping the strategic layout of international relations, accompanied by new concepts and constructs that capture the dynamics of change from the real to the virtual domain.

Conclusion

This chapter explores three issues that figure importantly in understanding the dynamics of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Technology governance, the role of Big Tech, and the digitization of geopolitics inform the disruptions in the revolution. The persistence of technology governance ideas that affirm the supremacy of the Westphalian order is a negative disruption that inhibits the construction of a governance regime that

function in the fashion of 4IR and emerging technology dynamics: multi-stakeholder, multi- and cross-disciplinary, multi-domain and multilevel (domestic-regional-global), innovative and adaptable.

The rise of Big Tech is in and of itself a disruptive force. Together with data platform companies, they have had the primary charter of transfer to digitize geopolitics. As principal players in cyberspace, they are the gatekeepers to the universal adoption of "everything and anything digital" that is now materializing into a new strategic space for the conduct of societal affairs—cyber domain—"a technology-enabled domain for humans and machines to live and interact, a hypostatic abstraction, a political reality."[29]

The political theorist Langdon Winner famously proposed that "artifacts have politics."[30] The digitization of geopolitics is not a mechanical process. The migration of "conventional" geopolitics to the virtual domain is a disruptive process that is rife with social, ethical, and legal conversations. The proliferation of conceptual and contested blurred lines and the inherent ambiguity of gray zones indicate that we are still in the early phases of transfer, and that the normative structure that will define the beginnings of the Fifth Industrial Revolution is still far off on the distant horizon.

Notes

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3   This last question from: Satya Nadella, "The Partnership of the Future," Slate, June 28, 2016, https://slate.com/technology/2016/06/microsoft-ceo-satya-nadella-humans-and-a-i-can-work-together-to-solve-societys-challenges.html.

4   Ibid. Nadella citing computer pioneer Alan Kay, who was quoted as saying, "The best way to predict the future is to invent it." Also see: Tony Prophet, "Ethics and Technology in the Fourth Industrial Revolution," World Economic Forum, January 21, 2019, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/01/ethics-and-technology-in-the-fourth-industrial-revolution/.

5   "Global Technology Governance," World Economic Forum, 4.

6   Virginia B. Watson, "Offsetting the Impacts of Emerging Critical Technologies," in *Emerging Critical Technologies and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Richard Bitzinger (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 70-71.

7 "Internet Growth Statistics," Internet World Stats, https://www.internetworld-stats.com/emarketing.htm; "Population Pyramids of the World," https://www.populationpyramid.net/world/1995/.

8 "Digital Plurality," *Economist* 434, no. 9182 (February 20, 2020): 4.

9 "The World's Most Valuable Resource is No Longer Oil, But Data," *Economist* 423, no. 9039 (May 6, 2017), https://www.economist.com/leaders/2017/05/06/the-worlds-most-valuable-resource-is-no-longer-oil-but-data.

10 "Big Tech" became part of mainstream language in 2013, but the turning point for using it as a label ascribed to the largest U.S. Internet companies occurred in 2017. The list includes U.S. companies like Alphabet, Amazon (also the world's largest retailer), Apple, Facebook, Microsoft (aka 'Big Five'). From Asia, the list would include Alibaba (PRC), Baidu (PRC), Fuji (Japan), Huawei (PRC), JD.com (PRC), Samsung (ROK), Tata (India), Tencent (PRC). It was during this period when President Trump accused Amazon of being a monopoly, making it a target for antitrust action. There were questions on the extent of Big Tech's role in spreading misinformation and facilitating foreign interference in the 2016 U.S. elections. And it was also during this time when Congress summoned some of these companies to take part in hearings that sought to clarify their role in Russia's U.S. election meddling. Will Oremus, "Big Tobacco. Big Pharma. Big Tech?" Slate, November 17, 2017, https://slate.com/technology/2017/11/how-silicon-valley-became-big-tech.html.

11 "Big Tech's $2Trn Bull Run," *Economist 434,* no. 9182, February 22, 2020: 9.

12 "Most Valuable Companies in the World: 2020," FXSSI, May 23, 2020, https://fxssi.com/top-10-most-valuable-companies-in-the-world.

13 Another major reason for the 'techlash' was public concern over the tech companies' lackluster efforts to stop ISIS and other terrorist groups from working their messages online. See Google/Facebook response in Joseph Menn and Dustin Volz, "Exclusive: Google, Facebook Quietly Move toward Automatic Blocking of Extremist Video," Reuters, June 24, 2016, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-internet-extremism-video-exclusive-idUSKCN0ZB00M.

14 "I'm from a Company, and I'm Here to Help," *Economist* 432, no. 9157, August 24, 2019: 14.

15 Ibid.

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18 Kendall-Taylor et al., "Digital Dictators," 112.

19 Paul Triolo, of Eurasia Group, quoted in "The Challenger," Economist 426, no. 9083 (March 17, 2018): 19-22.

20 Steven Weber and Gabriel Nicholas, "Data, Rivalry, and Government Power: Machine Learning Is Changing Everything," *Global Asia* 14, no. 1 (March 2019): 22-29.

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24 Lawrence Freedman, *The Future of War: A History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2017), 284-285.

25 Ibid., 285.

26 Juan Pablo Cardenal et al., "Sharp Power: Rising Authoritarian Influence," National Endowment for Democracy, December 5, 2017, https://www.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Sharp-Power-Rising-Authoritarian-Influence-Full-Report.pdf.

27 Lyle J. Morris et al., Gaining Competitive Advantage in the Gray Zone (California: RAND Corporation, 2019), xi, https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR2900/RR2942/RAND_RR2942.pdf.

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29 William Gibson, "A consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators," Neuromancer (1984), cited in Fabio Rugge, "Emerging Disruptive Technologies and International Stability," *The Global Race for Technological Superiority*, ed. Fabio Rugge (Italy: Italian Institute for International Political Studies, 2019), 20, https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/ispi_cybsec_2019_web2.pdf.

30 Langdon Winner, "Do Artifacts Have Politics?" *Daedalus* 109, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 121-136, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20024652.

4

SURVEILLANCE TECHNOLOGY CHALLENGES POLITICAL CULTURE OF DEMOCRATIC STATES

Inez Miyamoto

The debate about the adoption of surveillance technologies by different systems of government is already over: both autocratic and democratic states use surveillance technologies. Autocratic states, such as China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia, embrace surveillance technologies to control their citizens.[1] They find the surveillance technologies to be effective because once citizens know that their communications and movements are being monitored, they change their behavior without any government intervention.[2] In contrast, democratic states use surveillance technologies to improve public safety and national security but struggle with balancing state and citizen interests. Accordingly, this article centers on the use of surveillance technologies by democratic states against their citizens. The use of surveillance technologies against citizens challenges the existing political culture of democratic states—the fundamental beliefs, values, and norms that have long defined them. In other words, surveillance technologies conflict with the agreement between democratic governments and their citizens for privacy and civil liberty protections. Democratic states must act now to resolve this debate because the unprecedented speed of technological change is generating a gap between how these states and their citizens understand their own political culture.

Democratic states use surveillance technologies to facilitate governance through social control. Torin Monahan explains democratic surveillance as "intentionally harnessing the control functions of surveillance for social ends of fairness, justice, and equality."[3] In theory, democratic states

counterbalance social control through citizen participation and democratic controls (e.g., oversight, transparency, and public accountability). In practice, citizen participation and democratic controls can be effective in counteracting privacy-invasive surveillance, but they tend to be reactive and slow to respond. Meanwhile, recent advancements in surveillance technologies provide democratic states with unprecedented power to identify, track, and analyze their citizens in real-time. In other words, digital mass surveillance can become the norm for democratic states if allowed to go unchecked.

This chapter examines the struggle that democratic states are having to resolve the tension between political culture and surveillance technologies; tension often displayed in differences between policymakers, security practitioners and civil society members. The first section examines three U.S. case studies to show how surveillance technology is creating friction between the government and civil society. The second section analyzes the roles of the private sector and the state to identify the drivers contributing to the tension with political culture. The third section imagines future technologies and their impact on the current debate. The final section concludes with recommendations for resolving the political culture gap between governments and their citizens.

DEBATING ASPECTS OF SURVEILLANCE THROUGH CASE STUDIES

This section examines three U.S. case studies to understand how surveillance technologies can undermine democratic political culture. Each of the case studies illuminates how free media and civic groups play an important role in identifying violations of civil liberties and ensuring public accountability.

Social Media and Facial Recognition

In 2016, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Northern California sounded the alarm that law enforcement was accessing social media intelligence to monitor social protests. By seeking public records to determine how law enforcement was using social media monitoring, the ACLU obtained the marketing materials of the social media monitoring company Geofeedia, which touted the Baltimore Police Department's successful use of its product.[4] Specifically, after using Geofeedia's product to obtain

social media photos of protesters, the Baltimore Police Department ran the photos through facial recognition technology to identify and arrest individuals with outstanding warrants.[5]

Upon learning how Geofeedia was using the social media feeds, social media companies (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter) suspended Geofeedia's access citing policies prohibiting their data from being used for surveillance activities. Without the social media feeds, Geofeedia could not manually collect social media posts to provide a real-time view of multiple social media feeds. The impact on Geofeedia was significant, causing layoffs and a business model shift to social media marketing and management.[6]

This is not an issue of law enforcement using social media platforms, which is publicly available information. When individuals post a public comment or picture on a social media platform, they want the public to see their content and are explicitly giving up their right to privacy. Since the comment or photo is open for the world to see, law enforcement is permitted to view and use public content. To prevent public access, individuals can increase their privacy settings so that only their followers can see their posts and photos. In this instance, law enforcement is required to obtain a court order to access the individuals' information.

Instead, the key issue here was law enforcement using a social media monitoring tool without a clear investigative purpose. Since individuals had a right to participate in a social protest, law enforcement had no investigative predication to identify individuals, let alone to check for outstanding warrants. Had there been a crime committed during the protest, then law enforcement could have justification to use facial recognition software in order to identify a suspect.

The underlying problem with Baltimore Police Department's use of Geofeedia's tool was its lack of transparency. When the department's use

> **Facial recognition technology** is used to identify people using biometrics through biological or behavioral characteristics and consists of two processes. First, in the enrollment process, a person's facial features are mathematically mapped as facial landmarks into a template and saved in a database of known individuals. Second, in the matching process, a photo of an unknown person is processed using facial technology and compared against a database of known individuals. Factors affecting the accuracy of matches include the technology (e.g., the way facial landmarks are calculated) and the quality of a photo image.

of the tool was revealed, it eroded public trust already strained by the police brutality incident which had sparked the protest. By being open about the social media tool and having clear policies on use of surveillance technologies, the Baltimore Police Department could have eased public concerns.

Website Scraping and Facial Recognition

In January 2020, the *New York Times* published a report about Clearview AI's invasive facial recognition product, which was being used by law enforcement to identify individuals. Clearview AI sells access to a platform which identifies an individual by using a facial recognition search against a database containing three billion images. After the news article was published, private technology companies (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Venmo, and Google) issued cease and desist letters to Clearview AI citing violations to their terms of service.[7] In response to the letters, Clearview AI claimed it had a right to publicly available information, likening its business to a search engine pulling information from different websites.[8]

In order to create a database of three billion images, Clearview AI extracted images from open websites using a process called website scraping, which is legal. In September 2019, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled that it is not illegal to scrape publicly accessible websites.[9] This ruling is currently being appealed; if the ruling is overturned, it could widen Clearview AI's legal troubles beyond the lawsuits it is facing in California, Illinois, and Vermont.

In February 2020, Clearview AI disclosed that an intruder stole its client list along with details about each client.[10] At the same time, *BuzzFeed News* revealed that it obtained internal Clearview AI documents from an undisclosed source, which included Clearview AI's client list of 2,228 organizations and individuals. The size of the client list is somewhat misleading as a majority of the clients were using free-trial licenses rather than a paid subscription. Clients with paid subscriptions included many federal government agencies (e.g., U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement

> **Web scraping** is the process of collecting data from websites. The process is automated by using web crawlers, which are programs or scripts designed to browse and lift information from the World Wide Web. Other terms for web scraping include web data extraction and web harvesting.

and U.S. Secret Service) and local law enforcement agencies.[11]

In this case study, law enforcement used a private-sector database to identify individuals, whereas in the Geofeedia case law enforcement used a government database. Law enforcement agencies traditionally rely on government databases for criminal identification, but an individual may not be in government databases. Clearview AI's technology provided an alternative for identifying individuals through open-source images. According to Clearview AI, law enforcement's use of its product does not violate any federal and state privacy or biometrics laws if it is used for its intended purpose and is not the sole basis for an arrest.[12] However, Clearview AI's database was controversial because the company violated individuals' rights: it never received the informed consent of the individuals owning the images or allowed individuals to opt out of its database.

> **Biometric technology** is used to identify or authenticate by using the biological attributes of individuals. Individuals can be identified using physiological biometrics (e.g., retina, vein, or fingerprint) or behavioral biometrics (e.g., gait, signature, or keystrokes). Facial recognition and fingerprint recognition are examples of biometrics.

Video Surveillance

There are two types of video surveillance commonly used: stationary and aerial video surveillance cameras. The first type involves the use of stationary cameras mounted at key locations. The second type involves the use of aerial craft mounted with cameras, which can be manned or unmanned. As an illustration, the military developed wide-area surveillance technology for use on a battlefield, but now law enforcement is using it for policing, border control, and wildlife protection.

In 2016 the Baltimore Police Department contracted with a wide-area surveillance company called Persistent Surveillance Systems. Over a period of several months, the company collected over 300 hours of surveillance video using aerial craft. After the plane downloaded the images onto a server hard drive, police could access the imagery to solve crimes. The video resolution did not allow for the identification of individuals or vehicles, but it was good enough to follow objects over time.[13]

After the program ended, *Bloomberg News* published an article revealing the Baltimore Police Department's use of wide-area surveillance tech-

nology. Public officials had no idea of the existence of the program because normal public spending oversight mechanisms were circumvented. Instead of using public funding, the police used a private donation from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation. The Foundation, which supports evidence-based policing solutions, had a prior agreement with Persistent Surveillance Systems to fund the project if the company could find a police department to use the technology.[14]

The Baltimore Police Department did not violate the law because U.S. laws allow for aerial surveillance without a warrant as long as the technology is publicly accessible.[15] The police wanted the technology because most of Baltimore's homicides occur in outdoor public spaces.[16] Since the camera resolution does not allow for visual identification of individuals or vehicles, there is even less of an invasion of privacy. Nevertheless, the department lost the public's trust because it was not transparent: it did not provide public notification, go through the normal procurement review, or publish its wide-area surveillance policy.

Despite all of the controversy, in 2019, Persistent Surveillance Systems solicited the Baltimore Police Department for a long-term contract. The three-year contract for US$6.6 million, which was funded again by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, involved three planes, and covered 32-square miles. Persistent Surveillance Systems also disclosed its privacy program, limiting the resolution of images to prevent the identification of individuals.[17] Since the Baltimore Police Department was transparent and involved the public, in April 2020, the city of Baltimore approved the contract.

The Roles of the Private Sector and the State

Although the surveillance technologies used in the case studies were not illegal, they undermined democratic political culture because they went against the beliefs, values, and norms of what citizens expected of their government. Two insights emerge from the case studies. First, governments are highly reliant on private-sector surveillance technology because they do not organically possess these technologies or skills. Second, there is a lack of legal and policy frameworks at the national level to guide local governments in balancing citizen privacy and government surveillance. This section analyzes the roles of the private sector and state in surveillance technology use and explains the drivers contributing to the tension in democratic states' political culture.

Role of the Private Sector

Surveillance technology growth is now being driven by the private sector. The United Nations (UN) concluded: "Digital surveillance is no longer the preserve of countries that enjoy the resources to conduct mass and targeted surveillance based on in-house tools. Private industry has stepped in, unsupervised and with something close to impunity."[18] The private sector, in its pursuit for profit, indiscriminately sells surveillance tools around the world. For example, although Chinese companies are the largest global suppliers of surveillance technologies empowered by artificial intelligence (AI), private companies from democratic states, such as the United States, France, Germany, Israel, South Korea, United Kingdom, and Japan, are also selling surveillance technologies to both democracies and autocracies.[19]

International organizations are calling for regulations to monitor and control the export of surveillance technologies, since repressive governments use them to facilitate human rights abuses. For example, in 2014 the European Union (EU) banned the export of information communication and technology (ICT) to governments censoring information or conducting mass surveillance. And, in 2016, the European Commission specified the ICT for export control so that EU sales and exports of these technologies could be monitored.[20] In spite of having regulations, export-control laws are ineffective because they lack enforcement measures to address human rights violations and do not stop the use of the technologies.[21] Furthermore, since surveillance technologies are now widely available in many products, it would be impossible to regulate all of the technologies.

There is also a growing problem with the private sector's involvement in surveillance technologies: the surveillance limitations placed on the government do not always apply to the private sector. When the private sector closely works with government, the boundaries become unclear.[22] As discussed in the case studies, law enforcement leverages private sector

> **Artificial intelligence (AI)** is the simulation of human intelligence in machines by using software. There are three general types of AI: artificial narrow intelligence, artificial general intelligence, artificial super intelligence. Artificial narrow intelligence involves systems performing defined tasks and is found in commercialized applications, such as Siri or facial recognition technology. Researchers are striving to achieve artificial general intelligence, which occurs when systems perform human-like thinking, and artificial super intelligence, which occurs when systems become more capable than humans.

technology to fight crime. In the future as more data becomes available, law enforcement may need to outsource the digital analysis and investigation to the private sector; thereby, the private sector becomes an extension of the government. This could be problematic if a private company were to sell a service to law enforcement and then unknowingly sell the same service to a criminal organization, or if the private company were to use the insider policing information for profit.

Private companies can also use surveillance technologies to monitor their customers without transparency or individual consent (i.e., in states without comprehensive privacy and security laws). While the biometric data compiled from facial, voice, and body-language analysis support the marketing and/or product sales of private companies, the data is extremely invasive (e.g., some data can be used to determine health, disease, or personality) and raises ethical and privacy concerns.[23] Another problem with surveillance data is the data retention period. Unless there are regulations or laws, the private sector is not required to follow the beliefs, values, or norms of a democratic state.

As the driver of surveillance technology growth, the private sector can increase trust with the government and civil society by self-regulating their use and sales of surveillance technology. Specifically, private companies that sell surveillance technologies can promote governance policies to address ethical and privacy concerns, establish an ethics board, and provide an annual transparency report. The private sector can also engage with civil society organizations to address the ethical problems raised by surveillance technologies. As an illustration, the Partnership on AI is one such organization working to increase AI dialogue among for-profit companies and academic and research institutions.[24]

Role of the State

At the international level, states should engage in multilateral discourse to avert the potentially dangerous side effects of surveillance technologies to democratic political culture. In reality, states will find it difficult to reach consensus and to establish international norms and standards for two reasons. Firstly, surveillance technologies are dual-use—having both civilian and defense applications—so they are the sources of geopolitical competition. States are unwilling to restrict their development of dual-use technologies because they are accelerators of economic growth and national defense advantage.[25] Secondly, technological innovation is accel-

erating faster than global governance. According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "technological change will continue to far outpace the ability of states, agencies and international organizations to set standards, policies, regulations, and norms."[26] Under those circumstances, the gap between technology and governance will only widen.

Nevertheless, there are other ways states can work collaboratively toward global norms and standards in areas such as human rights, ethics, and safety. International organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and International Committee of the Red Cross, provide opportunities to identify common values and approaches for increasing trust in surveillance technologies. In a like manner, while the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Principles on AI are non-binding, they establish political commitment to promote AI that is trustworthy and respects human rights and democratic values.[27] Additionally, the World Economic Forum has an initiative to bringing private and public stakeholders together to design and test policy frameworks for technologies such as AI, machine learning, and facial recognition.[28] These types of initiatives are the first steps toward global cooperation.

At the domestic level, states should consider establishing comprehensive security and privacy laws and engaging in dialogue with their citizens about surveillance technologies. First, the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is considered to be one of the strictest and most comprehensive laws for privacy and security.[29] The regulation was passed in 2014 when surveillance technologies were not as advanced as they are today. Consequently, critics are calling for GDPR regulatory reforms because it hinders the development and use of AI by placing limitations on the collection and sharing of personal data.[30] In addition, although the GDPR limits live facial recognition by mandating individual consent, it also specifies exceptions for law enforcement use, personal use, and situations where a person cannot be identified.[31] Therefore, while the GDPR is a proven framework that can be used to build a comprehensive privacy and security law, the GDPR should be expanded to include emerging technologies and their impacts on privacy and security.

Second, the public and private sector will need more dialogue on future surveillance technologies. Michelle Cayford, Wolter Pieters, and P.H.A.J.M. van Gelder found that when it comes to surveillance technology, the public wants both security and privacy with no tradeoffs.[32] For this reason, states need to engage with their citizens to take the discussion beyond the balance between security and civil liberty. Specifically, Cayford

and Pieters concluded, "Rather than just speaking of providing 'security,' the debate should be sharpened to discuss the effectiveness of the surveillance technology in achieving the security goal."[33] Additionally, states need to articulate that surveillance-technology effectiveness cannot be measured by using traditional crime or security statistics. To illustrate, the public expects to see an inverse correlation between surveillance technology use and crime or security threats, so when the expected pattern is not seen, the public concludes the surveillance technology is ineffective.[34] In reality, states measure surveillance-technology effectiveness by looking at the overall value in achieving outcomes (e.g., disruptions of threats and intelligence validation).[35] There is a need for states and the public to develop a common language to determine acceptable measures of effectiveness.

FUTURE CHALLENGES

Technology is constantly evolving and providing states with more powerful surveillance capabilities. Advancements in real-time connectivity and data analytics, in particular, elevate the privacy threat from omnipresent surveillance. In this section, two technological drivers of change are examined in understanding the future environment: 5th Generation (5G) and 6th Generation (6G) connectivity and AI analytics advancement.

First, 5G-cellular technology is the catalyst launching the world into the Fourth Industrial Revolution with speeds of up to 100 times faster than current cellular networks. 5G is an enabling technology for the Internet of Things (IoT), which is a network of devices and objects with built-in sensors for connectivity and communication. The IoT needs 5G's speed and low latency to move data to and from a massive number of devices and sensors. Many of the IoT connections involve machine-to-machine (M2M) applications in which communication between devices and sensors occur without human intervention. The convergence of 5G and IoT provides the means to create smart cities, smart manufacturing, and autonomous cars, all of which run M2M applications.

In the future, many aspects of life will be monitored by billions of IoT sensors and devices. By 2023, Cisco expects there will be 3.9 billion Internet users and 29.3 billion connected devices, of which half (14.7 billion devices) are for M2M applications.[36] By 2030, not only will the number of connected devices grow to 500 billion,[37] but connectivity speed is also expected to increase with the deployment of 6G-mobile technology.[38] It is important to realize that this vast network of devices and sensors will

be distributed without centralized control or governance.[39] Furthermore, each IoT sensor and device will generate digital data, which can be collected into massive datasets.

Second, AI will be used to interpret the massive datasets generated from IoT devices and sensors. It is through the AI-generated intelligence that an individual can be tracked by facial recognition, smart payment, and smart phones, or that pattern anomalies can be identified as threats. Eventually, AI systems will be integrated so that they can communicate with each other, without human intervention. For instance, autonomous surveillance systems will use AI-enabled camera systems to decide what qualifies as a threat.[40]

Furthermore, the power from other technologies, such as quantum computing and nanotechnology, will be harnessed to make AI even more powerful. Futurists expect that in the next 10 years artificial general intelligence, which is when machines will think like humans, will be achieved.[41] At that time, the digital world will be highly interconnected with over 500 billion devices and sensors, which means cyber attackers have more ways to compromise the security and privacy of individuals. At some time between 2030 and 2050, futurists predict technological singularity, which is the point when AI in machines exceed human intellect, will be achieved.[42] As AI races toward technological singularity, there will be transnational challenges for which the world will be unprepared: they include combat robots, precision biometric attacks, and new types of information warfare. For this reason, futurists also predict that a global AI arms race will ensue.[43]

AI applications will continue to raise ethical concerns, surpassing the current debate on biases. These concerns will be difficult to resolve because there is a lack of transparency with AI algorithms, which are considered intellectual property.[44] In addition, as AI systems are given more decision-making capability, AI algorithm liability, when a machine makes a decision leading to human harm, comes into question. For example, if an autonomous car is involved in an accident, it is unclear if the owner of the system, programmer, or manufacturer is responsible.

When fully deployed, 6G and AI will change every aspect of modern life. These technologies will greatly improve the quality of life of individuals, as they bring advancements to healthcare, transportation, and manufacturing. At the same time, they also will create tremendous challenges and risks, for which societies are unprepared. Since the speed of technological change cannot be slowed, democratic states must take action now

to build strategies and mechanisms to protect civil society while promoting their strategic competitiveness.

The Way Ahead and Conclusion

Although the challenges posed by AI and AI-enabled surveillance technology to democratic values and norms are huge, they are not insurmountable. Rather than provide an exhaustive list of recommendations, this section will suggest foundational steps to take now, so that states can begin to resolve these new challenges to democratic political culture.

Recommendation #1: National AI Strategy

Democratic states should create a national AI strategy because AI is the enabler for the other surveillance technologies. The Atlantic Council recommended using anticipatory governance in developing a national AI strategy to not only define national objectives but also delineate ethical or societal limitations.[45] According to Eleonore Pauwels, anticipatory governance can be used to understand "plausible scenarios related to AI convergence" to imagine hybrid-security threats.[46] Creating a national AI strategy will be challenging for policymakers: they will need to harmonize the conflicting demands of many stakeholders, given the dual-use nature of the technologies, and to consider the impact of associated-emerging technologies (e.g., quantum computing and nanotechnology). Finally, in order for the strategy to succeed, policymakers will also need an implementation plan, with sufficient resources and supporting institutions.[47]

Recommendation #2: Privacy and Security Task Force

Democratic states should create a "privacy and security task force" comprised of government and private sector representatives to ensure that democratic belief, values, and norms are maintained and protected. The first effort of the task force is to ensure that there is a comprehensive privacy and security law, which could be modeled after the EU GDPR and include the other impacts of emerging technologies. The second undertaking of the task force would be to develop a framework to evaluate the social, economic, and human risks and harms created by surveillance and emerging technologies. This will not be an easy undertaking because emerging technologies cross multiple domains, each with differing im-

pacts. The third effort of the task force is to use the framework to examine risks, gaps, and opportunities, to develop policies, and to recommend regulations and laws. The fourth effort of the task force is to regularly monitor the progress of the government toward achieving task force objectives using annual reports, to update the framework, and to proactively respond with policy or regulatory recommendations.

Recommendation #3: Import Control

Democratic states should penalize private companies selling technologies to governments censoring information or conducting mass surveillance by banning their future business interactions with that state. In essence, this recommendation is the inverse of the EU's 2014 ban on the export of technology to governments conducting human rights abuses from surveillance technologies. For example, if U.S. companies were to sell technology to repressive governments, a state could put these companies on a banned-from-importing list, thereby disallowing these companies access to markets in that particular state. This unconventional strategy could prove to be more effective in curbing the behavior of the private sector than export controls because it has a broader impact on global companies by affecting their profits and market access.

In conclusion, surveillance technologies can conflict with the political culture of democratic states by violating the agreement between governments and their citizens for privacy and civil liberty protections. The good news is that by acting now to resolve the political culture debate, democratic states will be in a better position to deal with emerging technologies, which will pose even more ethical and democratic value challenges. Moreover, although the future will bring an accelerated growth of surveillance-driven technology, democratic states will have the strategies, policies, and laws in place to keep pace and maintain the democratic promise to their citizens.

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SOCIETAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN & NATIONAL INSECURITY:

THE NEED FOR GENDERED SECURITY

James M. Minnich

Societal violence against women in peace and conflict is an assault upon humanity, communities, and countries as it causes national insecurity.[1] In other words, a society's peace, prosperity and stability are conditional to the treatment of its women, men, girls, and boys.[2] The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it examines global manifestations of societal violence against women in peace and conflict through an analysis of violations of bodily integrity, inequalities in family law, and disparities in decision-making councils.[3] Second, it argues that security practitioners who are educated in gendered security can affirmatively counter the endangerment and exclusion of women in peace and conflict as identifiable in wellsprings of societal violence, which promotes domestic and transnational insecurities.

In a U.S. Defense Department-funded study, female empowerment and subordination were identified as determinants to national security that directly affects the security dimensions of political stability and governance, security and conflict, economic performance, health and well-being, demographic security, public education, environmental protection and social progress.[4]

Triple Wellsprings of Societal Violence

Building upon the works of political scientists Johan Galtung, Ted Gurr, Gregory Raymond, and Charles Tilly,[5] American political scientist Mary Caprioli postulated that cultural and social norms of intolerance and inequality perpetuate violence to resolve conflict.[6]

Former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan's address to world leaders is quintessential in understanding the ramifications of gender inequalities in peace and conflict. Said he, "The world is starting to grasp that there is no policy for progress more effective than the empowerment of women and girls. And … no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after a conflict has ended."

Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung, a founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, postulated a trifurcated societal violence that is shaped by direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence.[7] Direct violence is incident oriented and actor (individual, group, state) perpetrated; structural violence is an institutionalized process of discrimination and exclusion; and cultural violence is an invariant that makes structural violence acceptable, or at least tolerated.[8] In view of Galtung's typology, societal violence against women could be defined as *direct* when a woman is assaulted, which manifests in violations of bodily integrity; *structural* when thousands of women are kept in dependency, which presents through inequalities in family law; and *cultural* when the subservience of women is perpetrated in religion, language, norms, and symbols, and persists in gender disparities such as decision-making councils.

Violations of Bodily Integrity

Direct violence against women is the nadir of unequal gender manifestations as it dehumanizes women, and tears at social unity.[9] The United Nations General Assembly defined violence against women as "violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women," and stipulated violence against women as a leading social mechanism by men to subordinate women.[10] Bodily integrity is an inalienable right of self-autonomy over one's own body.[11]

In Peace. Subordination of women is universal among all nation-states as all share ideologies and constructs of male dominance, and is globally manifested irrespective of social variances or forms of governance.[12] Women suffering, although global in occurrence, is not universal in its uniformity.[13]

Papua New Guinea is an independent state in Oceania and ranks very high in women's inequality. Women's inequality, as measured by incidents of sexual and physical abuse, is estimated to have been inflicted on two-

thirds of all females in Papua New Guinea, which is higher than reported global averages of one in three women.[14] In Papua New Guinea, 59% of surveyed men admitted to raping a sexual partner.[15] In a United Nations Development Programme survey of 10,000 men in nine Indo-Pacific states, half who admitted perpetrating rape claimed to have first raped as a teenager, of whom upward of 97% claimed to have never been indicted for their crimes.[16] Overwhelmingly, all nine surveyed sites identified sexual entitlement—the right of sex irrespective of consent—as the principal motivation for rape.[17] This United Nations study concluded that violence against women is a manifestation of gender inequalities and subordination of women in domestic and public domains. Galtung would ascribe the abuse of one woman as direct violence, and the abuse of two-thirds of all females in a society as both structural and cultural violence.[18]

> American anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday correlated male dominance with group insecurity and instability. American professor of gender and violence Gwen Hunnicutt ascribed male violence toward women as an outgrowth of patriarchal systems. The late American anthropologist and prolific writer Marvin Harris postulated that male dominance originated in warfare from a monopoly of weapons, but discounted genetics or convention as its source.

In Conflict. For centuries, rape as a form of violence against women was generally accepted by many as the cost of war, and largely overlooked as a crime against humanity.[19] Neither the Nuremberg trials of 1945-46 nor the Tokyo trials of 1946-48 convicted a single person solely on the charge of sexual violence against women, despite well over one million women raped during World War II.[20]

> Rape as a tactic of war was perpetrated in the 8-year French Indochina War from 1946, India's 1948 operation to subdue Hyderabad, the 3-year Korean War from 1950, America's 10-year Vietnam War from 1964, and the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 that witnessed the rape of as many as 200,000 Bengali women in just nine months of fighting.

With past as prologue, the international community remained silent as mass incidents of rape persisted in military conflicts over the 50 years following World War II. As the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, former Yugoslavia reft in a series of ethnic wars and insurgencies that witnessed Europe's most brutal conflict since 1945. In April 1992, the Bosnian War erupted in a torrent of ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity, which promulgated the systematic rape and sexual enslavement of

as many as 50,000 women and girls before the war's end 44-months later.[21] As the Bosnian War raged in Europe, the Hutu government in Rwanda led a 100-day genocidal war against its Tutsi population, which included the deliberate rape of some one half million women and girls.[22]

To prosecute war crimes from these two horrific wars, the United Nations established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in May 1993,[23] and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in November 1994.[24] The charter for both these judicial bodies included the charge of rape as a crime against humanity, the first time in history the international community classified rape as a crime of war.[25] Classifying rape as a crime against humanity was the first step. Convicting war criminals of rape would prove to be the court's true test.

Since its inception, ICTR has indicted 93 people for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda in 1994;[26] of those, 17 were convicted for crimes against humanity for rape.[27] In September 1998, Mr. Jean Paul Akayesu, former mayor of Taba, was the first person ever convicted internationally of crimes against humanity for rape.[28] This conviction was anything but proforma, as Judge Navanethem Pillay, the only female judge on the ICTR bench, is reported to have refocused the line of questioning about evidence toward sexual violence, which eventually brought an amended indictment for charges of sexual violence by Akayesu.[29] In a statement after the verdict, Judge Pillay offered these remarks: "From time immemorial, rape has been regarded as spoils of war. Now it will be considered a war crime. We want to send out a strong message that rape is no longer a trophy of war."[30]

Twenty-nine months following the ICTR conviction of Akayesu in Rwanda, ICTY issued its first convictions for crimes against humanity for rape. In the verdict read by Presiding Judge Florence Mumba, she stated that Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac, Zoran Vukovic, as well as other Bosnian Serb troops in Foca, used rape as "an instrument of terror,"[31] during the Bosnian War. In the prosecution of war crimes in Rwanda and Bosnia, ICTR and ICTY collectively convicted nearly 70 perpetrators of crimes against humanity for rape.[32] While these are landmark convictions, given the systematic approach to rape brutally some one-half million women on two continents, the conviction of a mere 70 people rings hollow.

Spurred by the horrors of the Bosnian War, the United Nations General Assembly promulgated Resolution 48/104 in December 1993, which

called upon states to condemn, prevent, and punish violence against women. American lawyer Tamara Tompkins postulated that rape is fixed in the male domination of women, and is manifested in aggression, discrimination, inequality, and misogyny.[33] American feminist author Susan Brownmiller suggested that rape is a male method of social control through "a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear" [emphasis in original].[34] The nature of warfare in the 21st century has shifted from nationalist to ethnoreligious, with its deeply conservative and reactionary treatment of women and their rights.[35] Consequently, widespread disregard for bodily integrity in today's conflicts has subjected millions of women and girls to horrible direct, structural, and cultural violence.[36] While violations of bodily integrity scream injustice and demand accountability, inequalities in family law silently sow seeds of societal violence against women.

Inequalities in Family Law

Family or matrimonial law is based on customs and codified by statutes to govern family relationships, rights, duties, and finances. Customary and statutory laws are often underpinned by social and religious practices.[37] American professors Valerie M. Hudson, Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynn Nielsen ascribed statutory or customary family laws that preference male over female as the source of structural violence against women, which in conflict tends toward its meanest manifestations.[38]

In Peace. Family, societies' primordial unit, has universally advantaged men over women and boys over girls.[39] Despite worldwide promulgation of women's suffrage, anachronistic family law across the globe continue to bias women and preference males.[40] Whereas social inequalities manifest worldwide, they are glaringly obvious in family laws. Family law addresses issues of marriage, divorce, custody, and inheritance, but reflects societal devaluation of women by its inequalities. Gender inequalities are self-evidenced when males are held superior to females; girls are married younger than boys; polygyny is embraced; marital rape is non-criminalized; female infanticide is accepted; men divorce more easily than women; and men are advantaged over women in rights of property and inheritance.[41]

Male dominance is a condition where men retain most of the power and influence; or more precisely, a structural and ideological system of male domination and female subordination.[42] Hoy suggested three defining characteristics of male dominance: authoritarian aggression by men

American anthropologist Peggy Sanday suggested that there are two social orders: diarchy and patriarchy (male dominance). Her adaption of the term diarchy, as defined by American anthropologist Janet Hoskins, described a male-female political system of shared authorities that fluctuates in control, and is formalized by principles of interdependence and mutuality. Of these two social orders, male dominance prevails globally, which is viewed by many to be deleterious to state security, stability, and prosperity.

against women, authoritarian submission of women to men, and a hierarchical social structure where men overwhelmingly control political power.[43] Male dominance and patriarchy are synonymous terms. Macro-patriarchy occurs in governments, bureaucracies, markets, academia, and religion; and micro-patriarchy occurs in families, relations, social interactions, and organizations. Sanday asserted that male dominance is either authentic or imposed, but either way, it is evidenced by a litany of social ills.[44] An enumeration of such ills includes the valuation of fear, conflict, and warfare; the preference for sons over daughters; the pervasiveness of domestic violence; the diminution of women in public life; the bias toward gender segregation; the perpetuation of creation myths that impute women as a source of evil; the acceptance of polygyny; and the convention of bride-price or dowry that consigns women as chattel and economic liabilities.

Caprioli affirmed that states enlarge their probability of internal conflict through such practices of gender inequality, which she assessed through an analysis of reproductive health, empowerment, and labor force.[45] The United Nations Development Programme defined and measured the societal impact of each of these three indicators.[46] Reproductive health can be quantified using the rates of maternal death and adolescent pregnancy, which at high rates manifests societies' devaluation of women. When broadly considered, reproductive health is more precisely viewed as a distillation of inequalities that transcends rates of maternal death and adolescent pregnancy to affect opportunities for education, employment, and decision-making authority.[47] Empowerment can be measured using the percentage of women in parliament, with a recognition that political access enables decision-making over life.[48] A labor force analysis measures gender diversity in labor markets, and denotes gender inequalities, discrimination, and structural violence.[49] Compelling empirics indicate that 38.3% of all nations embrace structural violence-based family laws that tend between high and very high in women's inequality, which strongly correlates with states that are less peaceful and more fragile.[50]

In Conflict. Linkages between sexism (male-dominant societies) and militarism are well-researched.[51] In a demographic analysis of 112 societies, Divale and Harris considered tribal warfare as the chief cause of institutional and ideological supremacy of males.[52] Male supremacy or dominance is inherent to gender-based divisions of labor; is manifest in gender-based asymmetry of political, economic, military, police, and religious institutions; and is ascribed to the sexual dimorphism that engenders males with greater stature, weight, and hormones that are useful in dominance that propagates structural violence.[53]

While violations of bodily integrity scream injustice and demand accountability, and inequalities in family law silently sow seeds of societal violence against women, it is disparities in decision-making councils that perpetuate disdain for women while meting cultural violence against one half of the global population.

> American anthropologists William Divale and Marvin Harris correlated occurrences of war and male supremacy; American anthropologist Keith Otterbein drew relationships between incidence of war and societal norms of patrilocality, patrilineality, and polygyny; American anthropologists Peggy Sanday strongly associated frequency of war with a society's incidence of female rape; and American political scientist Marc Ross identified prevalence of war with exclusion of women from public leadership.

Disparities in Decision-making Councils

Decision-making is the power to influence private and public life.[54] Patriarchy, however, proscribes women from ascending to decision-making councils, particularly councils with mandates extending beyond issues that affect women and children. O'Neil and Domingo suggested that institutions (norms and rules), structures (social, economic, and political endowments), and capabilities (education, class, and profession) are chief determinants in women's ascent to political power.[55] Discriminatory sociocultural institutions and structures, however, delimit women's opportunities to develop requisite capabilities that improve access to professional organizations, labor markets, and decision-making councils.[56] Consequently, it is hoary gender roles in peace and conflict that perpetuate bad policies of cultural and structural violence, which persistently broadens the gender gap.[57]

In Peace. The United Nations leads international advancement of women's rights through reform advocacy of gender discriminatory practices, policies, and structures. In 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women as an international bill of rights for women, which is legally binding in 189 states that ratified it (UN, 1979). The Convention specifically prohibits gender-based discrimination in all fields to include political, economic, social, cultural, and civil; and calls upon the ratifying states to take all measures, including legislation, for the advancement of women on a "basis of equality with men" (Article 1). Women's rights of marriage and family life are codified in Article 16 of the Convention; and if signatory states would adhere to the injunctions, family law discriminations would end. Absent an enforcement mechanism, however, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women remains more aspirational than foundational.

Gender inclusion, a half-step toward gender equality, is an affirmative approach to include female presence and perspectives in this male-dominated sphere.[58] Gender inclusion is not tokenism, but a deliberate international policy approach to achieve universal gender equality in political, economic, and societal spheres by adopting policies and programs that further equality and arrest inequality.[59] The United Nations General Assembly termed gender inclusion as gender mainstreaming, which it formally adopted as a policy approach at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.[60]

As the twenty-first century dawned, the international community proffered hope for greater gender inclusivity in peace and conflict, with the promulgation of United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on *Women, Peace, and Security* (WPS) in 2000; a landmark global resolution that affirmed women's essential participatory and decision-making roles in conflict prevention and resolution, and the importance of women's equal involvement in the advancement and preservation of peace and security. Since implementation of resolution 1325, only nine Indo-Pacific countries have promulgated WPS National Action Plans (NAP). These nine countries with a WPS NAP represent less than 11% of the 84 UN member states with an enacted WPS NAP, or 4% of the 193 total UN member states who as signatories are legally bound to implement a WPS NAP.[61] Equally illustrative of state inaction in advancing real reform for women in peace and conflict, is the reality that only 17 UN member

states with a WPS NAP have allocated a budget to implement their legal obligations under UNSC resolution 1325 on WPS.[62]

In 2010, the United Nations General Assembly established UN Women, the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, to advance needs of women.[63] However, as advocate and bellwether for gender mainstreaming, the United Nations stands in stark contrast to the ideal with only 8% of its senior staff appointments being filled by women.[64] This degree of gender disparity is equally manifest at lower operational levels where women account for fewer than 4% of military and 10% of police deployed on 36 UN peace operations.[65] American political scientist Helene Silverberg cautioned against an "add women and stir" approach to gender mainstreaming, observing that this practice tends toward polarization not amalgamation, and wrongly ascribes gender issues as being germane only when women are included in decision-making councils.[66]

An aversion to gender integration in decision-making councils is evidenced when measured globally by the low percentage of women who have attained seats in national parliaments. In July 2018, only 24.2% of national parliamentarians were women, which increased from 17.9% in July 2009 and from 11.7% in July 1999.[67] Obstructed pathways to attain national power for women perpetuates patriarchy and is emblematic of cultural violence through gender exclusion.[68] Gender exclusion is a promulgation of the offensive maxim that women should be seen and not heard.[69] This hoary adage was a national refrain carried in the press when Jeannette Pickering Rankin (1880-1973) was elected a U.S. congresswoman in 1916.[70] Despite more than 100 years having transpired since Rankin became the first woman to hold U.S. federal office, the press continues a hostile policy toward women seeking public office,[71] as it trivializes them as being more decorative than substantive.[72] For women who persevere a biased press to become elected, many must then endure overt sexism that emanates from within parliament.[73]

In Conflict. Practices of discrimination, patriarchal structures, and exclusion perpetuates women as superfluous as it delimits them from being agents of a better peace and security.[74] Women are societies' most vulnerable group in peace and conflict, making them susceptible to violence, displacement, and exclusion.[75] Despite international opprobrium for gender inequality and violence, recent publications[76] and datasets[77] elucidate that nation-states have taken little more than a façade of substantive actions to affirmatively advance gender mainstreaming, and end societal violence

against women with its deleterious effects on national and transnational security.

Problems associated with underrepresentation of women in decision-making councils are manifested in violence against women in peace and conflict,[78] and undervaluation of gender-perspectives in peace and peace-building.[79] While formal or tacit agreements terminate war, successful war termination is measured by five or more years of conflict cessation per-manency.[80] American international relations scholar Michael Doyle and political scientist Nicholas Sambanis compiled a dataset of war termina-tions since 1944 to 1996 and noted that 65% of 124 civil wars relapsed into fighting within five years of war termination.[81] Despite evidence that women's participation in peace negotiations yields greater success in war termination, women continue to be excluded in large part from negoti-ating peace agreements.[82] American researcher Laurel Stone studied 182 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011 and determined that peace processes, which included women as witnesses, signatories, media-tors, or negotiators demonstrated a 20% increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years, with 35% of those agreements lasting at least 15 years.[83] Canadian professor Fen Osler Hampson identi-fied the necessity of addressing women's needs as one of seven essential factors in realizing a durable peace settlement,[84] which underscores Stone's findings that women peacemakers achieved a more durable peace as they routinely promoted peace settlement provisions that advanced women's rights and equality.[85]

If gender mainstreaming in peace and conflict can be approached or achieved, it will require nation-states to denounce all violations of bodily integrity as direct violence against women; dismantle inequitable family laws that perpetuate structural violence against women; and transform gender culture, which trivializes women's voices, weakens their presence in decision-making councils, and propagates cultural violence against wom-en.[86]

IMPLEMENTING GENDERED SECURITY TO IMPROVE NATIONAL SECURITY

Coalesced around the principles of protection, prevention, participation, relief and recovery, the UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) charged global leaders to protect women and their rights in peace, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.[87] The dissonance between

government inaction and legal obligations toward implementing WPS suggests that states may not intuitively correlate societal violence against women with insecurity in peace and conflict.[88]

Two factors—traditional concepts of security and male-masculine dominance of security sectors—feature prominent in inert approaches toward this exigent problem of practice.[89] The WPS mandate confronts the cultural model of the male-dominated security sector by directing all nations to address and resolve issues of women's roles in peace and security. Security sectors, or the public, national, and collective safety and security institutions that provide for security, are soundly representative of the male domain and their interests, which well aligns to traditional security issues that scarcely consider vulnerable populations fundamentally or the women's security issue expressly.[90] Traditional security issues imply threats against a sovereign state's citizenry, territory, polity, economy, and interests, and views the coherence of this juridical entity as the referent of security while often discounting individual welfare or gendered security.[91] By shifting the security referent from the polity to the people, policymakers and practitioners alike can more distinctly discern security threats and aptly adopt policy priorities to sensibly focus security resources.[92]

The WPS mandate is the global framework that gives rise to a theory on gendered security. *Gendered security* is a methodology to strengthen solutions to state and human security issues through an approach that frames individuals as the security focus while accounting for gender-based needs and interests of women, men, girls, and boys in all security situations.[93] Frames are mental models for making sense, and reframing is a technique for seeing issues anew, or from alternative perspectives.[94] Applying a gendered security frame, or gendered security perspective to security issues of peace and conflict offers security practitioners a means to examine crises beyond a traditional security frame as they consider gender-nuanced collective interests. Adeptly selecting security frames comes from familiarity of various approaches and perspectives, and experience in application. Frames are akin to a manual transmission: the more experienced the user at shifting gears, the more effortless and smooth the ride. Like transmission gears, frames have unique functions and are applied based on needs.

Security practitioners can learn a gendered security frame and its application value in peace and conflict by considering gendered security principles of gendered security perspective, prevention, protection, and participation in the analysis and implementation of security missions. While

gender analyses of operational environments may vary, an effective technique is to crosswalk the eight operational variables of political, military, economic, social, information, infrastructure, physical environment, and time (PMESII-PT) with the four gendered security principles of gendered security perspective, prevention, protection, and participation (Gendered Security Principles Four, or GSP4).[95]

To analyze the security environment through a *gendered security perspective* is fundamental to understanding security's broader contexts, and its implications toward a gendered inclusive security that responds to the diverse security needs of all. *Gendered security prevention* is substantially more than the absence of conflict as it confronts cultural and structural catalysts that divide, devalue, demean, and degrade people across a gendered social hierarchy. *Gendered security protection* opposes a trifurcated societal violence of direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence in times of peace and conflict as it protects access, engagement and participation in all aspects of society. *Gendered security participation* empowers the diverse and inclusive meaningful involvement of all genders in all areas, at all levels, and at all times.

Weakened approaches toward implementing gendered security include those that view women's perspectives and participation as an additive to conventional security methods. Equally delimiting to the value of a gendered security approach is its detachment as a peripheral consideration or afterthought from security discussions, plans, and operations. This is evidenced as security practitioners outsource to their nominal members the gender analysis task for purposes of additively applying gender considerations to conventional security. A gendered security perspective is so much more than the practice of soliciting women's views on security matters predicated on the prospect that men and women perceive differently. Such limited efforts are incredibly circumscribed and forfeit opportunity for a gendered security approach that considers the complex security needs of a community in an effort to create a better security for all.

The premise of gendered security is that implementation of its principles by security practitioners in peace, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding will advance the security, stability, and prosperity that improves the collective security of societies, nations, and regions. This is evidenced when security practitioners counter society's power relations of gender to advance each genders engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation, and perspective in family, society, culture, religion, law, civic-life, decision-making, conflict resolution, resource distribution,

PMESII-PT/GSP4 GENDERED SECURITY ANALYSIS TOOL (GSAT)

July 26, 2020

INSTRUCTION: *Assess the security environment for each gender* by crosswalking the *operational variables* (PMESII-PT) of political, military, economic, social, information, infrastructure, physical environment, time with the *gendered security principles* (GSP4) of *perspective* (responds to diverse security needs of all), *prevention* (confronts cultural, structural catalysts that divide, devalue, demean, degrade), *protection* (opposes violence & protects access, engagement, participation in all aspects of society and in the application of its laws, rules, regulations), *participation* (empowers diverse & inclusive involvement of all). *This tool defines 32 aspects of gendered security in an operational environment.*

	Political	Military/Police	Economic	Social	Information	Infrastructure	Physical Environment	Time
	Distribution of power and responsibility at all levels of governance.	Forces and capabilities of the national military, paramilitary and police forces.	Individual and group behaviors related to producing, distributing, consuming resources.	Cultural, religious, ethnic makeup of a society and its members' behaviors, beliefs, values, customs.	Nature, scope, effects of individuals and systems that use, collect, process and disseminate info.	Facilities, services, and installations needed for development & function of a community/society.	Ecosystem/geographic area's plants, animals, soil, water, air, sunlight, temperature & climate.	Time use and duration of activities, events, and conditions.
Perspective	**Political Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in law, civic life, decision-making, conflict resolution, and resource distribution.	**Mil-Police Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in the military, paramilitary, and police forces.	**Economic Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in economic finance, agriculture, industry, etc. and livelihood empowerment of	**Social Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in family, society, culture, and religion.	**Information Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in the production and access of information.	**Infrastructure Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in infrastructures that provide for health, well-being and care of common resources.	**Environment Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in the physical environment that provides for health and well-being.	**Time Perspective** Engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation and perspective in the use of individual time.
Prevention	**Political Prevention** Equal access to justice and political power through voting, and decision-making.	**Mil-Police Prevention** Equal access to military and police institutions with established norms, roles, and rules that uniformly engage people.	**Economic Prevention** Equal access to jobs, loans, financial services, property rights, legal services, representation for sustainable incomes and livelihoods.	**Social Prevention** Equal access to family, social, cultural & religious services to act on issues of own importance; and special access to sexual assault counselors, maternal health.	**Information Prevention** Equal access to literacy, information, knowledge, print media, TV, radio, Internet, telecom and gender sensitive information to include early warning alerts.	**Infrastructure Prevention** Equal access to sources of food, water, sanitation, hygiene, health, energy, education, utilities, transportation and communication.	**Environment Prevention** Equal access to the ecosystem's benefits of food, freshwater, fiber, shelter, medicine, fuel, pest & disease control, and spiritual, cultural & recreational uses.	**Time Prevention** Equal access to paid productive time and unpaid reproductive time to maintain domestic life and to bear and rear children.
Protection	**Political Protection** Equal protection under all laws, rules and regulations.	**Mil-Police Protection** Equal protection for safety & security; and protection from harassment, assault, coercion, exploitation, crime and trafficking.	**Economic Protection** Equal protection as consumers and merchants in bazaars, markets, businesses.	**Social Protection** Equal protection in society, culture and religion; and special protection from infanticide, child marriage, intimate partner violence.	**Information Protection** Equal protection to use and manage personal, private and public information.	**Infrastructure Protection** Equal protection in the use of publicly provided infrastructure and in public places and refugee & internal displacement camps.	**Environment Protection** Equal protection using ecosystems and equal protection from diseases and climate impacts on health and well-being.	**Time Protection** Equal protection of individual time for engagement in and access to the family, society, governance, economy, and security.
Participation	**Political Participation** Equal participation in elections, governments, councils, meetings, and capacity to change policies, practices, and institutions.	**Mil-Police Participation** Equal participation in military, paramilitary, and police forces.	**Economic Participation** Equal participation in economic and financial institutions.	**Social Participation** Equal participation in families, communities, schools, places of worship.	**Information Participation** Equal participation in information agencies.	**Infrastructure Participation** Equal participation public services, development and construction.	**Environment Participation** Equal participation in ecosystems and benefit distributions.	**Time Participation** Equal participation in paid productive time & unpaid reproductive time to maintain domestic life and to bear and rear children.

Source: James M. Minnich, "Societal Violence against Women and National Insecurity: The Need for Gendered Security," in Alexander L. Vuving, ed., *Hindsight, Insight, Foresight: Thinking about Security in the Indo-Pacific* (Honolulu, HI: Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2020).

Figure 5.1: PMESII-PT/GSP4 Gendered Security Analysis Tool (GSAT)

economics, livelihood, health, well-being, and more. Factors of equal engagement are the essence of the gendered security perspective principle. Each genders equal engagement is contingent on equal access to justice, education, employment, resources, institutions, and the power to influence private and public life; these too must be safeguarded by security practitioners in every domain. Factors of equal access are the essence of the gendered security prevention principle. Absent equal protection from direct, structural, and cultural violence and protection for equal access, engagement, and participation in all aspects of society and in the application of its laws, rules, and regulations, security does not exist. Factors of equal protection are the essence of the gendered security protection principle. Structural and cultural exclusion from equal participation in families, societies, cultures, and religions perpetuates structural and cultural violence upon society's vulnerable genders as it proscribes meaningful participation in elections, governments, councils, and meetings, which denies power or capacity to change policies, practices, and institutions that advance a better security for all. Factors of equal participation are the essence of the gendered security participation principle.

A gender analysis tool is an analytical framework that aids thinking toward the identification of gender-based vulnerabilities, risks, and needs from impacts of peace, crisis, and conflict upon each gender. Figure 5.1 is the PMESII-PT/GSP4 Gendered Security Analysis Tool (GSAT), which defines 32 aspects of gendered security in an operational environment through a crosswalk of the operational variables and gendered security principles. The PMESII-PT/GSP4 GSAT (or GSAT) is both comprehensively descriptive and sectorally specific for use in gendered security analyses of operational environments that are either large-and-complex or small-and-simple. Viewed horizontally, the GSAT comprehensively describes the application of a single gendered security principle across all operational variables. Viewed vertically, the GSAT sectorally describes the application of all gendered security principles within a single operational variable of an operational environment. The GSAT holistically defines a standard of applied gendered security throughout a notional operational environment. Using the GSAT as an implemented standard for gendered security, analysts can benchmark to assess the gender-based vulnerabilities, risks, and needs of an assessed operational environment.

Militaries use PMESII-PT operational variables to conduct analysis of operational environments. The PMESII-PT/GSP4 GSAT was developed to meet security practitioners' pressing need to describe and analyze an

operational environment through a gendered security lens or framework. The GSAT will be taught to security practitioners for their considered application. The author will also institute feedback and data collection mechanisms to better help security practitioners understand and implement gendered security principles. The Figure 5.1 PMESII-PT/GSP4 GSAT concisely defines the operational variables, gendered security principles, and 32 aspects of gendered security in an operational environment.

Using the GSAT, consider the PMESII-PT/GSP4 factors to understand the gendered security aspects of an operational environment. For a gendered security perspective of political structures, consider each gender's engagement as equals in influence, representation, and perspective in law, civic life, decision-making, conflict resolution, and resource distribution. For gendered security prevention by the military and police, consider each gender's equal access to military and police institutions with established norms, rules, and jobs that uniformly engage people. For gendered security protection in economic areas, consider each gender's equal protection as consumers and merchants in bazaars, markets, and businesses. For gendered security in social participation, consider each gender's equal participation in social organizations of families, communities, schools, and places of worship. For a gendered security perspective of infrastructure, consider each gender's engagement as equals in areas of influence, representation, and perspective in infrastructures that provide for health, well-being, and care of common resources. For gendered security prevention in information, consider each gender's equal access to literacy, information, knowledge, print media, TV, radio, Internet, telecommunication and gender sensitive information that includes early warning alerts. For gendered security protection in the physical environment, consider each gender's equal protection in the use of ecosystems and equal protection from diseases, and climate impacts on health and well-being. For gendered security participation in time, consider each gender's equal participation in paid productive time and unpaid reproductive time to maintain domestic life and to bear and rear children.

Sixty years ago, French counterinsurgent theorist David Galula asserted that in conflict people are the prize, an axiom that military leaders have repeatedly ignored by acting as if people were either the problem or the playing field.[96] This article proffers that gendered security esteems people as the priority and considers that security practitioners share duty and necessity to enlarge peace, prosperity, and stability by opposing so-

cietal violence against women in peace and conflict. Obliged to uphold UNSCR 1325 on WPS, countries should seek to enlarge their national peace, prosperity, and stability by adopting a gendered security approach and implementing their own WPS national action plan.

Notes

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Part II: The Changing Faces of Regional Security

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH ASIA, 1995-2020

Shyam Tekwani

Years before Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda became household names, South Asia had been in the grip of diverse forms of terrorism prevalent since the 1940s. With the assassinations of the former Prime Minister of India[1] and the President of Sri Lanka[2] in the first half of the 1990s, Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE),[3] a group that represented the deprived Tamil minority, burst into the international limelight with their pioneering methods of suicide bombings, captivating a global audience.

Three terrorist events in 1995, one with far-reaching consequences in the subregion, presaged the future of terrorism that continues to preoccupy counterterrorism practitioners across the globe today. The first was the Tokyo subway sarin attack[4] by the religious cult Aum Shinrikyo in March 1995, which killed 12 and injured thousands, flagging the threat of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) attacks. A month later, in the United States, a U.S. Army veteran parked a rental truck packed full of explosives outside a federal office building in Oklahoma City, detonating his bomb just as the workday was starting.[5] The attack, carried out by a homegrown terrorist motivated by extremist ideologies, killed 168 people and left hundreds more injured.[6] Among the first messages of condolence after the bombing was one from the Tamil Tigers, offering "the American Government and the American people their sympathy and sense of distress over the senseless bombing incident of April 19 at Oklahoma City."[7] In a parallel development, it was in this decade that far-right Hindu groups in India surged into national view with the destruction of a 16th-century mosque and prompted the first of a series of terror attacks in Mumbai.[8]

However, it was the third event, the 1995 arrest of Pakistan-born ter-
rorist Ramzi Yousef in Islamabad after the botched Bojinka plot,[9] which
foreshadowed the transnational nature of terrorism in the ensuing decades.
Six years after Yousef's arrest, al-Qaeda, an outlawed group holed up in Af-
ghanistan, the most battle-scarred nation in South Asia, successfully plotted
and executed the spectacular attacks of 9/11 to change the face of interna-
tional terrorism forever. The impact of that attack spilled into the subregion
and defined the shape of things to come. Among the many mass-casualty at-
tacks the region has experienced since then have been horrific events such as
the attacks on Mumbai in November 2008,[10] Dhaka's Holey Artisan Bakery
in 2016[11] and Sri Lanka's Bloody Easter in 2019.[12] In each of these cases, pre-
vailing sociopolitical conditions have enabled the growth of terrorist groups
intent on wreaking destruction.

This chapter on significant trends in political violence in South Asia
over the last quarter-century offers a broad overview of developments in the
subregion. The following sections trace the evolution of trends and identi-
fies several political and social issues, and emerging threats that could shape
the face of terrorism in South Asia in the years ahead. The concluding part
of the paper summarizes the earlier sections to highlight insights that may
minimize future threats.

REVIEW

After the departure of Britain as a colonial power in 1947 following the Sec-
ond World War, simmering tensions between communities based on ethnic-
ity, religion, and language that predated this departure erupted into various
forms of violence across the subcontinent. The swift partition of the Indian
subcontinent (the division of British India into the two separate states of In-
dia and Pakistan) based on these sociocultural divides laid the ground for fu-
ture violence. Next door, the Afghan tribal revolts led the king to experiment
with allowing greater political freedom but reversed the policy when it went
further than expected. Religious and sectarian violence, tribal wars, separatist
insurgencies, ethno-nationalist struggles and left-wing rebellions erupted al-
most immediately across the subcontinent. These continue to shape and en-
able current insurgent and terrorist movements. South Asia remains among
the most violent regions in the world. From Mahatma Gandhi in 1948 to
Benazir Bhutto in 2007, the list of high-profile political assassinations in
the region is a testament to the violent expression that marks all political
extremism in South Asia. A study documents that 76% of the assassinations
in South Asia were executed since the mid-1980s, clearly a consequence of

the growing instability in the region.[13]

Armed hostilities between India and Pakistan[14] over the disputed territory of Kashmir continue to be the fulcrum of terrorism across their borders.[15] Following the Mumbai attacks of November 2008, Pakistan's untiring quest for a "friendly" government in Kabul amid reports of Afghan Taliban safe havens on Pakistani soil (seen as crucial for the mili-

Assassinations in South Asia

Beginning with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi in January 1948 by a member of the Hindu nationalist paramilitary organization, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), each of the eight South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries has been witness to the assassination of about 60 public figures for religious, political, or military motives over the past seven decades.

The methods of assassination have ranged from suicide bombings and knifings to gunshots with assassins representing all shades of violent extremism, religions, and vocations including bodyguards, active military personnel, and members of royalty.

tants' ability to sustain their insurgency inside Afghanistan) is viewed with suspicion and alarm across the region.[16] The 2019 Easter attacks in Sri Lanka, the 2016 Bakery attack in Bangladesh, and developments in Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, and the Maldives, demonstrate that threats from terrorism remain as alive as they did 25 years ago. And increasingly, as is to be expected, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is stepping forward to claim credit and exert its influence in the region.[17]

Most of the eight countries in South Asia continue to experience some form of terrorism or insurgency—separatist, jihadist, or left-wing as a response to a range of governance issues including marginalization, exclusion, and injustices. In some cases, the active involvement of external players ("cross-border terrorism") defies resolution.

Mumbai Attacks

The demolition of the 16th century mosque in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992, by rampaging Hindu mobs marked a turning point for terrorism in India. A series of attacks on Mumbai beginning with 12 coordinated attacks in March 1993 (killing 317), reached its high point in November 2008, when 10 Pakistani men associated with the terror group Lashkar-e-Tayyiba stormed buildings in Mumbai, killing 164 people. The lone surviving gunman, Mohammed Ajmal Kasab, was executed in November 2012. Another major attack in 2006, involved the use of serial pressure cooker bomb blasts on the city's crowded local trains, killing 209 people.

Kashmir and Cross-Border Terrorism

By the turn of the century, most of the armed groups that these conflicts had spawned were now using terror as part of their strategy to achieve their goals. The Taliban's conquest of Afghanistan in 1996 following the humiliating withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989 led to the creation of several different militant groups that took root in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir. The most noticeable of these groups are Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM),[18] populated with many former *mujahedeen* from the Afghan war aiming to wrest all of Kashmir.[19] India's recent actions in Kashmir[20] stripping the state of autonomy after seven decades and the persistent heavy-handed approach against its citizens[21] is set to prolong this decade's long conflict even more.[22] This has already triggered a series of attacks,[23] revitalized jihadi groups like the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT)[24], Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Hizbul Mujahideen (HuM),[25] and, more ominously, the formation of a new grouping, The Resistance Front (TRF).[26]

> **Cross-Border Terrorism**
>
> Cross-border terrorism threatens Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan. Incriminating Pakistan for its lukewarm efforts to act decisively against all shades of terrorists within its borders—as well as the generally tense Afghan-Pakistan and India-Pakistan relationship—remain impediments in any effective cooperation that would be necessary to counter such cross-border terror attacks. Existing hostilities between Afghanistan and Pakistan sharpened in 1947, when Afghanistan became the only country to vote against the admission of Pakistan to the United Nations. Pakistan and India's contests over the disputed territory of Kashmir continue unabated into the seventh decade with no resolution in sight.

Afghanistan

The increase in terrorist activity in Afghanistan resulted in a 631% spike in deaths in the decade since 2008. Largely because of this, South Asia remains the region most impacted by terrorism, with the Taliban replacing ISIS as the world's deadliest terror group.[27] The war rages even as the coronavirus known as COVID-19 spreads, as militants stormed a crowded Sikh temple and housing complex in Kabul on March 25, killing at least 25 people in a six-hour siege. The attackers, believed to be Islamic State extremists, struck on a day when nationwide cases of the virus nearly doubled from 24 hours.[28] The release of 12,000 prisoners, in addition to 10,000 already in the process of being released by the Afghan government, as the pandemic spreads

> **Afghanistan: Fighting on several fronts**
>
> The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan's (UNAMA) latest report indicates a trend of escalating civilian casualties since the signing of a peace deal between the United States and the Taliban. Adding to the chaos is a disputed presidential election. With the outbreak of the coronavirus in Iran, thousands of Afghans crossed the border into Afghanistan, a country they once fled and a country made vulnerable by conditions that preceded the pandemic. Most of the men were in their 20s. Misinformation has added another layer of complexity to the embattled country's coronavirus response. Emboldened by the impending departure of the remaining American troops, the Taliban continues increasing its attacks across nine provinces, also among the worst hit by the infection. Seizing the opportunity in the deadly mix of war and coronavirus offered by official failures, the Taliban has stepped in to play the role of an aid agency.

across the country and prisons remain overcrowded, would set free more than 60% of the country's 36,000 inmates.[29] What the repercussions of this move would mean remain unclear amidst the war of words between the Taliban and the United States following the peace deal,[30] and the sustained attacks on al-Qaeda by ISIS.[31] Meanwhile, even while eulogizing Mullah Mohammed Omar, the founder of the Taliban, on his seventh death anniversary for defending Osama bin Laden after the 9/11 attacks,[32] the Taliban, in a move to gain legitimacy, reached out to seek the support from the long-persected minority of the Hazara Shias for recruits.[33]

Separatist Insurgencies

Insurgency in the relatively isolated and ethnically rich northeast of India, connected to the mainland by a strip of land as narrow as 14 miles wide, involves multiple armed separatist factions operating in India's strategic region linking South and Southeast Asia. Most of India's "Seven Sisters," as the northeastern states are known in the country, have experienced varying levels of violence since 1945 by groups favoring a separate nation or regional autonomy, with some demanding complete independence. While efforts to contain some of these insurgencies have paid varying dividends, the conflict in Nagaland, India's longest and bloodiest insurgency, continues to fester and threatens a fresh round of violent discord.[34] Meanwhile, in Sri Lanka, the decades-long violent ethno-nationalist campaign for a separate Tamil state ended with the military defeat of the Tamil Tigers by Sri Lankan troops in 2009. The movement still lives on as a political entity keeping alive the aspirations of a disenfranchised minority.

Left-Wing Extremism

While most left-wing terrorist groups, influenced by various communist and socialist currents, that had operated in the developed world disappeared by the mid-1990s, two of the three major left-wing insurgent groups in South Asia, informed by the "people's war" strategy of Maoism, succeeded in having a profound impact on the societies of Nepal and India. The triumph of Nepal's Maoists in overthrowing a two-century-old monarchy, in replacing a kingdom with a secular republic and winning a fair democratic election to assume office at the conclusion of the decades-long insurgency in 2006 was in contrast to the brutal defeat of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front or JVP) by 1990 in Sri Lanka. The JVP, after two violent uprisings against Colombo and its subsequent military defeat, refashioned itself as an influential player in Sri Lanka's polity. India's Naxalites (legatees of the Communist Party of India—Maoist faction), emerging in the late 1960s in a small corner of eastern India and ruthlessly crushed then, are now operating across large parts of the central and eastern neglected and underdeveloped regions of India since the turn of the century. Often touted as India's largest internal security threat, the Maoists continue to draw strength from broad grass root support for their legitimate grievances, displacement from their lands due to big business projects being just one of them.

Religion and Nationalism

Two current, major drivers of terrorist activity in the region are a combination of religion and nationalism. This combination has had devastating effects by nourishing hatred and violence in a fragile, unstable, and ethnically diverse region. In large part, across the region, religious nationalism is fueled by the surge of Islamophobia.[35] Since 2011, Myanmar has seen an upsurge in extreme Buddhist nationalism, anti-Muslim hate speech and deadly communal violence, not only in Rakhine state but across the country.[36] In 2012, an outbreak of violence in Rakhine state encouraged the formation of the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) by a group of Rohingya exiles.

Sri Lanka's Bodu Bala Sena (Buddhist Power Force or BBS), a Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist organization, is seen to be in the forefront of attacks[37] and riots against the Muslims, who constitute 10% of the island nations' population.[38] Months after the Easter bombings by a small group of Islamic State-inspired militants killing more than 250, Muslims faced a significant backlash.[39]

Holey Artisan Attacks 2016, Bangladesh and Easter Bombings 2019, Sri Lanka

The 2016 Holey Artisan Bakery attack in Dhaka, Bangladesh, and the 2019 Easter attacks in Sri Lanka bear resemblances to each other. The attackers in both cases were home grown, young men from affluent families and well educated. Both targeted foreigners. While ISIS claimed both attacks, the two countries blamed their local groups, the Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and a little known group in Sri Lanka, the National Thowheed Jamath (NTJ), respectively.

Prevailing socio-political conditions in both countries, growing extremism and marginalization, set the stage for what was to follow. Until 2016, the JMB was held responsible for only isolated killings, mostly of religious minorities and bloggers critical of hardline Islam. In ethnically diverse Sri Lanka, with Muslims constituting under 10% of the 21 million population, ethnic tensions between Buddhists and Muslims were on the rise during the decade prior, with a sharp increase in attacks by militant Buddhist groups, primarily the ultranationalist Bodu Bala Sena (Buddhist Power Force).

Women and Terrorism

Moreover, women, though numerically less than their male counterparts, have been in the forefront in some of these movements, and will continue to be key to mobilizing recruits around issues of socioeconomic and political exploitation and to taking up arms.[40] According to some estimates, 26% of

Women And Terrorism

The sudden surge of female suicide bombers in Iraq in 2007 and in conflicts elsewhere shocked many. However, it was the conflict in Sri Lanka that first spawned a generation of women anguished enough to sacrifice themselves. Of the several hundred suicide bombings carried out by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) about 50% are thought to have involved female attackers. The assassination by a 17-year-old girl of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 remains among the most politically devastating suicide missions ever. Women in the insurgencies of northeast India, in Kashmir, and among the Indian Naxalites had similar strong social motivations to take up arms from the late 1980s. A number of studies estimate that female participation in the Maoist movement during the People's War of Nepal (1996-2006) was about 40%. Grinding poverty, violence against women, fear of atrocities by security forces, and extrajudicial killings of civilians and families of insurgents were the reasons often cited to join a "movement" that, in their view, gave them an opportunity to fight human rights violence and promote human dignity.

the foreign fighters from the Maldives, one of the top per capita contributors of foreign fighters in Syria, include adult women.[41]

Insight

Several insights are inescapable. Governance that is inclusive of disenfranchised populations, affected communities, and gender is key to effective counterterrorism strategies. History is flush with examples of the short-term gains and long-term pains of a strategy that is rooted in purely military victories. Yet, this lesson seems to bypass most governments in the region. A case in point is Sri Lanka's approach to the ethnic issue. In its report on Sri Lanka, the International Crisis Group, an independent organization that aims to build support for good governance and inclusive politics, while sounding the alarm on increasing ethnic and religious tension, also highlights the growing risk to the status of Muslims in the country's politics of Buddhist nationalism.[42] The Muslim community in Sri Lanka has long been marginalized politically, and often economically too.[43] In recent years there has been a sharp rise[44] in sectarian tensions, mainly a result of the emergence of militant Buddhist groups. And as a legacy of 26 years of a brutal civil war,[45] Sri Lanka has long been a deeply dysfunctional state with its security establishment riven by factions and feuds.[46]

COVID-19 and Counterterrorism

A pandemic, when public attention is focused elsewhere, provides the perfect conditions for states to resort to measures that in other times would be deemed questionable by the international community. Additionally, repressive measures creep in when people are distracted by fear and uncertainty, the outcome of which, for counterterrorism, has often proven counterproductive.

In India, the pandemic has deepened intolerance and increased the ongoing violence against the country's Muslim minority.[47] A series of actions against them—the removal of Kashmir's special status and its bifurcation, discriminatory citizenship laws, the increasing number of lynchings[48] with covert or overt support of the ruling party,[49] are meant to convey to them that India is a Hindu nation in which they would be unwelcome citizens.[50] An outpouring of hateful rhetoric, describing Muslims as "corona villains" or virus spreaders and characterizing COVID-19 as a Muslim conspiracy, as even an act of biological terrorism, has intensified anti-Muslim discrimination.[51]

In Sri Lanka, the fundamental changes by the new administration to policies on ethnic relations and the rule of law with intent to dilute commitments[52] on post-war reconciliation, accountability and inclusive governance made to the United Nations Human Rights Council and to the European Union, threatens to increase ethnic and religious tensions. One such move was the pardoning and release of a war crime military personnel who was on death row for killing eight Tamil civilians, including a five-year-old and two teenagers in 2000 during the civil war.[53]

Since the death of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in 2011, the fragile relationship between Pakistan's civilian rulers and its military leadership has come under the spotlight once again as Prime Minister Imran Khan made changes in his cabinet amid growing worries over the spread of the coronavirus pandemic.[54] Unsurprisingly, the clergy in Pakistan took the upper hand in deciding state policy against the virus, declaring it "a curse of Allah" that needed repentance from a nation that was corrupt and lascivious.[55] Two related developments that went relatively unnoticed during the pandemic were the release of the Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl's convicted killer[56] and the removal of 1,800 names from its terrorist watch list of 7,600 people.[57] Among the removed names was the suspected leader of the terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and one of the alleged masterminds of the Mumbai attacks in 2008 when at least 174 people were killed. And across the subcontinent, terrorist groups are making efforts to exploit the existing situation and fears to draw more attention to themselves in the form of development aid.[58]

"Coronajihad": Islamophobia In India

Already a minority under attack – aided and abetted by powerful sections of mainstream media – the 200 million Muslims of India (dubbed "coronavirus terrorists" by sections of the media), in a Hindu-dominated land of 1.3 billion people, are now having their businesses boycotted and are facing increased attacks amid false claims that they are to blame for the epidemic.

After India's health ministry repeatedly blamed an Islamic seminary for spreading the coronavirus — and governing party officials spoke of "human bombs" and "corona jihad" — a spree of anti-Muslim attacks has broken out across the country.

The New York Times, April 12, 2020

The COVID-19 pandemic is unprecedented, involving as it does far too many variables. While the international community is slow in dealing with countries demonstrating flagrant violations of norms, such as in India, Myanmar, Pakistan, or Sri Lanka, that appear, at least on the surface, far graver than any military threat in recent decades, what is likely to change even more dramatically are certain other aspects relating to political management and security. Both terms are set to gain new meanings.

SAARC, COVID and Counterterrorism

Recognizing that a regional strategy has a better chance of controlling the pandemic than isolated national-level efforts, all SAARC countries responded rapidly to the crisis, contributed to a special SAARC COVID-19 Emergency Fund, and joined forces towards countering it. Unfortunately, while ISIS is now a reality for South Asian governments and it is clear that regional counterterrorism cooperation needs to be strengthened, the forum remains dormant due to India's concerns over cross-border terrorism emanating from Pakistan-based groups. Bilateral cooperation remains the only viable alternative in each country's policy toolkit.

The Threat of ISIS

Analysts suggest that the Sri Lanka attacks may be early evidence that the Islamic State is taking an important and renewed interest in South Asia, following losses in Syria and Iraq.[59] The neighboring island nation of the Maldives has also become a hotspot for pro-ISIS activities. On a per capita basis, the Maldives has provided more recruits to ISIS[60] than any other country, with up to 450 of its citizens known to have joined.[61] ISIS has claimed authorship of several terrorism-related incidents in the Maldives since 2014, including the destruction of some boats in April 2020.[62] Besides, it is easy for local groups in the region to potentially pledge allegiance to the Islamic State in order to make a quick name for themselves.

In some ways, South Asia would be the most obvious target for an Islamic State-backed attack. The region, with its political tensions often crossing religious lines, as the Islamic State rebrands as a global insurgency, and populations vulnerable to radicalization, would be its major fishing ground. More than half of the Muslims in the Asia-Pacific region live in South Asia, which includes three of the five countries in the world with the largest Muslim populations: Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. Muslims are expected to make up a third of the population of South Asia in 2030.[63]

Seizing an opportunity, the recently announced *"Wilayat al-Hind,"* the Caliphate's "Indian Province," issued a poster that included the viral image of a Muslim man being beaten by a Hindu mob in Delhi in a poster justifying retaliatory violence.[64] And, as ISIS expands its use of smaller regional affiliates to carry out terrorism in its own name, a new set of challenges come into play for the entire region, demanding better intraregional cooperation to counter the same.

The Rohingyas

Over the course of the past years, the tension between Buddhist nationalists and Muslim minorities, the Rohingya in particular, has grown into a dangerous strain of racism and intolerance. Discriminatory policies of Myanmar's government since the late 1970s have compelled a million Muslim Rohingya to flee their homes to neighboring Bangladesh, where conditions in refugee camps are a concern for radicalization experts, particularly after ISIS signaled its presence in the region, even as the fledgling militant group, Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) offers no threat to Myanmar's military. Analysts at the Center for Strategic and International Studies warn that the repression of the Rohingyas presents a potential, transnational flashpoint for jihadi-Salafi organizations, which has larger implications for the region grappling with terrorism.

Conclusion

Recent trends across the globe demonstrate the rise of xenophobia and that nations are turning inward with a willingness to sacrifice personal liberties in favor of greater state control. Yet the problem of terrorism is transnational and global. The compulsions of geopolitics and geo-economics seem to guide the international community's soft approach to countries that shirk their commitment to international norms of accountability and good governance. But this is a strategy that has potential to extract a high price as illustrated by the example of Afghanistan's *mujahedeen* following the exit of Soviet troops. When morals and effective governance are subject to the vagaries of the geopolitical environment, whole-of-society counterterrorism strategies become vulnerable to failure.

Nationalism in the name of God would further justify the cause and swell the ranks of those that sow terror in the name of God. Multiple grievances (alienation, humiliation, demographic shifts, historical wrongs, and claims over territory) that drive religious terror and vary from spiritual to temporal and from instrumental to ideological, often provide a fertile

environment for recruitment.[65] With economies floundering during the CO-VID crisis, and the loss of millions of jobs across all segments, the potential dividends of a youth bulge could instead turn into a dangerous disaster.[66]

The growing tide of Islamophobia,[67] state-sponsored violence against minorities, claims of genocide, and the tendency for states to respond with brutality, in violation of human rights, and with little regard for international norms, further ensures that terrorism will remain an integral part of the region's security concern in the years ahead. With over one million Rohingya refugees from Myanmar living in squalid camps in neighboring Bangladesh, there is concern among radicalization experts that these camps offer ideal conditions to make them potential breeding grounds for extremism.[68] Al-Qaeda was quick to release a statement of support.[69] In Pakistan, the Ahmadis, a religious sect that a rights group says suffers widespread persecution, continue to be denied a voice, status, and protection in a newly formed commission for minorities.[70] Counterterrorism efforts are further confounded by the popular practice among states to label as "terrorist" any movement that takes up arms to challenge a state's inability or indifference to the legitimate grievances of a particular community.

The international community is finally noticing the rise of Islamophobia[71] that has been simmering for long in India.[72] In its annual report of 2020, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (IRF) has recommended that the State Department designate India[73] as a "country of particular concern" saying the country was "engaging in and tolerating systematic, ongoing and egregious religious freedom violations."[74] India last received a similar rating from the watchdog in 2004, also a period of heightened concern over a Hindu nationalist government's treatment of religious minorities, especially Muslims and Christians. In 2002, more than 1,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed in three days of riots in the state of Gujarat. The Commission also recommended that the State Department redesignate both Pakistan and Myanmar[75] as Countries of Particular Concern for the treatment of their minority religious communities and assorted Muslim sects.[76] The latest report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom is a move in the right direction. While, expectedly, countries being called out brush aside the report, the international community should leverage the report's findings in dealing with them.

The Naxalite movement in India, reincarnated from its crushing defeat in the 1960s after the shift of the Indian economy toward a free market model and the ensuing takeover by the state of lands that provided shelter to the poorest of the poor, indigenous tribes, and the disenfranchised, is firmly

entrenched. Only a commitment by the state to uplift the living conditions of the dispossessed could provide an opening for a lasting resolution.

If most terrorism is a local phenomenon that is networked into a bigger regional and global system, so is counterterrorism. Yet, the record of the regions' primary organization, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), in tackling terrorism, despite an early regional consensus on counterterrorism, remains dismal. With the widening network of terrorist groups in the subcontinent and the fates of the eight countries interlinked with one another, the need for regional cooperation has never been as dire, and yet, some countries find it difficult "to overcome their proclivity to pursue political goals and limited national agendas within the regional framework."[77]

Given the seemingly insurmountable challenges of governance across the region, rising Islamophobia, widening socioeconomic and sectarian divides, SAARC remains a hostage to the India-Pakistan relationship and is unable to unite the countries toward the common goal of regional prosperity and security. Bilateral cooperation, while mutually beneficial to signatories, has limited value to addressing a regional problem. With a population of nearly two billion people, South Asia is especially vulnerable to terrorism because of its high population density, insufficient government resources, and inadequate governing systems. It would require a more responsive system of governance to alleviate the legitimate grievances of the disaffected and counter the narratives of groups that are successfully able to exploit the situation in pursuit of their violent goals.

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Sam Mullins

On the morning of April 4, 1995, approximately 200 Islamist militants, believed to be part of the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), ransacked the city of Ipil in Mindanao, looting banks, setting fire to buildings and killing more than 50 people, before making off with more than half a billion pesos and numerous hostages.[1] Twenty-two years later, the same group—albeit under different leadership and comprised of a new generation of recruits—laid siege to the much larger city of Marawi, located some 300 kilometers east, for a period of five months. By the time security forces finally defeated them, over a thousand people had been killed, hundreds of thousands of people had been displaced and the city lay in ruins.[2] Unfortunately, ASG is just one of many armed groups that the region has had to contend with over the years, and—like ASG—many have proven to be frustratingly resilient, sometimes even resurgent, in the face of formidable efforts to defeat them.

The Deep Roots of Insurgency in Southeast Asia

Besides ASG, other militant organizations that were in action back in the 1990s included the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Communist New People's Army (NPA), which had been established in the Philippines in 1969 and 1977 respectively, as well as the Free Papua Movement (OPM; formed in 1965), the Free Aceh Movement (GAM; founded in 1976) and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI; established in 1993) in Indonesia and Malaysia. Muslim-separatist militants, who had been active in Southern Thailand since the 1960s, also conducted sporadic attacks during the 1990s and would soon gather enough strength to mount a fearsome insurgency.

By the time of ASG's assault on Ipil, terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia were already well-entrenched and quite diverse. Broadly speaking, they can be divided into three main types: Salafi-jihadists, separatists, and communists. This chapter provides an historical overview of the most significant terrorist and insurgent threats in Southeast Asia over the last 25 years. Focusing primarily on those countries which have experienced the most attacks (namely, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and Myanmar), it highlights the major jihadist, separatist, and communist groups in the region and charts the rising and falling levels of violence in relation to a variety of internal and external factors. The following section identifies a number of political and social issues, along with current and emerging threats that may shape the nature of terrorism in Southeast Asia in years to come. The concluding part of the paper draws upon the previous sections to highlight lessons learned from history that may help the region in future.
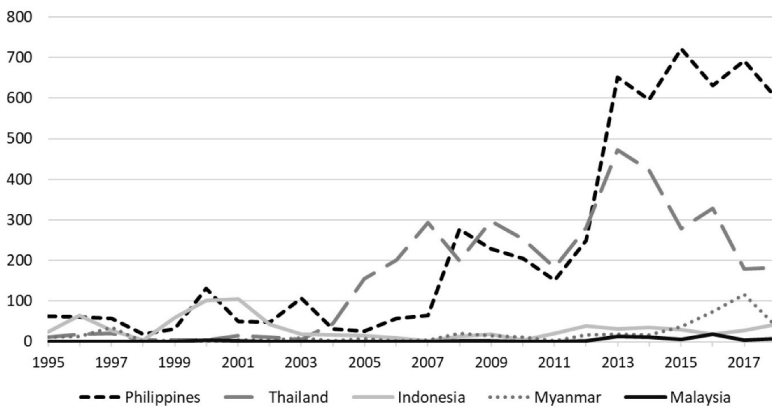
Figure 7.1: Incidents of terrorism in Southeast Asia (including the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar, and Malaysia) from 1995 to 2018.

LOOKING BACK ON 25 YEARS OF TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY

The Early Days of 'Global Jihad' in Southeast Asia

As Figure 7.1 above shows, relatively few attacks occurred during the 1990s and early 2000s. However, jihadist terrorists, in particular JI and its offshoots, became increasingly sophisticated and belligerent during this timeframe,

chalking up several high-profile successes—most notably the Bali bombing of 2002 in which 202 people were killed. Domestically, the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 had given JI newfound room to act. However, the real key to their success was their bond with al-Qaeda, which had been forged in the camps in Afghanistan in the 1980s and 1990s and brought with it important benefits, including expertise, funding, and logistical support. The attacks of September 11, 2001, and the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, followed by that of Iraq, then provided shots of adrenaline to the jihadists' cause. However, after the links to al-Qaeda were effectively severed through concerted law enforcement and military action during the early 2000s, jihadist networks in Southeast Asia became increasingly fractured. By the end of the decade they were focused more on local concerns (the "near" as opposed to "far enemy").[3]

Separatist Insurgencies in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines

Just as regime change in Indonesia enabled jihadists to act, so it allowed separatists to flourish as well. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) was able to take advantage of this at a time when popular support for the group was at an all-time high, thanks to widespread anger at human rights abuses perpetrated by security forces, along with frustration at the government's failure to implement promised reforms.[4] By the time the peace process collapsed in 2003, GAM had succeeded in generating significant international support for its cause, while simultaneously increasing its membership in Aceh fivefold and expanding its influence to control 70-80% of the province.[5] Had it not been for the tsunami of December 2004, which forced the two sides to work together for the common good and ultimately led to the peace treaty of 2005, it is quite likely that insurgency in Aceh would still be alive today.

As depicted in Figure 7.1, the separatist insurgency in Thailand has been one of the most significant sources of violence in Southeast Asia. In 1998,

The Free Papua Movement (OPM)

One of the longest running separatist movements in Southeast Asia today is led by the OPM in West Papua, Indonesia. OPM militants have been responsible for numerous acts of sabotage, kidnapping, assassination, and attacks on construction workers and security forces, including a number of mass-casualty incidents. The independence movement remains strong, however, the insurgency is disorganized and—unlike GAM—has never been able to seriously challenge the Indonesian state.

the militants were on the back foot, thanks to the establishment of stronger cooperation between Thailand and Malaysia.[6] However, having learned from this experience, they mounted a comeback in 2004, upping the tempo, scale and sophistication of their operations. As in Aceh, the insurgency has been fueled by incidences of excessive use of force by military and police, and although there have been numerous rounds of negotiations, little has been done to address Malay-Muslim grievances. Thanks to resourcing constraints, changes in leadership and continued military pressure, levels of violence are currently at about their lowest since the 2004 wave of insurgency began; however, the underlying causal conditions remain unchanged.[7]

In the Philippines, the MILF also varied its use of violence in response to government pressure and perceived willingness to engage in meaningful negotiation. For example, when negotiations stalled in 2007, the MILF stepped up its operations lasting through 2009.[8] However, in contrast to Thailand, the government of the Philippines has shown a willingness to listen to militants' demands and—after more than 20 years—peace talks eventually paid off, culminating in the establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) in February 2019.[9]

The Enduring Threat of the New People's Army

The Philippines has had less success with the NPA, which—having previously downsized since peaking during the 1980s—stepped up its operations in 2008.[10] By this time, peace talks had been stalled since 2004 and, according to Alexander Yano, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in 2009, the military had become preoccupied with the MILF.[11]

The surge of 2008 was followed by a relative slump in attacks lasting through 2011 as the group experienced difficulties in recruitment and weapons acquisition, as well as a crisis of leadership.[12] However, since 2012, when yet another round of peace talks ended in deadlock in June, they raised the tempo of activity to new heights, averaging more than 270 attacks per year from 2013-2018.[13] Now into its 51st year of insurgency and with peace talks currently suspended, the NPA remains the largest internal security threat in the Philippines, with no end in sight.

The Escalation of Violence in Myanmar

Myanmar has had to deal with a plethora of ethno-nationalist/separatist insurgent groups dating back to the country's foundation in the late 1940s.[14]

The most powerful and durable of these groups were formed in the 1960s and are based in Kachin and Shan states in the north and east. However, arguably the most consequential group to emerge was established in 2012. That year, a new group, initially known as Harakah al-Yaqin (HaY), and subsequently rebranded as the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), was formed following deadly, anti-Muslim riots that broke out after three Muslims allegedly gang-raped and murdered a Rakhine Buddhist woman in July.[15] Things escalated even further in August 2017, when ARSA overran 30 Border Guard Police posts, inviting an indiscriminate crackdown by the Burmese military that led to the displacement of more than 700,000 Rohingya, who fled to neighboring Bangladesh. Since then, ARSA has largely been subdued, though by no means eliminated, and the Rohingya issue has come to define Myanmar's image on the international stage. At the same time, the country is still plagued by a variety of other ethno-nationalist and separatist militant groups and there appears to be little prospect of peace.

The ISIS Effect

The war in Syria and the rise of ISIS have rejuvenated jihadist terrorism in the region, beginning around 2012. Close to a thousand people from Southeast Asia traveled to Syria and Iraq, and the most active terrorist groups (including ASG and Jemaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD)) all pledged allegiance to ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.[16] Moreover, although it took some time before ISIS officially recognized these pledges, Southeast Asian foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq were instrumental in encouraging and facilitating attacks back home, as well as providing funds.

ISIS is also at least partly responsible for the increase in foreign fighters in the Philippines as well as the growth of suicide bombing in the country since July 2018.[17] Nevertheless, as time has gone on, a succession of key leaders who served as important points of contact between Asia and the Middle East have now been eliminated, similar to what happened with al-Qaeda in the early 2000s. Most of the recent attacks appear to have been

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ISIS Funding for Terrorism in Southeast Asia

According to Indonesian police, from 2014-2016 ISIS transferred more than 10 billion rupiah (more than US$700,000) from various overseas sources to Indonesia. The Philippine military reported that ISIS sent "at least" $1.5 million to ASG and the Maute Group to help fund the aforementioned siege of Marawi in May 2017.

locally organized and counterterrorism (CT) authorities are increasingly effective. For example, Malaysia has suffered just one minor attack, while thwarting an additional 25 plots and has arrested more than 500 ISIS suspects since 2013.[18] In 2019 alone, Indonesia arrested around 275 suspected terrorists.[19] That same year, they reduced the number of terrorist incidents in the country by 58%.[20]

Militants in the region were quick to pledge allegiance to the new "caliph" after al-Baghdadi was killed in October 2019 and clearly remain committed to ISIS, despite that it has been reduced to a shadow of its former self and personal and operational ties to Southeast Asia appear to have been at least temporarily weakened. This commitment is also evident in the actions of so-called "frustrated foreign fighters" (those who tried but didn't make it to Syria), and other home-grown cells and lone actors with varying organizational affiliations, who continue to plan and sometimes conduct attacks in the name of ISIS. Thus, although international linkages have been degraded and authorities in the region appear to be gaining the upper hand, there is no room for complacency and the road ahead is fraught with challenges.

Challenges and Trends in the Years Ahead

Having looked at the rises and falls in terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia over the last 25 years, we now turn to the future. Although trying to predict what terrorism might look like in another 25 years would be futile, it is useful to highlight existing challenges and developing trends in the political and social environment in Southeast Asia, as well as the threat, that are likely to shape the militant landscape now and in the immediate future.

Politicization of Religion in Indonesia and Malaysia

In Indonesia and Malaysia, there has been a gradually mounting sense of unease over what observers consider to be a potentially dangerous rise in more conservative forms of Islam, coupled with increasingly assertive political activism and the willingness of politicians to cater to these movements in order to expand their base of supporters. The controversial conviction of the former governor of Jakarta on charges of blasphemy in 2017 exemplifies this trend. The fact that Indonesian President Joko Widodo then chose a conservative cleric—Ma'ruf Amin, who has supported *fatwas* restricting the rights of religious minorities and homosexuals—as his running mate in the 2019 elections is further evidence of the growing religious influence

in politics. This can also be seen in Malaysia, where the hardline Parti Islam Malaysia (PAS)—which advocates stoning—has grown in strength to the point that it is now part of the ruling coalition.

Although the politicization of religious issues will not directly increase the risk of terrorism in either country, it is possible that, over time, it will gradually expand the space within which violent extremists are able to operate. As ever more conservative government policies are proposed (whether or not they are enacted), the more that extremists are likely to feel emboldened to promote their own agendas. The more politicized that notions of religion and identity become, the more polarized society is likely to be, and the greater the feelings of marginalization and frustration. These are gifts to extremist and terrorist recruiters, who are adept at exploiting such sentiments to generate support and convince new recruits to join their cause. Should political maneuvering around the topic of religion intensify in Southeast Asia in the months and years ahead, it is therefore possible that violent jihadists will be able to exploit this to their advantage.

Instability in the Southern Philippines

In the Philippines, optimism resulting from the various gains that have been made in Mindanao is constrained by the recognition that the reality on the ground is still highly conducive to the potential resurgence of terrorist groups in the region. Because of continued delays in the reconstruction of Marawi (popularly believed to be the result of corruption), tens of thousands of people are still unable to return home more than two-and-a-half years since the siege was brought to an end.[21] It has repeatedly been warned that terrorists in the area are seeking to capitalize on this growing sense of frustration and anger at the government, which may enable ASG and others to rebound.[22]

Compounding this situation is the fact that as the peace process with the MILF gradually progresses, there are likely to be hardliners and others who become disillusioned and seek a return to violence. In September 2019, interim Chief Minister Ahod "Al Haj Murad" Ebrahim of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (who also serves as the chair of the MILF), admitted that running a government is three times as difficult as running a revolution, pointing to budgetary gaps and bureaucratic challenges.[23] The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) which runs the BARMM government, has until 2022 to iron out these issues and demonstrate the capability to govern in preparation for elections that year. Its ability to do so,

and the related outcome of the elections, will greatly impact local support for the BARMM. The more that it struggles, the greater support there is likely to be for ASG, the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters, or others who seek to undermine the peace process.

The Rohingya Refugee Crisis

There are approximately one million Rohingya refugees still in Bangladesh and although ARSA has not been particularly active in Myanmar since 2017, reports suggest that it is active inside refugee camps and is using the time to regroup in preparation for future attacks.[24] Whatever the present strength of the organization, there is currently no end in sight to the Rohingya's predicament and little prospect of them returning home. Citing security concerns, the Bangladeshi government has begun implementing tighter measures of control, to include restriction of internet access and building of fences.[25] Educational and other basic services are also lacking, leaving Islamist groups to fill the void.[26] Although there is thus far no evidence of collaboration between ARSA and transnational jihadists, both al-Qaeda and ISIS have expressed support for the Rohingya's cause and there has been a handful of cases where jihadist individuals have been arrested for attempting to infiltrate the area or for plotting attacks against Burmese targets.[27]

For the time being, the Rohingya issue remains a slow-burning crisis and has not transformed into a major rallying point for jihadists. However, the longer it goes on, the greater chance that this might happen, either because the situation flares up again or because entrepreneuring terrorists are able to establish inroads into the region. In the longer term, it is also quite possible that the next generation of Rohingya militants (many of whom will now be children languishing in refugee camps with memories of atrocities fresh in their minds) will grow up to be more radical than the current crop of insurgents.

Returning Foreign Fighters, "Home-Grown" Cells and Lone Actors

One of the biggest shared concerns for Southeast Asia in 2020 is the eventual, if not imminent return of foreign fighters and their families from the region, who are currently in Syria.

One way or another, at least some of these individuals are thus likely to come home. Even if they face prosecution and imprisonment, perhaps cou-

pled with specialized reintegration programs, some are likely to reoffend.[28] Of course this could include planning and conducting attacks, but arguably the bigger danger is that returnees will help to expand, reconsolidate and reinvigorate jihadist networks in the region. Importantly, this process could play out over many years.

Of course, returning foreign fighters and their families cannot be viewed in isolation from the broader pool of "home-grown" cells and lone actors, who may or may not be affiliated with organizations such as JAD and ASG. This includes deportees and others who tried, but were unsuccessful, in their bid to get to Syria, along with others still who opt for local courses of action. Connections to established groups are not always clear and the offenders often rely upon close-knit family relationships instead. This, combined with a willingness to sometimes strike opportunistically using readily available weapons, means they can be especially difficult to detect before they act. Looking ahead, we can expect to see more (semi)autonomous acts of terrorism in Indonesia in particular. Similar cases may emerge in Singapore and Malaysia, but there they are more likely to be detected, thanks to tighter security in those countries. In the Philippines, where the environment is more permissive, organizations such as ASG will remain the primary threat.

The Syria Detainees

According to the authorities, there are 689 Indonesians and 56 Malaysians detained in Syria, plus unknown (but likely relatively small) numbers from other Southeast Asian nations. Although pressure has been mounting for countries to repatriate their citizens, they have been slow to act. Malaysian authorities have reported that they are still working to bring home those who are willing to do so, but have not taken any decisive action. Meanwhile, Indonesia announced in February 2020 that after having assessed the risk, Syria detainees would be barred from coming home, with the possible exception of some children under the age of 10. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine such large numbers of people—mostly women and children—remaining where they are indefinitely, particularly when the conflict eventually comes to a close. The fact that both Turkey and Iraq have begun deporting terrorism suspects and their families shows that countries in or near the conflict zone may take the matter into their own hands.

> **Women and Children in Terrorism in Southeast Asia**
>
> Non-jihadist groups like the NPA have long used women and children in combatant roles. Similarly, the MILF made use of child soldiers for many years. As documented by the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), women within jihadist organizations such as JI historically played key, nonviolent roles, raising funds and helping to expand and strengthen networks through marriage but were forbidden from fighting. JI also invested a great deal of time indoctrinating children in a network of boarding schools that served as recruitment centers and "marriage marts."

Women and Children in Terrorism

As many of the above examples allude to, a defining feature of jihadist terrorism in the age of ISIS has been the increasing involvement of women and children, including in acts of violence.

What has changed is the mobilization and recruitment of women and children in greater numbers, and the acceptance and utilization of them in more prominent roles—most notably, conducting attacks. This was clearly reflected in the large numbers of women and children who traveled from Southeast Asia to Syria, beginning around 2012. Among those currently still in Syria, it seems that the majority are women and children. For example, of the 56 Malaysians who have been identified, 19 are men, 12 are women, 17 are boys and eight are girls.[29] If these proportions turn out to be similar for Indonesia, it would mean there are close to 150 women and more than 300 children from that country still in Syria. In most cases, it will be extremely difficult to verify whether they have been involved in violence. However, in the current climate, both past and future violent conduct, along with involvement in activities such as proselytizing and fundraising, must be regarded as very real possibilities. Of course, this also applies to female extremists and their children who never left home.

The participation of women and children in suicide bomb plots and attacks in Indonesia since 2016; the arrest of Malaysia's first female ISIS bomb-plotter in May 2018; and the participation of women in suicide bombings in the Philippines in January and September 2019 are all testimony to the severity of this threat.

Attacks involving minors, while unlikely to become the norm, will probably be emulated in future, if only by a small number of ultra-hardcore extremists. As for the involvement of women in conducting attacks, the genie

appears to be well and truly out of the bottle. At the very least, they can be expected to play essential roles in repairing, sustaining and expanding jihadi networks as the movement seeks to recuperate from its recent battering. Countries in the region would therefore be wise not to underestimate this threat, and to ensure that they are adequately prepared.

The Surabaya Bombings

The Surabaya bombings of May 2018 were particularly shocking. Five teenagers plus another five children between the ages of seven and 12 were used as suicide bombers, or were present at the bomb-factory in Sidarjo when it exploded on the evening of May 13. Analysts have since debated whether this marks the beginning of a new phase of violent jihad, where children will be used like this on a regular basis. It is worth noting that jihadists themselves are divided on the issue. As reported by IPAC, imprisoned JAD leader Aman Abdurrahman issued a statement afterwards condemning the use of children, saying the attacks "could not have been undertaken by people who understand the teachings of Islam and the demands of jihad. They could not come from sane people." However, others vehemently disagreed and a precedent has clearly been set.

A Possible Comeback for Jemaah Islamiyah

As noted above, JI (which remains pro-al-Qaeda and anti-ISIS), faded into obscurity around 2007. In 2008, they appointed a new leader, Para Wijayanto, and made a conscious decision to focus on *dawah* (proselytizing), which they believed would be more productive than *amaliyah* (armed jihad).[30]

Following a process of reorganization, they embarked on a fairly extensive campaign to recruit within universities and established a network of educational institutions, ranging from kindergartens to high schools.[31] Professionals have also been targeted for recruitment. These efforts have been complemented by the acquisition of legitimate businesses, including cacao and palm oil plantations, in order to generate funds.[32]

In May 2014, JI's military wing suffered a severe setback after Densus 88 raided one of its weapons factories, arresting several key operatives in the process.[33] In May 2018, police arrested some of JI's Syria returnees and a year later they finally caught up to Wijayanto on terrorism charges dating back to his involvement in the Christmas Eve bombings in the year 2000.[34] As these developments show, Indonesian authorities have not taken their eyes off of JI, despite the more immediate threat from JAD and others. The group is also not assessed to be currently planning domestic attacks, despite their con-

tinued interest in acquiring and maintaining militant capabilities. Nevertheless, they have been able to rebuild a significant amount of capacity during the last decade and reportedly had as many as 2,000 members as of late 2019.[35] Moreover, the danger is that some within their ranks become disillusioned with the group's current position on the use of force (not to mention disgruntled at the arrest of their leader) and break away to form yet another splinter group committed to violence.[36] In the event that this occurs, it could present a challenge not only for Indonesia, but for Southeast Asia and beyond.

Jemaah Islamiyah's Position on Violence

While JI's leadership maintains that armed attacks are likely to be counterproductive, given their relative strength compared to the government of Indonesia, they have not abandoned violent jihad entirely, according to IPAC. In 2010, they formed a new military wing, which manufactured weapons and provided paramilitary training to JI recruits in order to prepare them for eventual, violent confrontation in pursuit of an Islamic State. From 2012, JI organized dozens of fundraising events for Syria and, though it is unclear how much was raised, the bogus charity that they used to handle the funds (Hilal Ahmar Society Indonesia) was later designated as a terrorist entity by the UN for sending cash and medical supplies to Ahrar al-Sham and al-Qaeda's representative in the region, Jabhat al-Nusra (JN). Furthermore, as reported by the *South China Morning Post*, from 2013 to 2018, JI sent at least 14 of their men to Syria to receive paramilitary training.

Conclusion

The past 25 years in Southeast Asia have been turbulent. We have seen the rise and fall of al-Qaeda-driven jihadist terrorism in the early to mid-2000s; the dramatic escalation of separatist and communist insurgencies in Thailand and the Philippines, respectively, beginning in the mid-to-late 2000s; the even more dramatic impact of the war in Syria and Iraq and the rise of ISIS from 2012 onwards; and the emergence of what now looks like a long-term humanitarian crisis, triggered by a low-level insurgency and indiscriminate government crackdown in Myanmar in 2017. Looking at the graph in Figure 7.1, it is clear that overall, terrorism has increased during the last two-and-a-half decades. The number of attacks has been on the decline in the region since peaking in 2013 and there have been some notable successes, such as the reduced levels of violence in Thailand, the successful peace accords

with GAM and the (near) completion of the peace process with the MILF. However, the number of incidents recorded in 2018 was almost eight times higher than in 1995.[37]

What can we learn from this? Clearly, terrorist groups in Southeast Asia have varied their activities in response to a complex array of factors, some internal to the region, others external. For jihadists, arguably the primary driving influences have been external: namely, the incidence of conflict and the related strength and prominence of foreign terrorist organizations (first in Afghanistan, later in Syria). These greatly impacted overall support for their cause and provided them with much-needed resources. In between conflicts, these groups have turned their attention to domestic issues, criminality and—in the case of JI—nonviolent capacity building, and have struggled to maintain relevance. The activities of separatists and communists, on the other hand, appear to have varied more in relation to domestic conditions, including the willingness of governments to negotiate or make concessions; the practical opportunities available to them to organize, recruit and acquire materiel; the degree of popular support; and their own internal organizational integrity.[38]

In all cases, pressure from the military and law enforcement makes a significant difference. It is vital for constraining the activities of terrorists, disrupting their operations and degrading their strength. However, heavy-handed tactics have at times undermined the legitimacy of governments in the region and contributed to escalations in violence and instability. Just as importantly (though it may seem like a cliché), it is clear that "hard" counterterrorism tactics alone are insufficient to bring about a lasting reduction in the threat. Specific groups and individuals may come and go, but each type of terrorism has proven to be remarkably resilient. This is not to suggest that governments of the region should simply capitulate to terrorists' demands, or abandon the use of force in favor of negotiations. However, it must be realized that if legitimate grievances and underlying causal conditions are left unaddressed, the cycle of violence will continue indefinitely. Currently, there is little hope for meaningful peace talks with the region's two most active insurgencies—the loose conglomeration of groups in southern Thailand and the NPA in the Philippines. Not only does this suggest that attacks by these groups will once again rise when conditions are ripe. It also means that, due to continued instability, the so-called "root causes" of terrorism—poverty, unemployment, political marginalization and corruption—will persist. Though they may be fighting for a different cause, these are also conditions that violent jihadists routinely exploit.

For the time being, terrorism in Southeast Asia appears to be on a gradual downward trend. However, all of the groups currently in existence are likely to remain enduring features of the militant landscape. There are no signs of their imminent defeat and, if history is anything to go by, we will see a resurgence of violence at some point in the future. As discussed above, this may be precipitated by political and social conditions in the region, to include politicization of religion and identity; instability in the southern Philippines; and the Rohingya refugee crisis. Events outside of the region—especially conflicts in which jihadists are involved—may also play an important role. At the tactical and operational levels, authorities will have to adapt to changing threat dynamics. Specific concerns in the near-term include (returning) foreign fighters; home-grown cells and lone actors; the involvement of women and children in terrorism; the possible reemergence of JI; not to mention ever-evolving terrorist tactics. On top of all this, the region must also now

The Impact of the Coronavirus Pandemic

In the short-term, the coronavirus pandemic does not appear to have resulted in a significant escalation of terrorism in Southeast Asia. This is despite the fact that terrorists are trying to exploit the situation to their advantage in various ways, including propaganda, recruitment, fundraising, and conducting attacks (most notably so far in the Philippines and Indonesia). The lack of immediate escalation of violence is likely due to several reasons. To begin with, temporary ceasefires were declared by different sides in the Philippines, Thailand and Myanmar. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, many ISIS supporters believe that the pandemic is a great plague foretold in the hadith, or else signifies the coming End of Times. In either case, this means they should stay at home and prepare themselves, rather than go out and conduct attacks. Perhaps more importantly, the closure of borders and enforcement of checkpoints, curfews and lockdowns throughout the region has surely made it more difficult for terrorists to move around. According to Rommel Banlaoi of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism, this has "enormously" reduced the flow of foreign fighters to the Philippines.

Nevertheless, the pandemic may still exacerbate terrorism in the region in the medium to long-term. Widespread unemployment and economic hardship, combined with already evident rising social and sectarian tensions, are likely to result in significant levels of marginalization, desperation and anger, making more people potentially susceptible to terrorists' ongoing recruitment efforts. Governments will also come under increasing financial pressure, meaning that in future, counterterrorism may be deprioritized in favor of public health and economic recovery. The degree to which terrorists are able to take advantage of this situation will largely depend on how well governments in the region are able to navigate the many challenges ahead, while also maintaining social cohesion and the trust of their citizenry. This will be no easy task.

contend with the coronavirus pandemic, which is likely to complicate, if not accelerate, many of these trends.

Whether dealing with separatists, communists, or indeed jihadists, governments would do well to identify legitimate grievances and contributing political and social conditions they might be able to address. This must be paired with a surgical approach to CT operations that avoids excessive use of force and is situated within an overall strategy that is not only comprehensive but also long term. Few governments attempt to plan much more than four or five years into the future. By comparison, during its hiatus from violence, JI came up with a 25-year plan to achieve its goals.[39] If terrorism in Southeast Asia is to be sustainably reduced to "acceptable" levels, it will require a similarly patient approach that is farseeing yet also cognizant of history.

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INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE:
LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Saira Yamin

The Case for Inclusive Governance

A few years ago, a survey on global religious diversity by the Pew Research Center revealed that half of the most religiously diverse countries are located in the Asia-Pacific region.[1] Another study examining changes in religious freedoms in the decade between 2007-2017 found that government restrictions around the world are getting worse, including in the Asia-Pacific.[2] The trend is often accompanied by social hostilities, including violence and harassment of religious minorities by private individuals, organizations, or groups.[3] In making the case for inclusive governance, this chapter sheds light on religious exclusionary policies, in some instances combined with social hostilities by hardline religious groups, both drivers of political instability. It posits that trends in religious nationalism are also on the rise, showing a contagion effect across borders and endangering regional stability. It examines the evolving regional order shaped by the rise of an authoritarian China and its impact on human rights norms and institutions. It contends that China's regional geostrategic positioning and expanding influence is precipitating authoritarian trends and restrictions on religious minorities. This complex dynamic in turn is fueling religious nationalist movements. In the final analysis, the chapter highlights lessons from the Mongolian empire; little remembered is its legacy of secular politics, religious coexistence, and multiculturalism, potentially a way forward for the Asia-Pacific region.

EXCLUSIONARY POLICIES AND RISING RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

Religious restrictions and widespread social hostilities are on the rise, fomenting political violence and instability in a number of states. Sometimes they manifest in religious nationalist movements involving polarizing rhetoric: advancing the political legitimacy and primacy of an in-group while demonizing minority religious or ethno-religious groups and voices of dissent. Hostile social attitudes and behaviors promoting radical ideologies and political extremism pose a direct threat to state stability. Of pressing concern is the violation of the human rights of out-groups, often comprising religious minorities.

The impact of religious nationalism as a threat to national security is compounded when social discourses delegitimizing a religious identity group are condoned or supported by the state, an indicator of systemic inequality. This interactive process perpetuates a vicious cycle of discrimination and hostility so intimately intertwined that sometimes it is difficult to ascertain how it originated and who instigated it, the state or right-wing groups. Exclusionary policies and rhetoric embolden ultranationalist religious groups and exacerbate the societal perception of threat grounded in religious differences.

THE SOUTH ASIAN CONUNDRUM

The combination of exclusionary policies and social hostilities undermines good governance. This has been especially the case in South Asia, featuring some of the most notable cases in the region.[4] In recent decades, this postcolonial subregion, navigating a political trajectory checkered by authoritarian rule and a relatively new experience with democracy has experienced this complex dynamic in various forms and degrees. The experience of each country has been unique, shaped by its history, culture, politics, economics, and many external influences. Undoubtedly, South Asia is amongst the fastest growing economic subregions of the world, yet the surge in sectarian politics is holding it back from reaching its full potential.

Pakistan offers one such case study. While the vast majority of Pakistanis practice a moderate version of Islam, polarizing discourses on the place of religion in government, and politically expedient alliances between *mullahs* (religious clerics) and ruling elites, have over the years, become fertile grounds for religious exclusion. This is partly an outcome of flawed national security policies and political misuse of religion. Exclusionary policies include anti-Ahmadi laws (1974) targeting a minority Mus-

lim sect, and a series of anti-blasphemy laws introduced by General Zia ul Haq, Pakistan's longest-serving dictator, in the 1980s.[5] The anti-blasphemy laws make the death sentence mandatory for anyone defiling the name of Prophet Muhammad and prescribe life imprisonment for defiling the Quran. The ambiguous nature of these laws has contributed to the persecution of religious minorities and vulnerable Muslims to settle personal scores. The most comprehensive data available, collected between 1987 and 2016, suggest that at least 1472 people have been charged with blasphemy including 730 Muslims, 501 Ahmadi Muslims, 205 Christians, and 26 Hindus.[6] While no one has been executed under these laws, the policies have enabled religious and sectarian violence, terrorism, and a crisis of assimilation.

Contrary to the spirit of religious pluralism envisioned by Pakistan's founding father, M.A. Jinnah, exclusionary policies have significantly impeded societal cohesion and economic development.[7] Efforts by elites to undo these laws have led to political assassinations. While there are no easy solutions, advancing a whole-of-government and -society approach to build a moderate vision for Pakistan may foster a much-needed national consensus.

Bangladesh, widely recognized as a secular nation, has also been grappling with the rise of religious nationalism, although the process has been relatively insidious. Since independence in 1971, the construction of its national identity has been contested by different streams of society. While secularism was embraced as one of the foundational principles, it has gradually eroded due to the infusion of religion and authoritarianism in politics. The country's secular moorings have partly been undermined by long periods of military rule. Consequently, civilian rule tends to be authoritarian in character. While the use of religion by Bangladeshi politicians has not been particularly stringent, it has nonetheless emboldened religious fundamentalists.[8] Bangladeshi society has come under the influence of transnational extremist groups and more than a hundred incidents of Islamist terrorism have been recorded during the past decade.[9] Since 2013, an increasing number of religious minorities, secular bloggers, and atheists have become victims of extremist violence by religious mobs. To quote Lailufar Yasmin, the question central to political and social narratives remains, "is it a country of secular Bengalis or Muslim Bangladeshis?"[10] Yasmin refers to the competing discourses on religion and nationalism as the nation's "split personality."[11] Going forward, a key challenge for the state will be its ability to restrict the space for religious nationalists and

steer the country towards its core foundational principles, fostering greater inclusion, political stability, and more robust economic growth.

The island nation of Sri Lanka is one of Asia's oldest democracies and a cultural melting pot. This trajectory, however, is being tested by a resurgence in Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism. Despite Buddhism's pacifist doctrine, ultraradical Buddhist monks have been at the forefront of hate speech, riots, arson, and mob violence targeting minority groups. Their narrative holds that the island is exclusively for Sinhala Theravada Buddhists. Hardline Buddhist organizations such as the Bodu Bala Sena have been key players in past conflicts between the majority Sinhalese Buddhists and Hindu Tamils. A long history of political disenfranchisement among minority Tamils, mostly Hindus, led to nearly three decades of civil war ultimately ending in 2009. Despite the government's best efforts, the post-conflict peacebuilding process in the northern province of Jaffna has not been easy. In more recent years, the island's Muslim and Christian minorities have been targeted.[12] Media reports suggest that ruling elites may have condoned religious nationalism contributing to the surge in attacks against minorities.[13] In preventing conflict and sustaining its impressive economic growth, Sri Lanka may consider both top-down and bottom-up approaches to promote greater religious tolerance and harmony in its pluralistic landscape.

Inevitably, in all three cases, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, there is evidence of transnational influences and linkages. Notably however, despite exogenous factors, the threat is primarily rooted in internal conditions reflecting the relationship between religious nationalism and state legitimacy. Evidence suggests that the greater the mutually reinforcing interactions between religious nationalist groups and ruling elites, the greater the likelihood of systematic exclusion. The state response to societal attitudes and behavior toward minority groups may therefore serve as a reliable indicator for forecasting the likelihood of political instability.

Religious freedoms and state responses to social hostilities are an area of special concern. Public policy on religious inclusion and tolerance is necessary for shaping societal attitudes and promoting national cohesion. In the event of hostilities, states must act swiftly to uphold the rule of law. The provision and protection of religious freedoms is an indicator of commitment to international human rights norms. When international norms are violated by a state, they bear the potential for producing a contagion effect. When they are violated by a great power, it is even more likely to have a contagion, especially in neighboring states. It is in this context

that China's policies toward minorities are considered a threat to regional peace and are examined below.

The Chinese Model and Regional Human Rights Norms

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) officially subscribes to state atheism and prohibits religious belief among its rank and file. Although freedom of religious belief is provided for in Article 36 of the Constitution, such affiliations are viewed as political dissidence and are grounds for expulsion from the CCP. While religious intolerance has historically been a feature of policies adopted by the People's Republic of China state-sanctioned persecution of religious minorities has intensified in recent decades. Minority groups at greatest risk include Christians, Tibetan Buddhists, and Uyghur Muslims. Exclusionary practices are evident in the imprisonment of pastors and priests, and demolition of Christian churches and Tibetan Buddhist institutions. Their religious activities have been restricted and placed under surveillance.[14] The repression of approximately 13 million Muslims, native to and—in the case of the Uyghurs—namesake of China's largest province, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), has been particularly acute and is worth taking a closer look.

Exclusionary Policies toward Uyghur Muslims

The religious freedoms of Uyghur Muslims have been restricted by increasingly harsh legislation through both covert and overt policies over the years. These include regulations and amendments on religious activities in 1994, 1998, 2000, and 2001.[15] According to Human Rights Watch, the government has restricted the scope of what is deemed "normal" religious activity, application of the "anti-separatist" clause to "all citizens who profess a religion," and clamped down on religious organizations and publications with heavier penalties.[16] Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, China found it opportune to label many of the Uyghurs and their mostly non-violent separatist movement as "terrorism," launching its "Strike Hard, Severe Repression" campaign to detain and imprison thousands of Uyghurs.[17] Since the late 1990s, thousands more have allegedly been sentenced to death and executed for religious practice or peaceful expressions of dissent.[18] Uyghur Muslims are restricted from fasting and going to mosques during Ramadan and are generally not authorized to travel overseas or outside the province.[19] Intrusive policies have ranged from the widespread use of facial recognition technologies, restricted ac-

cess to public spaces including shops, and violations of the sanctity of their homes by officials living there.[20]

Sinicization: The Indigenization of Religion

In 2017, the XUAR government enacted a law to assimilate Uyghurs into Han Chinese society under a national policy referred to as "Sinicization." The policy, implemented in various regions including Tibet, is broadly understood as the indigenization of non-Han communities. It is designed to minimize the influence of other cultures and religious heritage. Under this policy, restrictions have been placed on face veils, beards, and eating *halal* food.[21] In the same vein, thousands of mosques have been razed, minarets have been taken down and onion domes replaced by traditional Chinese roofs under a "mosque rectification" campaign.[22]

Mass Detention Camps

One of the most controversial aspects of Chinese policy toward Uyghur minorities is their mass internment in more than 500 detention centers, a gross violation of fundamental human rights.[23] Tracked via satellite imagery, these centers include suspected concentration camps, prisons, and Bingtuan labor camps.[24] In documents leaked to the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, the camps are described as a network of high-security prisons involving systematic brainwashing, surveillance, strict discipline, and punishment.[25] In a new Frontline documentary, a Kazakh Muslim woman detained for 17 months, "remembers being surrounded by mesh and barbed wire, cameras everywhere and brutal treatment. Twice she says, she was made to sit on a hard chair for 24 hours. She went to the bathroom where she sat."[26] It is estimated that more than 3 million Uyghurs and Turkic Muslims have been detained in what China dubs political "re-education camps" for offenses as minor as sporting a beard, speaking to a family member overseas, or observing Ramadan.[27]

China's systematic persecution of Uyghur Muslims in tandem with its rising economic and political influence in neighboring countries, increases its potential to recast regional norms in its own mold. The ensuing discussion sheds light on this problematic situation with reference to state behavior toward religious minorities in neighboring India and Myanmar, countries demonstrating deteriorating trends. Despite being rich in religious and ethnocultural diversity, recent developments in these two states,

one rightfully the world's largest democracy, and the other earnestly aspiring for the formation of a robust democratic system, do not augur well for the plight of religious minorities. The diagram below illustrates that policies and social behavior often tend to have a regional contagion effect with the probability increasing when it involves a great power, and particularly when countries have contiguous borders.
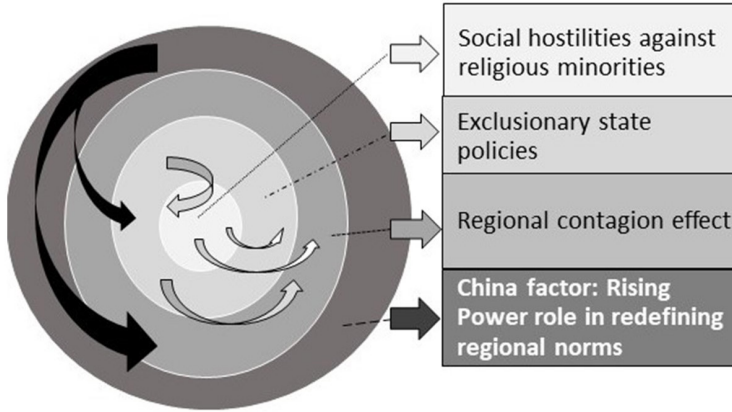
Figure 8.1: Interactive and Dynamic Process of New Norm Setting and Regional Contagion of Religious Exclusion

Regional Contagion:
The Nexus between State and Society

Rooted in its history, Myanmar has a stunningly diverse religious and ethnic landscape. A visit to the country offers an array of old religious architecture, attesting to the harmonious coexistence of disparate religious communities and the freedoms they enjoyed. Symbolic of inclusivity are legacies of Buddhist kings, Mindon (1808-1878) and his successor Thibaw Min (1859-1916), who gave gifts of land to Muslim minorities to build mosques. Since 1962, however, waves of forced displacement of Rohingya Muslims have been triggered by exclusionary policies. Currently, Rohingya refugees constitute the second largest group of displaced communities in Asia. They also represent a segment of the global population of forcibly displaced people which has doubled in the past two decades.

In the most recent exodus of Rohingya Muslim refugees beginning in August 2017, nearly a million were displaced from the western Rakhine state in "clearance operations" launched by the Tatmadaw, Myanmar's

military, on the pretext of counterterrorism. The policy rhetoric has been similar to the Chinese response to Uyghur Muslims in the post 9/11 landscape. It is important to note that China has a direct economic stake in the displacement of Rohingyas as it is building a gas pipeline from the Rakhine state to Kunming in Southwest China. The project also gives China significant economic leverage over Myanmar. Of the recently displaced Rohingyas, an estimated 900,000 fled to Bangladesh, nearly 100,000 to Malaysia, and 40,000 to India.[28] Over the decades, Rohingyas have found refuge in a number of countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, Australia, Europe, and North America.[29]

As illustrated in the above diagram, exclusionary policies and ultranationalist religious discourses tend to be interactive and reinforcing. Consider an incidence of mob violence in 2012, when the rape of a Buddhist woman allegedly by Muslims sparked massive street protests and violence leading to the detention of 140,000 Rohingyas.[30] Detention centers for the Rohingyas have existed for years, lacking access to basics such as education or healthcare.[31] Tens of thousands have tried to escape these detention camps by boat to find safety in other countries.[32] Since the Rohingya boat people do not possess documentation, Myanmar has claimed they are not its citizens. The disavowal is grounded in a series of actions introduced by the military junta who ruled the country for nearly 50 years (1962-2011). These include policies introduced by General Ne Win in 1962, requiring communities to provide proof of their residence in Myanmar prior to 1824,[33] and the Burma Citizenship Act of 1982, limiting the Rohingyas' rights of citizenship by declaring them illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.[34]

Radical Buddhist actors are believed to have had a strong influence on the state's exclusionary policies. Media reports suggest that the military's clearance operations in Rakhine state were covertly supported by "local Rakhine Buddhist militias and vigilantes."[35] For many years now an ultranationalist Buddhist campaign has been fanning the flames of anti-Muslim sentiment. Organized by the radical Ma Ba Tha, Organization for the Protection of Race and Religion, the movement seeks to purify the land from Muslims and other religious minorities. It has been particularly instrumental in the passage of a 2015 legislation titled "Race and Religion Protection Laws" explicitly barring Buddhist women from marrying outside the religion. The law allegedly targets Muslims.

Regional Mirroring of Religious Exclusion

While the interactive and dynamic effect of ultranationalist religious discourses and policy is undermining Myanmar's democratic trajectory, it also appears to be spreading regionally, diminishing neighboring India's secular character and global democratic standing. For many centuries, India has been home to some of the most diverse ethnic and religious communities in the world. In more recent history, its liberal democratic order has been defined by its unifying constitutional principles and leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister who espoused secularism as a strategic vision, relevant even today.

At the time of this writing, however, Delhi, one of the world's greatest capitals, has barely recovered from the worst Hindu mob violence against Muslims in decades. It was triggered by the recently passed Citizenship Amendment Act of 2019 (CAA), amending an old law to facilitate citizenship for migrants of different faiths with the exception of Muslims.[36] It has sparked widespread protests across Indian cities involving religious minorities as well as a secular civil society pushing back. A few months prior to the passage of the CAA, the government rolled out the National Register of Citizens (NRC) in the restive northeastern state of Assam. The NRC, too, is an exclusionary mechanism, generating a list of people identified by the government as bona fide citizens. It "effectively strips"[37] nearly two million residents of Assam, mostly Muslim, from citizenship. In the meantime, the government is building detention camps for people who are not able to provide supporting evidence while calling other states to do the same.[38] India's planned detention of Muslim minorities is structurally similar to the exclusionary policies targeting religious minority groups in neighboring China and Myanmar. Presumably, once the government begins to haul people into detention camps, tens of thousands, if not more, may be forced to flee to other countries particularly if there are reports of human rights violations.[39]

The anti-Muslim posturing in India is often attributed to the rising influence of the Hindu nationalist organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The RSS is considered a Hindu supremacist group subscribing to Hindutva, an ideology seeking to establish the hegemony of Hindus and the Hindu way of life across all of India. Some Hindu nationalist politicians believe that India should be Hindu, not a secular nation. Accordingly, efforts to efface evidence of India's Islamic history, by changing names of cities, streets, and airports, many of them legacies of 600 years of Islamic rule, are underway. The campaign is part of a process

called "saffronization," to remember and glorify India's Hindu culture and heritage, while obliterating remnants of Islamic or Christian history and traditions.[40]

Inclusive Governance: Lessons from the Mongol Empire

Noted in the annals of history as a fierce Mongol warrior-ruler, Genghis Khan (1162-1227), was the founder of the largest contiguous land empire. While mostly remembered as a barbarian, he left behind a legacy of secular politics, religious coexistence, multiculturalism, free trade, communication, and international rule of law. Like Janus, the Roman god of new beginnings, he was able to look in opposite directions and see both the past and the future. On the one hand, he conquered hundreds of cities, towns, and villages and is estimated to have killed 40 million men, women, and children; accounting for about 11% of the global population at the time. On the other, having conquered them, Genghis Khan championed religious diversity and inclusion to advance peace and stability across his empire. Born Temujin, he was bestowed the title Chenghez Khan, or the "Universal Ruler," by the nomadic Mongol and Central Asian tribes whom he brought together under a unified Mongol empire. The honorific title was prophetic. At its peak, the Mongol empire stretched across some 12 million square miles from what is now Mongolia to China and Central Asia, and the Middle East.[41] It lasted for more than 150 years (1206-1368).

One of Genghis Khan's greatest legacies is Pax Mongolica or Mongol Peace, a historiographical reference to the stabilizing effects engendered by Mongol influence on the social, cultural, and economic landscapes of territories conquered by him. In order to establish his political legitimacy, he adapted to local cultures, building on their best practices and encouraging innovation. He advanced Mongol gains in knowledge in newly conquered territories in genuine endeavors to develop them. Thereby he and his descendants transformed Eurasian cultures and civilizations in the 13th and 14th centuries on many levels. Notably, they ushered in an era of significantly greater interconnectivity between the East and West through free trade (facilitated by their near complete control of the Silk Road), technological advances, and enlightened diplomacy. The modern concept of diplomatic immunity is traceable to their policy of granting protected travel.

Although Genghis Khan did not subscribe to institutionalized religion he was widely viewed as a great unifier and assimilator of diverse

people. He was a visionary who sought to promote societal harmony and cohesion as a means to prevent rebellion and stabilize his vast multicultural empire. He upheld the principle of religious tolerance by passing laws granting religious freedom to all communities under his rule. Benefiting a wide diversity of people including Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims, it set him apart from his contemporaries and is a reflection of both his genius and benevolence. His strategic paradigm was undoubtedly imperialistic as well as a win-win approach, helping to expand his influence and legitimacy while also eliciting cooperation. Notwithstanding Mongol adherence to Shamanism, an animistic belief system with little in common with more popular world religions, he accorded respect and complete religious freedom to all his subjects.

Genghis Khan's strategy was carried forward by his successors including his grandson Kublai Khan, the first Mongol to rule over China. Kublai Khan conquered the Song dynasty in southern China and founded the Yuan dynasty. Far from religious oppression and persecution, the Mongols offered tax benefits to leading foreign clerics including Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians alike, a tactic to win allies in newly conquered territories. Because the Mongols were so visibly inclusive of other faiths and ethnicities, it helped them maintain good foreign relations well beyond China where these communities wielded influence. This was especially true of Mongol relations with Muslims, resulting in increased connectivity between Persia and West Asia. The Mongols were cognizant of Islamic advances in astronomy, medicine, and financial administration at the time and recruited the best minds to run the affairs of government and other fields. For example, Kublai Khan appointed many Muslims in administrative positions across the 12 districts of Yuan. According to Iranian historian Rashidud-Din-Fadlullah, eight of the 12 governors of these districts and all vice-governors were Muslim.[42] Muslims also frequently served as tax collectors. Kublai Khan built many mosques in China demonstrating his unwavering commitment to religious tolerance and modernity. While Genghis Khan himself did not mobilize many resources for the construction of religious spaces, his son Ogedei, the second great Khan of the Mongol Empire, and subsequently, Kublai Khan, built many monasteries, mosques and churches.

Karakorum, the old capital of the Mongol empire, one of the most important cities in the history of the Silk Road, stands testament. Described thus by the renowned explorer and historian, William of Rubruck, the first European to provide an account of his visit to the walled capital

in the 1250s, "There are twelve idol temples belonging to different peoples, two mosques where the religion of Mahomet is proclaimed, and one Christian church at the far end of the town."[43] Indeed, Karakorum was a most cosmopolitan city with people of different ethnic backgrounds including Mongols, steppe tribes, Han Chinese, Persians, Armenians, and Europeans living harmoniously.[44] Therein are valuable lessons for advancing peace, stability, and socioeconomic development across the rich multicultural landscape in the Asia-Pacific region as elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

Government restrictions on religious freedoms combined with rising religious nationalism are contributing to increasing instability in the Asia-Pacific region. The interactive effects of this dynamic undermine the relationship between governments and citizens, sharpen preexisting societal cleavages and potentially increase the likelihood of civil unrest, conflict, and insurgency —evident in a number of states. Policies involving mass detention and citizenship-stripping, palpable in a regional contagion effect, have been particularly destabilizing. Unchecked, these trends could create exponentially more stateless and displaced communities across the world for a long time to come. Chronically displaced communities provide fertile grounds for human trafficking and radicalization by terrorist groups.[45] Additionally, human insecurity associated with forced displacement involves disrupted livelihoods, food and health insecurity, and gender-based sexual violence, rendering the environment more complex and insecure for the victims as well as the region. It must be emphasized that the status of religious minorities in the Asia-Pacific is increasingly being threatened by China's rapid rise and its capacity to redefine regional norms based on its authoritarian model and vested interests.

Religious tolerance and inclusive governance are critical and necessary for systems based on justice and equality. Governments in plural societies should concern themselves with promoting religious inclusion as a strategic approach to advancing political stability and socioeconomic development. Pluralism in both religion and race should be celebrated and viewed as a win-win. States in the Asia-Pacific may consider leveraging their minority groups to build international alliances and expand their influence. They must also cultivate an awareness of the strengths of religious diversity and harness it as an asset in an increasingly interconnected world.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE U.S. ALLIANCE SYSTEM IN THE INDO-PACIFIC SINCE THE COLD WAR'S END

John Hemmings

The development of the U.S. alliance system at the tail end of the 20th century in the post-Cold War era has significance as compared to the era that came before it. From the inception of the system in the 1950s, it was characterized by its "hub-and-spokes" relationship between each U.S. ally and Washington. However, from 1994 with the first inter-alliance trilateral between the United States, Japan, and the Republic of Korea (ROK), this began to change and the rigidity of U.S. alliance managers gave way to an informal and incremental evolution towards minilateralism or multilateralism. Although the bilaterals between the "hub" and the "spokes" are arguably the mainstay of this system, the development of the trilaterals and quadrilateral have been the chief harbingers of change in the system.

At the end of the Cold War, the architecture of what was then called the "Asia-Pacific" was characterized by three features: the U.S.-led alliance system, regional integration in the form of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the rise of China. Over the last three decades, we have seen those three structural features interact, play off of each other, and react to changes in the others in ways that were unforeseen in the middle of that decade. We have seen a resurgence in the utility of U.S. alliances, but with some loosening ties, as regional states have chosen to balance against

> **Balance:** when one state—perceiving another to be a potential threat—does things to counter that threat, such as build alliances or develop its defense capabilities.
>
> **Bandwagon:** when one state—perceiving another to be a potential threat—attempts to appease that threat by aligning itself with it.

or bandwagon with an increasingly powerful and increasingly authoritarian China. In the case of the Philippines and Thailand, there has been a gradual loosening of ties as the perception of shared interests have fallen by the wayside due to changes in domestic politics in each of those countries. However, for the alliances with Japan, Australia, and to a lesser extent, South Korea, there has been an extraordinary evolution in the way the traditionally-bilateral alliances interact and what they consider their remit. This chapter seeks to examine those changes since the end of the Cold War and highlights the growing minilateralism both within the alliance system and with non-allies, such as India.

When the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS) was originally established—in September of 1995, only five years after the end of the Cold War—there was a debate about whether certain regions were "ripe for rivalry"[1] or "primed for peace."[2] In 1991, the U.S. alliance system in the Pacific—also known as the "San Francisco System"—was characterized by

- a network of bilateral alliances between Washington and regional states, including Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and, to an ambiguous extent, Taiwan;
- an absence of multilateral institutions;[3]
- a deep asymmetry in alliance relations;
- a special place for Japan in the system; and
- liberal access for allies to the U.S. market, as well as economic and military assistance.[4]

U.S. historian John Downer has stated that the *Pax Americana* that sprung from this system also had a further two features: an emphasis on maritime power and sea lanes and the forward-deployment of U.S. forces on the territory of regional states, in exchange for defense of allied sovereignty against communism.[5]

So what has changed in the system in the last 25 years between the Clinton administration and the Trump administration? Some would argue not much, and that to all extents and purposes, the San Francisco System continues to emphasize maritime security, offshore-balancing, and forward-deployment.

> **Offshore balancing:** when an extra-regional state—perceiving a regional state to be a threat—uses a third in-region state as a favored ally to check the hostility of the second.

But if one looks at the system in 1995 and the system in 2020, it is clear that the nature of the alliances has shifted considerably, in membership, in scope, in remit, and in capabilities. In order to understand the changes, it is important to also pinpoint and understand the drivers of change. Why did alliance managers in Washington, Seoul, Tokyo, Canberra, and Manila direct policy in the direction that they did? And what compelled them to do so? We must also track changes in the wider region and in threat perceptions and how those impacted the perceptions of alliance managers across the system. For it is only by walking in their shoes can we understand why they made the policy choices they ultimately made.

The Clinton Administration (1993-2000)

The Clinton administration came into office in 1993, stressing economic growth and a strong desire to reap the "peace dividend,"[6] with a bold campaign slogan, "It's the Economy Stupid." In 1992, this new emphasis on prosperity had seen a Democratic presidential campaign promise that "a post-Cold War restructuring of American forces will produce substantial savings beyond those promised by the Bush Administration."[7] One Bush administration policy that President Clinton adopted with enthusiasm was the East Asia Strategy Initiative (EASI), which outlined a major draw down of U.S. forces from the region, including the unilateral removal of nuclear weapons from South Korea and the closure of U.S. bases in the Philippines. In answer to those nervous about creating a power vacuum, the administration emphasized the new assumptions that were thought more and more to guide the post-Cold War international system, such as multilateral institutions, open markets, loose borders, and global supply chain economics. These new institutions would lay atop the old alliances, functioning "like overlapping plates of armor, individually providing protection and together covering the full body for our common security concerns."[8] This attempt to marry the new regional economic institutions with security architecture—such as the creation of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994—was intended to be inclusive of old Cold War-era foes: "we are also prepared to involve China in building this region's new security and economic architectures. We need an involved and engaged China, not an isolated China."[9]

However, three incidents during the Clinton administration paused this optimistic project and saw a U.S. pause in the withdrawal of forces and rethink the utility of the alliance system: 1) the 1993-94 North Korean Nuclear Crisis; 2) the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Crisis; and 3) the 1996 East China Sea crisis. As a result of the first crisis, the United States, Japan, and South Korea began to look at ways to co-ordinate policy and began meeting in a track 1.5 setting in 1994. Engineered by outgoing senior U.S. Department of Defense official

> **The 1994 Agreed Framework** was a US-DPRK agreement that set out a freeze of all North Korean nuclear development at Yongbyun Nuclear Scientific Research Center—the site of North Korea's nuclear weapons program—in exchange for the building of two light-water civilian-use nuclear reactors.
>
> **KEDO:** an organization founded in 1995 by the United States, South Korea, and Japan which sought to deliver the commitments—including the two light-water nuclear reactors—in North Korea as laid out in the 1994 Agreed Framework. It ceased to exist in 2006 after the agreement had broken down.

Carl Ford as a means of bringing Japan and South Korea closer together, the new U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral initially flourished under the auspices of the 1994 Agreed Framework agreement and was even institutionalized briefly in the late 1990s by the Perry Process under the name Trilateral Coordination Oversight Group (TCOG).[10] For a short time, the U.S.-Japan-ROK "virtual alliance"[11] took on the role of fulfilling the obligations as laid out in the 1994 United States-Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) Agreed Framework in the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). The Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-96 and the East China Sea crisis led to ripples of uncertainty across the region. They also led to the deployment of two carrier strike groups to the Taiwan Strait and a rethink of traditional alliances. In the year after the crises, Australia and Japan—increasingly "adrift"[12] from the alliance relationships—began to again favor the alliance ties with the United States, with the new John Howard government taking the U.S. side on Taiwan publicly.[13] In 1996, the United States and Japan issued the Joint Declaration of Security, which opened both the remit and the geographical location of the U.S.-Japan alliance, while the United States and Australia jointly issued the Joint Declaration on Security.[14]

> **The 1996 U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration of Security** led to a new Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation. Superseding the 1978 Guidelines, this inserted the language "in areas around Japan" to the previous "attack on Japan" as areas where the alliance defense commitments would be activated, indicating a desire to make the alliance more regionally focused. It also established the 2+2 Security Consultative Committee, comprising the defense and foreign ministers of both countries to meet regularly to discuss both the regional security environment and U.S. force structure in Japan.

The Bush Administration (2001-2008)

The period during the Bush administration saw the further multilateralization of the San Francisco System and a shift of functionality as the United States pressed its regional allies to contribute to the Global War on Terror and to operations that were a part of Operation Enduring Freedom. There was a surge in extra-regional military cooperation in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Indian Ocean, and a surge in regional counterterrorism training and operations. It also saw a slight breakdown in relations between the United States and Thailand, the oldest U.S. alliance in the region, after the Thai military carried out a coup in 2006 against the caretaker government of Thaksin Shinawatra.

However, for the purposes of this chapter, the most strategically important development was the growth in Australia-Japanese bilateral defense cooperation and the concurrent growth in U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral cooperation that the uptick afforded. Japan and Australia had developed closer ties in several peacekeeping missions in-region in the late 1990s, and alliance managers on both sides began seeking opportunities for furthering and institutionalizing this cooperation. The two institutions that comprise the trilateral—the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD) and the Security and Defense Cooperation Forum (SDCF)—came about at this time as leaders in Tokyo, Canberra, and Washington began to align over a number of common security concerns, including regional extremism, increasing Chinese military power, and the continued nuclear threat posed by North Korea.

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│        Trilaterial Strategic Dialogue (TSD)    │
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           │   Washington     │
           │  Working Group   │
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HA/DR Working Group	Counterterrorism Working Group	Intelligence Working Group	Non-Proliferation Working Group	Pacific Island Working Group	Southeast Asia Working Group
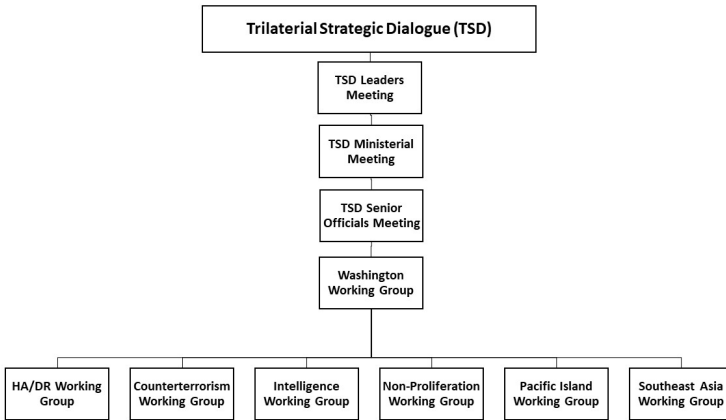
Figure 9.1: The Structure of the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue

The initial proposal for a trilateral was actually put by Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer to Japanese colleague Ryozo Kato on a 1997 trip to Tokyo. However, there was little movement on the issue until 2000 when Richard Armitage became Deputy Secretary of State: as a close friend of both Downer and Kato he was more than willing to try the new grouping and in the summer of 2002, the first U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral took place after a U.S.-Japan security meeting in Washington.[15] This grouping also gave Japan its first taste of real alliance multilateralism, and this laid the groundwork for its strategic alignment with India, a state outside of the U.S. alliance system, but one that would become intrinsic to the wider geopolitical strategies of both the United States and Japan.

India seemed an unlikely candidate to join a U.S.-led grouping, due to its historically acrimonious relationship with Washington over the latter's support for Pakistan and its long tradition of non-alignment. However, 2004-05 saw this change dramatically as India was invited to be a "core group" member,[16] joining Australia, the United States, and Japan in the humanitarian assistance operations after the Indian Ocean Tsunami. The efficacy of cooperation, combined with deft diplomacy on the part of Washington to resolve differences with New Delhi in the U.S.-India Nuclear Deal in late 2005 and the New Framework for U.S.-India Defense,[17] allowed for further Japanese exploration of a four-way grouping,[18] which duly occurred in 2007. Promoted by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe with the other three leaders, the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (also known as the Quad) was paralleled by a four-way maritime exercise during Exercise Malabar, the traditionally bilateral U.S.-India exercise. While Chinese pressure saw Australia pull out of the Quadrilateral in 2008—under the

newly-elected Kevin Rudd cabinet—it was revived in 2017 with Japanese encouragement and has continued to meet since, including virtually during the COVID-19 crisis.

The Obama Administration (2009-2016)

The Obama administration was marked by its "pivot" or "rebalance to Asia," and by continued efforts to manage the increasingly competitive U.S.-China relationship. The U.S. alliance system continued to evolve, with a number of important events taking place—including the increasing sophistication of the U.S.-Japan alliance, an increase in U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral activity, the breakdown of the U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral, and the election of Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines. The last event has been—similar to the 2006 military coup in Thailand—an event that has raised questions as to the long-term survivability of bilateral security ties, as Manila-Washington relations deteriorated markedly over human rights concerns related to the Philippine president's "war on drugs."

This is also when the U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral began to eclipse the U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral, a trend which had begun in the Bush administration, and which was accelerated during the Obama presidency. Relations between Seoul and Tokyo—always tied to domestic constituents and public opinion over historical grievances—began their downward spiral in 2010 after a Korean non-government organization established the first monument to "comfort women" (sex slaves) outside Korea, in Palisades Park, New Jersey.[19] By contrast, in that same year, Japan and Australia signed an Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA), which built on their cooperation in Southern Iraq and created the first institutional military-to-military framework for future cooperation. The close relationship of the United States that Australia—due to the Five Eyes relationship—was both a reassurance to Tokyo and a future model for Japanese strategic thinkers, and it is notable that during humanitarian operations following the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami, only U.S. and Australian military forces were allowed to operate inside Japan,[20] with the latter lacking any formal treaty provisions to do so.[21] The following year, 2012, saw the failure of the ROK government to pass the Japan-ROK General Security of Military Intelligence Agreement (GSOMIA) through the South Korean Diet, another sign that the future dynamism of the San Francisco System's evolution increasingly moves southwards with Australia and in the Southeast Asian region. In contrast to the hiccups

experienced by the U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral, the dynamism of the U.S.-Japan-Australia Security and Defense Cooperation Forum (SDCF) has been apparent in the sheer number and complexity of combined U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral, war-fighting exercises, including *Cope Guam North*, *Southern Jackaroo*, and *Pacific Bond*, which have focused on air-superiority, amphibious joint-operations, and anti-submarine warfare, respectively.

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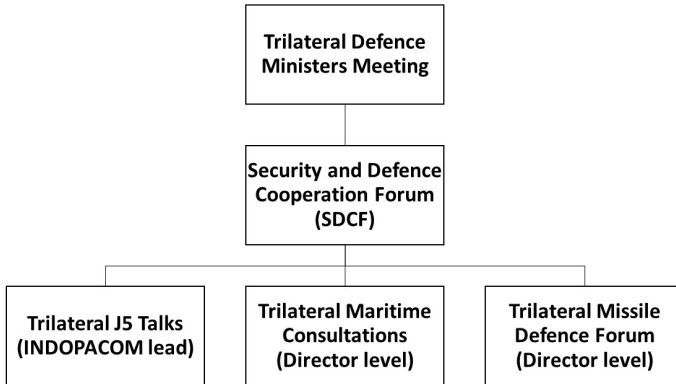
Figure 9.2: The Security and Defense Cooperation Forum

The U.S.-Japan alliance, often called "the cornerstone of regional security," also evolved with great changes taking place in the 2015 new Defense Guidelines. These new guidelines were put into place in the wake of increased activity by China in the Japanese exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and near the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands group, administered by Japan, but claimed by China and Taiwan. The 2010 incident in which Japan arrested the crew of a Chinese militia vessel[22] that had collided with two Japanese Coast Guard vessels and growing willingness of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to utilize "gray zone" operations in the sea led to a reassertion[23] by the United States that the islands fell within the remit of the U.S.-Japan alliance and the development of several U.S.-Japanese mechanisms for dealing with gray zone operations.[24] The new 2015 Guidelines institutionalized meetings between various U.S. and Japanese government departments—including the various defense department, coast guard, and other non-military bodies—in a standing working group called the Alliance Coordination Mechanism

> **"Gray zone" operations:** when states use deniable, non-military actors to challenge other states in operations below the threshold for war—and thus below the threshold for alliance commitments being utilized.

that regularly met to discuss security in the East China Sea and coordinates shared information on the islands in the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) sector. In a move that predated the "multi-domain" approach of the U.S. Department of Defense, the 2015 Guidelines also brought space and cyberspace discussions under the purview of the alliance.[25]

The Trump Administration (2017-Present)

The Trump administration has been characterized by a similar see-sawing in the system that occurred under President Obama. This has occurred as China has matched its consolidation of its efforts at *de facto* control over the South China Sea with militarizing the islands under its occupation, combined with an adept usage of economic leverage and coercion on regional states. In the Philippines, under President Rodrigo Duterte, this has seen Manila bandwagoning toward China,[26] tacitly accepting Beijing's claims and coming close[27] to terminating of the 20-plus-year-old U.S.-Philippines Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA).[28] The Trump administration's return to the Nixon-era emphasis on burden-sharing[29] from those allies who have U.S. troops based in their countries has also met a mixed response. In Japan, these shifts in U.S. policy have been accommodated, but in South Korea—under a progressive-minded Moon Jae-In government—there has been some resistance with Moon also seeking to transfer wartime Operational Control Authority (OPCON) from U.S. Forces Korea to the South Korean government.[30] Despite this, the Indo-Pacific framework, adopted by the administration in November 2017 has seen a resurrection of the U.S.-Japan-India-Australia Quadrilateral,[31] which had dissolved in 2008 when Australia had unilaterally withdrawn citing Chinese pressure.[32] Under its new guise, the quasi-alliance has tentatively developed into a forum for strategic dialogue, strengthened by growing US-India ties.[33]

Conclusion

Twenty-five years after the founding of the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, it would appear that the U.S.-led alliance system is in immense flux with a number of significant changes taking place. Certainly, the other two features—the regional architecture associated with ASEAN and the rise of China—have also heavily influenced this evolution. To some extent, the inability of ASEAN to modify or restrain Chi-

nese assertiveness in the South China Sea and the continued issues of Taiwan and North Korea, has reduced the 1990s' optimism over multilateral institutions as lead components of regional stabilization and governance. Instead, the United States and its allies have continued to maintain—and even update—the old Cold War-era alliances, changing them to reflect new realities with the PRC acting as a strong determinant for state behaviors like balancing and bandwagoning. The traditional security logic of the San Francisco System has been complicated by the fact that states in the region suffer a "double security dilemma"[34]—growing threat perceptions around China, mixed with increasing trade dependencies on the one hand, and increasing perceptions of U.S. abandonment of the region on the other—meaning that these new minilaterals are less formal than their antecedents. Some new partners, like Vietnam[35] and India,[36] have long histories of non-alignment or antagonism toward the U.S. system, presenting U.S. planners with interesting challenges and opportunities. As a result of these drivers, the new San Francisco System that we have—as DKI APCSS enters its 25th year—include the following characteristics:

Evolutionary: First and foremost, the system is no longer static; it is evolving. Not only is it evolving, but alliance members on all sides anticipate this evolution and link it to incremental assertiveness on the part of the PRC. As China expands its power and influence incrementally—"salami-slicing"—so too does the system react incrementally by adding new hard power tools for deterrence. The system continues to evolve and has a certain responsiveness built into it.

Membership: Secondly, it would appear that the alliance system's membership is changing, with the Philippines on the verge of leaving while Vietnam and India beginning to become "virtual" or "quasi" allies. This trend can be seen in several ways: First, in the form of the Quad, while India is not a formal ally of any of the other three states, it has signed defense cooperation with all three states, most recently with Australia in June 2020, with two agreements that will enable greater defense interoperability and increasingly complex military engagement.[37] Second, there is the "Quad Plus," a sort of unofficial opening up of the Quad to like-minded states such as New Zealand, Vietnam, and South Korea, which met in March 2020 to discuss economic recovery in the wake of the coronavirus-linked economic crisis.[38] Finally, there are non-regional states such as the United Kingdom and France, which both have equities in the region and have a traditional Mahanian approach to open sea-lanes as a part of national security. France's mutual basing agreement with India, its burgeoning de-

fense relationships with Australia and Japan, and the United Kingdom's rapidly-growing defense ties with Japan, its stake in the Five Powers Defence Arrangements, and regional bases mean that both European powers are likely to play a growing role in the Indo-Pacific. Given their vested interests in a rules-based trading order, their links to the United States through the NATO alliance, we may see them joining the Quad Plus arrangement.

Informal: The chief characteristic of the U.S. alliance system from 1945 to 1995 was that the alliance defense commitments were formally spelled out in treaty documents,[39] and however imperfectly they might have been, U.S. leaders have tended, by and large, to reassure allies of U.S. resolve. However, over the last 20 years, allies such as Japan and Australia have developed "alliance-like" or "quasi-alliance" bilateral relationships, mixing high levels of defense cooperation, military interoperability, and intelligence-sharing, without formalizing their obligations to each other in case of attack. This strategic ambiguity has served both Indian and Japanese defense planners well, allowing them to align strategically with the United States and others on common security concerns, while hedging against abandonment, and maintaining some level of strategic ambiguity. So valuable has this informality been that it is unlikely the U.S.-Japan-India-Australia Quadrilateral (the Quad) would have emerged had Washington insisted on formal defense obligations.

Capacity: Fourthly, the growing capacity of the alliance system as a whole to deal with ongoing challenges and issues relating to the rise of Chinese maritime power can be seen through the growing capacity and power of Japanese naval forces and through the sophistication of multilateral war-fighting exercises.

Remit: The roles and functions of the alliance system have grown in leaps and bounds, incorporating humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), capacity-building, as well as the traditional remit of deterrence and the defending of its members' sovereignty. Most recently, it has developed a strong commitment to war-fighting exercises, as seen in the electronic warfare exercise Cope North Guam and anti-submarine exercises such as Pacific Bond.[40] However, there have been some calls for the U.S. military to really push its exercises in a more realistic direction so as to act as a deterrent to the PRC or DPRK. Finally, there has been an interesting return to the earliest days of the alliance system with the reemergence of economic issues as the Quad Plus' recent meetings focused on crisis management during the Coronavirus era and on economic revival.[41]

Multilateral: Kent Calder famously characterized the alliance system as a mostly-bilateral "hub-and-spokes" system between Washington and its allies.[42] That has gradually developed into what some have termed a "federated set of capabilities,"[43] with U.S. allies developing their own security relationships with other U.S. allies and building up capabilities that can be broadly shared for the common good. The core group that led the way on responding to the Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004 and which became the Quadrilateral is one example. The U.S.-Japan-Australia trilateral is another, which as this chapter has argued, is one of the most institutionalized of the quasi-alliances, and the most capable in war-fighting interoperability. The current trend seems to be a loose linking of states to the original alliance system, attaching and aligning as their national interests come into conflict with the rising assertions of the PRC.

While it would be correct to say that the San Francisco System is here with us to stay, it would also be correct to say that it is steadily evolving to meet current-day and future challenges, in a way that continues to meet the needs of many of its members. If asked to predict whether it will be here in another 25 years, the answer is undoubtedly "yes." It has provided nearly 70 years of peace and prosperity to the region and has endured remarkable regional changes and weathered major economic storms. As with all alliances, it will strive to serve the interests of its members and seek to create peaceful coexistence for one of the world's most important regions.

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SOUTH ASIA AND CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE:
SECURITY IMPLICATIONS AND WAYS FORWARD

Anu Anwar

Introduction

In 2013, Chinese President and Communist Party General Secretary Xi Jinping initiated the One Belt One Road 一带一路 (yīdài yīlù) project, whose English name was quickly changed by China to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). It is primarily a Beijing-financed infrastructure project, which aims to bolster China's connectivity through Central, South, and Southeast Asia, all the way into the Middle East, Africa, and Europe[1]. Xi contrasted this ambitious undertaking with the late Chinese "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping's "hide and bide" 韬光养晦，有所作为 (Tāo guāng yǎng huì, Yǒu suǒ zuò wéi) doctrine,[2] which emphasized strengthening domestic capacities and avoiding external involvement. It is Xi's signature foreign policy initiative aimed at transforming China into a global superpower. After the 19th Communist Party of China (CPC) National Congress, the BRI was enshrined in the party charter, and its offshoot, 人类命运共同体（Rén lèi mìng yùn gòng tóng tǐ) "a community with a shared destiny

> **OBOR or BRI**
>
> "One Belt One Road" (一带一路) is still the name used in China and in the Chinese language, but China simplified the English translation of this name to the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI). While OBOR implied two routes, a maritime road through the Indian Ocean and a land belt across central Asia, in reality, there are multiple and growing interconnected global networks. In addition, the name BRI tries to counter the critical narrative that both routes go only to Beijing.

for humanity'' was included in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC).[3] It is a master concept of Chinese foreign policy for the foreseeable future, all the way to 2049, the 100th anniversary of the PRC.

The BRI runs from Eurasia to Africa, but its major states lie in South Asia,[4] the intersection point, where the continental "belt" meets the maritime "road," and connects three continents—Europe, Africa, and Asia—via land and the Indian Ocean. With a foothold in South Asia via connectivity, China could reduce its dependency on the vulnerable Malacca Strait by constructing alternative overland routes to ensure its access to the Indian Ocean and a secure energy supply.[5]

Nevertheless, the BRI poses a whole gamut of serious security challenges in South Asia, from traditional conflicts centered on territorial and border disputes, to potential naval competition with India, to non-traditional religious insurgencies, to environmental unsustainability and corruption. China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) challenges India-dominated regional security architecture—as it leverages easy-cash and lucrative investment potentials to encourage smaller countries to tilt towards China.

But China's poorly regulated loans and financial infusions produce corruption and social tensions in South Asian countries.[6] In addition to the possibility of dual-use (civil-military) of China-built ports from Pakistan to Myanmar, the potential for India to lose its strategic edge in the IOR to an expanded Chinese naval presence looms large. BRI is an essential component of China's grand strategy, with the potential to reshape this sub-regional security architecture and alter the balance of power in the entire IOR in China's favor. The chapter will examine the security risks posed by China's BRI and ways for South Asia to develop economically while maintaining the regional security status quo.

The Importance of South Asia for BRI and of BRI for South Asia

Although South Asian states possess similarities in language, politics, economy, culture, administrative and legal processes, South Asia is far from a homogenous region. Thus, in the post-colonial period, each South Asian country's relationship with China has evolved differently, reflecting the region's patterns of international relations, including the India-Pakistan competition, the geostrategic positioning of each country to China, the domestic politics within each country, and their differing economic

positions and needs. In South Asia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, and Afghanistan have extended support to the BRI, with the holdouts being India and Bhutan. Indian opposition is due to its confrontational relationship with China, which has been marked by competition rather than cooperation.

South Asia is also a region of dichotomies for China. China shares borders with all South Asian overland countries except Bangladesh, while Sri Lanka and the Maldives are island states located in the middle of the Indian Ocean. BRI's most successful project—the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)—runs through South Asia, and BRI's most critical country, India, is also located in South Asia. Despite its opposition to BRI, India is the largest loan taker from the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). In addition, South Asia accommodates one-fourth of the world's population and has sustained an average annual growth rate of 6% over the last two decades.[7] This region offers fertile territory for the BRI, as South Asian countries have considerable potential for economic growth, because of their youthful populations. One-fifth of all South Asians are between 14 and 24 years old.[8] South Asia's growing market, with its 2.5 billion population, is a lucrative place to invest and engage. However, this region is also at a high risk from the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, which could devastate South Asia's thriving potential for the next decade.

Ethnic and religious insurgencies could also upset China's ambitious plans. China faces growing ethnic tension in its Muslim-majority Xinjiang region, while Pakistan and Afghanistan are wracked by ongoing militant insurgencies. In addition, India's nationalist politics is enabling Hindu-Muslim tension that could result in widespread religious violence and ultimately spill over into neighboring countries—especially, China's tumultuous Xinjiang province. India and Pakistan are also two nuclear-armed countries bordering China, which are locked in a long-term and bitter territorial dispute and historical antagonism. An Indo-Pakistan military conflict could directly jeopardize China's investment projects. Despite China's active deterrence, its BRI projects have the potential to drag it into an active war. China's role as Pakistan's principal military ally and arms supplier could also propel it into an Indo-Pakistan conflict.

As China is strategically blocked on its east by two island chains, and has a tremendous vulnerability in the Malacca Strait,[9] South Asia is its potential gateway to ensure Indian Ocean access needed to transport

oil from the Middle East and Africa to China. Economic corridors and maritime roads through South Asia could also connect China's landlocked southwestern provinces, such as Yunnan and Sichuan, to the coastal region. Having a stake in strategic South Asian ports could enable China to project power beyond its borders and neutralize potential external threats. Liu Jinxen, a major proponent of the BCIM-EC (Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor), argues that this can be seen as part of a national "bridgehead" strategy of identifying cities or regions occupying a strategic position on a logistical and supply chain that can control the flow of resources along international trade routes.[10]

These are not only one-sided interests. Barring India, South Asian countries see China's presence in the region as contributing to their national interest. Pakistan has embraced China as a strategic balancer against India, and an alternative to the US economic lifeline.[11] While the United States has been a long-term economic supporter of Pakistan, this lifeline is unlikely to continue as the United States wraps up its "war on terror," and withdraws from Afghanistan. Like Pakistan, the region's smaller countries have resented Indian regional dominance for years, and are therefore tempted to hedge towards China as a new alternative. However, despite expected benefits from Chinese economic engagement in this region, its countries remain wary. They fear that a too-close embrace with China could end sour their relations with India—the regional hegemon and, by extension, the United States. Therefore, South Asian states want to extract whatever possible benefits they can from China without offending the United States and India. Besides, China's predatory economic practices in recent years have created financial risks in Sri Lanka and Pakistan, dampening enthusiasm in other countries contemplating Chinese assistance.

China's Unique BRI Approach in South Asia

Despite South Asia's uniform importance for China's BRI as a region, China has taken country-wise customized approaches. China's historical warm relationship with nuclear-armed Pakistan gives BRI a unique advantage to achieve its partial strategic objectives in South Asia. However, as the regional de facto leader, India opposes this initiative. This opposition from the regional hegemon could compel China to take a different approach to achieve its long-term regional goal. While it touts the BRI as a massive infrastructural investment project, China sees BRI as a tool to achieve its long-term geopolitical goals.[12] Although India has rejected BRI

infrastructure projects, China hopes to enlist Indian cooperation in other BRI components. China hopes to convince India that engagement with China is in its own self-interest, or at least, that India should refrain from opposing China's regional involvement. Examples of China's tilting in this direction include the facts that India is the largest recipient of a China-led AIIB loan of the 78 member states, Xi has increased personal meetings with Modi, and China has distanced itself from India-Pakistan brinkmanship. Aiming to bolster public diplomacy, China has increased social and cultural engagement with India, increasing the number of scholarships for Indian students and artists, for example.

The nature of Chinese engagement with the six smaller South Asian countries—specifically Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives, Bhutan and Afghanistan—is also very diverse. These countries, each at a different stage in its interaction with China, are learning from one another's experiences.[13] Chinese construction of the debt-ridden Sri Lankan Hambantota port sounded alarm bells to other countries, and the Bangladeshi government has raised concern[14] over excessive Chinese investment. Recognizing this concern, China has taken a nuanced approach in Bangladesh, expanding its engagement in other sectors tactfully, ranging from education to culture. At the same time, China is Bangladesh's largest military supplier.[15] As a part of the BRI project, China is building the country's largest bridge, *Padma*, which is 6.4 kilometers long.[16]

China has adopted a unique approach to Nepal, which contrasts with India's big brother role. Since it cannot build a port in a landlocked country, China has offered Nepal the use of its four major ports to reduce Nepal's disproportionate dependency on India.[17] In 2019, Xi Jinping made a state visit to Nepal, and promised billions of dollars in investments.

The Maldives is an island country heavily dependent on tourism. This enables China to use tourism to both reward and punish the country,[18] sending Chinese tour groups when the Maldives supports Chinese policy. Although China claims to adhere to its "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence," one of which is non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, it blurred the line by sending a navy ship to the Indian Ocean to signal its willingness to protect a China-friendly government in the Maldives.[19]

China may face its most imminent security threat in Afghanistan.[20] The recent U.S.-Taliban deal portends the eventual withdrawal of US forces. The resulting vacuum may pose a security threat to China's most

volatile province, Xinjiang. The Taliban sympathize with the Uighurs, and could ramp up support to a budding insurgent movement as it gains political power and influence in Afghanistan. To tackle potential security threats, China is already working on contingency planning. In such contingency plan includes China's increasing investment through BRI projects, aiming at post-conflict reconstruction and development. The discussion about the extension of the CPEC via a railway to Kandahar is underway. After the withdrawal of US forces, as a part of the stabilization process, Beijing may also advocate for multilateral intervention —including UN peacekeeping operations.[21]

BRI's Security Implications in South Asia

As China increases its presence and engagement in the South Asian region through BRI, the potential for regional destabilization looms large, both in traditional and non-traditional ways. Both dimensions could be summarized broadly under the BRI's three main overland projects in South Asia (CPEC, BCIM-EC, and the Trans-Himalayan Economic Corridor) and the Maritime Silk Road. An examination of these four initiatives helps illuminate the security risks posed by the BRI in South Asia.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

The CPEC, a US$62 billion infrastructure project,[22] lies at the heart of the Silk Economic Belt and Maritime Silk Road. It connects both routes through Gwadar port in Pakistan's Baluchistan Province, utilizing a planned 3,000-kilometer network of roads, railways, and pipelines originating in Kashgar in China's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. As China pushes forward numerous alternative routes to avoid the vulnerable Malacca dilemma, this corridor is a crucial gateway to transport goods from China's western provinces to the Arabian Sea and ensure China's energy supply from the Middle East.

However, the CPEC brings a set of regional security implications for South Asia, mainly driven by New Delhi's three main concerns—territorial sovereignty, security, and the deepening China-Pakistan strategic partnership. The CPEC runs through disputed Jammu and Kashmir, where the borders of China, India, and Pakistan meet. India views Jammu and Kashmir as its territory, and the China-Pakistan joint project as a violation of its territorial sovereignty. As then-Indian Defense Minister A.K. Antony

noted in 2012, "Indian territory under occupation by China in Jammu and Kashmir since 1962 is approximately 38,000 square kilometers."[23] Speaking at the 70th session of the UN General Assembly in 2015, the Indian representative noted, "India's reservations about the proposed China-Pakistan Economic Corridor stem from the fact that it passes through Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan for many years."[24]

China's apparent disregard for territorial sovereignty in India's border region is the principal bone of contention between the two Asian giants regarding BRI's infrastructure and connectivity development programs. In conventional international relations discourse, the Jammu and Kashmir territorial dispute is between only two parties—India and Pakistan, but as CPEC runs through Kashmir, China becomes involved. This new dimension literally brings Asia's three nuclear powers into head-to-head conflict. China and India went to war in 1962 over a border dispute along the Himalayas in northern and eastern India. Even though not a single shot has been fired on the China-India border since 1987, there are reports of periodic confrontations in Indian's western and eastern border segments in Arunachal Pradesh, which China claims as "South Tibet."[25] In 2017, a standoff between Indian and Chinese troops, on the Doklam plateau along the Himalayan border, severely strained Sino-Indian relations.[26] And most recently, on May 10, 2020, both border guards again scuffled along the disputed border at Naku La pass in the northeastern Indian state of Sikkim.[27]

India's other concern about the CPEC is that it could result in an increased Chinese military presence in disputed territory, including the Pakistan-occupied portion of Kashmir, with serious security implications for India. China argues that the deployments are necessary to protect Chinese assets in Pakistan. Over 30,000 Chinese nationals are said to be employed constructing CPEC-related projects across Pakistan.[28] However, the continuous attack on Chinese nationals, assets, and symbols sounded a powerful reminder of the risks that China faces due to CPEC projects. For example, the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), a militant group advocating separatism for the Baloch people, attacked the Chinese consulate in Karachi.[29] China is increasingly concerned about the security of its nationals in Pakistan, and the Chinese embassy sent a letter expressing these concerns and requesting increased security for Chinese companies to the Pakistani Interior Ministry in October 2017.[30] In response, the Pakistani and provincial governments implemented coordinated measures aimed at protecting Chinese investments. A key component of the security architecture put

in place around the economic corridor is the Special Security Division, headed by a two-star Pakistan Army general and comprising 15,000 soldiers, including 9,000 military and 6,000 paramilitaries.

India sees the shift in Beijing's Kashmir position as emblematic of the deepening China-Pakistan strategic partnership. From India's perspective, the CPEC marks the emergence of China as Pakistan's principal external partner, replacing the United States. This comes at a time of deteriorating Sino-U.S. relations, improving India-U.S. ties, and emerging tensions between India and China,[31] while Kashmir's emergence as a land bridge between China and Pakistan sharpens the traditional geopolitical divide between New Delhi and Beijing.

The Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM-EC)

BCIM-EC predates the BRI by 14 years, as it was first mooted in 1999 by China during a sub-regional forum, as a track-II initiative to connect the economically backward regions of southwest China and northeast India via the infrastructurally deficient countries of Myanmar and Bangladesh.[32] Although it has reached the track 1.5 level and intergovernmental discussions have been initiated, there have been no concrete measures to realize the project. Indian opposition remains the principal obstacle. However, as BRI evolves, Beijing prioritizes BCIM-EC as an important loop to the greater sub-regional connectivity plan[33] and it is increasingly coupled with and compared against other BRI sub-regional projects like the CPEC.

The BCIM-EC, albeit promising massive infrastructural investment and greater market connectivity, runs through contentious and insurgency-prone borders and regions. India fears that the measure risks increasing China's geopolitical influence, and is apprehensive that China may, in the worst case, abet the separatist aspirations of the many tribes in India's northeast region.[34] India's north-east region, made up of seven provinces and separated from central/mainland India by a narrow land border of 14 miles locally known as the "chicken's neck corridor," is extremely insurgency-prone. Separatist aspirations have challenged governance since India's independence from Britain in 1947. The political and economic power of the area's separatist groups have waxed and waned over the years. Although violence has declined, India remains reluctant to let a competing geopolitical rival gain access to this sensitive region and potentially undo the relative peace achieved by the government in the last decade.

Myanmar and Bangladesh, owing to the Rohingya refugee crisis, also do not have an easy relationship. Both countries' participation in BRI is complicated by the Rohingya issue. Bangladesh might view the construction of a connectivity corridor, without resolution of this outstanding issue, as providing Rohingyas better access to the country. Although the international community is pressuring Myanmar to resolve the Rohingya crisis, Myanmar has used Chinese diplomatic and economic cover to harden its stance. Consequently, the Rohingya crisis is deepening—embittering Bangladesh-Myanmar relations. In the long run, the persistence of a large Rohingya refugee presence in Bangladesh will pose a grave security threat to regional stability and prosperity.

The Trans-Himalayan Economic Corridor (THEC)

The Trans-Himalayan Economic Corridor is centered around the not-yet-built China-Nepal railway. The plan calls for this railway to connect to the Tibetan railway, providing unprecedented Chinese access into South Asia via landlocked Nepal,[35] which currently has only 18 miles of rail track. Both China and India are competing to expand Nepalese rail service. China started planning a Nepal-China railway in 2013 and has included this project in its Nepal-China Trans-Himalayan Multidimensional Connectivity Network.

Nepal has been a longtime traditional partner of India, with India controlling Nepal's access to goods via its land borders. Nepal has long looked to counterbalance India's massive strategic influence, by embracing Chinese plans to spend millions on improving the country's much-needed energy and transport infrastructure. Although India and Nepal are both Hindu-majority countries, Nepal's longstanding relationship with India took a major hit when India imposed an economic blockade in 2015, to express its disapproval of changes to Nepal's constitution. The blockade created severe shortfalls in fuel, food, medical goods, and post-earthquake relief materials, and the ensuing suffering irked ordinary Nepalis, severely souring the Indo-Nepal relationship. The resulting major trust deficit provided an opening into Nepal. Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli's pro-Beijing stance brought him to power in Nepal, as he hoped China could temper India's unbalanced influence.

In aiding Nepal, China has its own greater geopolitical ambitions. China's broader plan includes connecting the proposed Nepal-China railway eventually to Lhasa via Tibet, which is an autonomous region in which

China has long wanted to yield greater influence.[36] Tibet has always remained a central issue in the Indo-China bitter conflict. Tibet, a historical buffer between China and India, has increasingly come under central Chinese control, despite being an autonomous region. China has built strategic infrastructure in Tibet to enable it to rapidly reinforce its military presence. The Trans-Himalayan railway could place Nepal in debt to Chinese heavy financing, heightening Indian security concerns.[37]

The Maritime Silk Road (MSR)

The 21st century MSR was conceived and mooted alongside the "Silk Road Economic Belt" as a part of the larger BRI—aiming to strengthen China's maritime connectivity with the IOR, Southeast Asia, and Africa.[38] In addition to enhancing regional connectivity, the initiative hopes to revive China's historical and cultural linkages with countries along ancient Silk Road-affiliated sea routes. The MSR encompasses a variety of infrastructure projects, including ports, roads, highways, bridges, airports, and underwater oil and gas pipelines.

Hambantota, a port built at the site of a Sri Lankan fishing village—was the inception project of MSR. Built by China in 2017, the port has been leased to a Chinese company for 99 years. On the day of the handover, China's official news agency *Xinhua* tweeted triumphantly, "Another milestone along the path of #BeltandRoad."[39] Not everyone is celebrating. The majority of Sri Lankans are not entirely happy about the lease, which has sparked local protests and accusations that Sri Lanka was selling its sovereignty. Sri Lanka, which experienced a decades-long civil war between its Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority, is particularly vulnerable to a national crisis involving international players.[40] In China's grand strategy, Hambantota is an important foothold and part of its "String of Pearls strategy"[41] for the Indo-Pacific. Other "pearls" in South Asia include Pakistan's Gwadar port and Myanmar's Kyaukpyu.

Gwadar deep seaport, now under construction, is located close to the mouth of the Persian Gulf just below the Straits of Hormuz—and is a key element of the greater CPEC. The port is being developed by the China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC), to which it was leased by the Pakistan government for 40 years in April 2017.[42] Although Gwadar is currently a civilian facility, Delhi suspects it is part of China's unfolding maritime power projection into the Indian Ocean. The prospect of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy in Gwadar forms another

link in China's efforts to expand its maritime presence in the Indo-Pacific region to counterbalance the United States and India. Satellite imagery recently detected PLA naval activity in Karachi port.[43] In addition, 10 Chinese laborers died in a May 2017 BLA attack near Gwadar.[44] To ensure the safety of the project, the Pakistan Navy established "Task Force 88" to beef up security in Gwadar.[45] Reports from the area indicate that the port city has been turned into a fortress, with heavy security and frequent police and army checkpoints.[46] In turn, these measures have caused resentment among local populations in both Gwadar and Baluchistan, exacerbating existing tensions within Pakistan about unequal allocation of resources across the federation.[47]

China has long hoped to construct another strategic port in Sonadia, a gateway to the Bay of Bengal, but has held off, recognizing Bangladesh's concern regarding India's opposition. China, however, has not completely abandoned the proposal. China has doubled down on its engagement with Bangladesh in other strategic infrastructure projects such as Payra Seaport, lending further legitimacy to India's suspicions of China trying to encircle India on the seas.[48] As the Sonadia plan slowed down, China found a strategically similar alternative—Kyauk Phyu in Myanmar's Rakhine state—the origin of the Rohingya crisis. Kyauk Phyu's exclusive economic zone, controlled by a Chinese company, not only includes a port, but a 2,806-kilometer-long oil-gas pipeline connecting Kyauk Phyu to the landlocked city of Kunming in China's Yunnan province.[49] Chinese control over this port extends its enormous economic interests in Rakhine state and beyond.

The tiny climate-vulnerable island nation of the Maldives also holds immense strategic importance for China. Both China and India view the Maldives as the fulcrum for their strategic aspirations in the Indian Ocean. In recent years, the country has partially shed its reliance on India as a strategic partner, and inched closer to China. Maldives has also negotiated an agreement with China for the long-term lease of a port. Ousted President Abdullah Yameen strongly supported China's BRI and courted Chinese financing to build infrastructure. Yameen's increased borrowing from China and fears of loss of Maldivian sovereignty led to his ouster as president in 2018.[50]

India has long been an important security provider and strategic partner to island nations like the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Although these islands are small, they lie in crucial sea lines of communication that offer a significant basis for projecting power and securing and protecting key trad-

ing routes. Chinese maritime strategy, aimed at a rapid expansion in the Indo-Pacific, reflects Alfred Mahan's sea power hypothesis—"whoever controls the Indian Ocean will dominate the whole of Asia." To this end, MSR offers a unique pathway for China to access strategic ports surrounding the IOR, ranging from Gwadar to Kyauk Phyu to Hambantota.

To protect its own interests, India has already begun taking some unilateral steps. For example, the Modi government has intensified efforts to develop the port of Chabahar in Iran, widely seen as an attempt to counter China's presence in Gwadar and along the MSR more broadly. India has also launched Project Mausam, a cultural initiative to develop a narrative about India's historical links with the Indian Ocean littoral. Many observers see this as an attempt to offset China's Silk Road claims.[51] Delhi has also reached out to littoral countries, such as Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius, and Seychelles, with maritime security assistance. As China ratchets up its sphere of influence in India's neighboring countries, it increases the competition between the two Asian giants, and ultimately poses a threat to regional security and stability.

In 2017, India, the United States, Japan, and Australia revived the informal Quadrilateral Security Dialogues, also known as the Quad, established in 2007 in response to massive Chinese investments in Indo-Pacific waters.[52] As China continues to extend its strategic outreach into the IOR with BRI projects, it may encourage India to drop its earlier reluctance and participate in the Quad more actively. India's recent participation in the Quad Plus video conferences to collaborate on combating the COVID-19 pandemic indicates the country's foreign policy is moving in that direction.[53] In the long run, India may opt to form a partnership with other democratic countries to balance growing Chinese outreach in the IOR but such a trend will eventually increase arms competition and make smaller countries more vulnerable.

THE WAY FORWARD

The above discussion reveals the security threats to South Asia presented by China's BRI. Some threats are existing, and others may come down the road. Two sets of policies should be implemented to tackle these security challenges, one by South Asian countries acting as a unified region, and the other in coordination with extra-regional powers such as the United States, Japan, Australia, and the European Union. However, in both cases, India, which possesses 68% of the region's landmass, 75% of its population,

and 79% of its economic output, should take the lead role, while ensuring equal participation of its smaller neighbors and addressing their concerns.

South Asians should recognize that the region suffers from acute deficits in infrastructure financing, giving China a wide entry point and strengthening its regional foothold. The Asian Development Bank suggested that to sustain growth and deal with climate change, South Asia must invest almost 9% of its gross domestic product on infrastructural development over 2016-2030, higher than most other sub-regions of Asia.[54] While this may not be viable, due to other major domestic priorities and deficient annual budgets, these countries should, at the very least, significantly increase their infrastructural allocations by reallocating from other sectors. This will partially help reduce excessive dependence on Chinese loans through the BRI.

The leading regional organization, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), could organize regional countries' response to China's unilateral initiatives in the region. However, the Indo-Pakistan rivalry has rendered this organization almost moribund. India and Pakistan need to realize that their animosity gives China an advantage to advance its own regional interest—and therefore runs counter to the interests of South Asian countries. The inability of India and Pakistan to resolve their differences and learn to cooperate has led the region's smaller nations to question whether these two giants truly want to see South Asia prosper. The region's six smaller nations should exert diplomatic pressure on India and Pakistan to set aside their hostility and cooperate in the best interest of the region. Regional leaders also need to recognize that any alternative initiative to SAARC, such as the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal Initiative (BBIN), fail to gain much traction—because those initiatives do not include all South Asian countries. As the majority of South Asian states are small and economically weak, they must recognize that the only way to protect their regional interest is to work together as a bloc like the European Union and ASEAN.

However, it is a fact that South Asia's persistent infrastructural deficit could compel countries in the region to request BRI financing. In this instance, South Asian states should insist that any BRI financing be fair and transparent. The massive debt resulting from the construction of the Hambantota port should serve as a cautionary tale for South Asian countries considering taking on excessive loans with poor terms and conditions. Pakistan had to seek an International Monetary Fund bailout package to

rescue its economy from excessive debts. South Asian countries should be vigilant not to follow suit. One way they can do better is to diversify their borrowing portfolios. Instead of over-relying on a particular country's initiative, such as BRI, countries can work with multilateral development banks and other initiatives such as the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP). Unlike BRI projects, which are state-driven initiatives, FOIP seems to promote private investment and a wide range of sectoral engagement.[55] Such diversified options offer South Asian countries ways to avoid being manipulated by lending states.

India, for its part, needs to adopt a proactive strategy, not reactive tactics. If India continues to pursue a reactive policy, it will exhaust its limited resources chasing China as Beijing's economic clout is larger. India must prioritize strategically; create a sensible, coherent policy framework in response; and move toward a burden-sharing model with its partners to secure its strategic interests in the region. However, India's economic and technical constraints make it difficult to present a viable alternative to BRI's vision for regional connectivity. One key will be taking a collaborative approach. There is a convergence between Japan's Partnership for Quality Infrastructure, United States' FOIP, and India's Act East policy. Delhi needs to collaborate actively with the United States, Japan, Australia and the region's smaller countries to construct a sustainable and more viable alternative to a China-led infrastructure funding model.[56] This economic cooperation platform could provide a foundation moving forward to tackle the security challenges presented by China's BRI.

The United States should play a leading role as the regional security guarantor. However, initiating an overtly anti-China front is unlikely to gain significant support in this region. Growing skepticism about BRI provides openings for the United States to offer viable alternatives to Chinese loans and projects. The United States should customize FOIP for South Asia, emphasizing a nuanced approach that recognizes variations among the region's states. By recognizing the "smaller" countries' concerns, the United States could promote shared values and address common security concerns. Maintaining traditional US support for development and liberal values will be especially useful in countering trends towards exploitative economics and autocratic governance.[57]

Given the similarity of ideology, size and deepening importance of India, the United States should consider India a linchpin of its regional security architecture in the IOR. Overcoming past differences and building a strong relationship with India will require nuance and patience. The

United States will have to prioritize interests and make some compromises. Over-prioritizing on India may make smaller countries looks less important, which can jeopardize regional objectives. A cautious but comprehensive approach reflecting South Asian needs could be a tipping point.

Notes

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FROM THE BLUE DOT NETWORK TO THE BLUE DOT MARKETPLACE:
A WAY TO COOPERATE IN STRATEGIC COMPETITION

Jerre V. Hansbrough

The world is in massive need of infrastructure investment. China's One Belt, One Road brought this issue to the forefront of the international community but is not living up to expectations. The Blue Dot Network, introduced by the United States and like minded partners to promote infrastructure development, is seen as a counter to the Belt and Road. It is focused on encouraging quality infrastructure investment by holding projects to high standards of transparency and sustainability through a certification system. However, the Blue Dot Network does not include any funding or means to close the global infrastructure gap. To address this issue, this chapter proposes the idea of a Blue Dot Market. If the Blue Dot Network were to evolve into the Blue Dot Marketplace over the next five to ten years, it could serve as a platform to bring together numerous construction and financial vendors to increase the quality and quantity of global infrastructure investment.

COLLABORATION IN AN ERA OF STRATEGIC COMPETITION: ENTER THE BLUE DOT MARKETPLACE

Since the announcement of China's One Belt, One Road in 2013, a very common question has been, "how will the United States and its partners compete with the Belt and Road?" One Belt, One Road did highlight a massive need for global infrastructure but attempting to directly "counter" this program may not be the best approach.

The United States should ask how it can best lead the next global infrastructure revolution. Infrastructure is the backbone of society, commerce, and trade. The demand is high as the G20 Global Infrastructure Outlook estimated a need for US$ 94 trillion globally by 2040 to support economic growth and start to close infrastructure gaps.[1] Based on current investment trends, the Outlook estimates a US$ 15 trillion gap over the same period. If fully realized, China's commitment of US$ 1 trillion in global investment through the Belt and Road would be the largest stand-alone program to date.

However, the Belt and Road is not without problems. From a simplified geopolitical lens, the Belt and Road is a China-centric program to employ China's excess industrial capacity, better connect and employ the Xinjiang province, and secure energy resources. Belt and Road projects are a means for China to gain leverage over participating nations and expand its power and security.[2] Motivations aside, the United States and its partners have two primary concerns regarding the Belt and Road as a global infrastructure development program: debt sustainability and project quality.[3] Many of the Belt and Road countries became more economically vulnerable from high amounts of debt due to overly ambitious and underperforming infrastructure projects. Belt and Road projects generally lack transparency which makes them more prone to corruption and cost inflation. Corruption and cost cutting can lead to substandard construction practices which can increase maintenance and operations costs, which further increase a nation's debt insecurity.

In November 2019, the United States, in collaboration with Australia and Japan, announced the Blue Dot Network (BDN) to certify major infrastructure projects as "sustainable and not exploitative."[4] Even while the BDN is forming, India joined as part of the Joint Statement for a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in February 2020.[5] This is an encouraging sign of a desire for quality infrastructure through regional cooperation. It is difficult to obtain balance between competition and cooperation, but the Blue Dot Network may provide a framework to make it a reality. If there is a way to get China to participate in the Blue Dot Network, many of the criticisms of the Belt and Road would be addressed. After all, the Belt and Road as described in China's "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road" (2015) is a good program. The "Vision and Actions" include following market rules and international norms, seeking mutual benefit, policy coordination, and unimpeded trade, among other activities.[6] Unfortunately, many Belt and

Road projects have not followed the spirit of the Belt and Road as laid out in that vision paper.

One of the primary criticisms of the Belt and Road from the United States is that irresponsible lending can result in national instability.[7] The inability to sustain debt reduces a nation's ability to adapt to economic distress and increases its vulnerability to coercion. China owns external loan debt for seven countries that exceed 25% of their GDP.[8] High debt and substantial investment in a country gives China significant economic coercive power. The watered-down version of a 2016 European Union (EU) statement intended to condemn China's building of artificial islands in the South China Sea is one example. The final EU statement did not specifically mention Beijing, in part, because Greece and Hungary did not want to upset their primary provider of foreign direct investment (FDI).[9] Loans and FDI from China come with opaque lending practices that can include discretionary credit and terms not disclosed to the general population.[10] Even the offer of loans connected with tentative Belt and Road projects coerce smaller nations to bend to China's will. In September 2019, the small island nations of Kiribati and the Solomon Islands cut ties with Taiwan upon the promise of Belt and Road projects.[11] Another example is the massive debt Djibouti owes to China. As of 2017, Djibouti owed China debt equal to 65% of its GDP and this debt is rising.[12] Djibouti is also the only location China has a permanent military presence outside of its claimed territory, which opened in 2017.

In addition, many of the Belt and Road projects are of a lower quality than accepted standards, reducing the ideal lifespan of major infrastructure.[13] Over time, it is generally less expensive to build a higher quality project with low operations costs than a less expensive project with frequent need for repairs or upgrades.[14] The last criticism to address is that many Belt and Road projects include a technological component that the host nation is unable to operate or maintain. This again brings about a concern of dependency on a foreign power to sustain critical infrastructure within a nation.

If the United States, China, and the European Union—the three major powerhouses on Earth—are able to cooperate for infrastructure development, the world would come out ahead. The world needs more infrastructure to sustain growth. This is not just isolated to one region. The Asian Development Bank estimates US$ 26.2 trillion is needed in Asia by 2030 to sustain growth and adapt to climate change.[15] The United States itself requires US$ 4.5 trillion just to repair existing infrastructure.[16] It is

good to have China regionally and globally engaged in infrastructure development. Malcolm Turnbull, the Australian prime minister said, "Global infrastructure investment is a good example of where countries should work together."[17]

THE BLUE DOT NETWORK

The BDN is primarily a vision of what global infrastructure should look like. Certification by the BDN means that a project is high quality and has transparent origins, much like the "organic" label for produce. The intent of the BDN is not to be a United States counter to the Belt and Road, but at least China sees it as such.[18] A key difference is that the BDN does not include funding for infrastructure projects. The principles of the BDN does address two of the major concerns about Belt and Road projects through emphasizing quality, transparency, and life-cycle cost.

The Blue Dot Network is starting to take form by encouraging responsible construction and lending practices by consolidating international norms such as the G20 Principles for Quality Infrastructure Investment, of which China is a signatory member.[19] The Blue Dot Network is a means to review infrastructure projects from any private, public, or civic sector from any country and highlight quality construction and financing practices. The United States already has a variety of programs that fund foreign infrastructure development and encourage investment through the U.S. Development Finance Corporation (DFC) and the U.S. Trade and Development Agency's Global Procurement Initiative (GPI). Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Australia's Infrastructure Financing Facility for the Pacific (AIFFP), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) are among the other major infrastructure investors that will participate in the Blue Dot Network.

But what is the future of the Blue Dot Network? Can it increase the quality of global infrastructure development? This paper proposes that once the BDN establishes standards and successfully certifies projects for a few years, it could go a step further to become the "Blue Dot Marketplace." This venue could be where countries looking to meet specific infrastructure investment requirements could meet with vetted financial and construction entities to initiate sustainable and "bankable" projects. Presently, there are numerous bilateral and multilateral programs to support infrastructure development, but there is no consolidated location for a country to evaluate and compare opportunities.

THE BLUE DOT MARKETPLACE

The Blue Dot Marketplace (BDM) could provide apolitical quality assurance and advice to validate financial and technical aspects of proposed projects. The BDM would be a consolidated virtual location for the key sectors needed for infrastructure development to interact. The primary groups of stakeholders would include: 1) host nations seeking infrastructure investment; 2) construction vendors; 3) finance vendors; and 4) technical consultants. This could be a consolidated location for the countless infrastructure development agencies, banks, and technical and construction entities.

The BDM would need an oversight body to vet financing, construction, and consultant groups by their adherence and past performance relative to the Blue Dot Network standards. This body, the BDM Administration Board, should be made of a mix of G20 or UN infrastructure and finance experts, growing as the marketplace expands. This review should be open to all construction and financial vendors, to include Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOE) and banks. Finance and construction vendors would submit a statement of interest describing the type and scale of financing or construction they are interested in supporting. They would also submit evidence demonstrating the ability to support the requested project size and type. The documentation would be reviewed by the BDM Administrative Board. The Board would verify, or deny with explanation, the financial or construction vendor's ability to compete in categories based on their submission. This vetted set of vendors would then be added to the marketplace. Vendors would need to be reevaluated at some interval or number of projects to ensure continued transparency.

HOW MIGHT THE BLUE DOT MARKETPLACE OPERATE?

The host nation would submit a request for proposals to the construction sector of the marketplace with the confidence that the bids would be from reputable groups and include life-cycle cost. All participants in the BDM should be part of the Blue Dot Network and support its tenets. See Figure 12.1: The Blue Dot Marketplace for a graphical representation.

The host nation is responsible to identify its general infrastructure needs and developmental goals. It would then sequence related projects and prioritize the list based on national need. The client nation would be highly engaged throughout the process with a designated lead agency to revise the list as conditions change. The nation would select a project bid

from the construction vendors and solicit for funding through the finance vendor market. Ideally, the host nation would approach the marketplace with a prioritized list of infrastructure needs and a cost rough order of magnitude for the projects. It is best if there are projects for a variety of sectors (i.e., energy production, port development, customs facility) and scale to find a good fit for funding and construction vendors to compete. Even though a priority list would exist, it may be most effective to build based on fund and asset availability.

Projects would go to the construction sector of the marketplace to get bids and proposals from the construction vendors. The construction vendors must be approved to compete in the Blue Dot Marketplace by submitting documentation to verify the company's capability, capacity, and adherence to the Blue Dot tenets. If interested in a project listed on the marketplace, the construction vendors would produce a project proposal to the soliciting nation.

As the host nation narrows in on a construction vendor, it would then solicit for funding, if needed, through the finance sector. The finance vendors would evaluate the client nation's debt capacity and project viability, also known as "bankability," to offer funding with terms that follow Blue Dot tenets. Grants and loans could be advertised on the finance sector and these could be used for construction or consultant services. Public-private partnerships (PPP) could be proposed to share costs and manage infrastructure operation, but this must also be accounted for in the life-cycle cost of a project. If the construction vendor has a relationship with a funding vendor, this could be a combined bid as long as all parties adhere to the Blue Dot tenets. An example of this might be a U.S. construction company with the U.S. EXIM Bank or a Chinese company with the Agriculture Development Bank of China. All bids or proposals would include life-cycle cost so that the nation is fully aware of the total cost of the project.

The BDM technical consultants could provide connection with technical assistance teams to develop the priorities with the host country to find the most efficient and logical sequence of projects. These teams could also provide contract review services such as the U.S. Infrastructure Transaction Advisory Network (ITAN) or technical reviews through the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (USTDA). Consultants could also validate projected economic growth from proposed projects as this can be inflated if not done objectively.

Project review milestones will be needed to ensure adherence to Blue Dot tenets for sustainability and to meet certification; these requirements are currently under development as the Blue Dot Network takes shape.
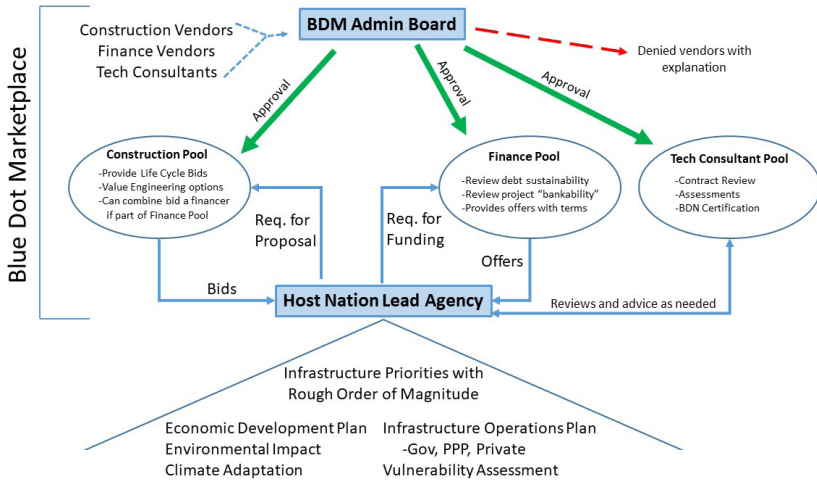
Figure 11.1: The Blue Dot Marketplace

Example Blue Dot Marketplace Project

Nation A has a severe traffic congestion problem that is outside of their ability to resolve internally. Nation A goes to its account manager within the Blue Dot Marketplace and describe the problem and a potential solution. The account manager solicits proposals to technical consultants to review the problem (if there is not a clear solution) or go straight to soliciting for construction bids. Once funding and construction proposals are selected, the project may undergoing a value engineering review to look for increased efficiencies and environmental considerations. As the project proceeds, it includes an interim review or a final review, depending on the timeline and scale of the project. As long as the Blue Dot Network tenets are met, the project is certified when construction is complete.

COOPERATION AND OPPORTUNITIES

Can the Blue Dot Marketplace serve as a cooperation venue for China and the United States? Accusations of poor construction standards and environmental stewardship are areas of criticism for Chinese construction

companies. The World Bank has seen that Chinese companies meet high standards for World Bank-funded road construction projects.[20] However, Chinese companies have been disbarred from World Bank projects not by poor quality, but due to breaches in procurement guidelines, which could be mitigated through increased transparency.[21] If Belt and Road projects could meet the high standards of the Blue Dot Network, this could build legitimacy for Belt and Road projects. Chinese participation in the Blue Dot Marketplace would mitigate many geopolitical concerns of economic coercion and militarization associated with the Belt and Road, bringing focus to actual development. There will always be political reasons to provide support to foreign nations but the Blue Dot Marketplace would give the host nation a much greater ability to make informed decisions on their infrastructure development. Transparency is a powerful tool to combat corruption and ensure fair competition. To encourage China's participation in the BDM, the United States could join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and support Belt and Road projects that meet BDN standards. This cooperation could further encourage China to continue infrastructure projects and rebuild its relationship with the United States.

Encouraging sustainability and transparency are primary concerns for the BDN.[22] Financial sustainability includes reviewing full economic impacts of the projects (such as debt sustainability, maintenance and operating costs) and projected economic growth. Technical sustainability can include environmental impact, planning for climate change through resilience, maximizing green building design and efficient construction techniques.

Outside of debt sustainability and transparency, the Blue Dot Marketplace could be a great platform for the pursuit of environmentally sustainable infrastructure. Many Belt and Road projects are in the energy sector, but Belt and Road power plants outside of China are mostly coal fired and use subcritical technology.[23] China is very capable in solar and hydropower energy technology and would compete well in this sector of construction. Green projects could help with carbon footprint reduction, global energy security, and grow the sustainable energy market. The Blue Dot Marketplace could encourage thorough vulnerability assessments and integrate environmental risk mitigation into projects. Vulnerability assessments take into account changes in the environment over time such as impacts on food security, water shortages, disasters, and health problems. This includes accounting for sea level rise in project design, managing the

control of invasive species and disease transmission due to increased connectivity, and considering community resilience to these effects.

Conclusion

Competition is at the heart of capitalism, but it is important that competition is fair to maximize innovation. International cooperation can set universal standards of excellence to increase fair competition in the infrastructure sector. This increased cooperation can build global security and economic development. The Blue Dot Network can help by holding all infrastructure construction and financing entities to sustainable and transparent practices. However, if the Blue Dot Network is purely perceived as a "counter" to the Belt and Road, a huge opportunity for the infrastructure investment will be missed. Greater cooperation resulting in holding companies accountable for good construction and financing practices will benefit all. Infrastructure is in great need globally and the Blue Dot Marketplace could be a way to simplify large-scale infrastructure investment. Once the Blue Dot Network is established and certifies projects, it could evolve into the BDM over the next five to ten years. The BDM could bring all the various programs, agencies, and companies together in one location to provide transparent, sustainable, quality infrastructure in a way that can responsibly drive innovation and economic growth. The term "Blue Dot" is a reference to Carl Sagan's book *Pale Blue Dot*, where he challenges humanity "to deal more kindly with one another and to preserve and cherish the pale blue dot, the only home we've ever known."[24] Earth is a small and unique blip in the universe, people must find ways to cooperate in competition.

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UNDERWATER COMPETITION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

Mizuho Kajiwara

Introduction

The Prussian military philosopher Carl von Clausewitz introduced the term "The Fog of War" to describe the uncertainty that exists in military operations with respect to one's own capability, adversary's intent, and the precise understanding of the battlefield. The informational asymmetry gives a strategic advantage by blinding one's enemy. The competition for this advantage is more intense in the underwater domain than most of the others such as land, air, space, and the sea above water.

During the Cold War, the United States enjoyed an overwhelming advantage after it succeeded in building nuclear-powered attack submarine (SSN) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) and laying undersea cables (Sound Surveillance System, or SOSUS) in the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean to detect and contain the erstwhile Soviet Union's submarines. These networks played a significant role in ending the Cold War and entrenching the United States' supremacy in the underwater domain, which continues to date.

Currently, the underwater competition in the Indo-Pacific region is being played out between three great powers, namely the United States, China, and Russia, but with increasing involvement by regional powers such as Japan, Vietnam, and India. The strength of submarines is that they are invisible and thus can be deployed anywhere in the open sea. However, they are always at risk of detection. For example, nuclear submarines emit noise through nuclear reactors and steam turbines, and similarly conventional submarines emit noise through snorkeling.

At a conference in November 2019, U.S. Secretary of Defense Mark Esper said, "Advances in AI [artificial intelligence] have the potential to change the character of warfare for generations to come. Whichever nation harnesses AI first will have a decisive advantage on the battlefield for many, many years. We have to get there first."[1] A "cat and mouse game" in the underwater domain—often focused on deploying stealthier submarines and developing detection and tracking technologies in anti-submarine warfare (ASW)—is about to change with AI, which will facilitate the execution of more dynamic operations with a minimized risk of losing human lives. In this chapter, I will focus on how the underwater domain changes over time in the context of strategy and security in the Indo-Pacific and forecast future scenarios with emerging technologies.

Game Changers in the Underwater Domain: Lessons from the History of Submarine Technologies

Nuclear-Powered Submarine

The world's first nuclear submarine, *USS Nautilus* (SSN-571), was launched in 1954, and it was successfully commissioned in 1955.[2] Only four years after the U.S. started operating a nuclear submarine, it aborted plans for building further conventional submarines and decided to focus its resources and budget on nuclear-powered submarines. Compared to the conventional type, the nuclear submarine has certain disadvantages in that it is noisier, its development and maintenance are expensive, it generates enormous amounts of harmful radiation, which, if leaked, can cause harm to both human and marine life, and after retirement the time taken to process nuclear reactors and fuel is lengthy. However, nuclear propulsion offers inexhaustible power and frees the submarine from the need to surface frequently as it does not require air. The risk of being found by the enemy is lower, thereby making it suitable for long-term dives in the vast ocean.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union continued to develop and maintain conventionally-powered submarines. As submarines are very expensive and require advanced technology for construction and operation, the Soviets chose the relatively inexpensive and technically stable conventionally-powered submarines to supplement nuclear-powered submarines, partly because of the lack of economic power.

> **The Manhattan Project**
>
> In 1939, the United States confirmed the findings of the occurrence of fission in uranium resulted in the immediate release of enormous amounts of energy. The United States then carried out the Manhattan Project, in which hundreds of scientists and engineers were involved in developing and manufacturing an atomic bomb. For the first time in human history, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, demonstrating the destructive power of nuclear weapons to the world.
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> However, even before the army-led Manhattan Project was executed, the U.S. Navy was studying how power could be derived from nuclear fission and utilized as a source of power supply for submarines. The research was led by U.S. Naval Research Laboratory physicist Dr. Ross Gunn with the goal of overcoming the disadvantages that submarines faced from having to regularly emerge to the surface for fresh air. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) proposed that research and development be conducted on using nuclear power to propel naval vessels.
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> In 1949, Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, who later came to be known as the "Father of the Nuclear Navy," became the Director of the Naval Reactors Branch of the Bureau of Ships and was also assigned to the Division of Reactor Development of the AEC. Congress authorized the construction of the nuclear-powered submarine, called the *Nautilus*, in 1951.

Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile and New Missions

During World War II, Germany had developed V1 and V2 rockets to attack Britain. After its defeat, German rocket technology was transferred, along with German engineers, when they were moved to the United States and the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Navy succeeded in launching a missile from underwater, but amid these circumstances, the launch of the R7 (8,800 kilometer range), the world's first intercontinental ballistic missile, by the Soviet Union in 1957, had a major impact on U.S. research and development. That same year, the Soviets successfully launched the Sputnik rocket and put it into orbit.

As a result of the "Sputnik Shock," the development of Polaris, a U.S. Navy-driven SLBM, was pushed ahead of schedule. With solidified fuel, which increased safety, the Polaris A-1 (ranging 1,852 kilometers) was developed. Two missiles were successfully launched underwater during the dive by the first nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine, the *USS George Washington* (SSBN 598) in 1960. The missile was able to carry only

one nuclear warhead, but later the Poseidon C-3, which had a greater range and increased accuracy, was able to carry multiple nuclear warheads in a single missile.

With these developing technologies, U.S. nuclear submarines were operated for two different purposes: (1) submarines that were equipped with torpedoes and mines to attack enemy submarines or surface ships, and (2) strategic submarines that were assigned for strategic nuclear deterrence as part of the U.S. nuclear triad. The emergence of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN), the platform for SLBM, allowed submarines submerged underwater to survive semi-permanently and retaliate with nuclear weapons if their country was preemptively attacked. Given its "second strike ability," it plays a decisive role in deterrence even today.

Sound Surveillance System (SOSUS)

It is generally acknowledged that the United States had overwhelming military power over the Soviet Union during the Cold War and that the Soviet Union collapsed due to internal factors such as economic failures under the communist system, the burden of increasing military budgets, and the independence of member states from the Soviet Union. However, it is worth mentioning that a game-changer technology was neither nuclear-powered submarines nor ballistic missile submarines, both of which were acquired by the United States and the Soviet Union almost simultaneously, but it was submarine-detecting technologies that created the disparity in underwater operations and eventually led to the end of the Cold War. The theory behind this technology was not new or innovative, but merely an extension of the basic technical premise behind the development of submarines.

The combat capabilities of a submarine were not enough to maintain supremacy in anti-submarine warfare, but the ability of sonar to keep track of Soviet submarines had a greater role to play. Radar cannot detect underwater targets. The propagation of sound waves in the sea depends not only on factors such as water depth, salinity, and water temperature, but also on the season and weather. Therefore, a technology for determining the enemy's character, position, and distance was required.

The U.S. Navy installed hydrophones on fixed cables laid on the seafloor and focused on improving the performance of its SOSUS that analyzed submarine sounds received on the ground. As many Soviet submarines were set up at strategic locations around the North Pacific Ocean

and North Atlantic Ocean, SOSUS helped keep track of submarines leaving the submarine base. SOSUS became an important system of the U.S. Navy. During the 1962 Cuban Crisis, SOSUS demonstrated its effectiveness by detecting a Soviet diesel submarine.[3] By 1970, the area covered by SOSUS stretched from the east to the west of the Atlantic Ocean and the vast waters of the Norwegian Sea.

However, aided by the spy activities of former U.S. Navy warrant officer John Walker in the mid-1970s, the Soviets became aware of the acoustic weakness of its own submarines and rushed to improve quietness. In the following years, Soviet Accra-class submarines and Sierra-class submarines succeeded in significantly reducing noise levels.

The U.S. Navy subsequently developed the Surveillance Towed-Array Sensor System (SURTASS) as a complement to SOSUS, which was used for collecting submarines' acoustic fingerprint information, detection and tracking of submarine contacts at long range, and worked by towing sonar from a surface ship. In 1985, the combination of SOSUS and SURTASS was recognized as a part of the Integrated Undersea Surveillance System.[4] The system reached its Cold War peak with 11 NAVFACs (Naval Facilities)/NOPFs (Naval Ocean Processing Facilities), 14 SURTASS ships, two Ocean Systems commands, and manned by approximately 4,000 personnel in the late 1980s.[5]

This was a "cat and mouse" game. The improved detection capabilities of the U.S. Navy led the Soviet Union to reduce its submarine noise levels, which in turn forced the U.S. Navy to make major changes in its strategy. Rather than primarily destroying Soviet submarines, deploying attack submarines to the bastion of the Soviet Union—the Barents Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk—became a more effective approach.

The presence of SOSUS made it possible to contain the Soviets in NATO's so-called "GIUK" gap (a strip of ocean between Greenland, Iceland, and the United Kingdom). It was hard for them to pass through the GIUK gap to reach open waters without being detected by the SOSUS network. The U.S. Navy was able to maximize the effectiveness of the strategy by deploying some offensive submarines on the front. This shift in the U.S. strategy forced the Soviet to deploy nuclear-powered attack submarines (SSNs) in the Soviet naval bastions to protect its own strategic nuclear submarines, thereby making it more difficult for the Soviets to navigate in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.[6]

> **Sonar**
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> The first attempt to detect underwater targets using underwater acoustic waves was made after the Titanic collided with an iceberg and sank in 1912. This event led to the advancement of iceberg detection research. During World War I, the British developed first underwater acoustic sensor (ASDIC: Anti-Submarine Division-ics) in a battle with U-boats. There are two types of sonar: active sonar, which transmits sound waves and measures the position of the enemy vessel, based on the time taken for the sound to bounce back from the target, and the intensity of the sound: and passive sonar, which detects the sound emitted by the opponent.

Commenting on the SOSUS, Edward Whitman, a former senior editor of *Undersea Warfare*, writes, "the Navy's pioneering Sound Surveillance System—SOSUS—became a key, long-range early-warning asset for protecting the United States against the threat of Soviet ballistic missile submarines and in providing vital cueing information for tactical, deep-ocean, anti-submarine warfare. And although subsequent events—most notably the end of the Cold War—robbed SOSUS of much of its mission, its history remains an object lesson in how inspired, science-based engineering development can lead to extraordinary operational effectiveness."[7]

Success in a battle is often measured by metrics such as territory gained, or enemies killed. However, John Stillion and Bryan Clark of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments points out that "[i]n many cases, disrupting, delaying, or harassing the enemy may be sufficient to achieve one's most important military objectives. In the short-term, the side using these approaches may be able to gain a temporary advantage toward a larger goal; in the long-term, these approaches may impose significant costs on an enemy in exchange for a relatively small investment."[8]

Developments in the Indo-Pacific:
The Submarine Arms Race

China's Pivot to the Seas

At present, there are over 120 nations worldwide that have their own navies, of which 41 operate submarines. In total, there are about 460 submarines operating worldwide.[9] Among them, countries such as the United

States, Japan, China, Russia, Germany, France, Spain, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Italy, and Sweden have the technology to build submarines on their own. There are six countries that possess nuclear submarines: the United States, Russia, China, France, India, and the United Kingdom. It is believed that Pakistan is aiming for nuclear submarines. In addition, it is reported that South Korea aims at building a 5,000-ton nuclear-powered submarine to boost its deterrence capability against a potential North Korea sub-based nuclear attack.[10] U.S. Navy submarines are all nuclear-powered, and none of the other nations have the same level of attack and operational capabilities as the United States; thus, the United States continues to maintain its supremacy in the underwater domain.

However, U.S. supremacy in the underwater domain is being challenged by China in the last few decades, and this has also triggered China's neighbors in the Western Pacific to build up their naval forces. Russia's increased presence in the region is also a matter of concern. According to Admiral Philip Davidson, Commander of the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM), roughly 75% of the non-U.S. submarines in the world reside in the Indo-Pacific region. About 160 of these 300 submarines belong to China, Russia, and North Korea. While these three countries increase their capacity, the United States retires attack submarines (SSNs) faster than they are replaced. He suggests "potential adversary submarine activity has tripled from 2008 levels, which requires at least a corresponding increase on the part of the United States to maintain superiority."[11]

The U.S. Department of Defense's 2019 Annual Report to Congress pointed out that China was accelerating the development of innovative technologies such as AI and unmanned systems and that the modernization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would be completed by 2035. China aims to be a prominent nation with a "world-class" military by 2049. According to the report, modernization of China's submarine force remains a high priority for the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN). PLAN currently operates four nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN), six nuclear-powered attack submarines (SSN), and 50 conventionally-powered attack submarines. The number is expected to be between 65 and 70 submarines by 2020.[12]

China has built artificial islands in the South China Sea, turning them into military bases. It is reported that China's nuclear submarine base at Yulin, which is located on the southern coast of Hainan Island, is protected by surface ships and fighters, and an underground tunnel has also

been constructed to prevent the submarines from being visible from the sea, sky, and space.

China is also interested in building undersea cable infrastructure. In 2018, Chinese smartphone maker Huawei Technologies completed a cable project, which bridge Brazil and Cameroon.[13] Huawei is estimated to be involved in around 30 undersea cable projects. Reportedly, the company has a hand in about 60 projects to enhance cable landing stations, for boosting transmission capacity.[14] In February 2020, Huawei Marine Networks has been awarded the contract to build a new subsea cable to connect the Maldives with Sri Lanka.[15]

In 2009, *USNS Impeccable* (T-AGOS-23) was harassed by Chinese ships in the South China Sea. This incident was an example of the dangerous "cat and mouse" game underway. One of the six ocean surveillance ships of the same kind (T-AGOS), the *Impeccable* uses SURTASS equipment to gather undersea acoustic data. The ships also carry electronic equipment to process and transmit that data via satellite to shore stations for evaluation.[16] According to the statement on the incident by the U.S. Department of Defense, five Chinese vessels shadowed and aggressively maneuvered close to the *Impeccable* in the South China Sea. She was 70 miles south of Hainan Island, conducting routine operations in international waters.[17] She was monitoring China's new and functioning SSBN and SSN and collecting data on the submarines and seafloor to improve her ability to detect the submarines, in peacetime, and efficiently hunt them during war. There was another incident just several days before this incident in which U.S. surveillance vessels were "subjected to aggressive behavior, including dozens of fly-bys by Chinese Y-12 maritime surveillance aircraft."[18]

Regional Responses to China's Naval Rise

In response to China's expanding maritime interest in the Indo-Pacific, particularly China's aggressiveness in the disputed South China Sea, a number of countries in the region have been making significant moves to modernize their naval forces. There are three ways to acquire a submarine: (1) purchase a retired used submarine from a foreign country; (2) import the finished product as it is; and (3) acquire a production license and build it in your own country with support from abroad.

In this region, Vietnam is a state that has a clear vision of strategic submarine deployment to respond to the threat posed by China. Vietnam has purchased six Kilo-class vessels from Russia.[19] Due to Vietnam's mari-

time claim in the South China Sea, which overlaps with China's, and also its proximity to China's Yulin naval base along the southern coast of Hainan Island, Vietnam is building its capability at an accelerated pace to defend from a potential threat. If Vietnamese submarines have the capability to detect Chinese submarines when entering or leaving a port, it could be a threat to China, which implies that it would be exposing itself to its adversaries. In other words, it would disrupt China's naval operations to block the South China Sea and the Western Pacific. James Holmes, a professor of strategy at the U.S. Naval War College, suggests that "Vietnamese access denial could take on an offensive as well as a defensive character."[20] However, according to Alexander Vuving, a professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, "Vietnam's effort is far from affecting the balance of forces in the South China Sea."[21]

Another country that is actively trying to utilize submarine force in their national security strategy is Indonesia. The Indonesian fleet has made a deal to procure three submarines from South Korea. Regarding Indonesia's objective, Shang-su Wu, a research fellow at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, wrote that "[w]ith several strategically important straits connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans within its borders, Indonesia is unlikely to avoid competition among maritime powers—primarily between China and the US" and "the possession of certain naval capabilities is essential for Jakarta to protect its sovereignty and to serve as a bargaining chip in realpolitik."[22]

Taiwan, which is under pressure from China to accept the "one China" policy, has aging submarines (two made in the Netherlands and two made in the United States), but the U.S. government's promise in the 1990s to provide eight conventionally-powered submarines did not materialize. In addition, there are only 15 countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan,[23] which makes it difficult for Taiwan to procure and license technology from other countries. Currently, there are plans to build eight vessels indigenously.[24] However, the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs announced in May 2020 that the State Department had approved a possible sale of 18 MK-48 Mod6 Advanced Technology Heavyweight Torpedoes and related equipment at a cost of US$180 million.[25]

India, which started operating submarines as early as 1967 after acquiring them from the Soviet Union, currently operates 16 submarines, including 14 diesel-electric submarines.[26] In 2012, India acquired a nuclear-powered submarine, the Akula-class *INS Chakra*, on lease from Russia.

Its first indigenous ballistic missile and nuclear submarine *INS Arihant*, built with support from Russia, was reported to be in service in 2016. India is also building Scorpene-class submarines in cooperation with a French shipbuilder. Furthermore, in 2019, India announced its collaborative project with a foreign company to domestically build six conventional submarines.[27] In November 2018, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced that *INS Arihant* successfully completed its first deterrence patrol.[28]

In Malaysia, two submarines that were purchased from France in 2009 and 2010 have been commissioned. Singapore will procure four submarines from Germany.

Although these facts seem to be proof of an arms race in the region, three major Southeast Asian claimants in the South China Sea, namely, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, are not attempting to equal or surpass China. They are not engaging in an arms race with China, but, as Vuving put it, their long-term ambition is "minimal deterrence."[29]

Some countries purchase submarines from China. Bangladesh commissioned two used submarines, which were imported from China in 2017. The Bay of Bengal is geopolitically crucial for China's attempt to encircle India. Bangladesh has reinforced its maritime power locally in the Indo-Pacific. Thailand decided to own a submarine for the first time after purchasing one from China and plans to purchase two more. It is reported that Pakistan plans to purchase eight submarines, of which four will be built in China and the other four will be built indigenously.[30]

These developments demonstrate how China's military power is influencing the political decisions and naval strategies of neighboring countries. As of 1990, the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Bangladesh, and Singapore had no submarines (at that time, there were two in Indonesia, six in Australia, 19 in India, and six in Pakistan).[31] The seascape is changing quickly.

Russia

Russia has also been focusing on rebuilding its military strength. According to Admiral Mark Ferguson, then-Commander of the U.S. Naval Forces Europe and the Allied Joint Force Command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, citing public remarks by Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief Admiral Viktor Chirkov, the intensity of Russian submarine

patrols had risen in 2015 by almost 50 percent over the previous year.[32] The patrols are visible signs of increasing interest in submarine warfare by President Vladimir Putin, whose government has pursued new classes of quieter and stealthier diesel and nuclear-powered attack submarines.

Furthermore, U.S. and other Western officials have long warned that Russian vessels have been active near major undersea fiber-optic cables that keep the world's internet running. In July 2019, a Russian submarine caught fire during a mission, killing 14 sailors on board in Russian territorial waters in the Barents Sea. BBC Monitoring quoted U.S. officials as saying that the vessel was the nuclear submarine AS-12, nicknamed Losharik, which was designed to tamper with undersea cables.[33] Even if the military undersea network SOSUS was not compromised, severing the global Internet cables would have caused immediate and catastrophic damage to many nations.

The Russian Navy also poses a threat by developing a nuclear-powered, nuclear-tipped torpedo named Poseidon (Status-6) that can traverse thousands of miles across oceans autonomously after launching from a submarine. In March 2018, Putin publicly unveiled a 3D-animated video showing Poseidon attacking a city and a carrier task force. Later, real-life footage of a Poseidon launch was released as well. It is reported that U.S. intelligence estimates that the Poseidon will complete testing by 2025 and commence operational service in 2027.[34] Although there is skepticism about developing nuclear-powered systems with unmanned capabilities for Poseidon before 2027, the "U.S. Nuclear Posture Review," published in 2018, states that Russia is developing at least two new intercontinental range systems, one of which is "a new intercontinental, nuclear-armed, nuclear-powered, undersea autonomous torpedo," recognizing such a weapon system could become a threat to U.S. national security.

The Pentagon acknowledged in February 2020 that the United States has deployed at least one low-yield nuclear warhead on a U.S. Navy nuclear ballistic missile submarine.[35] John Rood, then-Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, stated that this supplemental capability strengthens deterrence and provides the United States a prompt, more survivable low-yield strategic weapon.[36]

What Should Japan Do?

Japan made it clear in its "National Defense Program Guidelines for 2019 and Beyond" that Maritime Self-Defense Force will retain 22 diesel-type manned submarines.

As the underwater domain becomes more crowded than ever with naval operations in recent years, operations using unmanned undersea vehicles (UUVs) to monitor submarines of other nations as well as to ensure the security of submarine cables will be more common in the next few decades due to fewer possibilities of risking human lives. Detecting technologies such as SOSUS may not be effective since UUVs are much smaller compared with manned submarines, which makes it difficult to determine their positions with accuracy.

Unlike the United States, which must dive through the vast Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, and Pacific Ocean, Japan is likely to invest in the development of UUVs that could concentrate enough on several choke points around the islands for patrol and complement the missions of conventionally powered submarines.

Japan should seek to enhance the system of collecting and monitoring information underwater by operating UUVs to patrol efficiently and defend effectively. The research and development of UUVs depend upon the private sector, even though it is still less attractive for Japan's defense industry in comparison with building conventional submarines.

It is recommended that the Japanese government encourage the private sector by procuring UUVs at a certain level of volumes to ensure their benefit and at the same time support exporting UUVs to Japan's allies. UUVs will be able to replace the shrinking applicant pool for Japan's Self-Defense Force to overcome the diminishing population.

It is desirable that Japan develop UUVs equipped with defense and attack capabilities, such as setting and sweeping of mines and firing torpedoes to deter China in the disputed waters, such as East China Sea, other than monitoring submarines.

These operations require advanced communication networks that enable contact with their motherships on surface or other UUVs, high level of communication system to integrate into the existing kill chain. The keys to future ASW will be innovative technologies for small and lightweight high-performance power supply and ultra-low power consumption system for AI and communication to survive independently underwater.

Japan

Japan has a long history of operating submarines. The Imperial Japanese Navy acquired five Holland-class vessels from the U.S. company Electric Boat in 1905. By building its own submarines, Japan came to possess one of the world's most powerful submarine fleets by the beginning of World War II. As an ally of the United States during the Cold War, Japan made significant contributions in detecting Soviet submarines using various equipment, including a fleet of 100 P-3C anti-submarine patrol aircraft. For decades, Japan improved its submarine capability and developed what later came to be known as the Soryu-class.

Responding to China's assertiveness, Japan is not an exception in improving its capabilities in the underwater domain. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Kawasaki Shipbuilding Corporation are alternately building one submarine per year for Japan. The Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) currently maintains 20 diesel-electric attack submarines (nine Oyashio-class and 11 Soryu-class) and plans to increase the number to 22 by 2021. JMSDF currently operates two flotillas divided into six divisions. The first and second submarine flotillas are based in Kure and Yokosuka, respectively.

In 2018, Japanese submarines, along with ASW destroyers, conducted anti-submarine training in the South China Sea. JMSDF took extraordinary measures to announce this fact, which appears to have been aimed at demonstrating the high operational capability of Japanese submarines. Japanese submarines have some unique features. *JS Oryu*, SS-511, the latest Soryu-class diesel-electric attack submarine that has been commissioned in March 2020, is Japan's first submarine with lithium-ion batteries, which store about double the power of standard batteries.[37] It is the world's largest conventionally-powered boat and can remain fully submerged for longer periods of time.

CONCLUSION:

FUTURE SCENARIOS IN THE UNDERWATER DOMAIN

History shows that countries which actively incorporated science and technology into their military have enjoyed supremacy. The United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union developed similar technologies through World War II and the Cold War era in the form of nuclear-powered submarines and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, but it was detection technology,

SOSUS, that eventually helped the United States maintain its supremacy in ASW.

Recent technological developments with more complex networks connecting conventional and emerging domains indicate that the state of the underwater from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean has been changing dramatically. In the last 10 years, U.S. superiority has gradually diminished with the rise of China, Russia, and Asian countries, which have entered the submarine arms race. During his nomination hearing before the Senate Committee on Armed Forces in 2018, Admiral Philip Davidson, Commander of USINDOPACOM, described the United States' undersea dominance as "a perishable advantage." He said, "[t]he U.S. maintains a significant asymmetric advantage in undersea warfare, but the PLA is making progress. China has identified undersea warfare as a priority, both for increasing their own capabilities as well as challenging ours."[38]

One possible scenario that might involve U.S. forces in the Indo-Pacific region is where one country disturbs others by physically cutting off submarine cables, including SOSUS, by deploying UUVs. This operation leads to disconnection of communication and is likely to isolate a nation, or several nations, from receiving necessary information via the Internet. Considering that more than 90% of international communications rely upon submarine cables, this will have a tremendous impact and confuse military operations, including the chain of command.

Such a scenario could be a particularly huge threat to Taiwan, a small island under continuous pressure from China's military presence. The U.S. Department of Defense report titled "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019" suggests that China continues to prepare for contingencies in the Taiwan Strait to deter and, if necessary, compel Taiwan to abandon its moves toward independence. It also suggests that China is "likely preparing for a contingency to unify Taiwan with the mainland by force, while simultaneously deterring, delaying, or denying any third-party intervention on Taiwan's behalf."[39] In case of such hostilities, it is unlikely that the United States will not intervene militarily.

Research and development on UUVs are one of the key areas of competition between the United States and China. The U.S. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) has succeeded in completing a test cruise of the anti-submarine warfare continuous trail unmanned vessel known as *Sea Hunter*, which covered over thousands of kilometers

for months under remote monitoring.[40] Boeing's autonomous extra-large unmanned undersea vehicle (XLUUV), the 51-foot-long *Echo Voyager*,[41] succeeded sea trials off the coast of Southern California in 2017.[42] Based on this experience, Boeing is now developing four *Orca* XLUUVs,[43] which could include capabilities for gathering intelligence, placing or clearing naval mines, attacking other ships or submarines, conducting stand-off strikes, and more.[44] DARPA has also launched the *Manta Ray* program to advance key technologies that will enable the next-generation UUVs to operate for extended durations without the need for human-driven logistics support or maintenance. The program aims to overcome the limitations of current UUV designs to allow large payload capacity and long-duration missions.[45]

Another possible scenario might be a cyberattack in combination with an underwater strike. In 2018, U.S. media reported that cyberattacks sponsored by the Chinese government targeted a U.S. Navy contractor who worked for the Naval Undersea Warfare Center. The information hacked included sensitive data about a project called Sea Dragon, which aims to develop a supersonic anti-ship missile for use on U.S. submarines.[46]

From the history of underwater competition between the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union during the Cold War wherein detecting system SOSUS was an important factor for determining victory, one can draw the lesson that new detecting or tracking systems for UUVs could serve as a breakthrough or game-changing technology in future ASW, establishing supremacy in the underwater domain.

Amid the coronavirus pandemic, which engulfs the entire world on a historic scale, China continued to exhibit an aggressive stance in the flashpoint South and East China Seas. In April 2020, a China Coast Guard vessel collided with and sank a Vietnam fishing vessel in the vicinity of the Paracel Islands in the South China Sea. Beijing established two districts in the South China Sea to administer islands and reefs to cement its claim to sovereignty over the area. In May, China sent Coast Guard vessels into Japanese territorial waters near the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea for two consecutive days. These are a few examples that indicate China's ambitions for assertive roles in the maritime domain in the post-coronavirus world order. It is essential that the United States and regional powers cooperate continuously to build peace and stability looking beyond the corona crisis.

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ILLEGAL, UNREPORTED, AND UNREGULATED FISHING AND THE IMPACTS ON MARITIME SECURITY

Ben Crowell & Wade Turvold

INTRODUCTION

Maritime security is a key component of national sovereignty. The ability to govern, regulate, and enforce laws within a country's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) is vital to the environmental, economic, and geopolitical security of maritime nations. Unfortunately, these concerns are increasing and being strained by some distant water fishing nations (DWFN)[1] and artisanal fishermen through the practice of illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing. With global consumption of seafood rising and fish stocks continuing to decline, the competition and economic incentive to harvest more seafood is creating a slow onset crisis for the environmental health of the oceans. Meanwhile, the willful violation of various national EEZs creates spikes in rapid onset crisis events for the governments involved in these issues. What can security practitioners in the Indo-Pacific region do about this problem? Informed by hindsight, this chapter will draw insights into the transnational threat associated with IUU fishing and suggest options for countering these issues.

Following the passage of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention (often abbreviated as UNCLOS), maritime nations were able to formally claim exclusive economic zones out to 200 nautical miles from the baseline (approximate shoreline) for fisheries resources. The establishment of EEZs by sovereign maritime nations forced many fishermen to find new fishing grounds much farther afield in order to stay in business, as the new national maritime zones forced them to fish further from home ports. These

increased transit distances required greater seakeeping ability, fishing tactics, and improved technology to enhance productivity. As these vessels moved further out into the oceans, a greater percentage of the world's seas began to be targeted for industrial scale commercial fishing. In the 1950s, approximately 60% of the world's oceans were being fished; fast forward present, and over 90% of the seas are being targeted for various seafood products.[2] This increased pressure by both legal and illegal fishing activity has resulted in substantial pressure being placed on maritime ecosystems. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), approximately 93% of all globally harvested fish products are either at their maximum sustainable levels or being overfished.[3]

Understanding the Threat

As fishing stocks are depleted across the globe, distant water fishing fleets and artisanal fishermen are putting greater stress on fisheries resources. This increased pressure can create scarcity, driving increased prices, thereby incentivizing more unlawful fishing activity and predatory behavior. Collectively, these actions can drive a death spiral for the fisheries resources. The increased environmental pressure from overfishing and certain types of harvesting methods has led to ecological collapse of fishing grounds in the South China Sea and along the east and west coasts of Africa. With the destruction of natural resources, nations are faced with the twofold impact of the loss of the once renewable economic resource and the loss of food that was harvested from the sea. For many this is no small issue, according to the United Nations, several countries in the developing world obtain up to 50% of their protein input from seafood products.[4] As fish stocks are depleted, individuals, families and communities are under increased pressure for basic survival. When faced with the cost-benefit analysis of starving to death or engaging in illegal activity to support one's family or village, most people will do what it takes to provide for their community. Thus, the loss of environmental habitat and natural resources can create economic and food security issues for human populations, which in turn can drive maritime crime and piracy.

The quintessential example of fishermen turned criminal is the piracy crisis that occurred off the coast of Somalia from 2006 to 2012. The nation of Somalia fell into chaos in 1991 after the government was overthrown. The loss of central authority created large ungoverned spaces across the land and seas surrounding the Horn of Africa. Recognizing a lack of na-

tional enforcement, distant water fishing fleets moved into Somalia's EEZ and quickly put the local fishermen out of work. With little opportunity to earn a living, and ready access to military grade weapons, it wasn't long before piracy became a booming industry in the waters surrounding the Horn of Africa. Today the Somali pirate issue has largely been suppressed through a significant multi-national naval task force and the widespread use of well-armed ship riders. Over the past five years there have only been 11 attacks, down from a high of 237 attacks in 2007 alone.[5]

Today the global piracy hotspots are in Southeast Asia and the Gulf of Guinea. According to the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence, there have been 417 attacks in Southeast Asia and 544 in the Gulf of Guinea respectively since 2016.[6] The pattern of smaller boats attacking larger, slower moving vessels to carry out armed robbery or kidnap for ransom still apparently work well.[7] Whether these are unemployed fishermen conducting these most recent attacks remains to be seen. But the access to small boats, and the ability to operate them against targets of exploitation, frequently far offshore, indicates a level of competency one would gain as an artisanal fisherman or professional mariner.

Piracy and armed robbery at sea are crimes that are not to be taken lightly. However, the more pressing concern for the Indo-Pacific region is arguably the use of IUU fishing as an instrument of national power. The People's Republic of China (PRC) stands out today as the largest user of this tactic. In the 15th century China was a great maritime nation with very large merchant ships transiting throughout the Indo-Pacific region engaging in international trade and exploration. They abandoned their maritime quests until after the end of World War II, when the first official map of their territorial claims of the South China Sea appeared in 1947.[8] Except for some temporary flashes—in 1974, when the PRC seized the western group of the Paracel Islands from the dying South Vietnam; in 1988, when Beijing grabbed six reefs in the Spratly Islands; and in 1995, when China stealthily took Mischief Reef—China's excessive territorial claims remained somewhat submerged in the international arena. In the late 2000s the PRC Began to more forcefully assert its maritime claims to the region through a series of land reclamation and artificial reef building activities that continue today.[9] After the PRC took de facto control of the Scarborough Shoal in 2012, a reef located within the Philippine EEZ, the Philippine government brought suit to the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) against China. The Court found that China had engaged in a broad spectrum of Illegal fishing activities, construction projects that de-

graded the marine habitat, and, in general, has "failed to exhibit due regard for the Philippines' sovereign rights with respect to fisheries in its exclusive economic zone."[10] This finding perfectly summarizes many of the tactics China has employed throughout the region. Despite the clear violations of international maritime law, China has taken things a step further by the use of their coast guard ships to provide an armed escort for their fishing fleets into neighboring EEZs. It has also used structurally reinforced fishing vessels under the state control of the Maritime Militia, to ram, attack, and harass vessels throughout the region. In several instances this has resulted in the loss of life and the abandonment of mariners adrift at sea; again, a major breach of the most timeless principle of seamanship —never abandoning a mariner in distress. The good news in all of this is that some Southeast Asian nations have tired of these tactics and taken active steps to counter this illegal and immoral behavior.

Another significant concern with IUU fishing is the linkages between the vessels—their owners as well as their captains—and general criminal activities such as human slavery and trafficking, and the smuggling of drugs and weapons. In 2016, the Associated Press published a series of articles on slavery within the commercial fishing fleets of Asia.[11] In one instance they detailed the tragedy of a man who was repatriated to Myanmar after being kept at sea for 22 years without pay and under exceptionally poor working and living conditions.[12] In addition to forced labor, fishing vessels are being used to smuggle people across major bodies of water around the world.

In a 2020 UN report on migration, an estimated 653,000 migrants arrived in Europe by sea routes from 2016-2018.[13] While the report did not specify the type of vessels used, fishing boats clearly had a role to play in this movement of peoples from the African continent to Europe. Another significant security concern is the linkage between drug trafficking organizations and commercial fishing vessels. Throughout the Eastern Pacific Ocean, many of the vessels interdicted by law enforcement agencies are fishing boats that are trafficking drugs or being used as logistics support vessels for "go fast" smuggling boats that require fuel resupply. A 2011 UN report noted that: "The use of fishing vessels is largely regarded as integral to the *modus operandi* of illicit traffic in cocaine at sea to Mexico and the United States."[14] This is further substantiated by a recent U.S. State Department report that references the movement of drugs across the maritime domain via the use of fishing vessels.[15] In all of these different criminal ventures, it is clear that the use of these boats facilitates

good operational cover by masking illicit activities under the guise of legal maritime commerce.

The Way Ahead

As the future unfolds, IUU fishing vessels, owners, operators, and nations are likely to have an outsized impact on the safety and security of the maritime domain throughout the Indo-Pacific region. The overexploitation of fisheries resources is likely to continue, resulting in the ecological collapse of highly migratory and international fish stocks. The resource collapse combined with increased global warming/sea level rise will see many Pacific Island and Indian Ocean nations forced to relocate or abandon existing land settlements. As humans move further from established areas, these governments will be hard-pressed to enforce and secure the surrounding EEZs while they deal with the humanitarian crisis associated with sea level rise. The current absence of maritime security throughout many EEZs will be greatly exacerbated, thus enabling distant water fishing fleets greater freedom of movement and opportunity to illegally harvest seafood. As resources collapse, and the opportunity to make money and gather food from the seas diminishes, maritime communities will turn to other legal or illegal means to ensure their personal and economic security. When viewed holistically, all of these factors will serve as great destabilizers of the maritime security environment and drive greater crime and piracy at sea. Maritime nations would be wise to plan for the increased irregular migration of people, human slavery, and the trafficking of drugs and weapons by commercial fishing vessels of all shapes and sizes.

Within this increasingly competitive environment, state sponsored fishing enterprises will continue to use their distant water fishing fleets as a "gray zone" tactic to further their national interests. The deliberate deployment of fishing vessels into neighboring and even distant EEZs will continue throughout the Indo-Pacific region and globally as well. These fleets will be supported by maritime militia or armed government forces such as the coast guard, or perhaps even naval vessels, to harass and intimidate lawful national interests in the maritime domain. This tactic will continue until it becomes clear that the cost is not worth the reward and the actor is dissuaded in this activity across the maritime commons. It is also probable that China will employ this against countries where it will be successful, and not against nations that are likely to react strongly. Thus, all maritime nations should prepare strategic, operational and tactical responses for this

eventual "probing" and attempted seizure of their EEZs by large, aggressive, distant water fishing nations.

IUU is by no means just a China problem; effective maritime security is a strong combination of law, policy, and a judicial system supported by military and police activity to regulate the maritime domain. In order to deal with the unconventional threats associated with IUU fishing, maritime nations must rise to the occasion and recognize the multi-pronged threat posed by this activity. First and foremost, they must implement and develop ways to control and enforce their EEZs. Many nations throughout the South Pacific do not have military forces, let alone any maritime patrol assets, yet they possess massive EEZs with little to no means of controlling this space. Therefore, there must be an international effort to bring governance to these presently ungoverned sea spaces. This enhanced effort must maximize boardings when vessels make port calls and while they are at sea. Fishing vessels must be boarded at every opportunity to validate the cargo, the health and welfare of the crew, vessel safety, and the overall legitimacy/legality of the voyage. This effort should be viewed as a combination of law enforcement and intelligence collection. Any information gleaned from these activities should be shared across regional security partners through multi-national command centers or intelligence fusion centers. Efforts along these lines would go a long way to mitigate some of the criminality of this industry.

The next challenge is to develop, implement, and enforce scientific controls and fisheries regulations over the national fish stocks. Less economically advantaged nations frequently do not have the resources to adequately monitor and regulate the health of their EEZs. This can result in uninformed decisions, such as selling fishing rights or other national interests without truly appreciating the value and volume of resources that are being extracted from their EEZ. In order to mitigate this, the international community has a role to support and defend the smaller states against unregulated resource extraction. A strong mix of scientifically-based fisheries management, in combination with the law enforcement program described above, would serve as force multiplier to counter the IUU activity and conserve renewable fisheries resources for future generations, especially in the developing world.

Lastly, the international community must step up to address and enforce standards on state-sponsored IUU activities. In several countries throughout the world, distant water fishing fleets are highly state-subsidized businesses. That is, the government is wholly or partly the owner

of the business, and/or provides substantial financial grants, loans, tax subsidies, etc. to enable an artificial profit margin. This mercantilist model, supported by military intervention, is having a substantial environmental impact as well as destabilizing the geopolitical environment across Asian seas. The European Union has successfully leveraged an IUU fisheries customs import regimen informally known as the card system. This has been very effective in changing the legal oversight of the fishing industry in many countries across Asia such as Taiwan, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. The United States has implemented a similar system called the Seafood Importation Monitoring Program. Between these two economic giants, the use of customs regulations and leveraged import controls has the potential to significantly influence the most belligerent national actors. Additionally, the use of coast guard forces, supported by naval vessels provides a clear use of force continuum for countries to ensure the national sovereignty of their EEZs.

On paper, basic IUU enforcement tactics sound easy, but in practice, they are not. The resource constraints and competing priorities of law enforcement agencies frequently make "fisheries enforcement" a secondary or tertiary mission. However, when taken in its totality, IUU fishing is much more than an environmental crime. IUU is a global, strategic challenge that must be met with a collaborative, international strategic response. When involved in illegal activities, the businesses, vessels, owners and operators, sometimes state-sponsored, are functionally acting as transnational criminal organizations. These fishing entities are having an outsized impact on the ecological health, economic security, food security, and overall maritime security of the world's oceans. Whether they are in port or on the high seas, vessels and nations engaged in IUU fishing must have their actions dis-incentivized. Until the cost becomes greater than the reward for the countries, owners, and operators of IUU fishing vessels, these criminal behaviors will continue across the maritime commons.

Notes

1   Distant water fishing nations are those with significant fishing fleets that operate far away from their home ports, often in the international waters and the EEZs of other countries. Examples of DWFNs include China, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam, and Spain, with China being the largest by far.

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14 Ibid., 76.

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SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF A STATE-DRIVEN APPROACH TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY INNOVATION

Ethan Allen

INTRODUCTION

The key and ever-increasing roles of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) innovations are evident across the spectrum of security realms.[1] STEM applications in weaponry include a broad range of advances in sensor technologies, materials sciences, and artificial intelligence (AI), to name just a few. In the broader arena of human security, fields such as satellite technology, energy harvesting and conversions, water treatment, and health/medicine continue to improve and innovate due to both greater understanding of the natural world and ever-growing capabilities to meld, merge, and apply diverse areas of scientific knowledge into integrated technological systems.

Almost all technologies have the capacities to be used for good or ill. Technologies are value-neutral, and it is the governance choices—how the technologies are used—that determine whether technologies are boons or burdens to humanity. Many end up being both.

In virtually all advanced Western nations, and in most countries around the world, STEM growth and the direction of scientific and technological progress is primarily based on and directed by practicing scientists and engineers, rather than by central authorities. While governmental support of scientific and of technological innovation often is substantial, the decisions on what research to pursue are largely left to the professional scientists in universities and corporations. Hereafter, these approaches will be referred to as scientist-driven systems of science and technology governance. In such systems, while scientific misconduct including ethical

breaches occur, the self-correcting nature of an observant, honest, and skeptical scientific community has resulted in widespread adherence to international scientific standards, including the applications of science in technological innovations.

In contrast, in a state-driven scientific enterprise the directions and priorities of scientific and technological research are determined by political leaders, rather than by scientists. The most notable example of such a state-driven system is that of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Using a focused, sustained, government-driven prioritization of STEM in service of its Communist Party interests, the PRC's STEM education, workforce, and productivity capabilities have grown rapidly over recent decades. And in contrast to the above-noted intermittent misconduct by individual researchers and/or corporations in scientist-driven systems, the PRC government has systemically engineered the acquisition of STEM capacities via illegal methods, has violated norms and standards of the scientific enterprise, and has used its STEM capabilities to advance its national interests in defiance of international rule of law and to the detriment of its own, its neighbors', and the world's environments.

The dependence of security progress on STEM innovations, combined with these contrasting models of STEM advancement—state- vs. scientist-driven—therefore is a topic of considerable concern for security practitioners.

Growing STEM Roles Throughout Security Realms

Science and its application in technologies have deeply shaped both military and broader human security. From the earliest discoveries of ways to forge stronger metals, to the development of gunpowder, to the weaponization of microorganisms, increasingly sophisticated STEM understanding has enabled and supported innovations in the use of hard power.

At least equally important from a broad human security perspective, STEM innovations have propelled virtually every improvement of humanity's well-being. Development of the germ theory of disease, for example, reduced the burden of a host of communicable illnesses that plagued the world for centuries. Understanding of Newtonian physics underlies much of our modern architectural and transportation systems; Einsteinian refinements of that knowledge continue to drive astronomy and cosmology. Advances in empirical and theoretical chemistry allow the extraction and/

or synthesis of compounds central to modern-day life, from concrete, to gasoline, to pharmaceuticals.

In parallel, security issues shape scientific and technological development. Military arms races are perhaps the most obvious example, but needs and desires to improve food, water, and health security have engendered scientific innovations.

In advancing human progress, scientists internationally have come to agree on certain core scientific values and practices, including skepticism, openness of communication, and, most importantly, honesty. Scientists recognize that the falsification of data or manipulation of results to present a picture contrary to facts damages the integrity of the entire scientific enterprise and undermines the public confidence on which science depends. Actions such as fabrication of data and plagiarism of others' work are intolerable in the scientific community, as they undercut science's core values and the processes that lie at the heart of scientific progress. The adherence to theses scientific values, or the failure to do so, has significant ramifications across the broad spectrum of security arenas.

THE SCIENTIST-DRIVEN MODEL

Throughout much of the world, this sort of open, honest STEM has been pursued by a broad spectrum of actors, including individual scientists and engineers, private organizations, and states. Governments, along with philanthropists, corporations, and industry associations, have supported scientist-driven STEM education and development. Only intermittently in these states have governments attempted to impose particular directions. In the United States, President Kennedy's push for a manned moon landing by the end of the 1960s stands out as one of the few occasions of a strong, sustained U.S. governmental directive and commitment to a specific technological goal.

This model of scientist-driven STEM arose following World War II. In particular, Vannevar Bush, in his *Science, The Endless Frontier* 1945 report—a "brilliantly articulated rationale and blueprint for an implicit social contract between the government and the scientific community"[2]—outlined an approach to U.S. STEM development that put much of the control and direction of science in the hands of the scientists themselves. Bush argued persuasively that professional scientists were better positioned than the national government to perceive, interpret, and respond to public needs and desires for scientific and technological innovations. His suggested ap-

proach was adopted by the United States and, with some adjustments to fit various national contexts, by most other nations.

While this scientist-driven system has undeniably had myriad positive impacts both within individual nations and internationally, the approach has also incurred some significant costs. For example, the United States' STEM-based industries make its *per capita* carbon footprint among the largest in the world, and result in it being a leading contributor to human-induced climate change. And various U.S. STEM-based accidents, over-sights, and events, such as Love Canal[3] and the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India,[4] further illustrate problems associated with this scientist-driven approach to advancing science and technology.

THE STATE-DRIVEN MODEL

Science and technology have played critical roles during various phases of China's history.[5] For the first half of the twentieth century, however, China's STEM contributions were minimal; the country was essentially a non-player on the global stage of STEM accomplishments.

But at least since the 1960s, the PRC government has taken control of the scientific enterprise, and used STEM to advance its own priorities. In recent decades, the PRC has invested ever-larger amounts of human, material, and financial capital into rapidly developing a wide range of scientific, engineering, and technological capacities. This focused, consistent, and strategic approach has been carried out to make its economy a "major center of innovation by 2020" and "global leader in science and innovation" by 2050.[6] The PRC's last two five-year plans have emphasized science and technology, along with technological innovation.

While the cultural revolution shut down universities and sent scientists to be 'rehabilitated' through manual labor in the remote countryside, the PRC simultaneously (in 1964) launched the "two bombs, one satellite" program, supporting and advancing national defense-related science such as nuclear, rocket, and satellite research. This sort of specific governmental direction of science explicitly to promote national interests stands in stark contrast to the decentralized, democratic approach described above that was and is prevalent in much of the rest of the world.

China's science and technology push has been fueled by governmental encouragement of higher education starting in the 1980s. In 1982, only

0.8% of Chinese aged 25-29 had any post-secondary education. By 1990, this rose to 3.3%, by 2000 to 6.7%, and by 2010 had leaped to 20.6%, increasing by over 25 times the 1982 rate in less than 30 years.[7]

In parallel, in 1986, the establishment of the PRC's National Natural Science Foundation was followed soon after with the 863 Program, the State Hi-Tech Development Plan. In 1995, yet another government plan, Project 211, began to upgrade the capabilities of almost 100 universities, spending an estimated US$2.2 billion over 1996-2000. This push was expanded in 1998 with Project 985, wherein the PRC invested nearly US$300 million each in enhancing its premier Peking and Tsinghua Universities over 1999-2001; such generous governmental support has continued since then to build world-class elite universities in China.[8]

The number of universities more than doubled in China, from 1,022 in 1998, to 2,263 in 2008; during this same time, virtually all of the pre-existing universities also were upgraded.[9] The quality of PRC universities is growing, especially in targeted fields. For 2017, in the field of engineering, Tsinghua University was rated[10] fourth (MIT was first); in sciences, Beijing University was 22nd (Berkeley was first); in computer science, Tsinghua University was 25th (Stanford was first); in mathematics, China had four universities among the top rated 50.

In 1998, the PRC began the Chanjiang Scholars program, to entice Chinese-born scientists living overseas to return for short-term visits to the homeland. In 2008, this development was expanded into the Thousand Talents program that offered generous support and incentives to bring foreign-residing scientists to live and work in China. By 2012, the program had lured more than 2,200 scientists back to work in the PRC, including nationally and internationally prominent scientists, members of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, and more.[11]

These parallel efforts of external recruitment and internal bootstrapping of intellectual talent have been supported and complemented by increasing provision of resources to the science and technology enterprise. In 1991, the PRC invested in research and development (R&D) at a rate of only about 5% of what the United States spent. By 2010, that rate had risen to 44% of the U.S. rate. This 20% per year growth in R&D gross expenditures as a share of the gross domestic product contrasts with the virtually flat rate of spending on R&D over 1991-2010 in the United States.[12]

These strategic, sustained, and leveraged investments have paid off handsomely. The PRC is the fastest growing country in the world in terms

of peer-reviewed STEM journal articles produced; its average annual growth rate of 19% over 2003–2013 clearly swamps that of other nations: 10% for South Korea, 7% for the United States, 5% for the European Union, and 1% for Japan.[13]

The payoff is more than simply academic. In various technologies, China now ranks among world leaders. The PRC boasts the world's fastest bullet train, Fuxing; the largest radio telescope, FAST; and launched its first domestic space station, Tiangong-1, in 2011.[14]

In 2016, the PRC launched 15 "Science and Technology Innovation 2030 Megaprojects," and in 2017, added "AI 2.0"—to make the PRC the world leader in AI by 2030—as the 16th of these projects. Also in 2017, the China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation and the University of Science and Technology of China began collaborating on quantum technologies supporting development of advanced naval mission systems. This "significant move to increase investment and promote industrialisation in forward-looking and disruptive technologies" will build three laboratories, for quantum navigation, quantum communication, and quantum detection.[15] The PRC's Baidu now employs more than 2000 researchers, and has offices in Seattle and Silicon Valley.[16]

China's STEM investments have been accompanied by, and are likely a significant factor in, its equally impressive economic growth. China's current economic might relative to the more modest economies of most other nations allows it to wield extensive influence throughout the region. The PRC has used this economic power, for example, to acquire long-term leases of key port facilities in Sri Lanka and Samoa, to advance its national goals in United Nations' considerations,[17] and in other security-related manners.

China's Misuse of STEM: Security Implications

Beyond the STEM-fueled economic leverage noted above, in a wide range of other STEM and security-related areas, the PRC's nationalistic focus costs its Indo-Pacific neighbors. Two examples will suffice.

In the build-up and militarization of Mischief and other nearby coral reefs in the Spratly Islands of the South China Sea, the PRC used its technological strengths to quickly turn these unique ecological treasures into airstrips and other military equipment installations. While the PRC's Foreign Ministry claims "necessary defense" as a justification, and refers to

them as "primarily maritime safety and natural disaster support facilities,"[18] the United Nations' Permanent Court of Arbitration ruled in 2016 that Mischief Reef is part of the Philippines' Exclusive Economic Zone and, further, that China's island-building activities had breached multiple articles of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.[19] Yet China continues its illegal occupation of Mischief Reef and island-building activities. This is a clear example of how the PRC uses its enhanced scientific and technological capacities to advance its own interests in defiance of the international community, as well as to the detriment of the natural environment.

China has used these same scientific and technological capabilities to build multiple dams on the Mekong and other regional rivers; through its control of Tibet, the PRC now exercises control of the headwaters of 10 out of the 11 major rivers in southern and eastern Asia. These dams are impacting river flow rates, temperature, aquatic and floodplain flora and fauna, and the livelihoods of many tens of thousands of Asian residents downstream.[20] While climate change is undoubtedly a factor, bringing more frequent and intense droughts to the lower Mekong, the reality of its flow being at its lowest level in 100 years illustrates the "weaponization of the Mekong's waters"[21] that further highlights China's defiance of abiding by a rules-based order of international relationships.

Along with other authoritarian regimes, the PRC is considerably less concerned with violations of data privacy than is the U.S. government and democratic nations. Its much more widespread gathering of personal information, with far fewer restrictions on the use of such data has multiple, broad, and obvious security implications, particularly given China's abysmal record regarding United Nations-approved human rights of its own citizens.

Coincident with the recent rises in STEM investment and publication, China has displayed a growing rate of plagiarism, scientific fabrication, and other scholarly corruption among its researchers and publications.[22] The strong governmental control of the country's scientific enterprise combines high status and incentives for scientists and engineers who focus on national priorities, and a lax administrative evaluation of scientific and technological processes, setting up precisely the conditions for corruption and scientific fraud.

The PRC's weak regulation of scientific integrity has human security consequences. The international scandal in 2008 over China's melamine-

contaminated milk that sickened more than 50,000 children[23] is a classic example how poorly regulated research and development can have disastrous impacts on public health.

In a related vein, it has recently come to light that a number of PRC scientists working in sensitive and cutting-edge fields in United States' laboratories have not revealed their sometimes very deep and substantial ties to PRC party and quasi-governmental organizations. The PRC has taken advantage of the open United States and international systems of science to acquire technological capacities via 'plagiarism' on a widespread, international scale.

Further, China's disregard for environmental safeguards[24] and existence of multiple 'superfund'-type sites[25] highlight how its state-controlled enterprises are dedicated to accomplishing PRC short-term goals while ignoring the broader and longer-term concerns of its own and other nations' peoples. Moreover, China's poor STEM industry regulation has led it to be the world's leading producer/releaser of atmospheric carbon, contributing more than one quarter of the entire world's emissions in recent years.[26]

IMPLICATIONS OF STEM GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS

The scientist-driven system of STEM tends to ensure that technologies are generally employed in manners more or less aligned with the values that underlie science—skepticism, openness, and honesty. The applications of state-driven STEM, on the other hand, reflect the political objectives, morals, and ethics of the political entity that drives them.

The PRC's STEM advancement, determined and driven centrally by a political party, stands in marked contrast to the broadly-adopted approach of empowering STEM professionals to largely delineate the path of scientific and technological progress. The meteoric rise of the PRC in STEM capabilities over recent decades, in comparison to the slower growth of U.S. and other Western countries' STEM capacities, thus poses a quandary for security professionals: Does this rapid growth in the PRC's STEM capabilities indicate the desirability of a stronger role for government in determining the directions for STEM advancement? Should Western governments adopt a more centralized, focused approach to supporting STEM?

More profoundly: What are, and what should be, the relationships between STEM and security? What are the implications, both nationally and

internationally, of centralized governmental control of both STEM and the security sector? Going forward, how can and should the international community of Indo-Pacific nations respond to the PRC's continuing use of STEM in flaunting scientific norms and disrupting the international order?

These are not simple questions to address, nor do they have neat, clean answers. Regarding the first, now and going forward, it is clear that the STEM and security fields are evermore inexorably linked. STEM advances will shape the security arena, and security concerns will drive STEM advances. A healthy, vigorous public dialogue about both arenas, and the ways that they interact, will be key to the continued success of both. Governmental direction, as opposed to government regulation, of STEM can lead, as it has in the case of the PRC, to both serious abuses of international scientific norms and outright violations of international laws.

Addressing the second query, while it could be argued that more national governmental control of STEM direction could lead to more rapid advances in critical technologies, the downsides of such centralization that were raised above for the PRC must be kept in mind. The scientist-driven system in the United States enabled it to achieve and maintain dominance in STEM for a number of decades; its STEM higher education system is still globally admired, and is pursued by many thousands of foreign nationals each year. Such an approach that has proven so successful for such a long time should not be changed or abandoned without significant public consideration. The short-term gains of the PRC's STEM enterprise seem impressive, but may come at the cost of decreased public confidence in science and technology. The 2019-2020 coronavirus outbreak serves as an example of how governmental control of STEM, via such processes as surveillance and censorship of scientists, can be detrimental to broader human security. Additionally, this outbreak illustrates how state direction of the scientific enterprise can undermine the integrity of scientific processes, and potentially destroy both the credibility and productivity of the entire STEM undertaking.

The third question is even more problematical than the first two. A coordinated, consistent response from a broad coalition of states, at a minimum, will be needed to curtail PRC abuse of standards and norms, in both the STEM and international relationship realms. How to build such a coalition, given the diverse interests of the multiple parties in such a grouping, is, of course, a significant challenge; China has established deep relationships, including very substantial economic ties, to many Indo-

Pacific nations, and these alliances make criticism of or push-back against the PRC problematical on various levels. This challenge, however, must be pursued, or the PRC will surely continue to flaunt, in ever-more flagrant ways, the international norms and break the accepted rules, in whatever manner it sees to its own advantage.

If the integrity of the greater scientific enterprise is to be maintained, the larger issues of the relationships between STEM and security must be continually examined and openly debated among the broadest range of stakeholders, especially including professional scientists, rather than determined by political considerations. Only open, democratic dialogue will ensure the health and vitality of this enterprise that has nurtured the current state of well-being for humanity.

Conclusions

The development of science and technology have long both contributed to and been impacted by the broad spectrum of security issues. STEM advances have played critical roles in warfare and in the rise in living standards during peaceful eras. And this deep interweaving of STEM and security appears only to be increasing as we move into the future. Given these trends, changes of any Indo-Pacific power's STEM capacities will inevitably have impacts on myriad aspects of security across other Indo-Pacific states.

Increasingly and rapidly over recent decades, the PRC has built up massive scientific and technological capabilities. Governmentally-directed and strategically-focused, these capacities have targeted nationalistic goals without regard to the broader global community. The PRC has demonstrated its willingness to ignore both international rule of law and core principles of ethical scientific practice. It ineffectively regulates its own internal technology development, and uses its STEM power at the expense of broader regional human and environmental well-being.

A long history of vibrant STEM growth among states that largely empower researchers to determine the directions of their investigations illustrates the value and power of this scientist-driven system of STEM governance to people everywhere. This model has brought a plethora of benefits to humanity, while the scientific enterprise's self-correcting nature has ensured a relatively low cost.

In contrast, the PRC's state-driven approach to STEM, wherein a single political entity directs the education and applications of science and technology for its own ends, illustrates clearly that this approach, while enabling rapid growth in STEM capabilities, leads to the misuse of science and technology to the detriment of these enterprises themselves, as well as to direct harms to both people and the environment at large.

Going forward, the international community of Indo-Pacific nations must work in concert, responding emphatically to the PRC's continuing flaunting of scientific norms, disruption of the international order, and damage to our shared environment. Regional security professionals, as well as governments and the larger human community, must more closely monitor, condemn, and actively push back against the PRC's misappropriation and misapplication of its STEM capacities.

Notes

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ONE HUNDRED SECONDS TO MIDNIGHT

Bill Wieninger

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (BAS) is a non-profit organization created by scientists in the beginning of the nuclear age to educate the general public about the dangers of nuclear war, with their most notable creation being the famous "Doomsday Clock." The Doomsday Clock is set at a selected number of minutes from midnight to indicate how close we are to civilization-ending results of human action. In January 2020 it was reset to 100 seconds to midnight, the closest to midnight it has ever been. The current factors that lead BAS to do this center on three existential threats to civilization: nuclear war, climate change, and deliberate corruption of the information ecosphere. As this volume is looking to the past to draw insights for the future, I will focus on the risk of nuclear war as this was the only criteria the BAS used 25 years ago.

Twenty-five years ago the BAS moved the clock to 14 minutes to midnight, 3 minutes closer to midnight than it had been for the previous four years in the giddy optimism immediately following the end of the Cold War. In a sobering statement, they suggested world leaders should take better advantage of the opportunity that the end of the Cold War had provided with the warning that "deep thinkers have long noted the human propensity to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory."[1]

Unfortunately, since 1995 the clock has consistently moved closer to midnight until reaching the closest position ever in 2020. Conflict among Indo-Pacific powers is one of the key reasons for this as six of nine global nuclear powers contest in the region—China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, Russia, and the United States—and the three new global nuclear pow-

ers since 1995 have all come from the Indo-Pacific—India, Pakistan, and North Korea. Examining the dynamics which have driven the Doomsday Clock's regrettable ratcheting closer and closer to midnight may assist us in seeing where the future may lead us, and more importantly, suggest action we may take now to reach more preferable outcomes in the next 25 years.

Breaking the Security Dilemma

One of the enduring dynamics in international relations is that of an arms race driven by what is termed the security dilemma, wherein country A strengthens its military to make itself secure but that makes country B feel more threatened so that it, in turn, strengthens its military … which then makes country A feel less secure again. The latest manifestation of this cycle in the nuclear realm was the February 2020 announcement that the United States had fielded the W-76-2 warhead on some of its submarine-launched ballistic missile force. The W-76-2 is dubbed a "more usable" nuclear weapon due to its lower yield (10 kilotons rather than the hundreds of kilotons of the standard W-76), which would reduce collateral damage in the case it is used. The logic driving the fielding of this weapon is that with a significant arsenal of lower-yield "tactical" nuclear weapons and the possibility to use one in a conventional conflict against the United States, Russia thinks that the United States would be unwilling to respond with a "strategic" warhead with a yield of hundreds of kilotons—thus handing Russia victory. This is essentially the same logic that drove the United States and the Soviet Union to field tens of thousands of nuclear weapons during the Cold War. While this dynamic was very costly, I am aware of no studies which indicate the large numbers of weapons made either side more secure. Indeed most studies of the Cold War suggest these large arsenals and the "tactical" weapons they included, if anything, made the situation significantly more dangerous. This is further demonstrated by the desire on both sides to reduce arsenals when that became possible with dé-tente in the mid-1970s. Why then is the world going down this path again?

I would argue that we are going down this path again because key nations, including the United States, have been making the mistake of fo-cusing on their own security without any consideration for other country's security needs. While blame for falling into the security dilemma is shared on all sides, getting out of it will fall more heavily on the shoulders of the United States due the huge power asymmetry it has compared to its rivals.[2] In order to more clearly understand what the United States can do to get

out of this dilemma, it would be useful to look back on some of the key developments that got us to where we are today.

One key challenge was the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) eastward in 1999, done with too little concern for how Russia would view this development at a time when Russia was so weak it could do nothing. Unsurprisingly, Russia viewed it as quite alarming given invasions from the west of it had killed tens of millions of Russians in the 20th century. Moreover, the West had demonstrated in Kosovo two weeks after this expansion that it would use military force against Russia's allies when it began the bombing campaign against Serbia despite the lack of a United Nations Security Council resolution authorizing the military campaign.[3] Many believed this bombing campaign a necessity to avoid genocide of Kosovar Albanians, but others believed it violated international norms. In Moscow, it was seen as a very aggressive move by the West against Russia, undermining trust in the international system and driving a sense of a need to re-arm vis-à-vis the West.

Another key policy that produced counter-productive results is the United States' Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) program. Originally it was posited as a defense against "rogue" regimes such as North Korea or Iran, which may acquire long-range ballistic missiles while being irrational and undeterrable in the way the Soviet Union was. However, this BMD program also threatened to undermine the second-strike retaliatory capabilities that Russia and China depend on to deter the United States. A good example of this is the People's Republic of China (PRC), which was estimated to have roughly 20 warheads capable of hitting the continental United States when Washington began its serious BMD program over 25 years ago. Today that number is 136.[4] In its effort to defend against a small number of nuclear-armed ballistic missiles from "rogue states" such as Iran or North Korea, the United States built a system that would also undermine China's ability to hold at risk a handful of American cities. Thus, my assessment is that the PRC is increasing the size of its arsenal to ensure it is enough to overcome a potential American first-strike coupled with ballistic missile defenses and will continue to do so in response to future BMD developments and deployments.

Over the past 25 years, the United States has spent over US $157 billion on long-range ballistic missile defense according to data from the Missile Defense Agency.[5] That has given it some chance of shooting down an incoming missile (its utility is hotly contested with some critics claiming it has near-zero capability while the staunchest advocates say only that

it has "significant ability").[6] However, regardless of which side is correct, America will remain vulnerable to a ballistic missile attack from adversaries who will continue to simply build larger arsenals no matter how much is spent on BMD. A 1964 Defense Department study found that for every $3.20 America spent on defense against Soviet missile attacks, the Soviets needed to spend only US$1 to defeat it—damage mitigation was "a fairly hopeless strategy."[7] Even if that number were lower today, say 2-1, it seems inevitable that America's adversaries will continue to be able to spend whatever it takes to ensure they can credibly retaliate against a hypothetical attack by the United States. In the case of Russia, it drove President Putin to claim in 2018 that Moscow will field entirely new classes of delivery systems, including a nuclear-powered nuclear-tipped cruise missile, to overcome U.S. BMD.[8]

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Based on the above analysis, I would predict that in 2045, America, and indeed all nuclear powers, will remain in a nuclear deterrent relationship with all of their current nuclear adversaries regardless of the money spent on ballistic missile defense. Moreover, the more spent on BMD, the more nuclear weapons and delivery systems potential adversaries will build, making everyone less secure because of the increased risk of loss of control of nuclear warheads that accompanies larger inventories. I call it the large N-problem—the greater the number of nuclear weapons, the greater the risk of loss of control. To build a human organization that is 99.9% successful is an amazing achievement but almost impossible. If a state manages to build such an organization while possessing 1000 nuclear weapons[9]—statistically it will lose one. Driving competitors to continue to increase their arsenals increases the dangers from a loss of control of one or more nuclear weapons.

While it was easy to predict that nuclear powers will remain vulnerable to adversary nuclear arsenals in 2045, the exact size of those arsenals is very difficult to predict. Recent history strongly suggests that the United States and Russia are on track to repeat the mistakes of the Cold War and build larger and larger arsenals and delivery systems, at least in the near-to-mid term. One can hope that some development occurs which leads the two nations to reign in nuclear arsenals and work toward crisis stability again. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 was such a wakeup call after, in the words of former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara,

"we lucked out! It was luck that prevented nuclear war." Hopefully, we will avoid such a serious crisis, or get lucky again. Breaking this security dilemma will be difficult, but as mentioned above, it seems clear that the best path to doing so is bold action by the biggest power. In other words, courageous action by the United States will be needed, given the dramatic power advantage it has over its rivals.

With regard to smaller nuclear powers, one strategic goal shared by most of the world since 1995 is that North Korea not be a nuclear weapons state. Just over 25 years ago, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the United States signed the Agreed Framework under which North Korea pledged to give up its nuclear weapons program in exchange for security guarantees and assistance in building nuclear power reactors. However, the mistrust between the two was very deep-rooted and the agreement unraveled in subsequent years. Gallons of ink have been spilled in arguments over whether and what could have been done differently to prevent a nuclear North Korea, but the reality is that both dovish and hawkish approaches by the United States and South Korea have all failed, initially, to stop North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons and, subsequently, from convincing its leaders to give the weapons up. There is very little reason to believe that the North will give up the weapons and so, barring an unexpected and hard-to-imagine diplomatic breakthrough, it is logical to conclude that North Korea will likely remain a nuclear power in 2045.

Over 25 years ago, in 1991, in the wake of the end of the Cold War, the United States announced the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula. Seen as a positive development by all at the time, developments over the past several administrations have put us on track to see the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into South Korea as a deterrent to North Korea.[10] Concerns about the American commitment to provide a nuclear umbrella to South Korea began in earnest with the Prague speech by then newly-elected President Obama in 2009 in which he laid out a vision of a world without nuclear weapons. These concerns have significantly grown with the 2017 demonstration by North Korea of an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of hitting much of the continental United States, as well as demonstration of a much larger-yield nuclear warhead. This had been compounded by high-level disagreements between the United States and the Republic of Korea (ROK) regarding burden-sharing.

Alleviating these concerns in future years will likely lead the deployment of nuclear weapons under dual control, similar to agreements the United States has with several European allies. This will be politically challenging for both countries, but it would solidify the credibility of the extended nuclear umbrella. Alternatively, should the U.S.-ROK alliance continue to erode while DPRK nuclear capability grows, at some point the pressure for the ROK to develop and deploy its own nuclear deterrent capability will likely become impossible to resist. Thus, absent fundamental changes to the U.S.-ROK-DPRK relationship, I would predict nuclear arsenals on both sides of the 38th parallel in 2045.

India and Pakistan were both opaque nuclear weapons states in 1995. At that time, experts assessed both had the capability to field nuclear weapons, although neither had done a weapon test (India's nuclear test in 1974 was dubbed a "peaceful nuclear explosion" while Pakistan was assessed to have the capability to field a nuclear weapon from about 1987 forward without having tested it). India conducted multiple weapons tests in May 1998 and Pakistan soon followed suit, confirming for all that they were overt nuclear weapons states. Since that time they have experienced three major international crises—Kargil in 1999, the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in 2002, and the Mumbai terror attack in 2008—as well as a less serious crisis in 2019 in which Indian Air Force jets attacked targets across the line of control with Pakistan, which reportedly shot down one or two Indian fighter aircraft. All this happened while both states gradually expanded their nuclear arsenals and delivery systems. Given the continued mutual hostility and territorial dispute over Kashmir, future serious crises are inevitable during which a miscalculation could lead to an escalation neither side wants. Additionally, as their arsenals grow, the large N-problem comes into play again.

The exact situation with regard to nuclear arsenals in South Asia in 2045 is hard to precisely predict, but barring resolution of the Kashmir dispute, it seems certain that both India and Pakistan will have nuclear arsenals. Numerically, they seem on track to continue to gradually expand their arsenals and delivery systems and both will probably field a triad of nuclear systems—nuclear weapons launched from land-based missiles, from submarines, and from long-range bombers. India has a nascent missile defense program today and it is easy to imagine that should that capability mature, Pakistan will expand its arsenal and delivery systems to ensure they can continue to hold Indian targets at risk. A few years ago, India was reported to have a new doctrine dubbed "Cold Start" which would

enable the Indian military to strike swiftly against Pakistan in a future crisis. Pakistan's reported response to this was to consider the use of tactical nuclear weapons to blunt larger Indian conventional military formations. Talk of Cold Start and tactical nuclear weapon use seems to have receded recently, perhaps suggesting that both countries recognize the peril of starting down the path of escalation and de-escalation ladders. This is a hopeful sign and consistent with the past 25 years of relatively conservative nuclear doctrines on the subcontinent. Still, the inevitability of future serious international crises means the risk of nuclear exchange on the subcontinent will remain a serious concern for the foreseeable future.

One last thought with regard to nuclear weapons in 2045 is command and control (C2). Since the beginning of the nuclear age, a decision and an action by a human being has been required for the launch of nuclear weapons (the "Dead Hand" system of the Soviet Union has sometimes been mis-portrayed as autonomous—it was not). Today there is much talk of artificial intelligence (AI) algorithms being used to speed decision making and avoid human error, and some have suggested this be utilized in the nuclear early warning and possibly C2 roles. More sober strategists may want to retain the human in the loop. However, concern that the adversary is using AI to make decisions more accurately and rapidly may well drive adversaries on all sides to feel compelled to take the human out of the loop. This is a very real concern we must face today and I would encourage statesmen on all sides to initiate or continue conversations to ensure we do not go down that path. While AI may make better decisions in some or even many cases, as currently conceived, it is largely a black box making decisions that are difficult or impossible to predict or understand and it is simply far too dangerous to entrust decisions on nuclear use to such systems.

Conclusion

Twenty-five years ago the nuclear weapon age seemed to be on the way out with the end of the Cold War and the concomitant decline in American and Russian arsenals. Hope ran high. Regrettably, traditional world leaders failed to deliver on those hopes and so in 2020 humanity faces a renewed nuclear age which seems to promise more arms races, instability, and increasing the risk of Armageddon as we look to 2045. The answer to this challenge is for experts and national leaders to look clearly at the lessons of the past and recognize that this is the path to insecurity, and not

security. Leaders need to consider their national security policies as part of an international security policy and recognize that pursuit of national security that comes at the expense of other nuclear weapons states' security does not work. As ever the world leader, the United States is best placed to make this happen. Non-nuclear weapon states can afford the wars that all too often result from such a narrow focus; the six nuclear powers of the Indo-Pacific cannot.

Notes

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PART III: LOCAL DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL SECURITY

RUSSIA IN THE PACIFIC:
STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITY IN THE FAR EAST

Wade Turvold

Russia is a geographically expansive country that occupies most of the Eurasian landmass. As such, the country influences and acts in two distinct theaters, in both Europe and Asia. Both Russia and the United States have vital national interests in both theaters, and great power relationships matter in both regions. But while Russian-U.S. interests are mostly at odds in Europe, there is some overlap in Asia, especially when considering the wider Indo-Pacific region, and therefore opportunity. This paper will focus on that opportunity. The characterization of Russia as a revanchist power is undoubtedly true in Eastern Europe, where Russia is consolidating land grabs in Georgia and the Ukraine and possibly contemplating more. But aside from a lingering territorial dispute with Japan over the Southern Kuril Islands following World War II, Russia has been mostly quiet on the international scene in the Pacific. Russia has no revanchist ambition in Asia, and so a different balancing approach is required in this region. There are indicators of restive tendencies as displayed by recent evolving cooperation with China in military exercises and posturing, but these actions do not show a desire for territorial expansion in Asia. Viewing Russia's differing behavior in Europe and the Pacific in hindsight can yield insight into its current global posture, and provide foresight in envisaging future strategic action to engage Russia.

Understanding Russia's global actions and countering Russia's malign behavior is possible regionally by implementing a disparate approach toward European Russia and Moscow's behavior in the Pacific. Comprehending Russia's simultaneous quiescent and revanchist behaviors will enable the community of Indo-Pacific states to find areas of cooperation

and to better influence Russian activity because of the hindsight, insight, and foresight produced from assessing these behaviors.

Hindsight to Insight

To understand Russian conduct in the Pacific region it is necessary to understand Russian state behavior in a geopolitical context. Russia's actions are shaped mainly by its historical experience in Europe. Russia's long history in Eastern Europe as a balancing power to Europe's Western states sets Russia's current focus on European affairs. The fall of the Soviet Union, with Russia at its heart, was a setback in Russia's ability to balance the West. The renascent Russia formed from the chaos after the collapse of the Soviet Union, after a failed period of semi-democratic rule in which rich oligarchs dominated, ended with Putin as its autocratic leader. The resultant strong central government has been intent on recovering what it reasonably can of the previous Soviet empire that was lost when Russia was weak. While Moscow knows it is not possible to recreate the Soviet Union, Russia has been able to reacquire some lost territory that it considers most important, thereby returning to its historical role of balancer of the West. Balancing efforts have included forcibly acquiring parts of Russian-speaking Georgia, the Crimean peninsula, and parts of Eastern Ukraine.[1]

President Vladimir Putin has been strategically brilliant at using Russia's limited power in innovative ways to achieve limited objectives, especially in recovering lost territory.[2] Recovering ground is also a way to recover influence, especially when it comes to recreating the buffer zone that the non-Russian republics of the former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact provided. Russia is intent on upholding exclusive access to its near territories because Russia prefers a buffer zone to safeguard both its territorial and cultural integrity consistent in its role as balancer to the West. The armies of Napoleon and Hitler attempted invasion from the west, and it may appear to Russia that expanding North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership, rapid when Russia was at its weakest but still ongoing today, looks similar but at a slower pace.[3] The rationale for Russian land grabs is the affinity it feels for ethnic Russian-speaking peoples and the belief that Russia must protect them, as is the case currently with territory inhabited by Russian-speaking peoples in Georgia and the Ukraine.[4]

Russian national interests are defined by its values and history. Russia has several vital national interests, those that it sees as affecting the core of its identity. The current sovereign, President Vladimir Putin, sees his own survival in office as vital. In this regard, he recently forced changes to the constitution to ensure his own rule beyond the current 2024 term limit.[5] Historical Czarist culture appears to be alive and well. Russia is also interested in maintaining and recovering its once more expansive sphere of influence, as noted earlier.

Recovering lost territory, or more appropriately, recovering control over the Russian-speaking peoples in those territories, is also important culturally.[6] Doing so may, however, come at the cost of continued economic sanctions. The European Union and the United States, along with Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and others, have imposed numerous punitive sanctions on Russia following its invasion of the Ukraine in 2014. The United States alone has imposed sanctions for the Ukraine invasion, and in 10 other categories, against numerous Russian state and non-state actors.[7] Sanctions notwithstanding, Russia is seeking to maintain its hydrocarbon and arms sales to existing customers both in the West and elsewhere.

Insight to Foresight

Three features characterize Russia's current behavior. They are Russia's desire to maintain a strong central government, its desire to recover territory it considers lost, and its expanding partnership with China. Russia is acting consistently with its history and culture, but also acting pragmatically.

The lawlessness and corrupt oligarchy that reigned following the dissolution of the Soviet Union will remain at the forefront of the Russian experience with decentralized government, and perpetuate strong national leadership. Russia blames the West for the collapse of the Soviet Union and the resultant loss of power to balance the actions of the West. Both of these factors lead to the conclusion that Russia will continue to maintain its powerful central government headed by Vladimir Putin, who has pushed back against Western encroachment in its former sphere of influence. Russia's preoccupation with the West and its identity as European notwithstanding, it sees its growing association with China as expedient in many ways, and it is this relationship that offers much insight into current Russian strategic actions. Russia's expanded use of deterrent operations, through the many instruments available to it, both conventional and nucle-

ar, has been effective in countering Western influence globally.[8] Russia sees recovery of land and influence in Europe as central to its identity, but sees pursuing technical, economic, and military relations with China as expedient to its future as a viable state. The relationship with China, then, brings Russian focus on its Far East territory into strategic view.

Beyond amending the constitution to perpetuate the regime of Vladimir Putin, Russia sees it as important to recover and reassemble what it can of the fallen Soviet Union and will continue to consolidate its land grabs in Georgia and the Ukraine as long as it can tolerate or offset economic sanctions.[9] In fact, initial nationalist euphoria in this regard is waning as public opinion polls show increasing dissatisfaction with the second and third-order effects of these annexations.[10] Russia will remain enmeshed in these disputes, its leadership determined to act in revanchist ways as an appeal to its populist base, despite any potential domestic repercussions, and in finding other often questionable ways to mitigate the impact of economic sanctions.

Russia sees adjacent Slavic states and those states formerly aligned with it as a buffer. For this reason, the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, once part of the Soviet Union and with significant Russian-speaking populations, are potentially at risk. Moldova is another opportunity for Russia with similar circumstances. Poland, while not ethnically Russian, has historically fallen under Russian influence and is so often at the crossroads of Europe's geopolitical landscape. This will keep NATO busy, and Europeans preoccupied with defense issues and the related topic of NATO expansion, for another decade. In contrast, no such lost territory or peoples exist for Russia in the Indo-Pacific region. Russia's revanchist sentiment does not affect the Russian Far East, with Russia having consolidated its territory in the Far East more than a century ago and with no displaced Russian speaking populations in the region.

Moscow's neglect has left the Russian Far East mostly free from the animosity found in European Russia, and here Russia has an opportunity to show itself a responsible partner and to use the region as a catalyst for improved behavior worldwide. Aside from losing the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, Russia has had a positive experience in the Pacific theater and counts itself among the victors in the Pacific theater during World War II. Russian interests in the Far East include expanding its economy through arms and oil sales, exploiting its relationship with China, establishing dominance in the Arctic region, and showing itself to be an influential great power.

The Indo-Pacific states, in general, would like for Russia in the Far East to resolve its territorial dispute with Japan, to assist with eliminating North Korean nuclear weapons, to behave in accordance with international norms in the Arctic region, and to show itself to be a responsible great power. There is some overlap of interests that provides some scope for cooperation. Russia's historical propensity to balance the West will limit what it will be willing to do since the United States will undoubtedly be involved, however, and the same is likely true for many Indo-Pacific states in reverse.

Oil sales and arms sales are chief among the ways in which Russia is offsetting economic sanctions by the West. Russia is seeking additional markets for hydrocarbons beyond its current European arrangements. Russia's hydrocarbons help to fuel China, and in greater quantity could fuel the advancement of China's One Belt One Road initiative. Developing the Arctic and Far East regions are therefore important to Russia's future economic growth. In addition to hydrocarbons, Russia seeks to maintain its arms exports to Vietnam and much of Southeast Asia and South Asia, including India. Russia will, therefore, strive to maintain its position as primary arms supplier to both India and Vietnam, two states being heavily courted by the United States in an effort to sustain a free and open Indo-Pacific region.[11] Russia may, through arms sales, be simultaneously able to enhance its economy, maintain its influence at the expense of the West, and deepen its strategic association with China. That these markets come with influence in states through which China and the United States are defining their strategic perimeter may outwardly complicate matters, but it also engenders potential political influence over China if needed in the future. The Sino-Russian relationship is complex but essentially based in common understanding in several key issues.

Russia and China share several interests. Chief among them are ensuring survival of their respective governing regimes, countering Western influence, developing and maintaining regional spheres of influence, addressing Western ascendency as it relates to their history, and advancing their economies. But despite some overlap in relatively recent Leninist ideology, their values differ. Russia is a European power, historically paranoid and long-suffering in a struggle to assert international legitimacy, and is currently focused on regaining the Eastern European buffer zone lost in the fall of the Soviet Union. China is an Asian power, historically the center, geographically and culturally, of tributary states over which China

could exert influence and extract wealth and deference, and is currently focused on consolidating territory and power in Asia.

The officially dubbed China-Russia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership of Coordination for a New Era has taken many expressions. China and Russia are cooperating in technical research and development. Both partners are actively involved in technical dialogues and exchanges, have developed and are developing numerous science and technology parks, and have established funding mechanisms and academic cooperation. Collaboration is centered on advanced telecommunications, led by Chinese technology firm Huawei, and on data collection, robotics, and artificial intelligence. The two states are also involved in jointly developing biotechnology, media and digital commerce. But there are signs of historical and underlying mutual distrust. The split in relations following World War II was due to differences in values and strategic outlook, and these differences will be difficult to overcome in the long term.[12] Although the current association of China and Russia is driven by the desire to counter the West, the core behavior of each state may ultimately drive them apart. Russia, increasingly seen as the junior partner, is at great risk of being mistreated by a partner with no long term interest in the wellbeing of Russia.[13]

A central feature of Russia's current actions includes its development of the Arctic region. Nowhere outside of Eastern Europe has Russia been more active and engaged. There are manifold reasons for this. The region is a growth area for infrastructure to support eventual shipping routes between Asia and Europe that are becoming more navigable as polar ice melts. Shipping lanes with their accompanying ports, cargo transportation capacity including hydrocarbons, icebreaking capability, and repair and maintenance facilities all could portend a huge windfall for Russia.

FORESIGHT TO ACTION

Although the future is difficult to predict, a broad projection of how Russia might act, as well as how it should act, is possible. As Russia acts in its interests, internal competition between its behavior in Europe and its behavior in the Far East will enable the Indo-Pacific community to potentially anticipate and shape its actions in both theaters. The United States, guarantor of freedom in the Indo-Pacific region since the close of World War II, could benefit from affirmative Russian activity in the Indo-Pacific region. So too could the rest of the Indo-Pacific community, and there is scope for all to reasonably obtain the outcomes they desire. Thoughtful

crafting of strategic approach in five prominent areas will enable long-term success: Japan, hydrocarbons, the Arctic Sea, Sino-Russian relations, and North Korea. These areas are those in which interests overlap or that present realistic opportunity to obtain collaborative accomplishment.

Japan

U.S. ally Japan would see its stability enhanced if it and Russia were finally able to settle the World War II-era dispute over the Kuril Islands. The Soviet Union occupied the southern Kuril Islands in 1945 and then annexed them outright, explaining its actions as an "outcome" of World War II. This has resulted in neither side signing a peace treaty following the war. The governments of both Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Vladimir Putin have recently made efforts to resolve this dispute and to finally settle the longstanding disagreement,[14] albeit to popular protests in both countries. Resolution of this conflict would be a positive development for all involved, and Russia would see benefits and perhaps open new markets for its oil, which is much needed in the region. Growing Sino-Russian cooperation may actually influence a near-term settlement. China's deepening involvement with Russia may increase pressure on Japan to negotiate a suboptimal conclusion in the near term rather than waiting for a more formal alliance to add even more pressure, forcing Japan to obtain even less favorable terms. But Japan needs oil, and improved Russo-Japanese relations that would result from a dispute settlement could provide a market for Russian resources, oil and otherwise. Likewise, Japanese technology and manufacturing proficiency would benefit Russia in many ways. This outcome is not realistic anytime soon, but is possible in the long term.

Hydrocarbons

Russia's enhanced ability to bring its oil to the Indo-Pacific market more cheaply and efficiently, with resulting stabilizing effect on the Middle East, will benefit Russia, the region, and possibly the United States. This would necessarily entail Russia acting responsibly and enduringly to price its oil and regulate production, something it has not often shown desire to do. Responsible action in this regard could be a powerful attraction if Russia is simultaneously able to serve as a bridge to Central Asia, also rich with hydrocarbons.[15] Improved market access and transshipment methods due to melting Arctic ice will be useful for Russia and its oil.

Arctic Sea

Russia has much to gain from melting sea ice, and Moscow's management of its Arctic region could benefit both Russia and the international community. Arctic shipping lanes connect Asia to Europe in a more geographically direct way and reduce transit time for traded goods to reach their destinations. Russian shipping companies and the related service industry will have the first share of new market access, making them potentially very profitable. Moreover, access to the Arctic sea will provide quicker routes for Russian hydrocarbons to reach European and Asian customers. The same is true for Russian Far East exports like timber and fish. Environmental restrictions notwithstanding, the Arctic is a potential source for additional hydrocarbon deposits and fishing zones.

The Arctic is an important link to the Indo-Pacific and provides Russia the opportunity to further integrate into the Indo-Pacific economy, and makes available much needed commercial expansion, if it can relieve itself of economic sanctions. Russia would improve its international standing, and enable much more economic growth, if it were to behave in accordance with international norms in the Arctic, unlike China does in the South China Sea. Russia has shown that it can cooperate in the Arctic Council by recently agreeing with the United States on Bering Strait navigation routes.[16] Responsible behavior by Russia in resolving its maritime dispute over the Lomonosov Ridge, contested by Canada and Denmark, like Russia did in agreeing to the Bering Strait navigation routes, would likely garner it geopolitical rewards.[17] The international community, and the Indo-Pacific states in this context, should reward Russia's actions as a responsible actor when deserved, and encourage more positive behavior.

Sino-Russian Relations

Increasing Russian and Chinese cooperation in the technical and military-technical fields will also feature prominently in the future of both states, as noted. The rapid progress of technology sharing agreements, academic collaboration, and telecommunications partnership is remarkable.[18] But existing underlying distrust on both sides is for good reason. Both states are independent in thought and action, historically cynical of partnership, and neither is likely to be tied down for long being wedded to the interests of the other. China's longstanding practice of acquiring Russian technology to produce indigenously-made products is a solid indicator of what is to come. China's ongoing and aggressive theft of intellectual property,

coupled with the penetration of Russia's communications systems through Huawei 5G technology, will end badly for Russia. Russia may accept this risk if it sees China as a market for its hydrocarbons, but the long-term relationship will not be a positive one for Russia, and the relationship will likely end within a generation.

The United States and the West also factor into this association. Russian and Chinese cooperation is driving the creation of innovative technology where it was once obtained from the West. The West is increasingly countering the underlying source of much of this innovation by curtailing Chinese intellectual property theft through diligent policing, and by stymieing Russian invention through sanctions. This will negatively affect the Sino-Russian relationship in the long term. For its part, the United States will be progressively more competitive in this regard as its technical research and development budgets are increasing.[19]

North Korea

A revanchist Russia in Europe will not preclude a Russia that meaningfully participates in the international community in the Indo-Pacific region. One way Russia can contribute is through its relationship with the two Koreas, where it has already shown interest as a participant and contributor to the Six Party Talks from 2003-2009. Russia, as an established nuclear power with little desire for either North Korea or anyone else to acquire nuclear weapons, and flush with hydrocarbons that a developing North Korea would need, is in position to have positive influence in an eventual solution to the Korean peninsula. With the U.S. efforts to directly engage North Korea's Chairman Kim Jong Un at an impasse over demands that the other reverse policy first, Russia could be very useful in breaking the stalemate. Doing so would enhance Russia's prestige in the region, and indeed globally. South Korea, which would also benefit from a nearer source of oil, is a potential origin of the technology Russia desires to maintain its technical competence, and a market for quality consumer goods of all types.

Balancing and Risk

Russia may also desire to be a balancer in the Indo-Pacific region commensurate with its aspiration to show itself as a great power globally. Beyond its already extensive arms sales in the region, competing with those

of Western suppliers, there is more opportunity. Russia may see it is possible to balance the influence of China and the United States in Southeast Asia.[20] China, India, Japan, and the United States all provide extensive aid and investment to the region, and while there is seemingly no room for more great power involvement, Russia could bring some unique and desirable commodities. These include defense articles, hydrocarbons, fish and timber, and access to the Arctic Sea shipping routes. Expanding market access would seemingly be a win for Russia and the region. China would also likely not protest such a move as it would take some attention away from its own initiatives in the region, namely the One Belt One Road enterprise, and its continued unlawful activities in the South China Sea.

There are risks involved for Russia. Russia will be challenged to further expand into the greater Indo-Pacific region and, for many reasons, could fail to act positively, preferring instead to act along historically antagonistic European ways in the Indo-Pacific. Demographics, as they say, is destiny. Russia's current population of 141 million will decline in the future, and the small population of the Russian Far East, some 6 million citizens, is likewise declining. Despite Moscow's economic development efforts in the region, they may not be overly effective with fewer citizens to sustain an enhanced economy. Immigration from China, once thought possible to offset Russian population loss, seems less likely now as China faces its own population decline.[21] Nonetheless, Beijing may force the issue with Moscow if it decides it can exert more political control in the region by doing so, and Moscow may be unable to prevent it.

Politically, many had hoped that President Vladimir Putin's grip on power and constitutional meddling would end in the year 2024 upon completion of his current term, but it appears increasingly likely that he will remain in power for life.[22] Putin's adventurism in Europe is backfiring, and will continue to bring more discredit and economic hardship to the entire country—the Russian Far East included—his populist approval notwithstanding. Moreover, Russia's increasing interdependence with China in technical and military affairs will leave Russia vulnerable in both those areas.[23]

Russia needs to diversify its state-driven hydrocarbon-based economy, and the Far East region with proximity to the world's economic engine, Asia, and access to the Arctic Sea, present it diverse opportunity. But Russia's challenges, and preoccupation with European affairs, may result in a situation in which its shared interests with the United States don't translate to positive outcomes in the Russian Far East for either party.

There are potential rewards despite the risks. Enhanced Russian presence and activity in the Indo-Pacific region could gently counter President Xi Jinping's "Asia for Asians" messaging. The Indo-Pacific community can encourage a responsible Russia that could balance against China and thereby offset China's desire to balance the West in the Indo-Pacific. Despite a dwindling population, Russia has many instruments available to balance against China. Russia's abundant oil and gas reserves, access to the Arctic Sea, ongoing arms sales, huge nuclear arsenal, and benign feelings for it in most parts of the region lend it outsized political influence on a scale that can potentially enable it to act the part of responsible great power in the Pacific region. China's aggressive expansionism in the region is beginning to cause a backlash as many states now see China's true colors. Russia can play a positive role, but one contrasting that of China in this environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

There is opportunity for the community of Indo-Pacific states to act together and show leadership in the region, and globally, in creating a more stable international order for all, Russia included. This is a potentially troubled proposition as many states find themselves increasingly inwardly focused as the world grapples with responses to globalization. But the like-minded states of the Indo-Pacific have the opportunity to engage Russia where interests overlap and to balance the Indo-Pacific region toward more positive outcomes for the majority of its inhabitants.

Encouraging Russia to settle the Kuril Islands dispute with Japan, to cooperate in de-nuclearizing North Korea, and to continue responsible action in the Arctic would improve the regional geopolitical climate. The benefits outweigh the costs if Russia and its Indo-Pacific neighbors can exploit opportunities for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, Russia's bad behavior in Europe notwithstanding. All members of the Indo-Pacific region would benefit if Russia and the United States, and indeed the larger Indo-Pacific community, would pursue their common interests in the region with the goal of developing those positive aspects of Russia's potential behavior noted herein, most especially as a constructive balance to China in Asia. The Indo-Pacific community can show Russia the advantage of joining the partnership of responsible stakeholders through economic integration.

The resultant technical partnerships that Russia could undertake with Japan, South Korea, and others, will surely prove more beneficial in the

long term that those currently ongoing with China. Not only can Russia play a balancing role to China in the future, but reformed and modernized behavior will benefit Russia and the rest of the region. Russia need not limit itself to being a troublesome European power looking to spoil the gains of the West. By understanding the opportunity presented by its own Far East region, Russia and the Indo-Pacific community can take a more proactive path. Recognizing the reality of Russia's present state, and that Russia's current autocratic leadership will not likely cooperate in the near-term, the Indo-Pacific community can prudently think in the long-term, to continue to set the conditions, and to cooperate with Russia where possible toward the goal of ultimately bringing about this reality.

Insight into Russian interests and their potential overlap with like-minded states in the Indo-Pacific shows that Russia can play a positive role in the region. The community of like-minded states can seize upon the opportunity to engage Russia where appropriate, in this theater and where interests align, to start the slow work of inviting Russia into the community of responsible Indo-Pacific stakeholders.

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THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND UNITED STATES ALLIANCE: FIX IT OR LOSE IT

James M. Minnich

"If you want to go fast, go alone; but if you want to go far, go together"[1] is a proverb that well evinces the Republic of Korea and United States (ROK-U.S.) alliance whose origins trace back 75 years when U.S. forces landed in Incheon to end Japan's 35-year annexation of the Korean Peninsula. Washington, however, remained circumspect of developing a strategic relationship with Seoul until the U.S. commitment to lead the international defense of South Korea against the North Korean attack of June 1950. It was, moreover, the shared experiences of the three year Korean War that cemented Washington's relationship with Seoul and led to the October 1953 ROK-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty.

Reciprocal strategic worth and interests have since preserved the ROK-U.S. alliance as the linchpin of Washington's San Francisco System, which John Foster Dulles colloquially termed a "hub and spoke" bilateral military architecture.[2] Absent a Fulda Gap-like attack route whereby the Soviet Army might have collectively threatened Washington's array of Asian partners and interests, coupled with Washington's vastly disproportionate power imbalance among its allies, Washington chose in the early 1950s to negotiate a series of bilateral alliances that retained positional advantage over its allies,[3] including Seoul. In the intervening years, South Korea spectacularly rose from a war-ravaged, pauper state to the world's 12th largest economy. This chapter considers the future of the ROK-U.S. alliance by assessing its present challenges and current worth as a linchpin ally.

ALLIANCE CHALLENGES

The ROK-U.S. alliance is a strategic relationship that, while actively managed, has often strained heavily under the weight of its own challenges. Yesteryears' challenges included South Korea's threats to attack North Korea in the 1950s and late-1960s, coups d'état in 1961 and 1979, an illicit nuclear weapons program in the 1970s, and human rights abuses up through the 1990s. Other alliance challenges included the United States' troop reductions in the 1970s, 1990s, and most recently in 2004,[4] unilateral threats to militarily strike North Korea in 1994,[5] and the Yangju Training Accident (also termed the Highway 56 Accident) in 2002. These and other challenges have deeply divided the two allies. When challenges are ham-handedly tended, the alliance is senselessly stressed. It is therefore prudent to actively identify and deftly manage or resolve emerging alliance challenges. To that end, three pressing alliance challenges are presented here: (1) negotiating special measures agreement to share stationing costs of U.S. forces in Korea, (2) stationing U.S. single threat forces in Korea, and (3) transferring wartime operational control of ROK forces back to Korea.

Special Measures Agreement

Seoul has directly supported the stationing of U.S. forces in Korea since the introduction of those forces in 1945 with no-cost land and facilities use. Since 1950, Seoul further contributed to defense cost-sharing of U.S. forces in Korea through manpower support of Korean soldiers or Korean Augmentations to the U.S. Army (KATUSA) as they are formally known. In 1966, Seoul and Washington amended Article IV of the 1953 Mutual Defense Treaty with a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) that codified in Article V for the U.S. to bear, without cost to the ROK, all expenditures incident to the maintenance of the U.S. armed forces in Korea, and for the ROK to furnish, without cost to the United States, all facilities and area.[6] Significant U.S. defense cuts at the end of the Cold War led Washington in 1991 to negotiate with Seoul an exception to Article V of the SOFA, necessitating a Special Measures Agreement (SMA) wherein Seoul would begin offsetting the non-personnel stationing costs of U.S. forces in Korea through a combination of cash remunerations and payments in-kind toward three categories: Korean labor, military facilities, and military support.[7] At the writing of this chapter, the 11th SMA was in contentious negotiation as the 10th SMA expired on December 31, 2019. With defense

cost-sharing agreements lasting 29 months on average and taking many months to negotiate, cost-sharing disagreements have been a perennial source of strain on the alliance. Cost-sharing disputes broadly converge on divergences of what constitutes fair-share contributions, how to measure direct and indirect support contributions, and perceptions of coercive concession-taking.

Fair-share contribution disputes emote from divergent viewpoints of how to parse the costs of defending against a North Korean threat. Toward that view, Washington circumscribes cost expenditures to those used in defending South Korea.[8] To that point, Washington's lead SMA negotiator asserted that "the most important factor to consider in these [SMA] talks is … [that] the American taxpayer bears a very significant burden … *to defend the Republic of Korea* [emphasis added]."[9] Seoul asserts that North Korean threats hazard beyond South Korea's borders, and that it is Washington's national interests vice its benevolence that underlies the stationing of U.S. forces in Korea, Japan and elsewhere, and therefore the U.S. defense of Seoul cannot be a singular determinant in parsing cost-sharing contributions.[10]

Beyond SMA contributions, Seoul more liberally weighs its alliance contributions to be inclusive of its several international security engagements, robust procurements of U.S. defense articles, and its top-tier defense spending of which it ranks ninth globally.[11] The alliance, however, is cast as a transactional arrangement when a ledger is used to measure its worth, which inevitably contributes to Washington's interrogative doubts to continue stationing its single threat forces in Korea to defend Seoul, as Seoul publicly muses the future worth of the ROK-U.S. alliance.[12]

Single Threat Forces

Reminiscent of the Cold War when the United States forward deployed single threat forces in Germany against the Soviet Union and in South Korea against North Korea, U.S. forces in Korea have stood a 70-year vigil against the North Korean People's Army. The decreasing viability of U.S. forces forward-deployed against singularly postured threats seems to be running its course. On June 30, 2020, the Pentagon announced that the U.S. president had finalized his decision to reduce 9,500 troops from Germany.[13] In the week preceding this announcement, the U.S. national security advisor explained that "[t]he Cold War practice of garrisoning

large numbers of troops with their families on massive bases in places like Germany is now, in part, obsolete."[14] Similarly, the president had earlier ordered the Pentagon to develop troop reduction plans for Korea,[15] and then in late 2019, it was reported that he was specifically considering the reduction of 4,000 troop from the Korean Peninsula.[16]

This alliance challenge leaves particular publics and politicians in both countries questioning the rationale to continue stationing U.S. forces in Korea.[17] Attesting to the prospect of contemplated U.S. troop reductions from Korea, the U.S. Congress legislated against using 2020 appropriated funds to reduce U.S. forces in Korea below the currently stationed strength of 28,500, unless the defense secretary certified to Congress that doing so would not significantly undermine U.S. allies in the region.[18] Considered reduction of U.S. forces from Korea has been a nonpartisan issue for the United States as both parties have at times advocated complete troop withdrawal, while implementing partial troop reductions. Washington's perceptions of its flagging national interest to expend treasure and troop strength to defend South Korea has been and will continue to be its primary argument for directing U.S. troop reductions from the peninsula.[19] Consequently, unless Washington adopts core strategic interests for forward-stationing troops on the Korean peninsula that are more vital than the need for single threat forces to defend against a potential North Korean attack, then the ROK-U.S. alliance risks future relevancy.

Respectively incongruent toward the perpetual defense posturing of U.S. forces in Korea against a single threat has been successive ROK administrations that have rejected the characterization of North Korea as its enemy as was done in three biennial publications of the government's Defense White Papers in 2006, 2008, and 2018.[20] Delisting Pyongyang as its enemy was taken concurrently with multiple inter-Korean joint statements to establish a permanent peace regime. The dichotomy of establishing a peace regime while jointly posturing "fight tonight" combatants is stark and has but two outcomes: perpetuation of mutual hostilities as the threat of force overshadows efforts toward peace, or the emergence of peace and the irrelevance of combat postured forces. In either scenario, the United States' forward-deployed single threat forces in Korea face a future risk of relevance. In the former scenario, Seoul's public and politicians may perceive U.S. forces in Korea as an obstacle to establishing peace with Pyongyang, and in the later scenario, U.S. forces in Korea may be left scrambling to justify its continued presence on the peninsula in the face of future irrelevance absent an actual North Korean threat.

Wartime OPCON Transfer

Since the opening days of the Korean War, the United States has maintained uninterrupted wartime operational control (OPCON) of delegated ROK military forces. This military construct, which facilitated unity of combined command for seven decades, was contentiously viewed as infringement on Korea's autonomous defense and sovereignty by the South Korean administrations of Presidents Park Chung-hee in the early 1970s, Roh Tae-woo in the early 1990s, Roh Moo-hyun in the early 2000s, and Moon Jae-in since his 2017 inauguration. Seoul and Washington have negotiated, in stages, the transfer of operational control of ROK forces from the United States back to South Korea. Peacetime OPCON – train, maintain, and equip authority– of ROK forces by the U.S. commander was relinquished in 1994;[21] and in 2006, it was originally "agreed to expeditiously complete the transition of [wartime] OPCON to the ROK … not later than March 15, 2012."[22] However, North Korean security threats in the intervening years led to shared decisions to delay OPCON transfer. The first decision came in 2010 to delay OPCON transfer until December 2015;[23] this was followed by a second delay decision in 2014 to forego a specified transfer date in favor of a conditions-based approach to the transition of wartime OPCON.[24] With South Korean President Moon Jae-in's 2017 election, Seoul progressives once again asserted national urgency to regain wartime OPCON of their military forces; an objective that Moon wants fulfilled before ending his five year-termed presidency in May 2022.[25]

Complicating the wartime OPCON transfer agreement, is the 2014 decision by the ROK defense minister and U.S. defense secretary to "transition wartime operational control (OPCON) from the U.S. forces-led Combined Forces Command (CFC) to a new ROK forces-led combined defense command."[26] The implication of that commitment is that operational control of U.S. forces and capabilities in the Korean theater of operation will no longer be exercised by a U.S. commander, but by a ROK commander; a decision that Washington seems to have never fully embraced and increasingly appears to be shying from. Favorable OPCON transfer conditions will be measured by two factors: South Korea's capability to lead the ROK-U.S. CFC, and the North Korean threat against the ROK-U.S. alliance. The Moon administration sought to actively affect both these conditions with enactment of the Defense Reform Plan 2.0 in July 2018,[27] and an inter-Korean cooperative threat reduction plan, colloquially termed the Comprehensive Military Agreement of September 2018.[28] Fol-

lowing an agreed three-tiered OPCON transfer certification process, the United States certified South Korea's initial operational capability (IOC) in August 2019, agreed to evaluate its full operational capability (FOC) in August 2020, and then full mission capability (FMC) in 2021.[29] Adherence to this timeline would conceivably result in wartime OPCON transfer before the end of Moon's presidency in May 2022. The timeline, however, now seems to be in question as COVID-19 mitigation measures prevented ROK-U.S. CFC from conducting their combined springtime exercise in March and may alter their August 2020 exercise as well.[30]

Wartime OPCON transfer is a polarizing issue in South Korea with a 50-50 split, according to a January 2019 survey that identified 39.6% support for the transfer as planned, 31.5% support to delay the transfer period, 10.5% support to eliminate the transfer plan, and 18.3% who were uncertain.[31] Seoul and Washington both know that if wartime OPCON transfer is not implemented in Moon's administration that absent a consecutive progressive incumbent in 2022, OPCON transfer will be delayed by a conservative Seoul administration. President Moon's left-leaning party, however, won a historic landslide victory in April's midterm parliamentary elections,[32] which emboldened Moon's progressive mandate and improved the probability of his party retaining power in the 2022 elections. The U.S. relinquishment of wartime operational control of ROK military forces is inevitable and imminent if a progressive president succeeds President Moon Jae-in. Washington needs to either be reconciled that a ROK commander will exercise operational control of U.S. forces allocated to the ROK-U.S. CFC, or decide on alternative actions.

ALLIANCE WORTH

The ROK-U.S. alliance, valued as a Cold War bulwark against the spread of communism in Asia for 40 years and thereafter as a shield against Pyongyang's threat of nuclear weapons and missiles, has been progressively questioned as to its future purposes. As Washington felt increasingly pressured to rationalize the worth of the ROK-U.S. alliance in terms of yearly fiscal budgets and calculated casualty rates in the defense of its economically vibrant ally in Seoul, the U.S. defense secretary and ROK defense minister established in 2002 the Future of the ROK-U.S. Alliance (FOTA), a senior defense-level working group, to address near-term alliance adjustments and a longer-term alliance vision.[33] Four years later, the

group issued a report that suggested a future in which the alliance would contribute to peace and security near and far.[34]

In 2009, Presidents Barack Obama and Lee Myung-bak issued a *Joint Vision for the Alliance of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea* affirming that the two countries were "building an Alliance to ensure a peaceful, secure and prosperous future for the Korean Peninsula, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world."[35] Perhaps with renewed uncertainty of the defining worth of the ROK-U.S. alliance, the U.S. defense secretary and ROK defense minister directed in 2018 yet another joint study; that one was titled *The Future Defense Vision of the ROK-U.S. Alliance.* The study results were presented a year later and highlighted "that future alliance cooperation should continuously expand and deepen."[36]

In a rare exhibit of public candor, Dr. Paik Hak-soon, policy advisor to the ROK Ministry of Unification, profoundly questioned the present value of the ROK-U.S. alliance while speaking at a CSIS-hosted online event in June 2020 with other past and present executive government officials from Washington and Seoul.[37] With equal forthrightness, former U.S. Ambassador to Seoul Kathleen Stephens then cautioned against rosy assumptions that the ROK-U.S. alliance's future could weather its current challenges or the evolution of great power relations.[38] In view of two decades' joint search for the rationale of a future ROK-U.S. alliance, paired with mounting cautionary signals from senior alliance experts, it seems incumbent on alliance managers and leaders to urgently articulate the alliance's distinct worth now and into the future. To that end, three elements of the alliance's worth are presented here: (1) evolving the security partnership into a comprehensive strategic alliance, (2) establishing strategic flexibility of forward-stationed U.S. forces in Korea, and (3) forming a networked security architecture.

Comprehensive Strategic Alliance

Forged in battle and resolute for seven decades, the ROK-U.S. alliance firmly stands against the North Korean threat, but what will the alliance stand for as the North Korean threat wanes or is abated? Alliances fear entanglement in conflicts not of their choosing, and abandonment in times of need. Prospect of alliance irrelevance, therefore, could dissuade an ally from advancing threat reduction measures to forestall abandonment. As long as the ROK-U.S. alliance is singularly focused on "fight tonight" security readiness, there is lessened impetus for alliance partners to advance

threat reduction measures with North Korea, which in turn could strain the rationale for the continued existence of the alliance. Such was the case for NATO when the Soviet Union collapsed. Similarly deleterious to an alliance is the notion that it is a burden, which is conveyed often in language such as burden-sharing, free-riding, and one-way commitment.[39]

Seoul and Washington have consistently voiced need to expand the ROK-U.S. alliance. As stated earlier in this chapter, Presidents Barak Obama and Lee Myung-bak committed in 2009 to build "a comprehensive strategic alliance of bilateral, regional and global scope";[40] and more recently, Presidents Donald Trump and Moon Jae-in met in 2017 near the inauguration of both of their administrations "to advance the comprehensive strategic Alliance between the United States and the ROK."[41] Reimagining the ROK-U.S. alliance as comprehensive and strategic is to envision its purpose as more far-reaching than just the defense of South Korea and its worth to be inherently more than defense alone. Certainly more than defense against traditional geographic threats, which are less likely from Pyongyang, Beijing or Moscow than their nonmilitary threats through diplomatic coercion, economic sanction, disinformation, and cyberattack.[42] Moreover, in an era when Washington views China as a revisionist power laboring to displace the United States from the Indo-Pacific through coercion of other nations,[43] the need to reform the alliance seems doubly pressing. Comprehensive strategic alliance reform should consider internal reflection and joint inquiry into interests and values that are singular and shared to warrant expenditures that produce aggregate benefits to each ally.[44] A ROK-U.S. comprehensive security alliance might collectively advance health security, gendered security, cyber security, space security, maritime security, and networked security with other powers to sustain the rules-based regional order.[45]

Strategic Flexibility

Respecting the U.S. need for strategic flexibility, Seoul assented in 2006 for the United States to globally employ its forces from Korea with the caveat that Washington respect Seoul's position to not be involved in a regional conflict against its will.[46] The United States has yet to meaningfully exercise strategic flexibility of its forces from Korea. Notwithstanding, this dormant foreign minister-level agreement could form the basis to transform U.S. forces in Korea from a single threat operational force to a forward stationed strategic force. A concurrent decoupling of U.S. war-

time operational control over ROK forces with the available employment of U.S. forces from Korea could significantly increase U.S. strategic reach throughout the Indo-Pacific, and beyond. To that end, the present composition of U.S. forces in Korea should be reexamined to better account for desirable capability and deployability. An increased use of agile rotational forces in Korea was highlighted by the U.S. defense secretary in late June 2020 as a particular approach toward fostering U.S. "greater strategic flexibility in terms of responding to challenges around the globe."[47]

Networked Security Architecture

Washington's networked security objectives lie in encouraging, and as necessary, supporting allies like Seoul to advance within the region comprehensive efforts that promote the gamut of security dimensions in political stability, governance, economics, health, social progress, gendered security, environmental protection, peacekeeping, and defense. A networked security architecture should seek to cooperatively cross-level regional security accountability among allies and partners. Its effectiveness will be found in purposeful cooperation.

Ambassadors and senior representatives of the 21 member states of the United Nations Command and Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission gather together often where they are posted in South Korea to discuss security matters. Each of these 21 countries is linked by its participation in the Korean War, support to the Korean Armistice Agreement, and its security interests in Asia. This networked security architecture is unique as it convenes security leaders from all six continents and beyond and includes countries from the Americas (Canada, Colombia, United States), Africa (South Africa), Asia (Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, Turkey), Europe (Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom), and the Pacific (Australia, New Zealand). This networked security architecture is very active in administering armistice supervision on the Korean Peninsula and to a lesser degree military operations. However, this body's broader potential to collectively advance a more comprehensive security in the Indo-Pacific is unrealized. Amplifying this collective's security focus on the Korean Peninsula and beyond might necessitate soliciting an enlarged sense of purpose for this special group of 21 countries.

Illustrative of regionally networked security is the Japanese-hosted Enforcement Coordination Cell in Yokosuka where eight states partner

to enforce United Nations Security Council resolutions against North Korea's illegal ship-to-ship transfers of sanctioned cargo.[48] Similarly illustrative is the Proliferation Security Initiative, a political commitment of 21 states who form an Operational Experts Group that loosely lead a large body of endorsing states who have pledged to interdict the trafficking of weapons of mass destruction.[49]

CONCLUSION

Katchi kapshida – "we go together" is the motto of the ROK-U.S. Combined Forces Command specifically and the ROK-U.S. Alliance generally. As the guiding dictum over a 70-year relationship, observers might be comfortably lulled into thinking that the ROK-U.S. alliance will last forever. The alliance's future, however, is increasingly uncertain, which requires alliance leaders and managers to actively tend to its present challenges and pursue its intrinsic worth. There are manifold problems along a continuum of the alliance's strategic and tactical challenges. This chapter examined three perennial matters – special measures agreement, single threat forces, and wartime OPCON transfer – that have again risen to occupy attention at the highest levels in both capitals. Negotiating a special measures agreement to share stationing costs of U.S. forces in Korea needs an immediate resolution to depressurize bilateral grievances over the sensitivities of this issue. While present cost-sharing concessions will likely be forthcoming, the challenges of this issue will yet linger and likely re-fester to the degree that the alliance's worth is measured on an accounting ledger.

The continuous stationing of U.S. single threat forces in Korea proved itself as a problematic policy time and again when confronted by competing U.S. interests and diminishing defense budgets. As a result, four U.S. administrations withdrew 34,500 U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula between 1971 and 2008. At the writing of this chapter, Washington again debates its rationale for permanently stationing single threat forces on the Korean Peninsula. A clear line of examination is drawn between the cost to station single threat forces in Korea, and the level of Seoul's cost-sharing contributions to offset Washington's defense burden.[50] Resolution of this current challenge will likely manifest in two ways; either Seoul will increase its cost-sharing contributions, or Washington will reduce its troop strength. Both of those resolution methods were employed in yesteryears' crises of defense interests. However, absent an alliance rationale to station

U.S. forces in Korea for reasons other than to "defend" Seoul, this alliance challenge will perennially persist until the last U.S. soldier departs the Korean Peninsula.

The ROK-U.S. CFC has long been heralded as the world's most combat capable combined force. The cost of this distinction, however, has been Seoul's willing relinquishment of wartime OPCON to an uninterrupted line of U.S. four-star commanders since 1950. No other sovereign state with a standing military has tendered it autonomous defense to another country, and Seoul now wrestles to reclaim autonomous defense while preserving the ROK-U.S. defense alliance. For 18 years, the challenge of wartime OPCON transfer rose to presidential levels as an alliance challenge for each former ROK and U.S. administration. The ROK military is a highly capable force with extremely competent commanders and institutional experience from the last four major wars in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The competency of ROK commanders to resume wartime operational control of its forces is not the issue at hand. Rather, the problem is that Washington is not committed to the prospect of ROK commanders assuming operational control over U.S. forces in wartime. A standing wartime OPCON relationship over an ally's military force is not essential to the deployment of U.S. forces on the Korean Peninsula, but it is the essence of maintaining a future ROK-U.S. CFC. Consequently, Washington and Seoul should reconcile to that reality and collectively create a new future that each can support.

The value of the ROK-U.S. alliance is measurable by seven decades of peace and prosperity in South Korea and throughout the region. Alliance challenges are a harbinger that the future of the ROK-U.S. alliance is not in preserving its past but in promoting its potential. Unequivocally, this author believes that the ROK-U.S. relationship is singular and its future boundless if tethered to explicit worth that is collectively heralded in Seoul and Washington. This chapter identified three alliance diversifications—comprehensive strategic alliance, strategic flexibility, and networked security—that could revitalize the ROK-U.S. alliance to be adaptive to its transforming region. As Seoul increasingly labors to normalize relations with Pyongyang, a North Korean threat-based alliance will eventually meet a test of relevancy. It is in this context worth remembering the colloquial tones of Marshall Goldsmith, "what got you here won't get you there."[51] A ROK-U.S. comprehensive security alliance envisions broad alliance collaboration in manifold areas of health security, gendered security, cyber security, space security, maritime security, and networked security.

The exercise of strategic flexibility will diversify the aim and configuration of single threat-based U.S. forces deployed to the Korea Peninsula. As this strategy unencumbers U.S. forces in Korea to respond to expanded security roles, the alliance should create opportunities to partner in off-peninsula activities that underscore alliance extra-peninsular security obligations toward upholding a free and open Indo-Pacific. The dyadic nature of the ROK-U.S. alliance should discard any remaining patron-client vestiges and promote a dynamism that produces organic momentum toward independently led efforts of greater regional security. The synergy produced from such a bilateral alliance will expand its charter from doing together to doing with others. This is the essence of a networked security architecture where Seoul and Washington labor independently with others to uphold a rules based regional order. The ROK-U.S. relationship runs deep and long; and while challenges to the alliance future are significant, the collective liability is diminutive to a shared worth that needs garnered now. A study of the Korean language invariably leads one to learn its proverbs (*sokdam*). *So ilko oeyanggan gochinda* translates to "lose the cow then fix the barn." In context, this Korean proverb is an admonition to fix these alliance challenges and set its future worth before the alliance is lost.

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THE *FANG-SHOU* CYCLE IN CHINESE POLITICS

Sungmin Cho

"History does not repeat itself but it often rhymes."

- Mark Twain -

"长江后浪推前浪 *(As in the Yangtze River, the waves behind ride on the ones before)."*

- Chinese proverb -

Scholars of Chinese politics have long noticed an apparently oscillating pattern of political relaxing and tightening in China, which is also known as fang (放: relaxing)-shou (收: tightening) cycle.[1] They could detect the cycle by observing the expansion or contraction of economic reform programs, ideological relaxation or control, and administrative decentralization or recentralization in Chinese politics.

The *fang-shou* cycle suggests that there are two contending schools of thought within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP): the reformers and the conservatives. The two groups take turns to lead the policy agenda: first, reformers expand the scope of economic or political reform, followed by a rapid release of pent-up social demand. But the resultant "social disorder" may trigger backlash from the conservatives, who then

move to regain control. A conservative retrenchment is accompanied by an ideological assault on "liberal" tendencies, and the previous reform programs may be halted or reversed. During this period of contraction, reformers remain silent for fear of persecution, but conservative policies may exacerbate the internal contradictions and stresses, which will renew the pressure for relaxation and reform. This way the whole cycle repeats.

Table 18.1: China's Political Orientation 1949-2019.

Period	Political Orientation	*Fang-Shou* Cycle
1949-1957	Nation-building Projects	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing)
1958-1961	Great Leap Forward	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)
1962-1965	Pragmatic Adjustment	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing)
1966-1978	Cultural Revolution	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)
1979-1982	Reform and Opening Up	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing)
1982-1983	Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)
1983-1986	Reform and Opening Up	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing)
1986-1987	Anti-Bourgeois Liberaliza tion Campaign	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)
1987-1989	Reform and Opening Up	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing)
1989-1992	Neo-totalitarianism	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)
1993-2009	Soft Authoritarianism	*Fang* 放 (Relaxing) [2]
2009-Present	Hard Authoritarianism	*Shou* 收 (Tightening)

Source: Author's compilation.[3]

Based upon the *fang-shou* cycle, the modern history of Chinese politics can be divided into distinct periods of political relaxing and tightening. The *fang-shou* cycle indicates that Chinese politics has shifted from *fang* to *shou* for the last 25 years between 1995 and 2019. It also suggests that Chinese politics is likely to shift back from *shou* to *fang* at some time between 2020 and 2045, assuming that future events, to some extent, will resemble the pattern of past events. That is, intensifying trends of economic slowdown and political dissatisfaction are likely to cause the demise of the Xi Jinping regime and the rise of a reformer faction in the next 25 years.

For the remainder of this chapter, applying the analytic framework of *fang-shou* cycle, I will explain (1) how Chinese politics has become more authoritarian with its foreign policy becoming more assertive for the period from 1995 to the present time, and (2) how political control can be relaxed again and a cooperative relationship between China and the West can be restored in the next 25 years.

THE PAST 25 YEARS: FROM *FANG* (RELAXING) TO *SHOU* (TIGHTENING)

The past 25 years can be further divided into a period of political relaxation between 1995 and 2009 and a period of tightening between 2009 and the present. The two sub-periods, in combination, constitute the shifting of Chinese politics from *fang* to *shou* between 1995 and the present.

The *Fang* (Relaxing) Period: 1995-2009

The first 15 years from 1995 to 2009 in China was a period of deepening political reform. Since Deng Xiaoping's famous Southern Tour in 1992, the Chinese leadership revitalized the economic reform and opening-up policies, accompanied by political reform programs. Faithfully following Deng Xiaoping's advice, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao maintained the collective leadership. Although factional politics have not disappeared entirely, Jiang and Hu successfully implemented the generational change of the party leadership in a predictable manner based upon the age and term limits. The political reform within the party led to the liberalizing policies outside the party. The CCP launched legal reform in an effort to establish the rule of law in the Chinese society.[4] The CCP also consolidated the village election to be held every three years in over 600,000 villages by passing the Organic Law of Village Committees in 1998.[5] The Chinese government renewed its efforts to enhance the quality of public service. Last but not

least, the number of non-governmental organizations (NGO) has dramatically increased, which epitomizes China's increasingly vibrant civil society.[6] Even a critical observer of the Chinese politics, Minxin Pei, concurs that the years from 1995 to 2009 were a golden age for China.[7]

The CCP also maintained, by and large, cooperative relationships with the West during this period. In their part, Western governments welcomed the CCP's continued efforts to modernize its economic system and governance style. The aim of the West's engagement policy was twofold: (1) to socialize China's external behavior by integrating it with the international economy and (2) to liberalize the country's domestic politics by supporting its governance reform programs. In this context, the United States supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001. The United States and Western European countries funded various programs to assist the Chinese government's legal reform and to empower Chinese civil society. The CCP positively responded to Western efforts to engage with China. The Chinese Ministry of Civil Affairs were encouraged to cooperate with Western organizations to facilitate China's governance reform programs. At times, there were diplomatic incidents that occasionally put China at odds with the West, such as the United States' accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999. But the Chinese government's overall policy was to avoid direct confrontation with the West as much as possible, remaining mostly reactive to the diplomatic incidents rather than actively creating them.

This fang period can be explained by Deng Xiaoping's dictum of "tao guang yang hui" (韬光养晦), which can be translated as "hide your capacities and bide your time." The essence of Deng's strategy was to focus on internal development while avoiding external problems with the West. Accordingly, the CCP was determined to concentrate its efforts on deepening economic and governance reform programs during this fang period from 1995 to 2009. To achieve this goal, Chinese leaders needed to attract foreign direct investment and acquire advanced technologies from the West. The need to maintain friendly relationships with the West motivated China to avoid problems with the West as much as it could. As a result, China enjoyed double-digit economic growth, and its governance capacities were significantly enhanced.[8] These achievements helped Chinese to regain confidence for the future of China, a self-confidence that was expressed vigorously at the time of the Beijing Olympics in 2008, which coincided with the start of the global financial crisis in Western countries including the United States.

The *Shou* (Tightening) Period: 2009-Present

Although it is hard to pinpoint a single event that breaks the period between *fang* and *shou*, 2009 seemed to be an important year that the previously liberal policies took a sudden shift toward a more authoritarian direction.[9] A series of events, such as the retirement of reformists like Zeng Qinghong from the leadership post, which coincided with the rise of conservatives like Zhou Yongkang, and external events like the "Color Revolutions" in some post-Soviet countries and the "Arab Spring," paved the way for an authoritarian leader like Xi Jinping to rise to power. Many analysts in the West assess that Xi Jinping's assumption of the highest office in the country signals the return of strongman politics in China as Xi was quickly elevated to a status comparable to that of Mao Zedong.[10] Xi Jinping re-emphasized the importance of ideological education against Western influence. The social surveillance system and censorship have been strengthened under Xi's watch. The CCP began to reinforce repressive policies targeting potential dissidents like human rights lawyers and ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang province. In short, Chinese domestic politics has been turning more authoritarian for the past 10 years.

China's foreign policy also has turned assertive since 2009.[11] China has visibly increased maritime activities in the South China Sea and East China Sea. It has built artificial islands and militarized them in the South China Sea. In 2016, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) ruled against China's maritime claims in the South China Sea, but the Xi Jinping regime publicly denounced the international ruling, for which the West accused China of ignoring the rule-based international order. In addition to these activities that are perceived as outright provocation by many countries in the Indo-Pacific region, Beijing began to adopt coercive economic statecraft: China banned the export of rare earth to Japan over the issue of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands in 2012 and the travel of tourists to South Korea after the U.S.-South Korea deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system in 2017.[12] Clearly Xi Jinping abandoned Deng Xiaoping's dictum of "keeping a low profile" in foreign policy.

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┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│ Reformer Faction │ ──▶  │ Rapid Economic   │ ──▶  │   Problems of    │
│     in Power     │      │     Growth       │      │   Overheating    │
└──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
        ▲                                                     │
        │                                                     ▼
┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│   Problems of    │ ◀──  │ Stable Economic  │ ◀──  │   Conservative   │
│   Stagnation     │      │     Growth       │      │ Faction in Power │
└──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
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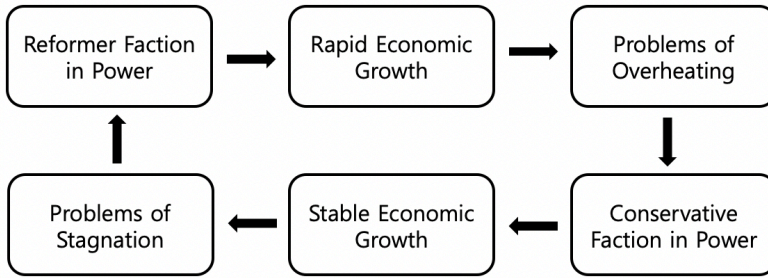
Figure 18.1: Economic Cycle of Factional Politics in China[13]

Figure 18.1 explains how Chinese politics has shifted from *fang* to *shou* over the last 25 years. Continuing Deng Xiaoping's economic reform and opening-up policies, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao were able to maintain double-digit economic growth during their terms. However, the rapid development caused various problems of an overheated economy, ranging from environmental degradation to widening inequality. Increasingly rampant corruption cases that involved government officials and the Chinese people's anger against it gave rise to the incidents of mass unrests across China. But Hu Jintao was not a strong leader who could handle the increasingly chaotic order in China.[14] Many China experts agree that party leaders were dissatisfied with the dispersion of power within the CCP, which created inconsistent policy implementation.[15] In this context, Xi Jinping's rise as a strong leader has been a product of the stagnation of policy-making in the second term of Hu's leadership: Xi was mandated to attack the "vested interests" of networks of corrupted officials and break the policy deadlocks.[16] However, Xi Jinping turned out to be a conservative in nature as well as a hyper-nationalist leader.[17] While Western countries were struggling to recover from the global financial crisis, a sense of hubris over the decline of Western civilization seemed to amplify Xi's confidence in the exercise of a more assertive foreign policy.[18]

THE NEXT 25 YEARS: FROM *SHOU* (TIGHTENING) TO *FANG* (RELAXING)

The *fang-shou* cycle predicts that Chinese politics will shift back from *shou* to *fang* in the next 25 years. Again, the economic cycle of factional politics depicted by Figure 20.1 can explain how the shift may occur. If the

Xi Jinping regime turns out to be politically too conservative to pursue reformist economic policies, especially targeting the vested interests of state-owned enterprises and its vast networks with politicians, Xi Jinping is likely to fail to adopt the right policies much needed for China's economic reform. Sluggish economic growth with ever-widening inequalities will further frustrate the population. A widespread sense of frustration for socio-economic problems will be amplified with political dissatisfaction among Chinese people due to Xi's repressive politics. Consequently, the mounting frustration and complaints outside the party will strengthen the potential opposition force against Xi within the party. At some point, reform-minded politicians will raise their voices to pressure Xi Jinping to fundamentally change the course of policies or to resign.

There is already evidence that supports the possibility of such a scenario. China has exhausted the easy gains from previously cheap labor forces. Many empty buildings in so-called "ghost cities" in China symbolize the problems of over-production and over-investment, which is a consequence of the government's stimulus package introduced in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis.[19] While the diminishing returns of wasteful investment deepens, the rapidly aging population would also put another massive burden on the Chinese economy.[20] To upgrade China's economic system from an investment-led infrastructure and export-oriented model to a consumption-driven, high-value added industry, the Xi regime has to loosen its excessive control of market mechanisms.[21] Yet the playing field between the state sector and private firms has not been leveled. Mounting uncertainties from the U.S.-China trade dispute, combined with the decade-long debt crisis, has been spreading a pervasive pessimism among private entrepreneurs, which will certainly stifle innovation in China.[22]

The coronavirus outbreak in China further reinforces the existing challenges for the Xi regime.[23] Beijing initially tried to cover up the outbreak, which led to a massive death toll in China, expanding to a global pandemic crisis.[24] Despite the CCP's propaganda to boast its abilities to handle the crisis, domestic criticisms against the government's censorship and draconian measures have been mounting, especially among young Chinese citizens.[25] The global health crisis is most likely going to damage China's economy. China already reported a 6.8% drop in gross domestic product (GDP) for the first quarter of 2020 compared with the same period last year, which marks the first contraction in 28 years.[26] The downturn of global economy, including many countries that are China's top suppliers of intermediate goods and export destinations, will surely prevent China

from returning to its prior growth trajectory of some 5-6% annually.[27] China could rescue its economy with credit-fueled stimulus package as it did in response to the 2008 global financial crisis, but that option is off the table due to the soaring debt levels this time. China's economic outlook turns definitely gloomier in the wake of the COVID-19 crisis.

A gloomy prospect for the future of the Chinese economy contributes to the low record of the Chinese people's general sense of happiness. According to the 2019 UN-sponsored *World Happiness Report,* China, the second largest economy in the world, ranked 86th in people's feelings of happiness, which is below Russia and even war-torn Libya.[28] The COVID-19 outbreak is most likely to depress the Chinese population to feel even less happy than before. The novel virus outbreak evolves from a public health crisis to an economic crisis to a kind of social crisis. The sense of crises from all aspects of life will motivate China's ordinary citizens to question whether the Xi regime has been capable of leading the country in the right direction.[29]

Therefore it should not be surprising that Xi Jinping will be faced with a growing force of resistance against his authority at home. Despite repressive policies against ethnic minorities and an ever-strengthening social surveillance system under Xi's ruling, Chinese intellectuals, interest groups, entrepreneurs, and social activists continue to call for political reform and opening, questioning the heavy hand of the party-state.[30] Within the party as well, although Xi successfully revised all key CCP rules, including the removal of term limits from the Constitution and replacing the collective leadership with strongman-ruling style, it remains unclear whether such changes have been fully accepted as legitimate by the CCP's rank and file.[31] While there is no indication of organized resistance against Xi's authority, it is noteworthy that retired party-elders publicly accused Xi of reversing Deng Xiaoping's legacies, which may be a sign of reform-minded politicians' retreat of support for Xi Jinping within the party.

Given the widespread frustration with socio-economic issues in Chinese society and mounting dissatisfaction with the political agenda within the party, one should not take Xi's power for granted. David Shambaugh, a renowned scholar on Chinese politics, observes that Li Keqiang and Wang Huning, two members of the Politburo Standing Committee, do have politically reformist records.[32] There is hope that a new group of reform-leaning politicians may emerge, backed by Li and Wang, and will seize opportunities to defend their policy positions for market reforms and liberalizing policies. As reformists regain dominant support within the

party, Xi will be under pressure to take the second seat in the policy-making process, if not officially stepping down from the top position. Then, as domestic politics steer toward *fang*, the CCP will moderate its assertive foreign policy for the need to focus on domestic affairs and the West may well return to support the liberalizing policies and economic transformation of China.

Does This Mean Democratization of China?

Political scientists have insisted on distinguishing between liberalization and democratization: In a non-democratic setting, *liberalization* may entail a mix of policies such as less censorship, greater space for civil society and toleration of criticism against the authorities. *Democratization* entails a liberalization but is a wider concept, requiring open contestation to win control of the government and free competitive elections. Based upon these definitions, it seems obvious that there can be *liberalization without democratization.*[33]

The *fang-shou* cycle forecasts that Chinese politics will be liberalized as it moves to *fang*, but its liberalization will unlikely be accompanied by democratization for three reasons. First, there is no opposition party or a political association that can effectively coalesce opposition forces against the CCP. Second, there is no external force that can pressure the CCP to move toward democratization. Japan, South Korean, and Taiwan became democratic because U.S. pressure worked together with the countries' grassroots movements towards democratization.[34] But China is not a U.S. ally, and Russia, the closest that China has for a great power ally, has zero interest in democratizing China. Third, and most importantly, the general mass in China still appear to support the CCP, if not Xi Jinping himself. It is true that Chinese people have become increasingly frustrated with their government. However, researchers have consistently found that the Chinese people's dissatisfaction have been mostly directed at local officials while remaining loyal to the authorities at the center.[35] Given the Chinese people's long-standing support of the party's leadership, China is less likely to adopt the model of Western liberal democracy.

In short, what the *fang-shou* cycle suggests is that China is most likely to *return to soft-authoritarianism through the* fang *period of "liberalization without democratization."*[36] Although there were periods of chaos and violence like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution in the past, the CCP has shown to have a remarkable capability to adjust its past policies and

adapt to new challenges. As the gap between the state's need to control society and the society's desire to pursue more freedom is widening in China, the CCP has been struggling to meet rising expectations from an increasingly vibrant and diverse society. In this context, the CCP's efforts to stay in power will be recorded as a major test case in human history as to whether it is possible for a non-democratic regime to embrace a democratic-governance style without changing its political system. The *fang-shou* cycle precisely reveals this tension between (1) the need to adopt liberalization policies and (2) the need to maintain a non-democratic system for the CCP's survival.

Conclusion

The policy implication from this chapter's analysis is that the current trend of Chinese politics may well change its direction at any given time in the future. At this time of writing, Xi Jinping's power looks strong and stable, and the U.S.-China relationship locked in strategic competition. The *fang-shou* cycle suggests that, however, Xi Jinping is more likely to lose power in the near future and Chinese politics will return to a liberalizing period with its foreign policy becoming more moderate than it is today. In this context, William Overholt, an expert on Chinese politics, argues that "it would be a mistake for the Western countries to lock themselves into a cold war mentality that only bolsters the hardliners in Beijing and to weaken the ties that, when change comes, might encourage a more positive future."[37] In this vein, it also makes sense for the security practitioners in the Indo-Pacific region, who deal with China on a daily basis, to pay attention to the alternative ideas circulating within China, which can be more desirable than Xi's repressive and aggressive policies, and to proactively find ways to strengthen the supporters of those ideas within China.[38]

Of course, the *fang-shou* cycle is not a law of science, but merely an analytic concept developed from scholars' intuitive observation of history. The validity of the concept is premised on the assumption that history repeats rather than evolves, which many people may find disagreeable. As such, the concept of the *fang-shou* cycle is not free from the criticism that it only provides one scenario among the large numbers of other possible futures. That said, the concept of *fang-shou* cycle is still useful to draw *a hypothesis that the Chinese politics is likely to shift from political tightening to liberalizing period in the next 25 years* and the hypothesis can serve as a baseline to assess

in which direction Chinese politics is changing in the future. It also highlights that, despite the optics of Xi Jinping's hard power, we should always pay attention to the continuing calls for political reform and the expression of citizens' activism within China.[39]

Notes

1 David Shambaugh, China's Future (MA: Polity Press, 2016), 98.

2 For the fang-shou cycle through the 1990s and 2000s, I refer to David Shambaugh's interpretation based upon the CCP's overall political orientation. For the definition of neo-totalitarianism, hard and soft authoritarianism, see Shambaugh, China's Future, 2-5. Of note, regarding the period from 1993 to 1997 under Jiang Zemin's ruling, I categorize it as a period of fang (political relaxation) because, although the political mood then was still oppressive, it was relatively relaxed compared to the previous period of neo-totalitarianism between 1989 and 1992, which were the intervening years between the pro-democracy protest at Tiananmen Square and Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour.

3 I have divided the era of Mao Zedong into periods of the fang-shou cycle. For the fang-shou cycle through the 1980s, I refer to Richard Baum, "The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese Politics in the 1980s," in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of the People's Republic of China,* third edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 338. For the *fang-shou* cycle through the 1990s to 2000s, as noted above, I refer to David Shambaugh's division of periods. See Shambaugh, *China's Future*, 99.

4 The work report of the 15th Party Congress in 1997 stressed "governing the country through law," and the Chinese leaders began to emphasize that the CCP should protect the legal rights of Chinese citizens from the abuse of state power, especially at the local level. For a discussion on the concepts of "rule of law" and "rule by law" in the Chinese context, see Joseph Fewsmith, *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 98.

5 For more details of the village election and its implications in China, see Tianjian Shi, "Village Committee Elections in China: Institutionalist Tactics for Democracy," *World Politics* 51, no. 3 (1999): 385-412.

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9 Shambaugh, China's Future, 115.

10 Suisheng Zhao, "Xi Jinping's Maoist Revival," *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 3 (July 2016): 83-97.

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14 Shambaugh, China's Future, 98; Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew J. Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited," *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 116 (2019): 167-179.

15 Fewsmith and Nathan "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited," p.178

16 Alice Miller, "Only Socialism Can Save China; Only Xi Jinping Can Save Socialism," *China Leadership Monitor*, issue 56 (Spring 2018): 56.

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18 For an excellent discussion of Chinese hubris, see Bilahari Kausikan, "China and the Breeding of Black Swans," *Globalbrief*, February 19, 2020, https://globalbrief.ca/2020/02/china-and-the-breeding-of-black-swans/.

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ARE INDIA AND CHINA DESTINED FOR WAR? THREE FUTURE SCENARIOS

Srini Sitaraman

"Frontiers are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations."

Lord Curzon

INTRODUCTION

The Greek historian Thucydides writing on the Peloponnesian War argued that when an established power encounters a rising power, the possibility of conflict between the established and rising power would become inevitable.[1] Graham T. Allison in his book, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?*, extended Thucydides' primary argument by suggesting that the power dynamics between China and the United States is similarly poised, an established power—the United States—confronting an aggressive power in China may produce a military conflict between them.[2] The Thucydides Trap argument has also been applied to the India-China conflict, in which India, a rising power, is confronted by China, the established power.[3] But such comparisons are unsatisfactory because of the power asymmetry is against India. The overall military, economic, and political balance of power tilts towards China. Chinese strategists discount India as a serious security or economic threat. For China, India assumes substantial low priority military threat compared to the United States.[4] More often India is described as a "barking dog" that must be ignored and its policy actions are described as having little political impact.[5] India has resisted the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), refused to the join the Beijing-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and cancelled many of the Chinese infrastructure projects in India after the fighting along the border.[6]

Strategic assessments suggests that military balance—conventional and nuclear—overwhelmingly leans towards China.[7] Indian military leaders have publicly acknowledged that India does not have "the capability nor the intention to match China, force for force."[8] However, others have cautioned that India will not reflexively acquiesce when faced with a military threat from China.[9] India has not relented against aggressive Chinese posture along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in 2013, 2017, and more recently in the bloody hand-to-hand combat both India and China suffered casualties in June 2020 (see Table 19.1). But India has resisted Chinese aggressiveness, albeit with the mixed success, along the border since the occupation of Tibet in 1959 and the first Sino-Indian war in 1962. The Indian armed forced have repelled Chinese incursions across the border and managed to stave off the People's Liberation Army (PLA) drives periodically.[10] But for how long can India parry the repeated incursions by the PLA along the LAC and does India have the wherewithal to sustain a long military campaign against China?[11] In the most recent (June 15, 2020) military clashes in the Galwan Valley in the Ladakh region along the LAC, 20 Indian soldiers and 43 Chinese PLA were presumed killed in action.[12][13]

Table 19. 1: Major Military Clashes between India and China

Year	Location	Outcome=
1962 (20 Oct-21 Nov)	Aksai Chin and Northeast India	Chinese Victory
1967 (1 Oct 2 Oct 2)	Nathu La & Cho Law (Sikkim)	Indian Victory
1975 (20 Oct)	Tulung La, Arunachal Pradesh	Indian Casualties
1987 (Spring-Summer)	Sumdorong Chu, Arunachal Pradesh	Stand-Off
2013 (15 April – 5 May)	Daulat Beg Oldi, Ladakh	Stand-Off (hand-to-hand combat)
2017 (16 June – 28 Aug)	Doklam, (Tibet, India, Bhutan)	Stand-Off (hand-to-hand combat)
2020 (May 2020-…)	Pangong Tso, Galway Valley, and Hot Springs	Hand-to-Hand Combat: Indian & Chinese Casualties

*No official confirmation of casualties by the Chinese government.

Tensions between both countries have repeatedly flared since the creation of India on August 15, 1947 and the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, when the British colonial government hastily exited India leaving behind a legacy of unresolved boundary disputes from Burma in the east to Pakistan in the west, and Tibet and Kashmir in the north. The India-China border conflict has evolved not just into a geostrategic competition that has outlasted the Cold War because at the center of it, the conflict is about the unresolved territorial claims. States are fundamentally territorial constructs that engage in vigorous competition for control of such territory and territory with particular salience is more susceptible to militarization.[14] India and China are no different; both countries have engaged in frequent military standoffs to define the border and stake claim to contested territory.[15] The India-China border dispute became particularly contentious after the PRC's invasion and occupation of Tibet and after the 14th Dalai Lama fled to India in March 1959.[16] Subsequently, China attacked India on October 20, 1962; Mao wanted to "teach India a lesson" and in the process India permanently lost territory (estimated to be around 43,000 sq. km) and more than 3,000 soldiers.[17] Regular borders disputes are an outcome of India's inability to resist continuous expansion along the expansive border—4,057 km—and because China refuses to accept India's conception of the LAC as the border that separates the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Beijing has engaged in gray-zone tactics—just below the threshold of a major war—to continuously challenge India in multiple arenas.[18]

Looking ahead another quarter century, this chapter seeks to draw insights from foresight analysis to identify some of the possible scenarios of the future of India-China conflict. Assuming *ceteris paribus*, if the last 25 years or the last 70 years is any indication, one could predict that the *status quo will probably* prevail, but it will be accompanied by continued military build-up across the Line of Actual Control both by India and China, with increased strategic competition and frequent military confrontations. The *status quo* refers to a situation in which the present territorial conflict continues without any major alterations to the understanding of the LAC through the application of military force by China or India. The *status quo*, however, is not a stable equilibrium; it is an extraordinarily fragile arrangement, and it would require sustained efforts by both parties to maintain it. More importantly, the *status quo* is *not* the preferred outcome of China, but only India's. The PRC would prefer to have a territorial arrangement that is diametrically opposed to India's understanding. Beijing is unceasingly searching to alter the prevailing territorial arrangement. It is a revisionist

power that is seeking to revise and expand its territorial boundaries not just the land borders with India and Bhutan, but also its maritime borders with several littoral states in the Indo-Pacific. China wants to expand its territorial possessions and control land and sea through the One-Belt-One-Road initiative (OBOR).

In this chapter, I outline and discuss three future scenarios (see Table 19.2) as to how this conflict is likely to progress over the next quarter century. Scenario 1: *status quo* will persist, albeit highly unstable, in which at least one party will seek to avoid a military confrontation (hot war) through active negotiations, crisis management, and high-level diplomacy. Scenario 2: an end to the conflict cycle could only be achieved through a *grand territorial bargain* at the highest level and it will result in a peaceful settlement of the border dispute that is mutually agreeable to both parties. Scenario 3: a small border conflagration escalates into a wider *military conflict (a hot war)* between India and China.

The Future Scenarios in Brief

Drawing from foresight analysis,[19] it is possible to imagine all three scenarios as being equally likely in the next 15 or the next 30 years and it could produce a combination of the three outcomes, such as return to the *status quo-ante* or the creation of a new *status quo* after a nasty, brutish, and/or several clashes over period of years in which China is able to secure additional territory. History of India-China conflict (see Tables 19.2 and 19.3) has shown that border clashes and the attempt to revert back to the *status quo* are regular occurrences and they are unlikely to resolve unless one party defeats another decisively or if there is a *grand bargain*. The frequency of such clashes may decline or increase, but until the fundamental basis—the differing conceptions of border claims—of the conflict is addressed there will be no permanent peace. The India-China conflict is locked into a peak rivalry mode in which the equilibrium is *status quo* from the Indian perspective (which is a temporal arrangement) and an ever expanding territorial claim, which is a more permanent vision for China. Over the decades India has presented several versions of detailed maps and other historical claims, which have all been ignored or rejected by the Chinese side. Beijing has not presented any understanding of the border areas—maps or claim documents—instead it has parlayed New Delhi's intentions and it has not revealed its understanding of the border area.[20] This has allowed China to perpetually revise its position and challenge India's conceptions of the border.

Table 19. 2: Possible Scenarios of Predicted Course of India-China Conflict Pathways

Future Scenarios	Fragile Status quo	Grand Bargain	Hot War
0-15 Years	Will Continue	Unlikely	Likely
15-30 Years	Uncertain	Likely	Likely

*Assessed in Years, Holding Other Factors Constant

Scenario 1: 0-15 Years

The baseline assumption is that the fragile *status quo* is likely to persist, though highly tenuous, in which India will fight hard to maintain the current shape of the LAC while attempting not to escalate into a large-scale military conflict (or hot war). The aim for India is to continue with the current understanding of the LAC in which it seeks to manage aggressive Chinese tactics such as salami-slicing—a practice in which China incrementally slices off territory—and changing the facts on the ground, a ploy that will cumulatively alter the balance of territorial arrangements in its favor; a tactic that Beijing has effectively employed in the South China Sea maritime conflict.[21]

The *status quo* is not a situation of peace, but a situation of tense military balance in which one party seeks not to be pushed back or out of the ring as in a Japanese *sumo* wrestling competition. Nevertheless, the prediction here is that this fragile *status quo* that is frequently tested by the recurrent clashes (see Table 19.1) between the PLA and the Indian Army is unlikely to prevail in the long run (15-30 years out). Changing geopolitical or military balance and shifts in the global alliance arrangements could change this delicate balance.

A grand bargain is unlikely unless both parties are willing to make territorial concessions. The prevailing position within the Politburo of the ruling Chinese Communist Party of China is that such compromises are not required because it believes that it can secure its territorial claims without making any concessions.[22] The Indian government is more likely to pursue a high-stakes diplomatic approach towards a territorial swap to settle the border issue, but India very well might be forced into a position in which any territorial concessions to China would have enormous domestic political consequences making the possibility of a grand bargain complicated. As this unresolved territorial conflict periodically flares up

into military stand-offs and the PLA continues to make incisive forays into Indian controlled territory, the possibility of an escalating military conflict becomes more likely.

Scenario 2: 15-30 Years

The fragile *status quo* is unlikely to persist in the long-run precisely because it is tenuous and not a permanent solution to the India-China border dispute. Given the brittleness of the *status quo*, it is unlikely to persist in the long run as the PLA continually seeks to alter the *status quo* either through use of force and political coercion. Parallelly, the possibility of a hot war or a full-scale military engagement also grows. Change in domestic political conditions and external geopolitical factors could force both countries to accept a negotiated settlement that is mutually acceptable to both. Beijing has signed territorial agreements with some of its neighbors and India has settled its borders with Bangladesh and its maritime boundaries with Sri Lanka.[23] But a grand bargain is only possible when changes to the regional and extra-regional security environment also occur, or if and when domestic political changes materialize in China. The current Xi Jinping government is not in a concessionary mood and it believes that exercise of *machtpolitik* is necessary to realize the "China Dream"—the dream of making China a great power as it once was—and erase from the memory the century of humiliation.[24] If the current trajectory of Chinese wolf-warrior policy persists, the possibility of a grand bargain is rather dim, and the probability of a hot war increases. Hence, the *status quo* along the border is an impermanent arrangement.

Tibet's Centrality in the India-China Conflict

China's territorial conflict with India is fundamentally about the territorial and cultural incorporation of Tibet into the modern Chinese empire. In China's interpretation, as expressed by Lian Xiangmin, Director of Contemporary Research at the China Tibetology Research Centre, Tawang "is a part of Tibet and Tibet is a part of China" so by extension "Tawang is a part of China."[25] From a military perspective, India anticipates a high-altitude attack from the Tibet side of China to reshape the Himalayan boundary and capture the northeastern Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, particularly the town of Tawang, which is central to Tibetan Buddhism.[26] China has protested the visits of high-level officials to Tawang to assert its claim over that area. It vociferously protested the visit by the exiled Dalai

Lama to Tawang, the visits by the American ambassador to India, and the tour of the border areas by the Indian defense minister.[27] There has been a sustained effort to delegitimize India's control of Tawang because China believes controlling Tawang is critical to China's efforts at absorbing Tibet. Tawang's centrality also lies in China's eagerness to manage the succession of the next Dalai Lama.[28]

Beijing wants to ensure that the installation of the next Dalai Lama would allow it to control and manipulate the Dalai Lama, something it has not been able to do because the 14th Dalai Lama fled Tibet during China's war on Tibet in March 1959.[29] The Indian government has not issued any official statement on Chinese policies towards its own citizens or with regards to Hong Kong, Xinjiang, Tibet, and Taiwan with the intention of not provoking and hoping to keep things amicable along the border. India has not commented on most aspects of Chinese foreign or domestic policy. However, India hosts the 14th Dalai Lama and allows the exiled Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) to function from Dharamshala and this has caused much consternation to Beijing.[30] In turn, Beijing has launched relentless attacks on the Dalai Lama referring to him as a "wolf in monk's robes" and a "splittist" engaging in "anti-China activities overseas under the pretext of religion."[31]

China-Pakistan Alliance and the India-China Conflict

India's focus exclusively remains on the border dispute, Pakistan, Indian Ocean Region, and to some extent on the South China Sea, but only with regard to its own intent to pursue freedom of the seas operations and India has not directly commented on China's South China Sea disputes. Similarly, China has been very circumspect in the overt demonstration of its nuclear power or issuing direct nuclear threats. In this triangular territorial and regional security competition, Pakistan is the only actor that has directly threatened India with a first strike tactical nuclear attack in the event of ground or air attacks by India.[32]

A worrisome factor for India is the China-Pakistan nuclear alliance in which China is not only sharing its nuclear know-how with Pakistan, but it is also assisting Pakistan's missile development program and selling Pakistan strategic weapons such as fighter jets and submarines.[33] The overall probability of a nuclear war between India and China remains relatively low to nonexistent, but such a probability is exceptionally high between India and Pakistan.[34] A South Asian nuclear conflagration could occur

because India and Pakistan also have unresolved territorial issues that is equally vexing. A Pakistan emboldened by Chinese support may actually utilize battlefield nuclear weapons against Indian troops seeking to cross into Pakistani territory in response to a large-scale terror attack, which India believes originated from Pakistan.[35]

Pakistan wants to prevent such Indian plans by suggesting that it will respond with nuclear weapons even in response to limited-distance thrusts as envisaged under Cold Start doctrine.[36] Pakistan's battlefield deployable missile, the *Nasr* is designed to counter India's Cold Start doctrine, which is an Indian battle plan to punish Pakistan by conducting shallow incursions into its territory. The primary objective of this Cold Start doctrine is to not provide Pakistan with a justifiable cause for retaliating with a large-scale nuclear attack on India. Pakistan's answer is the *Nasr*—Theater Nuclear Weapon (TNW)—a missile that could carry a small tactical nuclear warhead, which could balance against India's conventional superiority.[37] Pakistan only intends to use this weapon when Indian troops are already in its territory, which it believes is justified and less provocative than launching a nuclear counterforce attack on India. However, analysts have warned that once the first nuclear weapon is used against an enemy force the dynamics of uncontrolled escalation come into play.[38]

The escalatory dynamics of the "hot war" scenario would be something that India would prefer to avoid because the asymmetric power ratios are aligned against India, especially when Pakistan, as a serious military state siding with China, would be a considerable challenge for India to handle on its own. Although the Indian military has drawn plans for a two-front war, experts have warned that it may not be sustainable because it would be cost-prohibitive both in terms of manpower and weapons acquisition and deployment.[39] Both China and Pakistan are revisionist states that are intent on redrawing the borders by gaining territory that is in effective control or claimed by other states,[40] Pakistan's national ambition is in wresting Indian controlled Kashmir away from India, which it believes to be the unfinished business of the partition of British India in 1947.[41]

India is a defensive state seeking to maintain the *status quo*—a point acknowledged by Chinese strategists, but not by Pakistan—and domestic stability without conceding additional territorial or political space to two of its most powerful neighbors. Although there is a stream of political thought in India that visualizes a modern territorial India—*Ahkand Bharat*, Greater India or undivided India—stretching from Afghanistan to Tibet, which includes Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar in its territorial

imagination, it remains a mere dream.[42] India has made peaceful territorial settlements with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Nepal,[43] which includes territorial transfers, and maritime boundary limitation agreements with all the littoral states, and it has a river water agreement with Pakistan (Indus Water Treaty 1960).[44] Hence territorial expansion, especially through application of military force, is not within the policy demesne of India in the foreseeable future. Although there is a lot of political rhetoric of retaking Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and the parts of Kashmir (Shaksgam Tract), which Pakistan transferred through treaty in 1963 to China, it is unlikely that India would realistically seek to claim it through military force and as it is not practical or likely to be successful.[45]

For India, the *grand bargain* scenario would be the preferred outcome—a negotiated outcome accompanied by a territorial settlement without a large-scale military conflict—but China may not prefer this outcome because it believes that it could achieve through force and/or through coercion an outcome determinedly in its favor. China could attain its ultimate objective of occupying the entire Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh located in the northeast corner of India bordering China and Myanmar and it could determine a boundary to its satisfaction to permanently squash the Tibetan uprising, and acquire additional territory from Nepal and Bhutan by using political coercion.[46] Even though military action would be prohibitively costly even for Beijing, it is not improbable. The People's Republic has shown that it has both the political will and military capacity to pursue aggressive strategies to occupy territory as it has shown with the ruthless crackdown in Hong Kong and Xinjiang.

But tactical issues such as high altitude and inhospitable terrain along the Indo-Tibet frontier areas will impose serious restrictions on flexible land based military operations against a large and capable military such as India. The rate at which the Indian Army and the Chinese PLA can surge soldiers to the border will depend on their gradual acclimatization to higher altitudes.[47] Moving supplies and military equipment to this high altitude will be daunting and rather expensive proposition for both countries, despite significant advancement in border infrastructure both on the Chinese and Indian sides. Large-scale military escalation always remains a very high probability because the two opposing militaries are literally few feet from each other and they have frequently engaged in physical altercation using clubs and nail studded iron rods.[48] Fighting involving military armaments resulted in significant casualties in 1962, minor casualties in 1975, and substantial casualties most recently in June 2020 (see Table 19.1).

What Are the Chances of a Large-Scale Military Conflict between China and India?

India and China have already fought once in 1962 in which the Chinese were able to teach India a "lesson" as Chairman Mao intended.[49] Furthermore, India and China have engaged in multiple military skirmishes along the border since 1962 to assert their interpretation of the border on each other. China's military occupation of Tibet in 1959 and the 1962 war were turning points in the mutual relations between these two Asian states (see Table 19.1). The military clashes since 1962 have shaped this fraught rivalry, but the brutal clash in the Galwan Valley on June 15, 2020 was the first confrontation along the border since 1975 that have caused fatalities on both sides. The literature on enduring rivalries assert that tangible markers, particularly territorial disputes, make a rivalry particularly difficult to resolve.[50] Non-fatal confrontations and territorial incursions frequently occur along the border (see Table 19.3), and the series of confidence building measures along the border in 1993, 1996, and 2013 were designed to maintain peace and tranquility along the border region.[51] Despite effective crisis management, frequent military clashes between India and China is more likely in comparison to the probability of a war between the United States and China because of the outstanding territorial dispute, in which China wants to slice more and more territory and India is hoping to defend the Line of Actual Control.

Table 19.3: Border Incursions/Transgressions/Incidents on the LAC

Year	Western Sector	Middle Sector	Eastern Sector	Total
2019	497	28	138	663
2018	284	31	89	404
2017	337	17	119	473
2016	208	17	71	296
2015	342	9	77	428

The 4,057 km border is divided into three sectors (Western, Middle, and Eastern).

Data Source: Indian Express, 22 May 2020, https://indianexpress.com/article/india/aksai-chin-army-big-surge-in-chinese-transgressions-most-of-them-in-ladakh-6421674/ (as Reported by the Indian Ministry of Defense/Ministry of External Affairs; PRC does not report any such data publicly)

As the stronger actor in this conflict, China need not remain as committed to conflict management, diplomacy, and peaceful settlement because the onus of such activities is on the relatively weaker party. As its power continues to ascend and its military capabilities accelerates, Beijing believes that it could assert its military dominance over India whenever it wants. Beijing has pursued a more hardline stance with India with the "three no's" policy of "no weakness, no concession and no defensive defense."[52] Hardliners in Beijing are urging the government to hit India hard and make it an example so that it will deter American ambitions against China. Meanwhile, undeterred India has been pursuing interoperability agreements with the United States. The U.S.-India Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) intends to facilitate "access to advanced defense systems and enable India to optimally utilize its existing US-origin platforms."[53] Indian and U.S. forces also engaged in a joint tri-services exercise titled Tiger Triumph in November 2019.[54]

The probability of a large-scale conventional military conflict between India and China remains high because even though India is on the receiving end of the asymmetry scale, it is unlikely that it will not counter Chinese military action.[55] What is even more salient in this case is that conflict resolution between asymmetric contestants is less likely since "the stronger player will always choose outright conflict because the benefits of conflict exceed the expected value of the random allocation."[56] More than mere military balance, what is really crucial is the identity value attached to the contested territory that is central to the national imagination in the contesting countries.

Presently, the territorial conflict between India and China is the 900-pound elephant in the room. India and China can dance around it with negotiations and rounds of bilateral talks at various levels, but the territorial conflict has persisted since the birth of modern India and China. This territorial conflict is at the root of this enduring rivalry. As with all territorial disputes, both parties perceive this as a zero-sum conflict in which they cannot afford to lose face, back down, or concede to the other party, particularly when national identities are deeply intertwined with these territories.

China especially believes that it has the upper hand and the time for territorial concessions and grand bargains has elapsed. In India the memories of a military defeat at the hands of the Chinese PLA in 1962, the persistent border skirmishes, and overwhelming insecurity dominate strategic thinking. Defense and strategic thinking in India has now diverged from

its exclusive focus on Pakistan to elevate China to a major threat. There is persistent defense narrative emerging in India that emphasizes the need to prepare for a two-front war.[57] In both countries competing nationalist narratives govern how the general population understand this conflict.

Any territorial settlement must be willing to accommodate competing and harsh nationalist reactions in which territorial concessions to the rival would be seen as a defeat and humiliation.[58] India is the weaker party in this asymmetric conflict and it is the status quo power seeking to hold on to its territory as it confronts the Chinese PLA across the Himalayan frontier that has amassed vast military resources in several locations along the contentious Line of Actual Control (LAC). India's defensive posture is routinely challenged by China along the border. According to data collected and released by the Indian government, the PLA transgressed the boundary area "1025 times between 2016 and 2018"[59] (see Table 19.3). From January to April 2020, India has recorded 170 border transgressions across the LAC, of which 130 incidents have occurred in Ladakh alone.

Is Nuclear Exchange Probable between India and China?

In an opinion piece in the Indian Express newspaper, retired Indian Admiral Arun Prakash outlined the possibility of a nuclear exchange between India and China as follows:

> While Indian troops have, so far, shown courage and restraint in these ridiculous brawls with the PLA, there is no guarantee that in a future melee, a punch on the nose will not invite a bullet in response. In such circumstances, rapid escalation into a "shooting-war" cannot be ruled out. Thereafter, should either side face a major military set-back, resort to nuclear "first-use" would pose a serious temptation.

The control for this situation is the policy of "no first use" (NFU) nuclear doctrine adopted by China and India, but not by Pakistan.[60] Although the Indian defense minister has made some noise about following a flexible nuclear doctrine, it is unlikely that India would launch a nuclear first strike against China and the same would apply to China.[61] Nuclear weapons are primarily intended to serve as a deterrent. A nuclear attack by India on China would invite an overwhelming second-strike and produce unpredictable fallout. Similarly a first strike nuclear attack by China on

India is equally inconceivable, as India has also developed second-strike capability through submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), long-range ground launched ballistic missiles, and potentially it could air deliver such weapons through bombers and fighter jets.[62]

The idea of first-strike Indian nuclear launch against China or a Chinese nuclear attack on India given the current political trajectory and because of the NFU policy is not within the realm of possibility, but a conventional war along the LAC is a high likelihood and there is very strong historical precedence for it. More importantly China believes that its superior conventional military power is sufficient to subdue India; hence there would be little need for China to attack India with nuclear weapons or even issue any nuclear threats or warnings to deter India. China's size and its military, economic, and diplomatic capabilities are sufficient to deter India from engaging in any military adventurism.[63] With regard to intentions, Beijing does not believe that New Delhi intends to either initiate a conventional or a nuclear war against China. This is because India's position vis-à-vis China is preservative—hold the territory and continue negotiations—and it is unlikely that India would pursue unprovoked and unilateral military action against a superior adversary.[64] India is preparing a defensive strategy by building up its military capacity and infrastructure along the border to prevent any encroachment by the People's Liberation Army.[65]

India's External Balancing and the India-China Relations

Countering China has required that India move ever closer to the United States, the only country that has the capability and alignment of national interest in confronting China's rise. India is a Major Defense Partner of the United States, but not a defense ally. The United States and India are starting to deliberate about plans and intentions to ensure policies are aligned to optimize shared security interests in the Indo-Pacific region. But India has been reticent about fully committing to a formal alliance with the United States not only to retain its strategic autonomy, but also because it does not want to aggravate China in the hopes of pursing a political reset and eventual peaceful territorial settlement. India is attempting to balance against China by leaning ever closer to the United States by bolstering its defense and economic ties. The current belief within the corridors of the Ministry of External Affairs is that the time for direct confrontation, especially military confrontation and political provocation, is unnecessary

at this juncture, but this situation could change in the long run.[66] Nevertheless, India has started procuring large quantities of defense equipment from the United States. Most recently, during President Trump's visit to India in February 2020, India signed an arms deal worth 3.5 billion dollars with more deals in the offing down the road.[67]

The Indian goal appears to be aimed at shoring up it defensive options without leading to overt military conflagration with China. India has also reached out selectively to the ASEAN countries, namely Vietnam and to some extent Indonesia, in an effort to strengthen counterbalancing alliances against China. India has revived the Quad (the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) and engaged with the Quad Plus, a strategic consultation framework involving the United States, Australia, Japan and India and additional partners such as South Korea, New Zealand, and Vietnam.[68] But the objectives of all these moves and countermoves are fundamentally defensive in nature and it is not aimed to militarily confront China.

Beijing also continues to exploit India's vulnerabilities in other venues, such as trade and through its Belt and Road Initiative, to assert its economic and political power. China has thwarted Indian ambitions for membership in key international organizations such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)[69] and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) by often deploying Pakistan as a proxy in these diplomatic battles.[70] Beijing is also supporting Pakistan's claim over Kashmir in international forums and by introducing resolutions in the United Nations condemning India's policies in Jammu and Kashmir.[71] All these efforts are aimed at keeping the political pressure dialed-up in multiple forums and prevent New Delhi from expanding its political reach beyond the region.

India aims to avoid direct military conflict with China as much as possible, while preparing the defenses for such an eventuality. Both India and China are likely to allow the current *status quo* to continue as along as both parties don't attempt to unilaterally alter it. However, if China attempts to alter the shape of the LAC by changing the facts on the ground, it will produce a military standoff as it did in Daulat Beg Oldi in 2013, in Doklam in 2017, and in Pangong Tso, Galwan Valley, and Hot Springs in 2020.[72] All these situations produced long military standoffs, which was eventually reconciled through sustained diplomatic negotiations. Beijing's encroachments have continuously intensified and it has perpetually demanded additional territory involving many thousands of square kilometers, while India has attempted to forestall ever increasing territorial encroachment by attempting to negotiate such situations with China.[73] But these temporary

agreements have only served to calm the periodic territorial standoffs as they have not produced any lasting agreements, and it has emboldened Beijing to pursue even more expansive claims with aggressive posture. Modernization of Chinese military equipment and road-rail linkages into the Tibetan plateau has only made China's territorial claims even more acute.[74] Although India is attempting to match Beijing's development of the frontier areas, it is being thwarted because Beijing has the first-mover advantage in money, manpower, technology, and equipment, which has increased its bargaining power vis-à-vis India. But it is not certain that every future situation could be always addressed through negotiations in every instance, which increases the prospect of wider escalation as the frequency and intensity of these border clashes increase.

To maintain the prevailing status quo India will seek to create diplomatic counter-balance options by developing stronger military ties to the United States and regional states such as Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Vietnam.[75] But at the same time, India is unlikely to permit any anti-Chinese activities to be carried out from its territory or allow any official criticisms of Chinese policy regarding Xinjiang and Hong Kong or matters that are sensitive to the Chinese government such as the tenuous political status of Taiwan. All of these measures are aimed at not aggravating the Chinese government. India will continue to sustain high-level bilateral diplomacy with China in an effort to maintain good relations.

As the weaker power in this asymmetric relationship, India realizes that China's patience with India may suddenly run out and that Beijing will not hesitate to use military force to resolve the border issue to its satisfaction. But given the current trends, it is difficult to forecast that the India-China border conflict will be resolved through bilateral diplomacy alone unless there is a fundamental change in the perceptions of both governments. Given the zero-sum preferences associated with territorial conflict, it is more likely that the *status quo* will be repeatedly disrupted making a *hot war* more likely rather than less likely, unless a *grand bargain* is struck.

INTERNAL BALANCING AND DOMESTIC FACTORS IN PREDICTING CONFLICT OUTCOMES

It would be equally difficult to envisage that China would not be tempted to rely on its superior military and diplomatic capability to gradually erode India's resolve and force it to accept a situation which may not be to India's likening. As the literature on enduring rivalries suggests, an external shock

that is either exogenous or endogenous to the rivalry dynamics might be required to break the stable conflict equilibrium that currently governs the India-China conflict.[76]

The possibility of a border settlement not only depends on the national perceptions of where the borders of each country begin and end along the 4,057 km LAC, but it also depends on a confluence of domestic factors. China is facing a variety of domestic political challenges that is testing the limits of its governance. Beijing is routinely resorting to reflexive authoritarianism and more government resources are being diverted to confront threat of the coronavirus, which emerged in Wuhan city in Hubei Province and it is causing a global pandemic of monumental proportions. In India, the episodic outbreak of inter-religious violence, mass protests over aspects of domestic policies, returning migrant workers, and the economic slowdown caused by the spread of the coronavirus have preoccupied the state and local governments.

China is facing a looming demographic deficit,[77] whereas India is likely to experience a demographic dividend with a young and able workforce.[78] India on the other hand is facing several fissiparous domestic political movements that might threaten the stability of the union of India. Though Beijing is facing a crisis of domestic political legitimacy, it has taken to technological control mechanisms, such as the application of facial recognition technology, internet policing, and the social credit system, accompanied by violent suppression, as in the case of Hong Kong, to manage domestic opposition. [79]

Despite the high level summits in October 11-12, 2019 between Prime Minister Modi and President Xi in Mamallapuram in Tamil Nadu, India and the Wuhan Informal Summit in Wuhan, China from April 27-28, 2018, widening gaps in mutual perceptions prevail and it is likely to continue into the future. The former Indian diplomat TCA Srinivasan Raghavan describes "China as a paranoid and opportunistic neighbor with an exaggerated sense of entitlement."[80] Raghavan's sentiments correctly encapsulate the predominant view in India. The May-June 2020 military clash along the LAC has hardened Indian sentiments towards China.[81]

A majority of Indians hold unfavorable view of China (41%); only 26 percent of Indians hold a favorable view of China according a Pew Research Survey conducted in 2017.[82] In comparison, 49% of Indians hold a favorable view of the United States with only 9% holding an unfavorable view.[83] In the same survey, 56% of India views China's growing military

strength as a bad thing. In another recent survey, two-thirds of the Indian respondents identified China as a bigger problem than Pakistan.[84] Fear, anxiety, and mistrust of China pervades in the Indian strategic community. Most recent Chinese incursion in the LAC has further worsened China's already dwindling popularity in India. The Indian Army chief, General M. M. Naravane, addressing a gathering, argued that China has "created this aura of China being the undisputed military leader" without firing a single shot or inviting counteraction. General Naravane argued that India needs to learn how to deal with "non-contact or grey-zone warfare."[85]

Conclusion

In this chapter we discussed three scenarios—*Status quo*, *Grand Bargain*, and *Hot War*—that are possible conflict pathways between India and China. In the next 0 to 15 years, a *grand bargain* for a border settlement seems highly improbable, if not impossible, which would make *status quo* the default option particularly for India. India is interested in ensuring that an escalatory war does not breakout with China while it is battling a global pandemic and drawing up plans to revive its economy. In the next 15 to 30 years, any and all of the scenarios are likely to prevail. However, the expectation is that if a *grand bargain* is not struck, then the possibilities of a *hot war* become increasingly higher. It is a safe bet to make that the *status quo* is unlikely to prevail in the long duration—15 years and beyond—because by that time the expectation is that a *grand bargain* will be negotiated or there will be a military clash, assuming that other things remain the same. There are also few other possibilities such as India could experience significant domestic political upheaval causing some states to secede or they attempt to secede, testing the territorial union of India. Pakistan and India could go to war over a terror attack that may have its origins in Pakistan.

A conventional war would significantly weaken India and Pakistan, and worse yet a nuclear war would dramatically destroy both countries and its population, effectively rendering the territorial designs dead. Another major global pandemic could weaken China's authoritarian control over its citizens, making domestic political change plausible or there could be a military clash between United States and China as posited by the *Thucydides Trap,* which encourages India to take a far more assertive posture against China. Domestic politics and leadership change within China could also change in such a way that it forces the country to reconsider the aggressive path it is pursuing with regards to trade and territorial disputes. Beijing's actions against India have mirrored similar efforts to its territorial claims in

South China Sea. Chinese Navy and other assorted vessels have menaced fishing and research vessels from Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia.[86] Beijing's aggressiveness with regards to South China Sea disputes could lead to the formation of an alliance against China in which various countries from the Indo-Pacific could from an alliance to lead a fightback against expansive Chinese maritime claims.

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HAS MYANMAR BECOME CHINA'S BACK DOOR TO THE INDIAN OCEAN?

Miemie Winn Byrd

INTRODUCTION

Geography plays a significant role in the strategic competition between the United States and China. Recognizing this fact of life, many U.S. strategists have focused on the South China Sea but for various reasons omitted the Indian Ocean.[1] This omission highlights a persistent blind spot for many U.S. strategists in the context of strategic competition. This blind spot has precluded them from appreciating the significance of Myanmar given its important geographical location. U.S. foreign policy towards Myanmar historically has been centered on the human rights and democratization issue. Meanwhile, Beijing considers Myanmar a strategically imperative country in Southeast Asia for China's geostrategic positioning and its overall grand strategy, which are aimed at leading Asia and diminishing America's access and influence in the region. With over 2,000 kilometers of coastline along the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, proximity to the western entrance of the Malacca Strait, and a direct linkage to the Indian Ocean, Myanmar is a geographically significant country in Asia. That was the reason the British colonials and the Japanese during World War II strived to control Myanmar. The same geopolitical interests apply to modern-day China. A clear indication of this can be seen in Chinese President Xi Jinping's successful visit to Myanmar in January 2020 at the heel of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling regarding Myanmar's treatment of the Rohingyas. While others are preoccupied with battling the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing has increased its diplomatic pressure to expedite the finalization of the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) deal.[2]

Beijing's desire to establish a back door through Myanmar to the Indian Ocean is now much closer to becoming a reality.

As strategic competition heats up in the region, it is imperative for U.S. policy makers and strategists to reassess the impact of its bilateral policies on U.S. strategic position. U.S. policy toward Myanmar must enhance U.S. position within the context of strategic competition and assist the overall U.S. national and Indo-Pacific security strategy. Particularly, it must reflect the strategic imperatives of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision.   In the long run, such a strategically-minded policy will help obtain the human rights and democratization goals that are honorable and worthy foreign policy aims for the United States.

The Tortured History of U.S.-Myanmar Relations

U.S.-Myanmar relations for the past 30 years have been dominated by sanctions and limited engagement. As a 2018 report of the Congressional Research Service notes, "[b]etween 1989 and 2008, Congress passed a series of laws imposing diplomatic and economic sanctions on Burma's military junta, in response to its violent suppression of democratic protests in 1988, 1990, 2003, and 2007."[3] Another series of mass protests in 2007—this time led by Buddhist monks and triggered by an economic shock—resulted in confrontation and bloodshed. About 8 months after the uprising on May 1, 2008, the United States announced a fresh set of sanctions on Myanmar. Coincidentally, on the night of May 2, Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar. The United States sent disaster management specialists to assist the Myanmar government with assessment of damages immediately after the cyclone. However, the Myanmar generals were absolutely convinced that it was a U.S. ploy to invade Myanmar.[4] The lack of trust by Myanmar officials, and their decision of to reject U.S. aid, may have prevented innocent lives from being lost but their mindset and fear were forged in the past. Thirty years of sanctions could not be overcome.

A New Beginning for U.S.-Myanmar Relations

Two years after Cyclone Nargis (2010), Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the leader of Myanmar's National League for Democracy (NLD), was released from house arrest. The Myanmar military regime loosened its grip and allowed the country to transition from military authoritarian regime to a constitution-based semi-democratic government led by a retired general,

U Thein Sein. U.S. policymakers watched this transition with skepticism. When U Thein Sein decisively suspended the construction of Myintsone Dam, a big Chinese-built dam project, in September 2011 as the result of overwhelming public protests, the United States viewed this decision as a significant indicator of the authenticity of military-led democratic transition. Within 3 months after the Myintsone Dam suspension, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made an historic visit to Myanmar. Her visit signaled to other western countries and U.S. allies to open their doors to the newly democratic Myanmar. Soon after, the United States posted an ambassador to head up the U.S. mission in Myanmar and started to ease the sanctions. President Barack Obama had historic meetings with President U Thein Sein in 2013 in Washington and then in Naypyitaw in 2014. When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's party won the free and fair elections in 2015 and took the helm of the government in 2016, there was much optimism for the future of U.S.-Myanmar relations. As of early 2017, the United States had lifted almost all the sanctions and U.S.-Myanmar relations were at their best.

The U.S. U-Turn

Then came the Rohingya crisis in August 2017. The images of hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas fleeing to neighboring Bangladesh streamed all over the international news while the Myanmar military claimed to be responding to the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army's (ARSA) "coordinated attacks" on the police and military outposts in western Rakhine State.[5] The international media and community were quick to blame Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for the military's ruthless response. Since then, many Americans came to view Myanmar through the lens of media reports on the plight of the Rohingya. This crisis has become another U-turn point for Myanmar's relations with the United States and the West. The United States quickly suspended many of the engagements as special interest groups put pressure on the U.S. Congress to pass sanctions.

China Achieves Vital Strategic Gains

The August 2017 Rohingya crisis provided China with a lucky opportunity to regain its grip on Myanmar. On the heels of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling regarding the Myanmar treatment of the Rohingyas, Chinese President Xi Jinping made a visit to Myanmar in January 2020.. The visit represented a successful step to reach Beijing's goal of establish-

ing a back door through Myanmar to the Indian Ocean. Up until this crisis, Myanmar had put its relationship with China on a back-burner as Western countries led by the United States increased their engagements following Secretary Clinton's visit in December 2011. Myanmar was presented with plenty of options for engagement and received many offers of assistance for the development of the country's governance institutions and economy in support of on-going democratic transition. Beijing watched the unfolding landscape in Myanmar with increasing concern. It felt it were blind-sided by the military-led democratic transition in 2010. The leadership in Beijing was shocked when President U Thein Sein suspended the big construction project of the Myintsone Dam in September 2011.[6] Their uneasiness increased as the European Union and the United States started to insert themselves into Myanmar's peace talk processes. By 2015, Beijing felt that Myanmar was slipping away from its carefully constructed grip crafted after 1989 when the first wave of the U.S. and western sanctions went into effect to isolate Myanmar.[7] Every time the United States and the West tighten sanctions on Myanmar, China has been able to make additional headway in pulling Myanmar tighter into its grip.

China has viewed Myanmar as a land-bridge to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, safeguarding and controlling the Myanmar corridor was of vital importance for Beijing's foreign policy.[8] This recognition and the ensuing Chinese ambition date back to the early Chinese explorers who searched for a route from the land-locked provinces of China (such as the modern-day Yunnan area) via Myanmar to the sea.[9] Additionally, Myanmar provides a strategic alternative to China's "Malacca Dilemma." China's dependency on the narrow Strait of Malacca, where a majority of its shipping and energy supplies must traverse through, created a significant vulnerability in its strategic competition with the United States. Beijing sees unfettered access to the Myanmar corridor as a key remedy to this strategic vulnerability. After Xi Jinping's January visit and throughout the COVID-19 pandemic period, Beijing has increased its diplomatic efforts to expedite the finalization of the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) deal.[10] Furthermore, access to over 2,000 kilometers of Myanmar coastline strategically located at the western entrance to the Malacca Strait and with direct access to the Indian Ocean would give China an enormous advantage over its major competitors. If this comes to fruition, China will be able to control both the eastern part of Malacca Strait via the artificial islands in the South China Sea and the western part via Myanmar.

Myanmar, similar to most mainland Southeast Asian nations, shared the same fear of its powerful northern neighbor throughout history. Since the end of World War II, China's Communist Party has supported and armed communist insurgent groups in Myanmar. Given these Chinese actions, Myanmar has always approached China's foreign policy with skepticism and caution. However, the stringent Western sanctions left no alternative for Myanmar. Following the sanctions in 1989, Myanmar agreed to open its northern border for trade. Myanmar became China's major foreign market for cheap consumer goods and China became a major importer of Myanmar timber, forestry products, minerals, seafood, and agricultural produce.[11] By the end of 1991, China became one of the major lenders for infrastructure projects in Myanmar and began selling massive supplies of military hardware to the Myanmar military.[12] Fashioning after the United States' International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, China started to educate the next generation of Myanmar military officers. Although the relationship appeared close and friendly on the surface, there were still a sense of unease within the Myanmar regime.

Another round of U.S. sanctions in 2004 and 2008 gave needed leverage to China as it pushed for building an oil and gas pipeline connecting China's interior to Myanmar's Rakhine western coast. The construction of the 800 kilometer dual-pipeline commenced in October 2009, providing China with a significant strategic "end-run" around the Malacca Strait chokepoint. China's ability to influence and pressure Myanmar's military regime to allow the construction of the oil and gas dual-pipeline from the Yunnan Province to the deep-seaport in Kyaukphyu, on the western coast of Myanmar, was a significant major breakthrough. Myanmar's military regime caved in under the western sanctions. This breakthrough delivered China a vital strategic alternative to the "Malacca Dilemma" for the first time in history. It has also largely neutralized the United States' previous geostrategic advantage with its ability to disrupt China's energy supply route through the Malacca Strait in time of crisis. Indeed, China has been able to maneuver out of its *entrapping terrain,* one of the elements of nine terrains of Sun-tzu's *Art of War* principle of *know the terrain.*[13]

The Need for Alignment with the U.S. National Security Strategy

As the strategic competition between the United States and China escalates in the Indo-Pacific region, pillar number four of the U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS December 2017) called for "Advancing American Influence." The NSS specifically recognized that the "Chinese dominance risks diminishing the sovereignty of many states in the Indo-Pacific."[14] It specifically stated "the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) remain centerpieces of the Indo-Pacific's regional architecture and platforms for promoting an order based on freedom." Focusing on ASEAN as a regional architecture centerpiece requires efforts to bolster the unity of ASEAN members to withstand China's overtures in the region. Therefore, the need for the United States to synchronize its regional strategy with bilateral policies towards ASEAN members is critical. The bilateral policies could inadvertently undermine the regional strategy if these policies are not nested or aligned with the intended outcome laid out by the NSS.

Isolating and excluding Myanmar from U.S.-sponsored defense and security related activities will give more reasons for Myanmar to turn to China, the major strategic competitor of the United States in the Indo-Pacific region. This in turn may be inadvertently weakening ASEAN. "Divide and rule" is a preferred Chinese strategy towards ASEAN. So far, China has been able to dominate two (Cambodia and Laos) out of five mainland ASEAN members and Myanmar could become the third. ASEAN members that rely on China for economic and diplomatic support could be dominated by China and have to act as Beijing's "Trojan horses" in ASEAN in exchange for Chinese largess. The more ASEAN members are dominated by China, the more Beijing is able to influence the group, and the more ASEAN's unity is weakened. Therefore, if the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy gives center stage to Southeast Asia and regards ASEAN as one of its centerpieces, it must align and synchronize its bilateral policies and practices towards the ASEAN member countries to support regional strategy.

Bilateral policies that are less in tune with the strategic imperatives of the larger regional and global policies may inadvertently create opportunities for China to gain undue influence over Myanmar and enable China to open the back door to the Indian Ocean. Continued disengagement and sanctions by the United States and the West could further narrow Myanmar's international space, limit its geostrategic choices, eventually

pushing Myanmar closer to the China. Such conditions would be neither helpful for the people of Myanmar nor U.S. national security interest in the region. As the strategic competition escalates in the Indo-Pacific region, U.S. policy should serve to increase America's influence in and access to Myanmar. This requires minimizing the unintended consequences of policies that may contradict the strategic imperatives of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision.

On the other hand, broadening U.S. bilateral policy to include U.S. national security interests and strategic competition dimensions will, in the long term, have a positive impact on Myanmar's human rights and democratization efforts as the United States is able to increase its access and influence. The institutionalization of democratic and human rights values take time. It is unrealistic and naive for the puritanical advocates of human rights to think that deep-seated ignorance of human rights issues within Myanmar institutions could be transformed within four to five years of engagement. The United States' enduring and persistent engagement with South Korea since the end of the Korean War would be a good model to apply to Myanmar's case. During these decades, from the 1950s to the 1990s, South Korea had internal coups and killings; thousands were arrested and hundreds were killed. In the end, however, liberal values were able to take root and the political system changed to the better, not least thanks to multiple channels between the South Korean society and the United States. It took the South Korean people at least four decades to change the value system of their society and the character of their political regime. Myanmar, which has 70 years of non-engagement with the United States, cannot realign the values within four years. A formal alliance may not be essential; however, a general principle of persistent engagement—through some of the most tumultuous domestic political instability and gross human rights violations within South Korea—has paid off in the long run for both U.S. security interest and South Korea's successful democratization. Similarly, through enduring and consistent engagements with the Myanmar government, military, and society over time, the United States may be able to assist Myanmar with its transformation towards a genuine democracy while creating access, developing trust, and habits of dialogue. Such consistent and enduring engagements do not need to be mutually exclusive with advocating for human rights and democratization.

After seizure of a large cache of brand-new Chinese-made weapons destined for Rakhine State by Thai officials in the Thai-Myanmar border area at the end of June 2020, Myanmar Chief of Defense, Senior General

Min Aung Hlaing, publicly, albeit indirectly, "criticized" China by mentioning "the strong forces that support them [terrorist groups in Rakhine State]".[15] His call for "international cooperation in the fight against terrorism" was unprecedented. This latest development creates a small window of opportunity for the United States to recalibrate its engagement with the Myanmar government and military to pull them out of China's sphere of influence.

Viewing the Indo-Pacific region and the strategic competition through the lens of Sun-tzu's *Art of War*, *terrain* was identified as one of the major five factors in strategy considerations.[16] Based on their actions, China's strategy towards Myanmar heeds Sun-tzu's advice, *"know the terrain."* Therefore, it is imperative for U.S. strategists to recognize Myanmar as a key geographical terrain in the context of the strategic competition and seize the opportunities for engagement.

Notes

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TAIWAN'S FIGHT FOR INTERNATIONAL SPACE

Michael C. Burgoyne

The Taiwan Strait separating Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) has long been considered a geopolitical flashpoint. Both sides continue to plan and prepare for a kinetic attempt by the PRC to coerce Taiwan into unification. However, the gains in the conflict between these two entities have largely been made in non-kinetic ways: fights over diplomatic recognition and attendance in international bodies, among others. The battleground in which this non-kinetic fight has taken place has come to be labeled "international space," where Taiwan is striving for meaningful participation in the international community—broadly defined and evaluated in this chapter as diplomatic relations and participation in intergovernmental organizations (IGO)—and the PRC is trying to isolate the island from these interactions.

Having its roots in the Chinese civil war that culminated in the 1940s, this fight is crucially important for both sides. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sees Taiwan as a matter of legitimacy. The Party portrays itself as a staunch defender of sovereignty and territorial integrity to its citizens, yet Taiwan remains outside its control, which it feels could delegitimize it in the eyes of the populace. Constricting Taiwan's international space is a way to leave Taiwan with no other choice than eventual unification. Taiwan sees itself as a separate country in a practical sense, with a strong, advanced economy and many advantages; yet it is only recognized as a country by 14 nations, and lacks representation in many IGOs. Taiwan's fight for international space is ultimately a fight for its survival as a separate entity from the PRC.

This chapter will provide a backdrop of Taiwan's fight for international space by briefly covering the history and motivations for this conflict from the 1940s onward. It will then highlight various PRC and Taiwan decisions from January 2019 until the present, and how these decisions potentially altered third-party perceptions of the PRC and Taiwan. I will use the COVID-19 pandemic as both an example of how the PRC constricts Taiwan's international space through its influence in IGOs, as well as a significant time in history that highlights decision-making by both Taiwan and the PRC to audiences worldwide. Finally, the chapter will conclude by showing how decisions by Taiwan and the PRC during this period could lead to increased international space for Taiwan.

Hindsight: History and Motivations

The conflict started before World War II in the Republic of China (ROC), when the ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) unsuccessfully tried to eliminate a nascent CCP. This failure led to the mythology of the Long March, and a civil war for the possession of China. This civil war straddled World War II, when both sides called a pause in the fighting to address the Japanese invasion. The second half of the civil war mostly concluded in 1949, when the KMT led by Chiang Kai-shek fled across the Strait to Taiwan, leaving the CCP to consolidate its gains on the Mainland.

Though Taiwan has been at the center of this seven-decade struggle, it was only newly acquired by the ROC at the conflict's onset. Japan acquired Taiwan from the Qing Dynasty in 1895 after defeating the Qing in the Sino-Japanese War. After it was defeated in World War II, Japan relinquished Taiwan, and the KMT-led ROC took possession of it. Taiwan and various groupings of islands just off the coast of the Mainland, retained by the KMT and called the ROC, became the last defendable bastions for the KMT after it fled the Mainland. Chiang Kai-shek intended to remain on Taiwan only long enough to build up sufficient combat power to eventually defeat the CCP and retake the Mainland. Mao Zedong, the leader of the CCP, fully intended to pursue Chiang Kai-shek across the strait and finish "liberating" Taiwan. Despite various conflicts in the 1950s, and a 21-year artillery duel between the Mainland and Kinmen Island that concluded in 1979, neither side succeeded uniting Taiwan and the Mainland.

This history hints at one of the factors contributing to Taiwan's ongoing fight for international space, and that is the historical importance the PRC ascribes to Taiwan. The CCP intended to "liberate" Taiwan during

the civil war, as it promised to do to Mainland provinces, though this took on renewed importance after the KMT fled there in 1949. At that point, CCP intentions toward Taiwan also included finishing the revolution and defeating the KMT.

Over time, the CCP derived legitimacy from making the PRC strong enough to resist foreign influence or incursions into its territory, hearkening back to 1841, the First Opium War, and the beginning of the Century of Humiliation. In this context, Taiwan took on the label of a domestic matter, and an issue of sovereignty, from which the CCP could not visibly back down after linking it to the Party's legitimacy. In 2003, PRC officials first labeled Taiwan as a "core interest," which served to further elevate Taiwan as an extremely sensitive issue the PRC deems non-negotiable.[1] Thus, in many ways, the CCP has linked its legitimacy to successfully unifying with Taiwan as a province of the PRC.

Taiwan is also an issue of strategic importance to the PRC. Taiwan sits in the middle of what is referred to as the First Island Chain, which encompasses Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines as a part of the greater whole. If the PRC were to engage in combat off its eastern shoreline, it would be significantly hindered by a neutral Taiwan, or one allied with a hypothetical adversary. For this reason, Taiwan is not just an ideological issue, but one of practical import.

The PRC has never renounced its claim to Taiwan, and it has continued to pursue its goal to acquire Taiwan through several means. Analysts point to the arms race across the Strait that has tilted in Beijing's favor in recent decades as a way Beijing can force unification through the use of its military might or the threat of it. Simultaneously, as outlined below, the PRC has constricted Taiwan's international space by poaching its diplomatic allies and restricting its access to intergovernmental organizations with the aim that eventually Taiwan would have no choice but to accede to unification.

Diplomatic Relations

Shortly after its founding in 1949, the PRC had 12 countries recognize it in lieu of Taiwan. It established the One China Principle, whereby countries acknowledge there is one China, with Taiwan as a part of it, and forced countries to make a decision to support one or the other. Over the years, the two governments competed over diplomatic recognition, bribing and cajoling states through "checkbook diplomacy" to win diplomatic part-

ners. The number of countries recognizing the PRC instead of Taiwan grew until more countries recognized the PRC than Taiwan. In 1971 when then U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger met with PRC Premier Zhou Enlai, it was only a matter of time before Taiwan would lose the recognition of the United States as well.

As of this writing, 14 countries and the Vatican formally recognize Taiwan. After a pause during Ma Ying-Jeou's presidency, the PRC resumed actively enticing Taiwan's diplomatic partners to switch recognition to the PRC, using promises of lucrative trade and investment deals, among other incentives. Interestingly, many of the countries that have switched recognition to the PRC retain unofficial relations with Taiwan and maintain organizations that conduct embassy-like functions. Though they are no longer official diplomatic partners of Taiwan, some of these countries, such as the United States, continue to selectively advocate for Taiwan in international settings, and thus work to increase its international space.

Intergovernmental Organizations

In the 1970s the PRC applied pressure in the United Nations (UN) to switch official recognition of "China" from the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the PRC in an effort to acquire one of the permanent five seats on the Security Council, as well as to eventually isolate Taiwan from the UN. In 1971, the UN Assembly passed Resolution 2758, which granted the PRC the China seat in the Security Council as well as the representation of China to the UN. Being expelled from the UN was a major setback for Taiwan, drastically reducing its say in international affairs, and constricting its space to operate.

Being voted out of the UN was significant to Taiwan not only because of its absence in the UN plenary body, but also because it lost ready access to the other subordinate bodies within the UN. Crucially, many of these bodies are involved with or are responsible for setting rules and standards for many aspects of daily life in the relations between governments, and the conduct of international commercial and social activity. The debate during the first several months of the COVID-19 pandemic about Taiwan's interactions with the World Health Organization finds its roots in this action. As a result of PRC efforts to enforce its One China Principle and reduce Taiwan's ability to operate in the international environment, Taiwan is only allowed to participate in IGOs where statehood is not a requirement, which significantly limits its participation in these

bodies. The concomitant rise of PRC influence in these bodies means the PRC can either formally or informally prevent Taiwan from being invited or attending.

Today, Taiwan participates in 59 IGOs in some capacity, including the World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.[2] Taiwan constantly works to preserve its membership and roles in these organizations, while seeking greater participation in IGOs denied to it in order to increase its international space.

INSIGHT: A SERIES OF FATEFUL DECISIONS

Prior to January 2020, and Taiwan President Tsai Ing-Wen's re-election, it was much simpler to forecast the near-term trajectory of Taiwan-PRC relations, or to identify what each side of the Strait would do to advance its interests. Put simply, the PRC would continue to isolate Taiwan by poaching more of its diplomatic allies, limit Taiwan's participation in international organizations—particularly when Taiwan's president was from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)—and try to tie Taiwan's economy more tightly with its own. Taiwan, in turn, would continue its efforts to manage its relationship with the PRC while preserving its remaining diplomatic allies and key partners, seek participation in international organizations when possible, and work to diversify its economy through efforts such as the New Southward Policy and perhaps by signing free trade agreements with interested countries. The details would have been different from before, but the two parties would essentially have remained in a holding pattern.

However, a series of decisions by CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping and Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-Wen have caused the near-term trajectory of the relationship to be more uncertain. The first of these decisions was made by Xi Jinping on January 2, 2019 when he gave a speech on the 40th anniversary of the Message to Compatriots, originally made by former paramount leader Deng Xiaoping in 1979 to the citizens of Taiwan to announce a policy of "peaceful reunification." Through the intervening years, the verbiage used by CCP senior leadership to describe reunification between the PRC and Taiwan has stayed mostly consistent. In the 2019 speech, however, Xi Jinping used a turn of phrase to describe the 1992 Consensus that sounded similar to the description of the One Country, Two Systems formula used in Hong Kong, which has also been offered to Taiwan as an example of a unification model. The 1992 Consensus is an

understanding reached between KMT and CCP representatives in 1992 that formed the basis for Cross-Strait improvements under KMT administrations, and was the framework KMT presidential candidate Han Kuo-Yu used to promise better relations with the PRC under his future administration.[3] Tsai Ing-Wen decided to use Xi Jinping's phrasing to her advantage, though, and successfully associated a Han Kuo-Yu presidency with an intent to reunify with the PRC under a One Country, Two Systems framework. This association became even more damning for the KMT when Taiwan voters witnessed large scale protests in Hong Kong—already managed by Beijing under a One Country, Two Systems framework—which started in June 2019. Han Kuo-Yu was never able to shake this association, and this sequence of events led to a decisive victory and a second term for Tsai Ing-Wen and the DPP in the January 2020 presidential elections.

The re-election of Tsai Ing-Wen provided her the political capital and confidence of the Taiwan populace to decisively manage the COVID-19 challenge. The PRC and Taiwan offer a stark contrast in how they handled the epidemic, and moreover, provide examples of consequential decision-making that impact Taiwan's difficult fight for international space. Upon learning of the virus in late December, Tsai Ing-Wen immediately directed measures be put in place to prevent the spread of the virus in Taiwan, to include restricting travel from Wuhan, and aggressive testing and contact tracing measures. Officials also worked to share what they knew domestically, with friends and partners, and with the World Health Organization (WHO). Many of these actions taken by Taiwan can be attributed to Taiwan's experience with the SARS in 2003, and the painful lessons it learned as a result.[4] As of the end of July 2020, Taiwan has had one of the greatest successes globally, containing the spread of the virus.[5] In contrast, the PRC was widely seen as lacking transparency and decisive action during the initial outbreak in Wuhan, which allowed uncontrolled spread throughout Wuhan and the surrounding province of Hubei before Xi Jinping ordered the city be put into a severe lockdown on January 23, 2020. At this point, however, the PRC had missed the opportunity to successfully contain the virus, and it was declared a pandemic on March 11, 2020.

The World Health Organization, responsible for preparing for health emergencies such as a pandemic, and for coordinating and assisting with responses, has been accused of responding slowly to COVID-19, and perhaps even pandering to the PRC while the PRC was controlling the virus narrative for its own purposes. The WHO's actions from January 2020 to the present provide an interesting glimpse of the relations between an

IGO, the PRC, and Taiwan, and how those relations impact Taiwan's international space.

The reporting in the news about the WHO-PRC-Taiwan triangle since the outbreak of the virus has not been favorable to the WHO. From the start of the crisis, Taiwan claimed it was trying to communicate with the WHO but was unsuccessful. The WHO responded that it was able to communicate with Taiwan, though eventually it was clarified that Taiwan was expected to go through the PRC to communicate with the WHO. On April 11, Taiwan released the contents of an email it sent to the WHO on December 31, 2019, in which it claimed it warned about human transmission, while the PRC did not confirm human transmission until three weeks later, on January 20.[6] This highlighted a question that had been asked in various media outlets before the disclosure: why wasn't Taiwan allowed to communicate with the WHO during a crisis, especially when the data they had available could potentially sharpen the international response and save lives. This question grew more relevant the longer Taiwan continued to outperform most other nations containing the virus. After public gaffes when WHO officials wouldn't even say the name "Taiwan" in televised interviews, this attention reached a high point in late May, when the World Health Assembly (WHA), presumably under pressure from the PRC, refused to allow Taiwan observer status in its annual meeting.[7]

From February on, the United States remained critical of Taiwan's predicament, which was included within criticism regarding the perceived influence of the PRC over the WHO. This criticism culminated in May, when the U.S. administration published a letter to the WHO, complaining about its handling of the pandemic, including criticism of its handling of Taiwan.[8] The publication of this letter was followed swiftly by an announcement that the United States was pulling out of the WHO.[9] These public quarrels, coupled with Taiwan's own successful "mask diplomacy" raised Taiwan's profile internationally in a positive way, and drew attention to the PRC's influence over the WHO.

In addition to its actions regarding Taiwan during this period, Xi Jinping has overseen an opportunistic pursuit of PRC objectives during the pandemic, which has been strident in defense of its actions. Notably, People's Liberations Army forces were part of the first lethal clash in at least 45 years along the Sino-Indian Line of Actual Control in Aksai Chin in June 2020, and Beijing subsequently pursued a new claim in Arunachal Pradesh, which has soured relations with India and prompted a backlash among Indian citizens.[10] It has also been more active in pursuing its claims

in the South China Sea, and it levied tariffs on Australian exports, suspected in part due to Canberra proposing an inquiry into the origins of the virus.[11]

Perhaps one of the most consequential decisions Xi Jinping has made, though, is how he handled the protests in Hong Kong. As a party that prioritizes domestic stability, the CCP watched with alarm as large-scale protests started in Hong Kong in June 2019 over an extradition law proposed by the Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Carrie Lam. These protests continued unabated largely until the pandemic struck, with bouts of violence throughout. To control the situation and muzzle the protests, the PRC's National People's Congress voted to effect a National Security Law for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region that rolled back many of the democratic rights under the One Country, Two Systems formula, agreed to under the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984. Under this law, many activities such as protesting or speaking ill of the CCP could be labeled sedition or subversion, and numerous pro-democratic figures have been arrested as a warning to the populace. Many Western countries saw this as a breach of trust, and taken together with other PRC activities abroad, indicated a pattern of assertive behavior by Beijing.[12]

Foresight: Gains in International Space on the Horizon?

The decisions Xi and Tsai have made, starting in January 2019 and into this time of the pandemic, have the potential to significantly impact Taiwan's international space. In so many cases, it is not just decisions made specifically between Taiwan and the PRC, regarding their relationship, that are impactful. Taiwan and PRC decision-making that affects other nations or IGOs also have the ability to influence Taiwan's fight for international space. In particular, this period of time inclusive of the pandemic has involved many highly visible decisions by Xi and Tsai that affected other nations, not least of which being the ways they have managed the pandemic. Future gains in international space will be most visible in Taiwan's participation in IGOs, and in its diplomatic relations.

International Organizations

The question about whether Taiwan can increase its international space by participating in international organizations depends on at least two conditions: whether the PRC is able to successfully stymie Taiwan's efforts to

participate in these organizations, and the perception by other countries of Taiwan's ability to add value to an organization when it has the opportunity to participate. History shows the PRC has been successful in thwarting Taiwan's participation in international organizations. However, the trend lines for both of these conditions may be changing. Taiwan has consistently shown itself to be a responsible participant in the global community, and more visibly since the advent of the virus. Since then, Taiwan has made smart, timely, and practical domestic decisions, which have been accompanied by first-rate transparency and communication with its populace. Furthermore, it has taken these best practices, and done nothing less than show nations struggling to grapple with containing the virus how to do so through both its example and its outreach. By any objective measure, Taiwan has shown it has a lot to offer the world as it responds to COVID-19.

In contrast, the perception of the PRC has not been as favorable, and that is not even considering the criticism it has received regarding its initial lack of transparency and its handling of the outbreak in Wuhan. By obstructing Taiwan's contributions to the WHO, and participation in the WHA, it seemed to place its narrow geopolitical concerns ahead of international cooperation, and the overall mission of the WHO. It is not purely academic when one asks how many lives could have been saved if the WHO could have disseminated some of Taiwan's best practices throughout the international community.

An additional, more long-term concern of the PRC is the growing perception that it is has an undue influence in international organizations, and this influence is self-serving. The WHO's complicity in PRC misinformation in January, along with its handling of Taiwan have shown a lot of people otherwise not aware of or concerned about Cross-Strait relations how enmeshed the PRC is in the governance of international bodies, and how it chooses to use this influence.[13] The PRC may have overplayed its hand regarding Taiwan's interaction with the WHO, and this may bring unwanted scrutiny on its interactions and objectives in international organizations. Due to both Taiwan's competence in combating the virus, as well as rising concern among primarily Western countries about the PRC's influence in international organizations, Taiwan is likely to garner international support to meaningfully participate in certain IGOs, and thus be positioned to expand its international space through participation in these forums.

Diplomatic Recognition

Taiwan's gains in diplomatic relations will be more indirect than those in IGOs. In the near term, Taiwan will likely maintain diplomatic relations with its existing partners, and this is primarily due to the actions both Taiwan and the PRC have taken with their respective partners. Taiwan has continued to meaningfully support its diplomatic allies with expertise and shipments of personal protective equipment (PPE) and other supplies. For its part, the PRC has linked support for other nations with its One Belt One Road (OBOR) projects, touting the value of being a part of the signature initiative.[14] Additionally, the PRC has recognized the increased financial stress many of the OBOR recipient countries are experiencing due to the pandemic and has indicated willingness to discuss suspending loan interest payments and perhaps other measures short of debt forgiveness with its partners.[15] In short, and based on media reports of these actions, there does not seem to be a driving reason for countries to switch diplomatic partners. This situation could change if the pandemic creates conditions where Taiwan's diplomatic allies need more aid and support than Taiwan can provide, and countries decide to switch recognition to the PRC to meet domestic needs in this period of crisis.

A shift in diplomatic support could occur in the mid-term, and contrary to the customary trend of diplomatic partners switching from Taiwan to the PRC. In particular, the United Kingdom (UK) is perceived to be taking a harder line on the PRC due to PRC behavior regarding the pandemic and the situation surrounding Huawei's intent to supply 5G equipment to the UK. However, it was after the announcement in May of a Beijing-imposed National Security Law on Hong Kong that the UK became more vocal about its concerns regarding the PRC. The UK was among other countries in condemning the move as a violation of the One Country, Two Systems principle, and has responded by offering a path to UK citizenship for several million Hong Kong citizens. In July, it rescinded its commitment to allow Huawei to install 5G components in the UK despite persistent PRC lobbying, which was a significant blow to the PRC tech company.[16] More relevant, though, are the resulting statements and articles indicating more support for Taiwan from government officials, likely driven by the PRC's actions on Hong Kong.[17]

While these statements do not signal anything as drastic as a change in diplomatic recognition, they likely indicate a closer relationship between Taiwan and the United Kingdom moving forward. Besides the obvious questions about what this change could portend for bilateral trade, UK

support for Taiwan participation in IGOs, or even support in the event of a cross-Strait crisis, it potentially creates room for other countries to voice similar support for Taiwan, and thus prompt a recalibration of their relations with the PRC. Countries directly affected by Beijing's more assertive behavior recently in South Asia, the South China Sea, or in Oceania may already be considering these actions. Obviously, this would be deeply concerning to the PRC, as its diplomatic relations with countries are predicated on other countries accepting the PRC's One China Principle. Traditionally, the PRC is critical of any deviations from how it interprets compliance to the One China Principle, and it especially calls out deviations from historical norms of how countries practice unofficial relations with Taiwan. Then President-elect Trump's interview in January 2017 when he stated the One China Policy was up for negotiation is illustrative of the sensitivity Beijing ascribes to this Principle, which resulted in the PRC's condemnation of the statement, as well as Chinese media calling for closing of the PRC Embassy in the United States.[18] While diplomatic recognitions may not change in the near term, the statements and actions by the UK government may prompt other countries to examine their relationships with the PRC and Taiwan, and modify them in a way that could enable more international space for Taiwan.

Conclusion

Taiwan and the PRC have engaged in various forms of conflict over the decades, though the battleground over international space is one where the two sides continue to strive. The PRC has made great gains in this fight over the past several decades, stripping Taiwan of many of its diplomatic allies, and constricting Taiwan's attendance in IGOs. Decisions leading up to the 2020 presidential election in Taiwan and since, though, have potentially created an opportunity for Taiwan to recoup some of its losses, and increase its space. While the foresight described in this chapter will not be completely accurate, it has been afforded the benefit of time, and the actions Taiwan, the PRC, and others have taken to influence trend lines regarding Taiwan's fight for international space.

Taiwan and the PRC are ultimately the main two determinants of Taiwan's international space, and it is important to emphasize that any gains Taiwan makes will result from what it will have done right, but maybe more so due to what the PRC will have done wrong. The PRC, through its baffling assertiveness on all fronts and at all times, its tone-deaf messaging,

and its almost frantic pursuit of its objectives has created the opening Taiwan is taking advantage of. If these trends hold—competent, confident Taiwan as a contributor to the international community, and a PRC intent on using COVID as an opportunity to pursue its objectives at other countries' expense—then the foresight expressed in this chapter may drastically underestimate the amount of international space Taiwan ultimately gains.

Notes

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