

AIR WAR COLLEGE

AIR UNIVERSITY

FROM ISLANDS TO NETWORKS
A BLUEPRINT FOR A COMPREHENSIVE US SECURITY
STRATEGY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

by

Lt Col Roderick C. Zastrow, USAF
102 Timbermill Ct
Prattville, AL 36066
504-56-4457

A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty

In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements

Academic Year 2002

Maxwell AFB, AL

25 May 2002

Distribution A: Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited

Report Documentation Page			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188		
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE 25 MAY 2002		2. REPORT TYPE N/A		3. DATES COVERED -	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE From Islands To Networks A Blueprint For A Comprehensive Us Security Strategy In The Asia-Pacific Region				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Air University Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release, distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The original document contains color images.					
14. ABSTRACT					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 59	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author(s) and do not reflect the official policy or position of the US government or the Department of Defense. In accordance with Air Force Instruction 51-303, it is not copyrighted, but is the property of the United States government.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
DISCLAIMER	I
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	V
LIST OF TABLES	VI
ABSTRACT	VII
INTRODUCTION	1
A Strategy of Island-hopping	1
A Brewing Typhoon? The Long View	4
BACKGROUND	4
Islands Apart	7
Defining "Asia-Pacific"	7
Geographic Expanse	7
Cultural & Value Diversity linked by "ASEAN Way"	7
Differentiation in Systems of Governance	7
Frictions of Globalization: Clashes of Interests and Lingering Histories	8
House of unsettled powers	8
China	8
Japan	9
Australia	9
India	9
Russia	10
United States	10
Rising tides: Asia-Pacific Security Trends	11
Economic Growth and Interdependence	11
Dependence upon External Energy Supplies	12
Increasing, but not yet Pervasive Democracy	12
Battling Transnational Crime	12
Countering International Terrorism	13
Increased Acceptance of Multilateralism	13

DISCUSSION: CHARTING A PATH: REGIONAL SECURITY ALTERNATIVES...	13
A NATO for the Asia-Pacific: A Containment Strategy	14
A De Facto Alliance: Maintaining the Status Quo	16
De Jour Networks: Coalitions of the Willing	17
Multilateralism: The European Way.....	18
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).....	18
Partnership for Peace (PfP).....	18
A Formal Network: The Asian Way	19
Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)	19
ASEAN Plus 3 (AP3).....	20
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).....	20
Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP).....	21
Mapping a Networked Approach: Multilateral Security Cooperation.....	21
CONCLUSIONS.....	24
Mapping a Network: US Vision, Objectives, and Strategy Formulation	24
Regional Vision	24
Regional Security Objectives.....	25
From Blueprint to Gridwork: A Strategy of Assured Partnership	26
Comprehensive, Multi-tier Structure: Intersecting Interests and Values.....	26
Powering the Grid: Alliances as Sources of Stability	26
Building the Lattice: Organization for Asia-Pacific Cooperation--A	
Transformed ASEAN Regional Forum	28
Anchoring the Network: Asia-Pacific Council--Establishing a Pacific Six	
Power Locus.....	32
Order over Entropy: Partnership for Security and Peace (PSP) Program.....	35
Overcoming Distrust.....	35
Regional Multilateral Military Cooperation	65
Membership	38
The Search Engine: Military Partnership Cell	39
Implementation timing: A Strategic Window of Opportunity	40
Implementation leadership: Casting the Net with American Leadership	43
SUMMARY: BUNDLING ASSURED PARTNERSHIP	43
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	46

Illustrations

	<i>Page</i>
Figure 1. US Asia-Pacific Security Alliances.....	27
Figure 2. Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation (Proposed).....	29
Figure 3. The Asia-Pacific Council Model (Proposed)	34
Figure 4. Asia-Pacific Security Sphere	37
Figure 5. "Assured Partnership" Security Framework (Notional)	44

Tables

	<i>Page</i>
Table 1. Military Partnership Cell Functional Staff Organization (Notional)	40

Abstract

From Islands to Networks

A Blueprint for a Comprehensive US Security Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region

Historic precedent and power transition theory predict the likelihood of armed conflict between a rising China as it overtakes the world's leading superpower, the United States. Taiwan highlights the dilemma by exposing conflicting US and Chinese interests and the changing nature of China's power. This long-term dilemma complicates the emerging alignment of Asia-Pacific interests. A comprehensive US Asia-Pacific strategy of Assured Partnership would safely manage this dilemma by incorporating a multi-tiered, inclusive, institutional approach. The strategy will decrease the likelihood of a US-China military confrontation for several reasons. First, existing bilateral alliances give the strategy its underpinnings, providing an anchor of assurance to allies and a deterrent to the rise of Chinese hegemony. Second, the strategy transforms the ASEAN Regional Forum into a cooperative security institution, the Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation. It will provide continuous dialogue, a region-wide security forum, and an enhanced ability to implement preventive diplomacy, consequence management, and peace support operations. Complementing it, the Asia-Pacific Council consists of current or developing regional powers including the U.S., China, Japan, Australia, India, and Russia. The council preserves regional power strategic agility while providing for continuous regional direction, leadership, and power balance. Third, the strategy builds military transparency, trust and predictability through an institutionalized military cooperative regime, the Partnership for Security and Peace, similar to Europe's Partnership for Peace program.

Introduction

A Strategy of Island-hopping

Briefly put, neither of the most intellectually accessible models—engagement or containment—will work in and of themselves. A new framework of “limited, smart engagement” is needed.

-- Dr. Bates Gill, The Brookings Institution,
Remarks to US-China Security Review Commission¹

Expansive geography, diverse cultures, differentiated systems of governance, troubled histories, and aspiring great powers describe anything but a cohesive Asia-Pacific region. Yet, aggressive economic growth and interdependence, increasing reliance upon external energy supplies, pervasive transnational crime, and the specter of international terrorism serve to align those divergent interests. They also outline areas where dialogue, confidence building measures, and security cooperation may provide the impetus to overcome domestic political inertia, painful memories, and other barriers to multilateral approaches to regional security.

US security and economic policies have had mixed successes with multilateral approaches. Current US regional security approaches reach back to post-World War II reconstruction and stem from Cold War alliances amid remnants of the failed Cold War-era South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Today, the United States maintains a bilateral security approach in the region, vastly different from its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance approach in Europe. Across the Asia-Pacific, the United States maintains five of its seven bilateral alliances, namely with Japan, Australia, South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand. Although limited to cooperative measures only, the United States takes a similar bilateral security approach with the region's remaining states. Running against the grain of this bilateral security approach, the US maintains a clearly multilateral Asia-Pacific economic policy. Numbers tell the story. The region as a whole produces nearly \$18 trillion in GDP and 47 percent of the world's trade.² It is now the US' largest regional trade partner. The region quadrupled its economic output in the 1990s and continues to expand. Thus, increased US economic involvement in the Asia-Pacific region reflects the reality of a growing economic interdependence and a vital interest.

Following on the heels of economic interdependence and the Soviet Union's demise, the international security environment has been slower to take shape. We have

¹ Dr. Bates Gill, “Contrasting Visions: United States, China and World Order,” Remarks presented before the U.S.-China Security Review Commission Session on U.S.-China Relationship and Strategic Perceptions, 3 August 2001, V. Conclusions. On-line, Internet, 23 May 2002. Available from <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/testimony/gill/20010803.pdf>

² Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, *The APEC Regional Trade and Investment*, October 2001. On-line, Internet, 21 May 2002. Available from <http://www.apecsec.org.sg/loadall.htm?http://www.apecsec.org.sg/body.htm>

now gone a decade beyond the Cold War and into Bush the Elder's, "new world order"...or disorder.³ Bipolarism is gone, US superpower status is clear. While nationalism is pervasive, non-state actors continue to emerge and flex their power. Thus, regional security regimes and coalitions of the willing continue to emerge and grow. Multilateralism is in with the rest of the world while the US, the lone superpower, is widely perceived as relying on unilateral approaches on many issues.

Amid this turbulence, the US Asia-Pacific security policy has stagnated with its bilateral alliance approach. At the same time, emerging Asia-Pacific subregional multilateral security regimes are slowly gaining momentum while the only pan-Asian security regime falters amid the unique ASEAN Way⁴ of dialogue and consensus. Of note, some newly formed subregional security regimes exclude the United States, while including China, threatening to isolate or limit US regional influence.⁵ Should this trend continue, the United States and others will increasingly find it difficult to define an Asia-Pacific identity, a prerequisite to security community formulation.

Yet, amid calls from around the region and from within the United States,⁶ the Bush administration has yet to formalize and articulate a region-specific policy since taking office. Prevented from announcing its Asia-Pacific policy in late September 2001 due to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration appears set on bilateral engagement for long-term issues while aggressively pursuing coalitions of the willing to address vital, short-term issues. Apparently, the United States sees little utility in a multilateral security approach. Is this the best policy for both the world's superpower and the world's most diverse, dynamic, and dangerous region? Experience and emerging trends tell us no. This approach may best suit short-term US interests and act as a placeholder while the US sorts out its Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). However, it predetermines a hostile China, giving ammunition to those in China that would chart it on such a worst-case course. It also alienates Asia-Pacific nations, the majority of who continue to call for US multilateral engagement within the region. Together, these effects will likely induce China and other powers in the region to marginalize and even exclude the US from regional security organizations, a trend already underway and hardly in US national interests.

³ George Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict," March 6, 1991. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/papers/1991/91030600.html>

⁴ Also called "Asian Way" in some Asia security documents. For additional discussion of the "ASEAN Way," see Catharin Dalpino and David Steinberg, "The U.S. Should Support an 'ASEAN Way' to Fight Terrorism," *CSIS Pacific Forum PacNet Newsletter* #13, 29 March 2002, n.p. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.csis.org/pacfor/pac0213.htm>

⁵ Gill, 13-14. China has embraced "partnerships" with key nations, namely Russia, helped to form the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and is hosting the all-Asia Boao Economic Forum as means to balance relations with the United States.

⁶ Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, "Meeting the Security Challenges of the Asia-Pacific Region," speech, Australian Defence College, Canberra, Australia, 31 October 2000. On-line, Internet, 27 November 2001. Available from http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/2000/001031_fa_defence.html See also Kanti Bajpai, "Add Five E's to Make a Partnership," *The Washington Quarterly* 24, No. 3 (Summer 2001): 94.

To address this complex region with its emerging realities and long-term concerns, the US Asia-Pacific security strategy must move beyond its current approach. Some question why the United States has not promoted a NATO-like security alliance, including China as a full-fledged partner. Others call openly call for containing China now before it gains the military capability to annex Taiwan and engage in other territorial adventurism. This paper will show that the US should adopt a strategy that addresses current geostrategic realities, accommodates emerging trends, and hedges against long-term risks. Specifically, the best-suited security strategy for the region embodies the proactive concepts of assuring allies and friends while binding emerging powers into a partnership that seeks to maximize transparency, build trust, and prevent regional hegemony.

An approach of “assured partnership” utilizes US bilateral alliances as its foundation, transforms ARF into an effective regional security organization with a concert of powers directorate, and institutionalizes regional military cooperation by means of a cooperative partnership regime. Together, these mark an inclusive approach that builds upon the ASEAN Way. This approach also allows for coalitions of the willing to address vital interests, given the region’s geostrategic expanse and differentiation of systems of governance. Yet, for enduring interests and risks, it adds structure, continuous dialogue, and embracing mechanisms that build trust, garner transparency, and add predictability where little exists today.

The United States and the region’s nations currently have a strategic window of opportunity to implement the proposed security strategy. We are in a period of global convulsion following the 911 attacks on political, economic and security fronts. This period overlaps with the increased complexities in the global security system following the Cold War and the ensuing global “disorder.” This provides the domestic and regional political environment for vigorous debate about the region’s future security make-up.

In debating and settling upon a prudent way forward, American leadership will be required to overcome diplomatic inertia, bureaucratic resistance to change, and outdated perceptions of the region in this, the Information Age. That said, America must avoid forcing its view on the region without fully explaining the mutual benefits of these programs and garnering a necessary degree of consensus. Lastly, and most importantly for all interests, this approach best suits the long view, which foresees a rising China emerging as the leading Asia power and striving for, if not overcoming, the American perch as the leading global power.

One common view that seems to be shared by all regional states is that the United States' security commitment is the indispensable anchor for East Asian security, insofar as it is conducive to peace and stability as well as to preventing an arms race in the region.

-- Deng Yong, in “The Asianization of East Asian Security and the United States Role”⁷

⁷ Deng Yong, “The Asianization of East Asian Security and the United States Role,” *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, Autumn 1998, n.p. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from

A Brewing Typhoon? The Long View

China...is moving, haltingly, in what is, from a Western point of view, the desirable direction. Doing whatever is possible to promote such a movement is the single most important goal of the post-Cold War foreign policy of the United States.

-- Michael Mandelbaum in *Foreign Affairs* article, 1997⁸

Given current projections, only one Asia-Pacific nation has the potential to challenge the US' global leadership over the next 50 to 75 years—China. Some China watchers paint this potential future as an ominous storm approaching.⁹ Others point to a more complex and thus uncertain future, one calling for a clearly cautious but much less antagonistic approach.¹⁰ In either case, China figures prominently in the United States' future. China's rapidly expanding economy, its growing nuclear and conventional military power, and its increasing regional clout provide clear rationale to examine future US security policy now. China's sheer population quadruples the American population, highlighting one facet of its raw potential. Whether China develops this potential into that of a benign economic giant similar to today's Japan or whether it shapes it into an assertive hegemon remains for us all to see. With that in mind, the following analysis examines the region, its dynamics, and their impact on US interests. This analysis will then form the basis for a proposed US Asia-Pacific security policy.

Background

Islands Apart

The direction of a security policy invariably takes on the strategic outlook of the incumbent administration. That said, formulating new or revised security strategy prudently begins with a theoretical analysis of the applicable security environment. By analyzing the dilemma at hand across the spectrum of theoretical models, the analyst explores the necessary perspectives to arrive at a well-reasoned and supportable result. Applied to the Asia-Pacific region, theoretical analysis will begin with a realist perspective, followed by modified realist approach and then hone in on the neoliberal

<http://www.asiamedia.ucla.edu/Deadline/Tonchev/ASEANSecurity/articles/Yong.htm> See also Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore, "ASEAN-US Relations: Challenges," Keynote speech at the ASEAN-United States Partnership Conference, New York, NY, 7 September 2000, n.p. On-line, Internet, 26 November 2001. Available from http://www.aseansec.org/secgen/articles/goh_asus.htm

⁸ Michael Mandelbaum, "Westernizing Russia and China," *Foreign Affairs* 76, No 3. (May/June 1997): 95.

⁹ Those making the strongest argument include Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, *China versus America: The Battle for the 21st Century*, 17 May 2001. On-line, Internet, 21 May 2002. Available from <http://www.munrolink.com>

¹⁰ For a counterview to Bernstein and Munro's ominous outlook, see David M. Lampton, "China is a Rogue State with Hegemonic Ambitions," *Foreign Policy* No. 110 (Spring 1998): 13-27. See also Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS). "Asian Perspectives on the Challenges of China," Summary, Annual Pacific Symposium, National Defense University, Washington, DC, 7-8 March 2000, n.p. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/press/ASIAN.HTML>

approach. An analysis of China, as one leg of the US-China security dilemma, frames the theoretical discussion. A subsequent examination of pan-regional trends and forces will shed further light on addressing regional security.

Defining “Asia-Pacific.” Any discussion of regional security presumes an acceptance of the terminology and geographic definition of the region. Delimiting a region is vital to coherent discussion of multilateral approaches. While not presupposing a multilateral solution to the Asia-Pacific security dilemma, the following discussion will use the term “Asia-Pacific” as the sole reference to the security community defined by the following: United States, Japan, North & South Korea, China, the Philippines, Oceania, Southeast Asia, Australia, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and Russia.¹¹

Geographic Expanse. The Asia-Pacific region presents unique challenges to US security policy in several dimensions. The sheer distance to the heart of Asia and the additional expanse of the region cause definite time and distance challenges. Whereas Europe, the US’ largest trading partner, lies roughly six to seven time zones away, Asia-Pacific nations range from six to 12 time zones away, and complicated by the international date line. From a continental United States perspective, traversing on or over the Pacific Ocean can sometimes double the time required to move people and cargo. Beyond certain economic time and transport costs, these distances and time differentials impose military constraints measured both in force and logistical response times.

Cultural & Value Diversity Linked by “ASEAN Way.” Mirroring its geographic expanse, the region’s cultural diversity is equally expansive. Populated by nearly 3 billion people comprising several civilizations, the Asia-Pacific region reflects a spectrum of culture, religion, race, ethnicity, and language. India alone proudly boasts of its own diversity of 17 cultures and hundreds if not thousands of languages. Attached to these complexities is a mix of values reflected in various domestic political debates. However, one common thread emerges in diplomatic circles. Called the “ASEAN Way,” the region’s unique methodology of decision-making favors dialogue over formal staffing and consensus over majority rule. As compared to Western diplomacy and negotiation, Asia-Pacific multilateral discussions reflect deliberate and thus relatively slower-paced negotiations. Similarly, the preference for consensus over majority rule results in final agreements much more likely to reflect significant compromise from the stronger power(s). This style also runs contrary to American preference for majority rule and faster-paced decision-making.

¹¹ Similar to other regions, the exact geographic delineation depends on diplomatic agreement, political expediency, and other factors. This paper makes the assumption that named countries have some important element of national power that influences or is influenced by the greater Asia-Pacific region. The intent is to facilitate a common ground for discussion rather than to purposefully include or exclude other nations that could arguably add or subtract from the Asia-Pacific security discussion. For instance, a number of Western Hemisphere nations have membership in the Asia-Pacific Economic Council (APEC) but are not typically included in regional security discourse.

Differentiation in Systems of Governance. As one travels across the breadth of the region, one encounters a wide spectrum of governance. While Pakistan describes itself as an Islam state, neighboring India continues to grow its version of democracy. Across India's northern border, China continues to shed its Communist ideology for an autocratic system of governance over an increasingly market-based economy. To China's east, Japan and South Korea continue in democratic fashion while North Korea remains along side Cuba as the last bastions of full-fledged dictatorial Communism. Elsewhere in the region, kingdoms, autocratic rule, and democracies live side-by-side complicating US attempts to uniformly deal with the region or its subdivide. Further complicating regional coordination, nations continue to battle insurgencies or separatist movements as seen in Indonesia. While some nations focus inward to maintain their own stability, others are left free to develop their population's potential and thus become the economic tigers of the region. The net effect is a differentiation of interests that complicate regional planning and cooperation.

Frictions of Globalization: Clashes of Interests and Lingering Histories. As the region's nations attempt to move forward with economic development they inevitably encounter the multilateral linkages and frictions of globalization. The communications revolution and increased international trade foster cross-border and transoceanic communication and cooperation. Meanwhile, lingering histories in some quarters remain barriers to full-fledged cooperation. Asian memories of Japanese adventurism and mistreatment early in the 20th century, of Khmer Rouge mass genocide, and of Indian-Pakistani partition do not easily fade despite honest and sustained efforts by their perpetrators' nations to demonstrate responsible behavior. Lingering behavioral reminders and in some cases unwillingness to acknowledge well-documented facts continue to stoke the embers of past wrongs. Unlike Europe, the region's expanse coupled in some cases with ethnic homogeneity have allowed some nations to remain withdrawn in their own corner without fully confronting the past. While recent trends point towards increased intraregional trade, the absence of intraregional security continues to reflect problematic histories and suspicions. Only slowly, these nations are beginning to overcome lingering animosities.

House of Unsettled Powers

As in other regions, some nations have the resources and the will to exert influence well beyond their borders. Others with dynamic economies, growing populations, or certain other sources of power, not surprisingly desire to influence regional affairs as well. In these cases and others of lesser powers, nations exert influence through regional and subregional means. While not ignoring these notions, there emerges a grouping of nations with historic and emerging influence. Measured in both "hard" and "soft" power, the six nations of China, Japan, Australia, India, Russia, and the United States will likely drive the Asia-Pacific agenda for years to come.

China. Across the region, nations point to the long-term prospect of China's rise in power as their top concern. This concern serves more than any other to draw the regions nations in alignment with US views. With Taiwan and the South China Seas

serving as flashpoints, the region is mindful of Chinese incursions into Korea in 1951, India in 1962, and Vietnam in 1979. Although China claims to harbor no intentions of regional adventurism, its past record and current claims stir unrest throughout the region. Exacerbating this concern is its rising economic power and military modernization. With a consistent seven to eight percent annual growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and a recent 18 percent increase in its military budget, US hawks point to an inevitable conflict driven by Chinese military might to secure its claims.¹²

Driving US fears of Chinese regional hegemony and eventual threat status are economic forecasters and others who point to the Chinese surpassing the United States in economic power by 2020.¹³ Presuming a sustained 7-8 percent annual GDP growth rate, this indeed may occur. However, history tells us that straight-line extrapolation of nations' economic development is guesswork at best. These same commentators neglect to mention the uncertainty posed by the internal migration of agricultural workers to urban environments seeking employment. These new urban dwellers will clearly stress limited urban infrastructure and become a drain on its natural resources. Additionally, given China's opening up to outside contacts and educational exchanges, some point to increasing domestic political unrest as the masses become more politically astute and demand increased social and democratic rights and freedoms. Thus, economic forecasters may not have fully accounted for the internal effort and costs associated with social and economic appeasement of a growing middle class of millions.¹⁴

The future of Taiwan continues to complicate any discussion of China and the United States. China's refusal to accept anything but a 'single China' status of affairs continues to stoke controversy in both Taiwan and in US political and security circles. Adding fuel to this fire was President George Bush's comment that the United States would do whatever it took to protect Taiwan should it be attacked. Nevertheless, the recent Shanghai Communique, jointly signed by China and the United States in February 2002, clearly acknowledges only one China, with Taiwan within it.¹⁵ Signaling strategic cooperation, the communiqué formally opens the door to improved relations in many dimensions.

While doubts exist as to China's economic and political sustainability and its claims of peaceful coexistence, its military insularity and lack of transparency reinforce the view of a future assertive China. Not party to domestic politics as in the United

¹² For a concise review of China's strategic outlook, an assessment of its foreign policy, and implications on U.S.-China relations, see Dr. Bates Gill, "Contrasting Visions: United States, China and World Order." Remarks presented before the U.S.-China Security Review Commission Session on U.S.-China Relationship and Strategic Perceptions, Washington, DC, 3 August 2001. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/testimony/gill/20010803.pdf>

¹³ Bernstein and Munro, 4

¹⁴ Additional concerns include the liquidity of Chinese banks and its open admission of total liabilities reaching 60 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (\$1.16 trillion). See Gordon G. Chang, International Herald Tribune, "The Big Four Banks Head Toward Collapse." *International Herald Tribune*, 2 April 2002. On-line, Internet, 2 April 2002. Available from <http://www.iht.com/articles/53151.htm>

¹⁵ China Central Television News, "Shanghai Communique: Pragmatic Yet Far Reaching," *English Channel*, February 28, 2002, n.p. On-line, Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.cctv.com/english/news/20020228/84171.html>

States, the Chinese military has repeatedly demonstrated a certain aggressiveness that destabilizes the region's sense of security. China's 1999 provocative takeover of Mischief Reef in the Spratly Islands and recent gunboat intimidation serve to undermine Premier Jiang Zemin's words of cooperation and negotiation.¹⁶ Similarly, claims of F-8 pilot Wang Wai's reckless abandon over international waters and the PLA's strong-armed and lethargic handling of the downed EP-3 crew did little to build confidence in the Chinese military's goodwill.¹⁷

China's growing economic power, the world's largest population, a Taiwanese flashpoint, and an opaque military give plenty of rationale for regional security concerns, Chinese claims to the contrary. First, Taiwanese people, excluding the indigenous Taiwanese, are historically, ethnically, and culturally Chinese. Although territorial claims over the island appear weak from a historical view, China does have viable interests in uniting its people and further integrating politically and economically. Second, Chinese interests in the South China Sea appear rationale less because of historic territorial claims, but more because of its energy resources and location along vital sea lanes. China will continue to evolve from a predominantly agriculturally based economy and simultaneously experience industrialization and information technology (IT) transformations. As such, its energy needs will increase. Foreseeing this, China is apparently strengthening its naval capability to defend and protect vital energy routes stretching along its eastern coastline around Southeast Asia, through the Malaccan straits and around India's southern tip northwestward to the Persian gulf. Foreseeing its similar future dependence on IT and satellite communications, can it be a surprise that China wishes to develop its own robust satellite communications capability and aggressively pursue offensive and defensive measures to protect that capability? Important questions include how far and to what extent China will extend its influences.

Ultimately, the security dilemma the United States faces with China could be reduced to a growing China asserting its self-perceived right to develop robust modern technologies and capabilities while preserving its own freedom of action by pursuing capabilities which not only serve to defend its material interests but also pose an offensive threat to the United States and China's neighbors.¹⁸ The challenge then becomes one of shaping a rising China into a friendly, cooperative China rather than driving it into insular, aggressive nation relegated to military adventurism to secure material interests.

¹⁶ See Al Santoli, American Foreign Policy Council, "Pacific Nations Fear Growing Chinese "Bullying" in Spratlys; Mischief Reef: Greatest Threat to Philippines Since World War II," *China Reform Monitor* No. 160, January 27, 1999, n.p. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.afpc.org/crm/crm160.htm>

¹⁷ See Peter Felstead, "'Inside' account further exonerates EP-3 pilot," *Jane's Military Aerospace News*, 18 May 2001, n.p. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from http://www.janes.com/aerospace/military/news/misc/ep3_010518_1_n.shtml

¹⁸ Gill, 5, points to China's fear of being left behind technologically and militarily. As a result, China has taken a three prong approach to achieve multipolarity in the global security environment by highlighting the negatives of US unipolarity, by establishing "partnerships" with major countries, and by developing multilateral security-related dialogues.

Japan. The world's second largest economy with a self-imposed constitutional ban on military forces continues to cause concern in Asia. An economic powerhouse fostered by US caretaker status following World War II, Japan only now has begun to explore international security cooperation. Although a major economic contributor to the Gulf War in 1991, Japan has provided no direct military support to multilateral operations until recently. Following the 911 terrorist attacks, Japan has begun to explore its domestic will to contribute more to regional and global security. As this trend emerges, US calls for increased Japanese international cooperation stir its neighbors' concern over its return to imperialistic behavior. Unfortunately, historic wounds run deep. That said, Japan is taking small steps by building industrial plants in China, opening dialogue with South Korea, and taking other measures which continue to demonstrate its ability to become a much more responsible regional and global actor.

Australia. Although comparatively small in economic might, Australia's overlapping values, depth of US-Australia bilateral trade, and historic military support to US efforts make it a key nation in any US Asia-Pacific security strategy. Australia's proximity to Southeast Asia brings a unique perspective and ability to influence Asia-Pacific security. Having acted as the lead nation in the UN effort in East Timor, Australia gained recognition for its effort and the experience necessary to deal with intraregional peacekeeping operations. Based upon its continuing military and political cooperation with the United States, Australia is well poised for a continuing influential role in Asia-Pacific security.¹⁹

India. Until 911, many within the US and within the Asia-Pacific region took little note of the world's largest democracy aside from its nuclear capability. Having suffered its own 911 terrorist attack on its Parliament on 13 December 2001, India has figured prominently in US Asia-Pacific security policy. With its Jammu & Kashmir region acting as another regional flashpoint, in this case between two inexperienced nuclear powers, India has since risen in importance within US security circles. Actively courting Indian permission to grant overflight and basing rights in the global war on terrorism, the United States has recently warmed to a new friend. Indian claims of strong common democratic values serve to overcome the cultural and geographic divide between it and the United States. America is India's leading trade partner even though, as measured in absolute terms, Indian-American economic trade is small. More importantly, India has gained a reputation as the world's leading crafter of software after the United States. Indeed, Indians claim that when US computer service technicians end their day, US customer calls are routed to India as they begin their day on the other side of the world. Beyond these economic ties, India has recently increased its strategic worth

¹⁹ See Australia's Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, "Asia and Australia: Change and Opportunity," speech at the annual dinner of The Australian Institute of International Affairs (NSW Branch), Sydney, 10 September 2001, n.p. On-line, Internet, 10 Oct 2001. Available from http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/2001/010910_asia_aust_opp.html for a more in-depth official Australian discussion of its regional interaction and outlook for future security cooperation. See also R. James Ferguson, "Australian Defence Policies: Alliance or Independence?" *The Indo-Pacific Region*, Chapter 5, Text to Courses INTR13-305 & INTR71/72-305, The Department of International Relations, SHSS, Bond University, Queensland, Australia, 2001. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.international-relations.com/wbip/wbnlec5.htm>

by taking on a protectionist role for energy supplies running from the Persian Gulf around its horn and east to the Malaccan straits. With an increasing stake in the unencumbered flow of energy to fuel its development (90 percent of its oil is imported from the Persian Gulf), India's interests increasingly align with US, China, Japanese, and Australian interests.²⁰

With this alignment in mind, India's history of non-alignment continues to reflect limited ties with its neighbors. For example, India's largest trading partner is not a neighboring state but rather the United States, literally on the other side of the globe. Additionally, only recently has India begun air service between New Delhi and Beijing. Further, the 50-year plus political divide between India and Pakistan serves to heighten regional insecurity. Adding nuclear weapons to the mix further destabilizes the situation. However, civilian control of its nuclear weapons, a no-first-use policy, and recent restraint during the rising tensions with Pakistan serve as examples of Indian civilian restraint. In the long term, India sees itself as a leading Asia-Pacific power. However, a burgeoning population, growing infrastructure requirements, bloated governmental bureaucracies, and unequal wealth distribution will tend to work against a rapid pace of internal development. Additionally, these weigh against India's vision of regional leadership and a bid for a seat at the UN Security Council. That said, its calls for regional multilateral cooperation with India playing a key role appear more credible.

Russia. Geography, history, and nuclear weaponry contribute to Russia's status as a key player in Asia-Pacific security affairs. Its extensive border with China, its territorial disputes with Japan, and military supply relationships with China and India provide examples of Russian regional involvement. Although its economy lies in the shadow of some of the leading regional powers, Russia's presence in the UN Security Council, its seat at the Group of Eight, and its abundant energy supply highlight its potential influence in Asia-Pacific affairs. After the early years in the 1990s of struggling with democracy, Russia maintains a significant inward focus on economic revitalization, democratic institutionalism, and anti-corruption and crime efforts. Instead, Russia's military influence has mainly withdrawn to dealing with neighboring states and terrorist threats as in Chechnya. Diplomatically, Russia remains engaged in forging a partnership with NATO and in influencing Balkan affairs. Importantly, President Putin increasingly shifts his support towards US policy, perhaps seeing increased future economic and multilateral benefits than aligning with China. Therefore, Russia may serve as a key friend in articulating an updated Asia-Pacific security policy.

United States. Although non-Asian in geographic terms, the United States has increasingly become Asian in many dimensions. Facing natural barriers of communication and trade flow westward across the Pacific, the interregional partnership did not rapidly develop until the past few decades. Today, the Asia-Pacific region comprises over 30 percent of US trade, having dramatically increased over the past few years. This builds upon evolving political and military interests in the region. America's

²⁰ Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill, US Ambassador to India, "The Transformation of US-India Relations: A Status Report," Address to the Delhi Policy Group, Habitat Centre, New Delhi, India, 26 February 2002, n.p. On-line, Internet, 29 March 2002. Available from <http://usembassy.state.gov/posts/in1/www12.html>

military support to the region was highlighted in the Pacific campaign of World War II. It's continued political support was cemented as General MacArthur led the reconstruction of Japan and eventually led the invasion to push back North Korea troops on the Korean Peninsula. However, US dealings with the region have been problematic. SEATO, the Asian version of NATO, failed as a containment bloc against the Soviet Union. Later, New Zealand exited the ANZUS treaty over nuclear policy and the United States fought a losing effort in Vietnam.

Although marked by a checkered past, US engagement in the region took on a new dimension in 1972 and again in the 1990s. Amid rapidly rising foreign direct investment in the region, widening labor markets, and an opening up of China, the United States has continued a general bilateral political engagement model while moving forward with multilateral military engagement. For example, the Hawaii-based US Pacific Command (USPACOM), instituted a regional senior military leader dialogue, expanded its exercise program to become multilateral, and established a computer-based communications network to foster increased military understanding and cooperation.²¹

Rising Tides—Asia-Pacific Security Trends

As we just saw, historic factors and national interests have played insurmountable hurdles to pan-regional cooperation and community-building. That said, several important forces are either aligning regional interests or posing challenges too great for unilateral solutions. These range from increased economic growth and interdependence to combating international terrorism.

Economic Growth and Interdependence. The Asia-Pacific region has had a recent roller-coaster economic experience. The currency crisis of 1997 and another economic slowdown exacerbated by the 911 terrorist attacks have left lingering doubts as to the benefits of globalization and the US' degree of commitment to the region. Although beset by laggardly economic performance over the past few years, Japan's second-leading world economy continues to provide the lifeblood of the region. In contrast, China's economy, much less susceptible to external influence, has maintained a robust seven to eight percent growth rate. The young tigers of Asia, namely Thailand, Singapore, and South Korea, among others, also contribute to generally positive regional economic growth. Intraregional trade has significantly increased over the past decade to the point that ASEAN and China have agreed to work towards tariff-free trade, thus setting the stage for a region-wide NAFTA equivalent. Indeed, the economic ties have created an economic security dynamic that both accelerates and yet constricts development of affected states. States that place significant foreign direct investment in neighboring countries have increased security interests in those states. Naturally, investor states do not want to see those investments evaporated by sea changes in host governments. Reflecting this dynamic, APEC and the ARF provide first steps and the

²¹ Admiral Dennis Blair, "Statement of Admiral Dennis C. Blair, U.S. Navy, Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, before the Senate Armed Services Committee on Fiscal Year 2002 Posture Statement," 27 March 2001, p. 33.

current venues for the United States, China, and others to address this growing economic interdependence and the accompanying economic security dilemma.²²

Dependence upon External Energy Supplies. Fueling the region's growing economies will require increasing energy supplies. Because of the region's reliance upon petroleum for both industrial and transportation industries, it will increasingly look to develop sources within the region as well as look to external supplies to fill shortfalls. In the former case, the multiple claims over the Spratly Islands highlight states' claims to potential energy sources. Meanwhile, developing countries foresee the need to protect increasingly vital sea lines of communication in which external energy sources move. Increased movement of goods and growing threats of piracy add to sea lanes' importance. As a result, some nations have implemented one of the first substantial regional security confidence building measures (CBM).²³

Increasing, but not yet Pervasive Democracy. Although far from pervasive or uniform throughout the region, democracy continues to grow, leading to shared values. While Japan and Australia highlight those with strong democratic systems and values, young democracies such as India, South Korea, and Taiwan provide solid evidence of a general trend towards democratization. Elsewhere, Russia continues to experiment with democracy and China continues to utilize heavy-handed human rights policies. In both countries, growing personal and social freedoms signal clear trends toward increased democratic values, though perhaps slower than American preferences. Additionally, open presses, personal property ownership, and increased rule of law highlight some modest democratic gains. Moderating these gains, both Myanmar and North Korea remain burrs under the democratic saddle. Both show little signs of democratic reform anytime soon. Fortunately, their dictatorial governments have done little to spread their system of governance elsewhere in the region. As a whole, the region continues to embrace democracy, albeit at its own pace. Importantly, the risks of major setbacks appear minimal, save Indonesia.

Battling Transnational Crime (Human and Drug Trafficking). Extended borders, cross-border ethnic ties, and demand-driven forces combine to pose significant transnational challenges to the region. Illegal human trafficking continues to pose problems where human rights are weak and where economic forces are strong. Similarly, narcotics growth, transportation, and marketing pose similar problems across the region. Weak governments that enable unregulated trade and unchecked cross-border migration allow such transnational forces to eat away at national health and economic resources. In

²² Tiziana Bonapace, Economic Affairs Officer, Trade Policy Section, International Trade and Industry Division, United Nations United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), *Studies in Trade and Investment 47, Regional perspectives on the WTO agenda: concerns and common interests (ST/ESCAP/2161)*, Chapter I., "Multilateralism and Regionalism: Enhancing Integration of Developing Countries into the Multilateral Trading System through Regionalism," Introduction, 26 December 2001. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.unescap.org/itid/publication/t&ipub2161.htm> . This study covers in depth the dynamics of economic interdependence.

²³ Mark J. Valencia, "The U.S. Position on Co-operative Maritime Security Frameworks," *IIPS Website*, no date, p. 12. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from http://www.iips.org/Valencia_paper.pdf

reaction, governments of both host and affected nations spend inordinate amounts of resources to battle these societal causes of decay. Increasingly, nations view reducing or eliminating transnational crime as a challenge beyond their individual means. Thus, they require regional cooperation.²⁴

Countering International Terrorism. While a relatively new phenomenon to the United States, terrorism has affected many of the Asia-Pacific nations for years. With the revelation that the Al Qaeda terrorist network had cells in over 60 countries, the Asia-Pacific region quickly became involved in the US counterterrorism effort. While Singapore and the Philippines have had direct encounters with Al Qaeda, China and other nations look with angst to the future where non-state actors increasingly turn to suicidal terrorist acts potentially with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to influence governments and public opinion. Perhaps inspired by the unfortunate deaths of many Asians in the World Trade Center attack, many Asian nations willingly contributed personnel and resources to the subsequent US counterterrorist coalition and campaign. Thus, we are witnessing an emerging common vital interest. Some Asia watchers have called upon ASEAN, in a multilateral approach, to combat this common threat to individual and regional Asia-Pacific security.²⁵

Increased Acceptance of Multilateralism. As described above, aligning forces and insurmountable common challenges give the Asia-Pacific region cause to move beyond strategies of self-help. Nations have come to realize that their pooled resources and efforts allow them to address issues cooperatively to enhance their survival and promote their development. The proliferation of multilateral regimes in security and economic circles highlight this key trend. Underlying this trend is an increasing sense of Asia-Pacific identity. Experience shows that successful multilateral regimes stem from a sense of shared identity, and external recognition as an identifiable community.²⁶ While many region watchers did not see a regional shared identity for most of the latter half of the 20th century, the emergence of multilateral regimes indicates a definite movement towards that end. As will be discussed in the following section, many regimes are subregional in an Asia-Pacific context. Nevertheless, the growth of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) from five to ten nations and its increasing ties with China demonstrates a widening of perceptions of Asian nations with sufficient common interests. Complimenting the sense of community, multilateralism has been used in a pragmatic way by China. It realizes that its neighbors, intimidated by its size and potential, derive benefit from its inclusion in multilateral activities. Others claim China's multilateral bent is motivated more by a desire to build an Asia proper pole to balance US power to the east. Regardless, multilateral activity in both security and economic spheres continues to grow amid its offers of mutual benefit and increased security to both spheres.

24 Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Regional Ministerial Conference on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime," Bali, Indonesia, 26-28 February 2002. On-line, Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from http://www.dfat.gov.au/illegal_immigration/

25 Dalpino and Steinberg, n.p.

26 Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," Unpublished Draft, 2002, p. 30

Discussion

Charting a Path: Regional Security Alternatives

Given the foregoing discussion of actors, interests, and forces at work in the Asia-Pacific region, crafting a viable US Asia-Pacific security strategy poses a particularly complex challenge. The extreme ends of the spectrum of approaches might include a balance of power approach on the realist extreme and an institutional, multilateral approach on the liberal extreme. Applied to the existing Asia-Pacific security environment, realists might stress the continuing reliance upon existing bilateral alliances to encircle and balance a rising China threat. A liberal approach would highlight the need for a multilateral approach that embraces and coerces through international pressure a rising Chinese partner. Whatever the solution, the Asia-Pacific and a rising China pose unique challenges. Potential solutions might take valuable lessons from other regions and historic security approaches, but must avoid dogmatic, myopic, and shortsighted pitfalls. Thus, the following discussion will attempt to cover the realist and liberal approaches and the ground between them.

A NATO for the Asia-Pacific—A Containment Strategy.

Why is there no NATO in the Asia-Pacific? Why did the SEATO alliance faltered in Asia while NATO thrived in Europe? Is not China a threat to be encircled with an alliance-based balance of power? These questions continue to be asked and certainly deserve an answer in the search for a workable US security strategy for the Asia-Pacific. Any realist solution to the China-rising security dilemma would include some balance of power to ensure at least parity with China as it grows and possibly builds partnerships and alliances of its own. Such a solution might include the possibility of linking existing US bilateral alliances into a regional alliance with China as its principle threat. The viability of such an approach might be found in a review of NATO's originating purpose and recent evolution.

On the heels of World War II, several forces combined to prompt the creation and ultimate success of NATO. First, the Soviet Union and its expansive Communist ideology posed vital and proximate threats to Europe and by cultural, racial, and historical extension, to Western civilization. Second, European powers implored the United States to shed its isolationist security policy and to remain engaged to oversee the reconstruction of a decimated Europe. Third, the United States and Europe both wanted a construct which would both act as a catalyst to German reconstruction while ensuring that it would never again threaten Europe. The common adage that NATO was devised to keep the Russians out, the US in, and the Germans down exemplified a widespread sentiment of the day.²⁷

27 Hemmer and Katzenstein argue that the Soviet Communist threat was secondary in both time and purpose in forming the NATO alliance. While the Communist threat does not emerge as NATO's principal organizing rationale in their research, an absence of European and Soviet views in their research leaves the question open. Given the clear security guarantee and related language of the NATO Charter in 1949, this

Beyond the rationale, the methodology of alliance-building as seen in NATO's creation is also instructive. Theoretical explanations posit that the United States and Europe shared a common identity—or was voiced by political leadership to create that perception. Given that perception, a sense of community developed, paving the way for collective interests to win over self-interest. Thus NATO was born for the reasons mentioned above. Has it been a success? Witness NATO's recent 50th Anniversary in April 1999 as testimony to the longest period of peace Western Europe has seen in centuries. In this case, NATO proved that cooperation by way of institutionalism carried more benefits than self-benefits and satisfied the conditions necessary to overcome barriers to cooperation.²⁸ Those conditions were fears of Soviet military advancement across European plains and the imposed Communist ideology that would follow.

Why then did NATO flourish in Europe while SEATO languished and then disappeared from the Asian landscape in the same timeframe against the same Soviet threat. Briefly, the principal Soviet threat in the latter 1940s and 1950s was seen from a European perspective in which the Red Army would roll across the Central European plains westward across Europe. The same military threat and geography simply did not exist in Asia. Also, there was no sense of Asian community similar to Europe. SEATO's membership was not a homogenous grouping of Asian nations nor all-inclusive. The significant variations in governance of its early members hardly provided the shared values to create a community of Asian nations. Asia's relative geographic expanse lied in contrast to the confines of Europe. The Black Sea, the Himalayas, and the Gobi desert posed expansive geographic barriers and logistical challenges. Additionally, the United States, at that time, was not "in" Asia economically nor politically as compared to Europe. Recalling its emergence as a global leader, the United States also did not have the resources to sustain an alliance with significant forward-based troops and equipment as seen in its military build-up in Europe in the 1950s that contrasted with the ill-equipped and low readiness posture of Asia-based troops on the Korean peninsula.

Do the conditions faced by NATO in the 1940s and 1950s exist today in Asia in any semblance to warrant a US-led alliance? Put simply, China does not currently pose the ideological or military threat posed by the Communist Soviet Union. In contrast, Communist is all but dead in China. Many scholars agree that while Chinese leaders pay lip service to Communism, their pragmatism indicates otherwise. Devolution from a command economy to a market-based economy is but one telltale sign. Marked absences of Communist ideology from Chinese exhortations of bilateral, regional, and global interaction further confirm this. Thus, the expansionist, ideological component seen in past Communist regimes is not present. Chinese security policy is also largely content to maintain its leverage nearer its periphery than to take on global expansionist dimensions. Its claims to Taiwan, within the South China Sea, and near Japan do not bode of a nation bent on territorial expansion. Each of these claims contains components of cultural, economic, or historic credibility. These reflect more as assertions, though clearly

paper will maintain that the realist balance of power counter to the Soviet Union was the principal reason for NATO's creation.

28 Hemmer and Katzenstein, 7, 23.

arguable from other perspectives, of peripheral claims than regional or global ambitions. Militarily, China's armed forces, although strong in number, simply do not pose any parallel to the Cold War Soviet Red Army. Chinese attempts to modernize have caused concern in Western security circles principally due to double-digit annual budget increases. However, a closer look reveals a significant reduction in its standing army and modest attempts to modernize its Russian-supplied equipment. Its military budget—and military capability—remains but a shadow of the US military budget. That its conventional capability is rising is clear but yet not to where it can influence much more than peripheral events. Contrary to Clausewitzian strategies of pitched battles, the Chinese instead appear to be taking a Sun Tzu approach, developing asymmetric and other indirect capabilities. Can this be surprising to a power (the United States) whose military successes amply demonstrate that attempting to match its might, capability by capability, is economically suicidal? Perhaps China will become more assertive, but at this juncture growing Chinese power appears more rooted in economic and asymmetric military capabilities than in those that would warrant a NATO-like military alliance.

Given the lack of an ominous military threat, domestic political will across the region has not produced the calls or credible proposals for Asia-specific or US-led alliance building. Unless Chinese behavior becomes much more assertive, it appears unlikely that domestic polities would support a regional alliance and the attendant military and economic costs one would entail. One look at NATO provides a good case study in alliance costs. Such an Asia-Pacific regime would likely entail increased US troop commitments across the region. Supporting those troops and their need for recurring exercising would require significant infrastructure and operating costs. The absence of a credible and proximate threat to national survival makes prospects for accepting foreign troops on nation's soil or their attendant costs unviable.

An Asia-Pacific alliance would serve to contain China and act as a balance of power against it. Given the sources, amounts, and upward trends of foreign direct investment in China and trade flows, it stretches the mind to understand how containment of the very country with which the United States vigorously promotes trade, China, coherently serves its interests. China has already voiced its concern over existing bilateral alliances serving as a US containment strategy, so it seems difficult to see how China would not adversely react to implementation of a formal alliance. Together, the lack of a clear and present danger, the lack of domestic political support, and the counterproductive effects of a containment approach, as embodied by a regional alliance, make such a policy highly impractical.

A De Facto Alliance—Maintaining the Status Quo.

If a formal balance of power and regional alliance structure pose insurmountable challenges, does a policy of de facto containment overcome those challenges and meet security needs? Realist expectations of promoting interests suggest that maintaining the present system of alliances preserves a future hedge against potential Chinese hegemony. The status quo also serves to retard Chinese development and, in turn, serves US interests as the global leader. Some realist calls for muting Chinese development would maintain

existing bilateral alliances while actively leveraging economic power to slow Chinese growth.²⁹ Such a strategy would certainly serve as a future hedge but would also risk alienating not only China but also the very bilateral allies who also have significant economic interests in China. Reduced Chinese growth, currently the only unsinkable economic ship in the Asia-Pacific regional economy, would only further exacerbate wide variances in other subregional economies. The resulting economic insecurity would undermine political security and democratic enlargement, especially in teetering economies or in instable governments. The status quo also allows Chinese autocratic leadership to credibly focus internal dissent over developmental and human rights issues directly at the United States and its allies. Thus, a de facto balance of power also falls short of a desirable outcome both in the short-term and long-term.

De Jour Networks—Coalitions of the Willing.

Recent US security activity has taken on an evolutionary approach consisting of so-called “coalitions of the willing.” In instances where alliance structures were either absent or inappropriate and having formed distaste for conducting military operations through alliance and multilateral regimes, the United States has adopted a coalition-of-the-willing approach in its current counterterrorism campaign. While too early to objectively analyze the genesis and full implications of this approach, several comments deserve mention. First, the US has a track record of using coalitions for vital interests. Recalling the broad coalition employed in 1991 against Iraq, the United States has again asked other nations to join it as the lead nation in prosecuting another vital interest, in this case international terrorism. Second, US political and military leaders have complained about the restrictions encountered when conducting combat operations within an alliance. These leaders complained bitterly over rules of engagement, target selection, and collateral damage concerns imposed by alliance and international organization (IO) partners, as in NATO during Operation ALLIED FORCE (Kosovo) and the United Nations during Operation DELIBERATE FORCE (Bosnia-Herzegovina).³⁰

While US preference for coalitions of the willing frees up its operational forces and gives it strategic flexibility, this approach encounters several drawbacks. First, for non-vital interests this approach risks placing key strategic allies in domestic political dilemmas where perceived costs or risks exceed potential material benefits. Situations can easily emerge where coalition leaders are unable to support US-led efforts because of domestic political pressures stemming from perspectives far different from the United States. Second, this approach could easily lead to differentiated and thus incoherent regional security strategies. The potential inconsistencies resulting from happenstance cooperation make any recognizable regional cooperation even less viable. Additionally,

29 Richard D. Thornton, “The United States and China: Time for a Change,” *Study of Chinese Military Affairs*, (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 31 October 2001), n.p. On-line. Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from http://www.ndu.edu/inss/China_Center/Rthornton.htm

30 The United States voiced similar complaints during peacekeeping operations in Somalia. During Operation DELIBERATE FORCE, the US was part of a dual-track chain of command that proved unwieldy and unnecessarily restrictive when applied to the fluid environment during combat operations. Highly restrictive rules of engagement and cumbersome decision-making processes measurably degraded commanders’ ability to lead their forces.

coalitions of the willing provide less impetus for nations to join or to stay than with multilateral or alliance regimes. Thus, predictability and commitment will likely remain markedly lower than multilateral and alliance regimes. Finally, coalitions of the willing provide credibility only to the degree that influential nations agree to join and maintain their support. Clearly in Operation DESERT STORM and now in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the large number of coalition members provides the caliber of credibility a NATO-like or UN-sponsored operation engenders. However, as witnessed shortly following DESERT STORM, the coalition disbanded. Today, outside the host countries of Turkey and Saudi Arabia, only the United States and Great Britain remain to conduct no-fly zone operations over Iraq. In sum, coalitions of the willing appear at this juncture to serve well for narrowly focused, vital security interests of short-term duration. However, they pose significant limitations to coherent regional security formulation and implementation requiring long-term, enduring approaches.

Multilateralism: The European Way.

An alternative to an alliance-based approach lies in the liberal method of developing multilateral regimes whereby common agreement on the regime's principals secures the necessary cooperation to overcome bilateral and common challenges. However, a multilateral approach falls short of security guarantees provided by a security alliance, posing at once both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand nations have the freedom to act in their self and collective interests on their terms. On the other hand, any one nation does not have the security guarantees offered by an alliance. In Europe, both alliance and multilateral security regimes developed during the Cold War and filled various roles. Two principal regimes are discussed below.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). On the political level and created as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1972, the OSCE has evolved from its formulation as a European security *process* to that of multilateral security *institution*. Comprised of 54 member nations, OSCE acts predominantly in the political sphere and has navigated four stages of development.³¹ In the post-Cold War era, OSCE has evolved into an institution that aims at mechanism-building while shedding its prior standard-setting nature. Its relevance today lies in its success in preventing and delaying ethnic conflict. However, it is constrained by its consensus decision-making process and by the lack of an enforcement mechanism. Recent trends point towards NATO as acting as the European military security pillar while OSCE acts on broader political issues, focusing on conflict prevention and, less effectively, in preventive diplomacy. Meanwhile, the European Union (EU) provides the multilateral arm within the economic dimension. OSCE's greatest potential lies in its contribution as a blueprint for development of a pan-European security community as a

31 Originally, the CSCE was envisioned to act as an integrative regional forum for dialogue, consultation and cooperation to overcome the ominous Cold War security dilemma. With its primary focus on security it also provided, to a lesser degree, a forum to discuss economic and humanitarian issues. However, over time, other regional institutions evolved to dominate the discussions and policy attendant to those security spheres. After the difficult challenge of reaching consensus on operating principles, the CSCE moved on towards developing CSBMs and eventually arms control regimes.

pluralistic organ with common principles, norms, and values. However, it must deal with a limited mandate to manage crises and settle conflicts, and its track record of slow movement in a dynamic diplomatic environment. It must also address the trend of international intervention into sovereign affairs under grievous circumstances.³²

Partnership for Peace (PfP). At the intersection of the political-military affairs, the PfP program, as a security institution, was established in 1994 as a methodology to allow prospective members to work alongside NATO members and as an initiative to include the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council member nations to cooperate in peaceful military activities. PfP has evolved to become a highly effective military security regime in which member nations and their militaries jointly plan, train, and exercise selected military tasks. The Partner Coordination Cell, through which the PfP program is executed, provides daily contact between member nations' military members. Through this cell, partner nations plan, train, and exercise PfP activities. Additionally, operational and tactical cooperation in the Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Kosovo Force (KFOR) in Kosovo, Serbia, have demonstrated the effectiveness of multilateral military planning and operations to contribute to regional stability, peace enforcement, and peace building.³³ PfP remains a voluntary participatory institution that works closely at the political level with NATO. It offers the synergistic benefits of cooperative planning, budgeting, training, and exercising that would otherwise be limited by unilateral or bilateral efforts. While it does not offer any of the security guarantees of NATO, PfP nations benefit from common military understanding, interoperability, transparency, and confidence-building activities.

A Formal Network—The Asian Way.

Neoliberal multilateralism has had mixed success in the Asia-Pacific region. Clearly, multilateral regimes have increased in number to serve a variety of purposes. Some, such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Council (APEC) bring together economic interests from across Asia and the western shores of the Western Hemisphere. Others, such as the Shanghai Six, bring together nations to settle border disputes and promote free trade. The following describe the current major security actors and approaches in the Asia-Pacific region.

Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN was established in 1967 with the leadership of Indonesia in a Cold War context. Membership has grown

32 For an in depth analysis of CSCE/OSCE formation, implementation, and effectiveness, see Hong, Ki-Joon, *The CSCE Security Regime Formation: An Asian Perspective*, (Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1997). Most importantly, the formation and evolution of CSCE/OSCE provide an excellent baseline of study for other pan-regional security regimes. The lessons learned throughout its 29 year history provide ample material on which to tailor other regions' regional security efforts.

33 This assertion builds upon the presupposition that daily contact and planning as well as periodic training and exercising build confidence in cooperation and interoperability, transparency of intent and capability and, through long-term relationships, predictability of action in crisis. In turn, increased security and stability foster economic growth, which, along with free markets, bring added prosperity. In turn, added prosperity reinforces existing political stability, increases a nation's predictability, and thus contributes to increased regional stability.

from five member nations to the current ten. A governmental organization (Track 1), ASEAN holds annual meetings of heads of state and other key ministerial posts. In addition, the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference (PMC) expands the ASEAN group to include dialogue partners such as the United States and China and focuses on regional economic issues at Track 1 (governmental level). Following the ASEAN PMC, the annual Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) supports the PMC process by expanding dialogue to multilateral security issues. ASEAN has been effective in creating a sense of community in Southeast Asia. However, it does not offer security guarantees nor does it move beyond political or economic issues in the security realm. Relying upon the “ASEAN Way,” member nations rely principally upon dialogue and consensus to work through issues. The benefits of this approach include accommodation for wide variances in SE Asia’s systems of governance, various cultures, and long-term approach to political and economic challenges. Criticism has been made of its inability to move forward more quickly on critical SE Asian issues. Additionally, the consensus approach allows any one nation to essentially block progress on widely-agreed upon solutions.

ASEAN Plus 3 (AP3). A subregional group, the AP3 includes the 10 ASEAN nations plus China, Japan and South Korea. It meets regularly and has recently moved forward on important cooperative measures principally in economic cooperation. Most recently, it has reached agreement with China in working towards an East Asia Free Trade Zone which excludes the United States.

ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The ARF thus far serves as the only multilateral security regime in the region. It represents a slow but growing consensus of the region’s need to move into multilateral security cooperation. Consisting of 23 members, it meets only on an annual basis. It reflects the diplomatic preference of the region as embodied in the so-called ASEAN Way. As an extension of ASEAN, the ARF’s approach also places a premium on dialogue and consensus. It reflects a much more informal diplomatic negotiating process than that used by Western diplomats. The ARF has succeeded by incorporating a wide number of key Asian states, providing them the forum to voice concerns. It fosters face-to-face dialogue previously non-existent on such a broad scale. Importantly, focus groups have taken on important regional and subregional issues for debate and policy implementation. Of note, China has embraced the ARF and has hosted several confidence building measure (CBM) working groups. The most notable CBM success has been the agreement on laws of the sea.³⁴ As a result of its wide membership, the inclusion of China, and success in implementing confidence-building measures (CBM), many agree that ARF presents the best foundation for Asia-Pacific security cooperation. However, critics point to its infrequent meeting schedule, its reliance upon consensus and dialogue, and lack of common agreed principles. Currently, the ARF struggles to maintain credibility with the loss of its early champion, former President Suharto of Indonesia. Exacerbating the problem, Indonesia’s internal struggles have left the ARF rudderless save some recent proposals to strengthen the chair’s authority and other measures that begin the process of moving ARF from annual meeting

34 Scott Snyder, Brad Glosserman, and Ralph A. Cossa, *Confidence Building Measures in the South China Seas*, Pacific Forum CSIS Issues & Insights No. 2-01, August 2001, p. 2. On-line, Internet, 25 May 2002. Available from http://www.csis.org/pacfor/issues_scs_report.pdf

status to that of fledgling institution and inching towards preventive diplomacy. However, despite successful implementation of the most recent changes, the ARF will still remain powerless in crisis management, consequence management, and peace operations.

These limitations stem from the fact that the ARF is not an institution. It does not have a secretariat based upon its need to only meet annually. At its inception, the political impetus and traditions of the ASEAN Way did not foresee the viability of taking such a large initial step. Unlike Europe in the 1940s, the Asia-Pacific region in the mid-1990s did not face an ominous threat. Thus, no political much less military headquarters was required nor constructed. As a result, no forum exists for regional nations for daily consultation much less political or military coordination or cooperation. The net result has many nations questioning whether multilateralism as embodied in the ARF ASEAN Way provides the most effective means to address current and future regional security issues.

Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). CSCAP was founded in 1993 as an adaptation of the European NGO (Track 2) unofficial regional security process. It helped form the ARF and currently supports its agenda through multilateral funding of research and dialogue with academia and officials acting in their unofficial capacities. All ARF members are CSCAP members while India is currently an associate member. As a critical supportive body to ARF, the CSCAP is not suited to lead or form the basis of a future Asia-Pacific security regime.

Mapping a Networked Approach—Multilateral Security Cooperation.

Having examined the existing and emerging regional dynamics as well as potential security approaches, the way forward requires a careful accounting for the long-term interests of the region while tailoring a proposal for region-specific rationale. Driving the long-term view, China's growth and emerging power give fuel to a realist approach that favors a balance of power or alliance approach. However, China does not now nor reasonably soon pose a viable direct threat to US interests, save the Taiwanese flashpoint until at least the mid-term.³⁵ The lack of this threat, in combination with the absence of region-wide Asia-Pacific affinities, suggests a more comprehensive, constructivist approach at least for the near term. Should China assert its growing power at the expense of its neighbors and the region at large, the absence of any security fallback would entail unacceptable survival risks for those most threatened and for those willing to come to their support. Thus, a viable approach should have, as a vital provision, a means to secure the sovereignty of China's neighbors in a worst-case scenario.

The US security aim, vis-à-vis China should be the long-term goal of a benign yet developing China. This priority can remain consistent with traditional US goals of promoting democratic values, human rights, and economic development. With regards to

35 Department of Defense, *Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, September 2001), 4.

these goals, US experience with and regional calls for multilateral approaches warrant significant merit for this region's security environment. As depicted earlier, containment alone, de facto or de jour, poses unacceptable risks of fostering a hostile China. America does not need an enemy in China. Instead, US Asia-Pacific security policy should inclusively tie China and other aspiring regional powers to a common set of standards that can be verified by visible cooperation.

In a recent and positive development, China has embraced multilateralism. In fact, it has taken a leading role in Asian multilateralism while the United States now finds itself increasingly out of several key regimes. Recently, China hosted an Asia-only economic group that will meet annually on its island of Hainan.³⁶ ASEAN plus 3 and other regimes purposefully do not include the United States, thus marginalizing its role in the region. This diplomatic isolation should provide added impetus for the United States to move beyond merely paying lip-service to multilateralism and develop concrete policy.

Beyond the increased ties with Russia, China's behavior is likely to be moderated by its increasing participation in multilateral regimes. To the extent that China realizes gains from its entry to and participation in such regimes, it must compromise on issues previously immutable under hard-line Communist/Marxist ideology. Continued movement in cooperative ventures and regimes will further bind China to principles common to regime members. While this may serve, as is the case with the United States, to ensure China's influence into regional and global politics, it also should signal a reluctant acceptance to play by the rules which do not accept armed conflict as an acceptable solution to disagreements. Of course, this observation is well aware of historic precedent of multilateralism's necessity but not sufficiency for peaceful international relations.

In parallel with political multilateralism, China's increasing movement towards economic integration into the global market also acts as a moderating factor on assertiveness and positive factor towards self-restraint, at least in the short to mid term. As China continues to develop its export market, especially with WTO acceptance as a catalyst to move further, the negative effects, both externally and domestically, will limit China leadership's viable strategies and courses of action. As mentioned above, economic integration, similar to other shifts in its openness, will only limit China's leadership's ability to act commensurate with their degree of authoritarianism.

Multilateralism benefits the United States in several other important ways. A more effective security regime would help smooth the inevitable transition of Japan back into North East Asia and Asia-Pacific security activities. A more formal security regime with an operational military component would help alleviate regional concerns over Japanese return to hegemony and allow it to regain respect and viability as a full-fledged regional security actor. This serves US interests by reducing the costs of its bilateral commitment to Japan while not necessarily reducing the absolute commitment in principal. Rising tensions within in Japan, most notably seen by Okinawan resentment

36 Reuters, "China hosts Asia-style Davos," *CNN.com/WORLD* 11 April 2002. On-line, Internet, 25 May 2002, n.p. Available from <http://asia.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/east/04/11/china.davos.reut/>

over the disproportionate amount of US basing as compared to the rest of Japan, signal growing discomfort with the de facto degree of US control over its sovereignty and future.

Multilateralism also helps the United States subtly promote democratic values and human rights. As the United States learned by its failed policy in China, which in the mid-1990s linked most favored nation trading status with human rights conditions, the United States should remain aware that Asia-Pacific states continue to move towards democracy but at their own pace. Unfortunately, ethnocentric mirroring has previously fueled unrealistic expectations of rapid democratic institution building in Russia and other states. The United States must continue to recognize that fostering democratic values and human rights is not supported by containment or differentiated bilateral approaches. Rather, multilateral engagement through extensive dialogue, robust educational exchanges, and government-strengthening CBMs provide the best avenues for success. As witnessed by the success of democracy over Communism, containment did not conquer an ideology. Rather, the ideas embraced by the Helsinki Final Act, as they worked to undermine Communism from within, proved vital in reducing the Soviet Union to a confederation of states.³⁷

While some realists fully expected NATO to disassemble following the collapse of its principal threat, they were surprised to see the institution alter its focus and emphasize its political component. Whereas NATO focused on countering Communism and the Red Army, it now sees itself as a force for consolidating the gains of spreading democracy within Europe. In fact, US President Bush openly envisions NATO as an ever-expanding “zone of peace”, despite Russian rhetoric to the contrary.³⁸ Although some question the degree of support from within to defend others if attacked (Article 5),³⁹ NATO members boast of its track record of peaceful accommodation and joint successes in countering Communism and in calming the instabilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Given the preceding rationale that an alliance is unsuitable for

37 Anna Nadgrodzkiwicz, “Koh emphasizes importance of Helsinki process,” *Aerotech News and Review: Journal of Aerospace and Defense Industry News*, International News, Washington File, 15 August 2000, n.p. On-line, Internet, 25 May 2002. Available from

http://www.aerotechnews.com/starc/2000/081500/Helsinki_Agreement.html

38 As stated at a joint press conference in Madrid June 12 with Spanish President Jose Maria Aznar, Bush Meets Spanish President, US Department of State Information Agency, 12 Jun 2001, available at <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/eur/bush01/aznar.htm> Also, as quoted by CNN, available at <http://www11.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/06/12/bush.visit.04/> See also President Bush’ remarks on the US view towards NATO’s future available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/06/20010613-10.html>. Following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the United States, Russian President Putin has publicly stated his intention for Russia to reassess its relationship with NATO.

39 As taken from The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington, DC, 4 Apr 1949, available at <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm> Additionally, in building a credible collective defense, NATO nations undertook extensive and expensive efforts to establish both political and military headquarters, operational military organizations and a complex series of policy, training, exercises, doctrine, and evaluation processes. Cooperation has evolved so extensively that NATO can and has acted, as in Kosovo, in open hostilities in a coordinated and synchronized manner. Following the collapse of the Iron Curtain, NATO has evolved to develop so-called out-of-region and out-of-territory policy and military capability as an extended military arm of the European security community.

the Asia-Pacific region, NATO's example of institutional success gives significant weight to proposing institutions that promote constant dialogue, foster security transparency, encourage military interoperability and build military trust through planning and exercises.

Hand-in-hand with reducing US burdens on its alliance partners goes burden-sharing vis-à-vis China. As China develops, so too should the region's nations put forth an equitable degree of security contributions. As nations settle border disputes, they can increasingly devote increased attention to regional security concerns, whether contributing to deter a hostile China or to help assure friends in peacekeeping operations. Increased burden sharing, via a coordinated program of constant contact, planning, and exercising, would help bolster individual and regional self-interests while promoting the mutual benefits of interoperability and assured cooperation.

While the above benefits point to a strengthened multilateral approach to Asia-Pacific security, the question remains whether conditions exist that would allow the United States to lead regional efforts to institutionalize several aspects of a revamped Asia-Pacific security policy. As the introductory analysis showed, the forces of economic growth and interdependence, reliance upon external energy supplies, and transnational crime and terrorism indeed provide the political impetus to overcome geographic, historic, and ideological differences. With a foundation of regional identity as developed gradually through APEC and now the ARF, the Asia-Pacific region increasingly finds affinities that provide the cement to multilateral cooperation. Thus, the stage has been set for modification of the existing multilateral approach.

Conclusions

Forming a Network Blueprint: US Vision, Objectives, and Strategy Formulation

Taking from the extensive, but not exhaustive list of major forces at work, several conclusions become clear regarding Asia-Pacific security. First, US and Chinese interests are fundamentally in conflict. Second, Chinese and several, at a minimum, regional powers' interests are in conflict. Third, China has the long-term potential to match or exceed US power and poses a vital security risk should it assert its power to dominate regional if not global affairs. Fourth, despite the first three conclusions, emerging forces are aligning regional interests and highlighting the need for cooperative solutions to multilateral challenges. Fifth, embryonic multilateral security exists throughout only a portion of the region. Sixth, existing multilateral security is episodic and without enforcement mechanisms. Seventh, insufficient transparency, trust, and cooperation exist between the region's militaries. Eighth, existing regional multilateral security leadership is lacking.

Regional Vision. A viable national security strategy begins with the leadership's vision for America's future shaped by its prioritized national interests and values. In turn, these provide the foundation for national objectives and thus bound strategy, which

artfully choreographs the nation's resources to attain those objectives. The United States should adopt the following Asia-Pacific vision:

The United States envisions a peaceful Asia-Pacific region in which democracy and human rights continue to spread alongside the stabilizing forces of open markets and the rule of law. Furthermore, the United States envisions a region integrated in ways that extract the benefits of globalization enhanced by regional and cultural aspects and yet integrated in ways that stem challenges posed by those who would seek to exploit the freedoms and mobility of ideas, people, and goods. Finally, the United States envisions a region free from armed conflict or the forces leading to conflict borne out of the rise of a hegemon or state resorting to balance of power politics.

Regional Security Objectives. From the above vision follows a non-exhaustive set of US objectives for the Asia-Pacific region:

- Expansion of the family of democratically led nations
- A broadened community of nations willing to join and adhere to WTO principles
- Amicable settlement and elimination of border and territorial disputes
- Internal governmental stability during political transition while respecting human rights
- Increased intrastate trade with reduced or removed tariffs
- Expanded markets for foreign investment and development, built around responsible checks to ensure economic and financial stability in crisis
- Open sea lines of communication free from piracy and threat of disturbance
- Reduction in transnational criminal activity
- Elimination of sources of international terrorism
- Increased intra-regional tourism and cultural exchanges to promote understanding and tolerance
- Increased number of nations with civil control of the military
- Creation of an effective political-military security apparatus to plan, train, exercise, and if necessary conduct peace operations to build trust, increase transparency, and add predictability

Given the above guiding vision and specific objectives, a strategy can then follow which mobilizes the various resources within the United States and in the region in a way that most effectively achieves the vision while meeting US interests and minimizes the future security risks to the region. These various resources extend beyond the physical militaries, fortifications, weaponry and other means commonly employed to secure interests. The following strategy's resources draw on the lessons of historic security policy successes and failures, a broad and sustained understanding of regional security interaction and preferences, and current institutional, multilateral, and alliance structures and methodologies.

From Blueprint to Gridwork: A Strategy of Assured Partnership

Comprehensive, Multi-tier Structure: Intersecting Interests and Values.

A strategy of assured partnership will require a regional security architectural transformation. To accomplish this, the Asia-Pacific region can learn much from Europe's efforts in building and evolving its security regimes. The lessons are clear: first, the need for an effective political regime based upon agreed principles; second, the need for a means to guard against military adventurism or hegemony; and third, a means for militaries to work together in a spirit of transparency, cooperation, and teamwork. This comprehensive approach incorporates the existing US Asia-Pacific bilateral alliance security framework to establish a secure environment on which productive political and military security regimes complete an umbrella of stability. Flowing from this stability, heightened economic prosperity, expanding freedoms, and improved human rights thrive and advance. Importantly, this approach avoids a zero-sum mentality, and looks to promote both US interests and values while allowing for China's aims of self-determination, cooperation, and peaceful coexistence. Adding to the strategy's acceptance is an important dimension of including "the ASEAN Way" of deliberation and nuance.

Powering the Grid: Alliances as Sources of Stability.

Despite the grand vision of Wilsonian institutionalism, the League of Nations never fulfilled its progenitor's hope as a means to end global armed conflict. History reluctantly records the need for military force as a coercive instrument of a nation's power. With this in mind and being mindful of China's rapid growth and opacity, a forward-looking strategy must bear in mind the potential for an overly assertive hegemon. Likewise, a democratic India is poised for significant growth in power. Maintaining both a real and conceptual notion of security will nonetheless require efforts to mitigate the risks of rising nations using their newfound power in ways contrary to US values and interests. Mindful of calls from within the region for continued US presence, the maintenance of existing US defensive alliances provides the undergirding aspect of this proposed US Asia-Pacific security policy.

Maintaining existing alliances also helps lock the US into all outcomes of Asia-Pacific security. The degree of intra-regional trade bolstered by American guarantees of

its free flow to and from key allies adds a necessary dimension of security that spreads to other portions of the region. The unique geographic expanse in part kept secure by American naval and air presence and expeditionary capability contributes to deter state and non-state actors from disturbing flows of commerce and from wanton territorial incursions. With assuredness of US defensive support, allies have increased latitude to influence subregional security. Leveraging of this power helps the United States in sharing the costs of security and lowering the burden of utilizing military forces and other resources.

If taking a long view approach to Asia-Pacific security, existing bilateral alliances could provide the formative basis for future collective security. Should NATO succeed in transforming from a Cold War relic to a sustainable, self-assuring collective security regime, it could provide rationale to develop a collective security body for the Asia-Pacific region. This, of course, also presumes wide and significant convergent shifts in interests sufficient to form a polity with near supranational powers. While it might be difficult to imagine a grouping of democracies warranting a collective defense, there may be evolved US interests, such as energy sources or routes, trade sources or routes and others which may warrant such a development. Alternatively, should a regional hegemon develop, the extensive US alliance structure will provide a head start along a path of collective security.

US Asia-Pacific Alliances

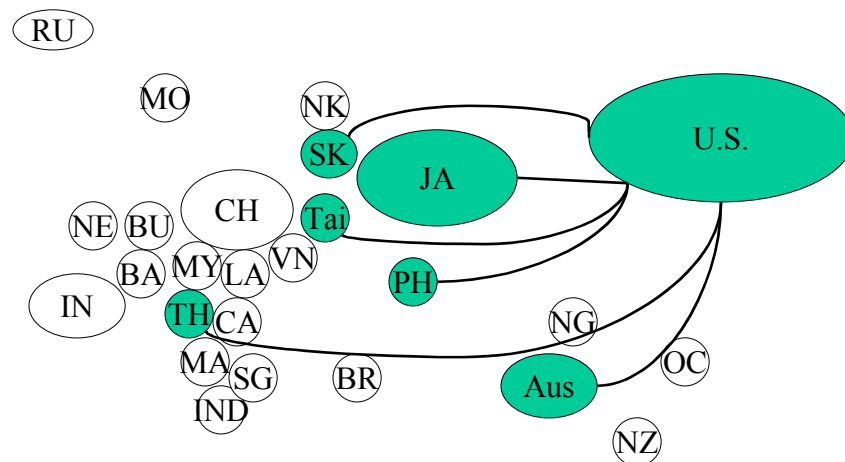


Figure 1. US Asia-Pacific Security Alliances. Source: US Government documents.

Importantly, US alliances within the region should not formally coalesce to form a real or perceived containment of China. To do so would pose tremendous risks of China further arming, becoming even more vitriolic, or taking adventurous risks with Taiwan, the South China Seas, or with trade relations. The costs of a US-led security

alliance, to the degree of increasing forward-deployed forces and reducing economic trade with China, appear unwise in any timeframe.

Building the Lattice: Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation (OAPC)—A Transformed ASEAN Regional Forum.

While security alliances provide effective means to defend allies, they lack the breadth of institutions built upon broader (political, economic, cultural, etc) common interests and agreed principles. Likewise, “processes” such as the former European CSCE and today’s Asia-Pacific ARF provide only limited ability for the region move to adopt mechanisms in preventive diplomacy, crisis management, and peacekeeping operations. In the face of irreversible globalization, increasing economic interdependence, and growing transnational crime and terrorism, institutionalizing security processes provides the very persistence and effort necessary to address complex and challenging issues. To the degree that the pace of change is increasing, existing security forums will continue to be outpaced by complex phenomenon. Having outlived ASEAN’s founding purpose, the ARF, as an extension of ASEAN, should evolve, transforming those principles, processes, and CBMs, into a relevant, pan-Asia-Pacific security regime.

Such a transformed security regime, an Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation, or OAPC, should be based upon several key criteria. The OAPC should remain, as with ARF, China-inclusive. By including China, the OAPC would ensure China’s voice is heard on all issues. The remainder of the forum would gain China’s perspective on security issues. Additionally, the OAPC would evolve to include the entire Asia-Pacific region. Currently, the ARF’s group of 23 nations excludes important nations such as India that have pivotal roles in their respective portion of the region. Similarly, the United States should remain integral to OAPC. With its interests and economic ties increasingly Asia-oriented, US participation will add necessary Western balance and perspective to Asia-Pacific affairs.

Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation

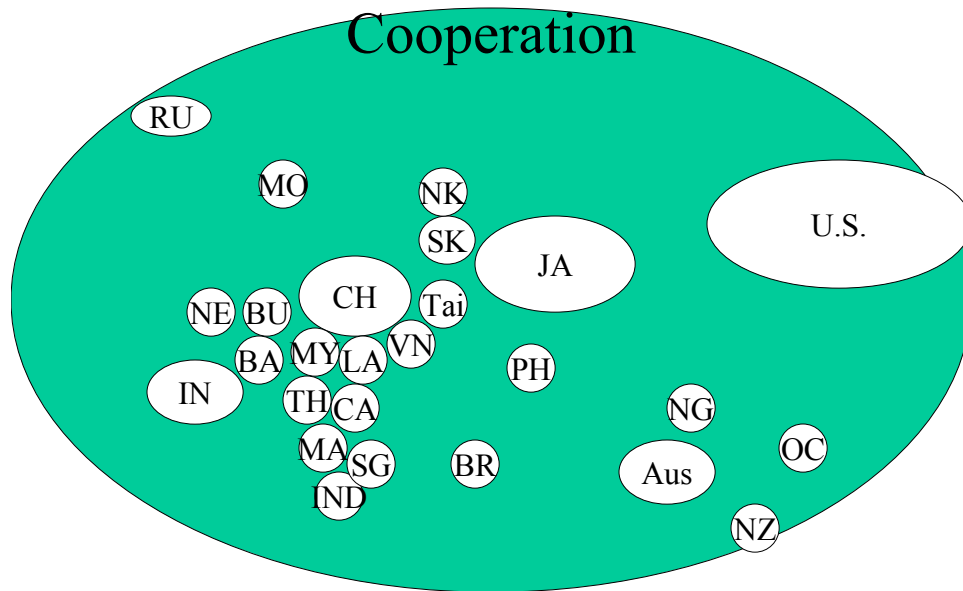


Figure 2. Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation (Proposed). Source: Author.

The OAPC should move from the current ARF annual meeting of senior ministers to an institutionalized forum for continuous dialogue, replete with ambassadorial-level representation. As is custom in the region, telephone diplomacy can give way to personal interaction and familiarity. Numerous regional leaders have espoused the value of face-to-face dialogue presented by existing regimes. Additionally, the UN, NATO, EU, and OSCE provide ample evidence of the value of continuous dialogue. Overcoming the disparate geography and diverse political and cultural nature of the world's largest region adds even more impetus to join national representatives in an established secretariat. Formal and informal contact, dialogue, and joint effort would enable more timely solutions to emerging regional crises. An established secretariat with positional rotations measured in years would help develop perspectives necessary to foster consensus when possible and compromise when necessary. As perspectives developed, permanent national representatives would help moderate divisive issues and thus lessen the risk of armed conflict.

As perspectives developed, the intimacy of a permanent secretariat would become conducive to launching security-enhancing mechanisms. As other regions have learned the value of preventive diplomacy, mediation, and peacekeeping operations, the OAPC would build towards its Asian version of each. In a region comfortable with bilateral negotiation, the increasingly complex forces described above require increasingly complex solutions, namely multilateral solutions. Whether transnational crime or international terrorism, nations will increasingly require closer cooperation and more timely actions to thwart those who rapidly adjust to national shifts in law enforcement. Cooperative regimes with adaptive mechanisms suggest close and therefore constant

contact. Only a permanently sited organization will be able to provide this type of close cooperation, allowing the electronic networked capabilities to enable tactical-level implementation of regional policy.

Entry to OAPC would be by invitation and conditional upon acceptance of a core set of principles. These should be based upon upholding the value of human rights, the peaceful resolution of interstate disputes, and self-determination, in that order. Specific OAPC principles should include or be tied to the following principles:

- Core Principles (Required for Membership)
 - Respect for Human Rights
 - Acknowledgement of the Rule of Law
 - Peaceful National Aims
 - Right of Self-Determination with exception for gross human rights violations or atrocities
- Important Principles (Desired for Membership)
 - Acceptance of Democratic Principles Tailored to Regional Norms
 - Agreement to Settle Border Disputes
 - Civilian Control of the Military

Additionally, principles carried over from ASEAN and ARF, complemented by United Nations and European models, would make OAPC membership desirable. Acceptance would contribute to a member's prestige and credibility. Additionally, membership should minimize differentiation criteria of economic, military or political power. OAPC's aim of plurality to fully capture regional perspectives on security issues is critical. Acknowledging historic and cultural conflicts, OAPC must keep foremost its charter to promote security through equal treatment and acceptance of the voices of its member nations.

Beyond core membership, affiliate or observer status would be offered to those nations not yet ready to accept OAPC principles or extra-regional nations or bodies such as the EU. These affiliate members would participate but not possess a voting capability.

Expanding upon the ARFs important progress on CBMs, the OAPC, with a Secretary-General, would retain a consensus decision-making approach. Numerous historic examples demonstrate the inclusive benefits of consensus. The reductions in timely and more pointed solutions are necessary limitations. These sacrifices would avoid the long-term crippling effects of factions separating into ideological or other divisive camps on key issues. Representing the consensus, the Secretary-General would be empowered to represent OAPC on fact-finding missions, observer missions, and the like. He would serve an agreed-upon term and be selected at large from among the lesser powers of the region, not including the US, China, Russia, Japan, Australia, or India.

Assisting the Secretary-General, the OAPC Secretariat would find its home in a centrally located city such as Singapore. Singapore's location at the strategic crossroads

between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific would highlight the importance of democracy, free markets, and the free flow of goods and energy. OPAC members would be responsible for providing, on a pro-rata basis, the funding to construct an OAPC headquarters and provide national representation. The Secretariat professional staff would include diplomatic and administrative personnel, as well as military, economic, and cultural representation. Adding the latter specialties would enhance the aims of OAPC by fostering increased interaction and dialogue across the spectrum of national power.

The OPAC will derive its benefits from its ability to achieve functional success. Consolidating security functions spread across European models, the OAPC provides the institution that can evolve to provide centralized control, contact and expertise in a number of functions to include arms control, confidence building measures, preventive diplomacy, crisis management, and consequence management. In arms control, the OAPC would, in conjunction with the Track 2 CSCAP, track, monitor, and mediate arms control activities. Taking from ARF successes, OAPC would continue progress in the stabilizing effects of CBMs. In an institutional environment, CBM dialogue and planning can easily be accelerated to further build trust as globalization continues. Efforts to incorporate preventive diplomacy should also take precedence. Functional OAPC representatives could provide a neutral body for mediation and expertise. Timely arbitration would help conflicting interests reach agreeable solutions before issues devolved into crisis proportions. As alluded to above, the Secretary-General or designated representative(s) would provide a necessary credible third-party with regional affiliation and perspective to help mediate and thus prevent crises from becoming armed conflicts. Should unforeseeable or unstoppable natural disasters or humanitarian disasters occur, OAPC would provide a central conduit through which OAPC nations and external sources could provide material, diplomatic or expert assistance.

Formulating the research nucleus of OAPC, the reoriented CSCAP would continue to provide a non-governmental perspective and advice on Asia-Pacific security issues. Beyond continuing in its important role to conduct security studies and make recommendations, CSCAP would complement OAPCs continuous dialogue by continuing to hold its meetings in various regional nations. This would present and preserve national perspectives throughout deliberative processes. The robust nature of CSCAP's academic activity would continue to provide a transformed ARF the necessary theoretical underpinnings to its deliberations.

An institutionalized security regime such as the proposed OAPC should not only have immediate benefits for the region but also future applicability to enhance security. The region's political environment currently does not support the implementation enforceable security mechanisms (those backed-by-force). That said, OAPC should work towards building such a regional consensus through CBMs and continual updating of its charter and principles. Reaching consensus on security matters in a relatively homogenous NATO highlights the challenges of consensus building in a much more disparate Asia-Pacific. OAPC could easily become like today's ARF, a forum to simply air disagreement and voice divisive rhetoric. As such, both the OAPCs internal

consultative forums and external activity must work towards meaningful implementation of regional agreement.

Similar to the US alliance structure, the OAPC should look to the long term in maturing the Asia-Pacific security sphere. Unlike spheres of influence with outward expressions of power and coercion, the Asia-Pacific security sphere should function more like a modern day NATO which increasingly takes meaning for its existence for locking in the gains of democracy, rule of law, and free markets. While there will be differentiated levels of democracy throughout the Asia-Pacific region for the foreseeable future, a long term trend of democratization has embraced some important parts of the region. Namely, India, Australia, Japan, and South Korea anchor democracy within the region. To the degree that Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation, can maintain democratic rule, it will serve as a barometer of short-term success. Bearing that in mind adds impetus to OAPCs *raison d'etre*—that of a regime that cooperatively works towards peaceful settlement of disputes, crisis prevention, crisis management, consequence management, and peacekeeping operations. The greater the degree of agreement on implementing such mechanisms will be indicative of the likelihood of future collective action against external threats or to lock in security gains.

Anchoring the Network: Asia-Pacific Council—Establishing a Pacific Six Power Locus.

The League of Nations and the United Nations suffer their greatest institutional shortfalls from a lack of enforcement capability. In the former case, the League of Nations faded into obsolescence. With the latter, NATO and the Warsaw Pact provided the enforcement vehicles for two opposing ideologies. Although the Warsaw Pact has moved to the history books, NATO continues as the America-European enforcement tool of choice. NATO's actions in the Balkans and its recent invocation of its Article 5 clause the day following the 911 terrorist attacks in the United States highlight the benefits of collective security. While NATO today provides a complimentary enforcement tool for Europe, there exists no comparable vehicle, nor sufficient motivation for one, in the Asia-Pacific region. Thus, an OAPC exclusively reliant upon regional consensus will suffer the same limited effectiveness as today's ARF on issues of vigorous disagreement.

What then can provide a means to supplement the consensus-driven OAPC? Two approaches would provide the leadership and credibility garnered by multilateral approaches rather than that by unilateral actions. The first, a locus of power nations also known as a "concert of nations" would provide the leadership and focus of influential nations sufficient to reach consensus on all but vital security issues. Secondly, coalitions of the willing function as adjuncts for consensus building during crises involving vital US interests in the region. US action in Afghanistan provides a clear example. The US acting on vital survival interests issued a call to join a coalition of the willing rather than solely rely upon the UN before moving to protect its survival against an ominous international terrorist threat. However, it simultaneously moved to secure UN Security

Council consensus in condemning the 911 attacks and in endorsing actions to prevent further attacks.

To supplement the OAPC and derive regional leadership on contentious issues, the US should propose creation of a locus of power group within the OAPC. Working as the Asia-Pacific Council, the six most powerful nations of the Asia-Pacific, the US, Japan, Australia, China, Russia, and India, can provide a nucleus of consultation, power brokering, and leadership for the OAPC and the Asia-Pacific region.⁴⁰ Additionally, to ensure lesser power concerns are heard, one non-voting seat would rotate among the remaining nations. Consolidating OAPC power into a forum of the Asia-Pacific Council allows these great powers the flexibility to consult, debate, and formulate solutions to conflicting interests outside the region-wide forum of the OAPC. Explicitly acknowledging the inevitable actions of greater powers acting in their own self-interest, this group bridges the gap between unilateral activity and region-wide activity. While the Asia-Pacific Council, or APC, would initially lack enforcement mechanisms backed by force, its recommendations and resolutions would carry significant weight among the remainder of the region. The effect would be to moderate more vocal smaller nations and bolster China's perception of inclusion rather than containment while avoiding US exclusion.

Thus, creating an Asia-Pacific Council ensures that a China encircled is not a China contained, but rather a China connected. This vital aspect of the Asia-Pacific Council is demonstrated by the geographic and economic link depiction found in Figure 1. This depiction paints a power locus based on total GDP and its intersecting links based upon trading levels, clearly demonstrating a multidimensional environment of activity.

⁴⁰ APAC would include three established democracies, two emerging economic powers, and a rejuvenated Russia. This group also includes three of the five UN Security Council permanent members and three of the Group of Eight.

Asia-Pacific Six

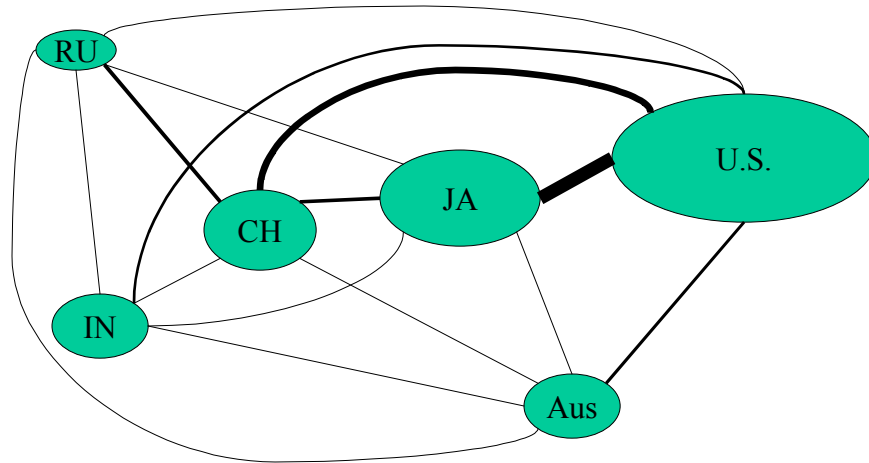


Figure 3. The Asia-Pacific Council Model⁴¹ Source: Author

This forum would introduce counterbalancing effects and a burden-sharing environment in which the six nations could discuss means to handle great power issues equitably. Most importantly, the Asia-Pacific Council would greatly moderate the waves of instability surrounding internal power transitions and a potential US-China power transfer. Having daily contact over the time span of years and decades will help respective governments better understand each others' internal dynamics and their potential external machinations. This understanding may help in numerous cases to avert unnecessary crises or, more importantly, prevent crises from becoming deadly armed conflict. Increased dialogue and better-developed perspective might also help to balance power throughout the region. Naturally, preferences and informal affinities will form but are likely to cut across various instruments of power and within functional areas of discussion. Nations would have the opportunity to focus on China and India's development and Japanese emergence, while benefiting from US, Australian, Russian, and Indian links to adjoining regions.

An Asia-Pacific Council also derives flexibility by placing the larger nations, especially in a region of disparate world views, in focused dialogue with increased frequency and continuity. Such a forum fosters transparency and informal discussions that otherwise would not take place. The likelihood of great power common interests

⁴¹ Relative trade depicted by width (not to scale) of interconnecting lines. Taken from Bureau of the Census, Foreign Trade Division, World Bank, as printed in USA Today, January 22, 2001

being exposed through consultation would be increased. This would help mitigate the diluting effects of a sole OAPC forum for multilateral dialogue.

Better-developed perspectives between Asia-Pacific Council nations will increase the group's ability to timely and effectively address emergent issues. Asian leaders avidly espouse face-to-face dialogue. The new-found possibility of immediate and continuous consultation can become vitally important in times of crisis, adding to the group's effectiveness. Likewise, the inclusive nature and consensus agreement of the council would ensure no one nation is shunned. Given the various individual interests, such a council would not necessarily limit an individual nation or group of nations to act unilaterally or as part of a coalition in the worst-case situation of the emergence of a council antagonist or hegemon.

The Asia-Pacific Council would have a number of successful historic precedents and regional acceptance. Although formed for a different reason each demonstrates the legitimacy and effectiveness of such locus of power regimes. First, the United Nations Security Council routinely issues security resolutions on which individual, coalitions, or alliances act. The resolutions give legitimacy to use force either as a deterrent or to enforce sanctions. Similarly, the contact group of five nations that routinely met to discuss activity regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina gave legitimacy and power to negotiations. Ultimately, the focused efforts of this group helped obtain necessary NATO consensus to act in peacekeeping operations. To a lesser degree, the Group of Seven/Eight, acting as the world's leading industrialized powers, consult annually to demonstrate consensus and leadership in forwarding economic, humanitarian, and, to a lesser degree, security issues. Finally, numerous nations within the Asia-Pacific region acknowledge the desire of great powers to act in their interest and in power-centric manners.⁴²

Order over Entropy: The Partnership for Security and Peace (PSP) Program.

Overcoming Distrust. In an interesting dichotomy, national militaries are often characterized by tight discipline and order while interstate cooperation between these militaries has often tended to resemble a state of entropy where things tend toward increased disorder. This is especially true for the Asia-Pacific region and is further amplified by the region's expanse and geographic barriers. In the absence of proximity or cultural and ideological similarities, the seeds of misunderstanding, distrust, and miscalculation have taken root in defining the region's military environment. Whereas Europe has recognized the need to place national interests subordinate to regional stability, the Asia-Pacific region has shown resistance to such cooperation. Characterizing this reluctance, the rhetoric on both sides of the Pacific highlights mistrust between China and United States. In turn, such mistrust poses a large stumbling block to cooperation. Making matters worse, unpredictable military action and miscalculation combine to further destabilize tense relations. To overcome this distrust, the United States and China must agree to implement means to promote military transparency, contact, and cooperation on a routine basis.

⁴² Downer, et al.

Regional Multilateral Military Cooperation. Building on the institutionalization of the OAPC, the US should propose creating a regional military cooperative regime to add a vital political-military tier to the region's overall Asia-Pacific security framework. Named the Partnership for Security and Peace, or PSP, this program would craft Asia-Pacific security aspects onto a foundation modeled after the North Atlantic's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. The Asia-Pacific PSP would institutionalize a region-wide, inclusive, cooperative program to establish trust through transparency and predictability through cooperation. The PSP would obtain its political direction from an Asia-Pacific Cooperation Council (APCC), a voluntary organization sponsored by the OAPC. It would execute its direction through a Military Partnership Cell (MPC), comprised of military personnel assigned from APCC nations. The MPC would operate through open, objective-driven, voluntary contact programs that garner transparency and yet allow member nations, especially China, the freedom of diplomatic and military flexibility.

In building a credible political-military cooperative regime, this Asia-Pacific program relies upon existing widespread calls for multilateral cooperation to overcome regional security challenges and to establish a pan-Asian security community. It would of course not provide, as in NATO, an avenue for nations to gain an alliance membership. Nevertheless, voluntary membership would encourage participation to a degree compatible with national interest and affordability. Linkages between participation and other US, Asia-Pacific Council, and OAPC initiatives would encourage more robust regional representation. The program would establish an overarching organization with civilian oversight and core military functions of intelligence, operations, planning, exercises, logistics and communications. The program would be implemented in phases and operationally limited initially to mission areas of peace support operations, humanitarian aid, and search and rescue. PSP, as initially envisioned, would not conduct peace enforcement and other collective activities that lie beyond the initial scope of APC and OAPC activities.

Asia-Pacific Security Sphere

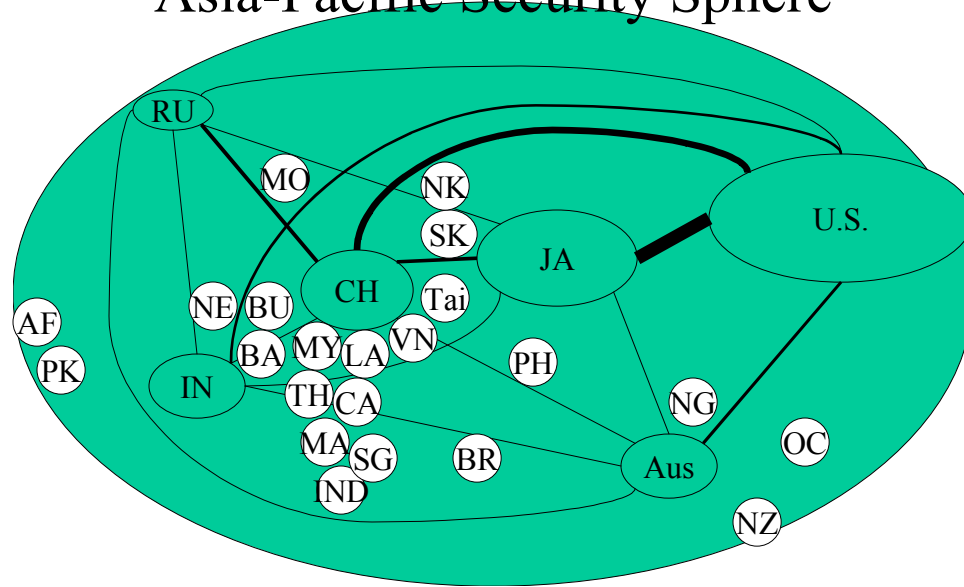


Figure 4. The Asia-Pacific Security Sphere. Source: Author.

The desired effects of this program are multifold. The PSP's inherent civilian oversight of military activities provides a clear example for the region's nations. It signals US intent for the OAPC to champion this principle for regional adoption. Additionally, a permanent headquarters would provide a central and continuous point of contact to plan and coordinate PSP activities. The organization would also form a natural foundation for regional crisis management, whether dealing with natural disasters, humanitarian aid, or search and rescue operations. In tandem with diplomatic contact, military consultation in preventive diplomacy and later crisis activities would provide an additional layer of protection against miscalculation or miscommunication. The United States' should offer its expertise and experience in multilateral efforts by providing ample planning and coordination staff and communications equipment. Providing a significant portion of expertise and military cooperation would provide a tangible signal of US commitment to the region in a restrained manner. Over all timeframes, continuous military contact will dramatically expand the scope of military contact beyond exchange and education programs. In both headquarters and field exercises, social and professional contact will serve both near and long term interests and increase trust and predictability. Increased contact, in tandem with annual defense white papers describing capabilities and budgets, will increase transparency of capabilities and intentions. Further, exercises held across the region can serve as a mechanism to provide subregional familiarity and establish cooperation and communication between neighbors with border conflicts. Additionally, the staff function, with military expertise, can help expand CBMs such as the 1998 ARF (CSCAP)-sponsored Guidelines for Maritime Cooperation⁴³ into related areas to prevent

⁴³ Valencia, 12.

escalation of future incidents such as the April 2001 Chinese F-8 and US EP-3 aerial collision.

As mentioned above, the Partnership for Security and Peace would be organized on the concept of civilian oversight of the military. Similar to the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), the aforementioned Asia-Pacific Cooperation Council (APCC) would provide the governing body for PSP policy and guidance at ambassadorial level. A military cooperative program would add much-needed transparency in building confidence between distrustful militaries. Departing from a security environment in which militaries have little or no contact, the PSP would provide continuous contact at the partnership's headquarters. Establishing routine contact at both operational and strategic levels would build towards long-term understanding and predictability. Building upon US-China defense consultative talks begun in 1997, this program would expand to encompass permanent representation, centrally located planning, and regional exercise programs. The political body of PSP, the APCC, would provide the PSP policy to create military-centric confidence building measures, further reinforcing program contact and dialogue.

Supporting the OAPC through civilian oversight, PSP would also support four OAPC functions. First, PSP contributes to transparency through requiring individual member action plans (MAPs). Learning from US and PfP experience, PSP nations and their militaries would develop military budgeting skills. As seen in PfP, such skills are often lacking in developing countries where corruption, nepotism, and inefficiencies contribute to squander meager defense budgets. More effective budgetary planning would lead to more effective defense acquisitions and better trained forces organized to address more immediate security concerns. This would help nations avoid developing or maintaining "show" military forces and move towards developing forces that contribute to national and regional security rather than destabilize it. Second, PSP would assist in arms control and WMD proliferation discussions, implementation, and verification. Whereas OSCE fulfills this function in Europe, OAPC, through the PSP program and APCC nations, would become the arms control and WMD proliferation focal point for the Asia-Pacific region. Third, PSP would provide strategic interaction to support defense cooperation through consultations, coordination, and interoperability efforts. Building on US PACOM's senior leader dialogues, PSP would provide a forum for both leaders and their staffs to continuously staff strategic and operational level military issues. Fourth, PSP would form a regional military nucleus of for crisis and consequence management. This nucleus would fill a void in regional capability to address building crises and coordinate the necessary activities to deal with subsequent consequences. Finally, PSP would eventually provide a coordinating entity for the sourcing and administration of regional peace support efforts. To the extent APC and OAPC members agree, the Military Partnership Cell headquarters portion of the PSP could either support peacekeeping operations or, as a future function, act as the core of a peacekeeping mission.

Membership. The PSP would be open to all OAPC members, affiliates and observers, providing they accept agreed upon principles. PSP partners would provide

core management, staff and administrative personnel for PSP headquarters. Collocating PSP's APCC within the OAPC site and the MPC on the same compound would gain efficiencies necessary to effect timely coordination and foster face-to-face dialogue and consultation across political and military spheres. Additionally, collocating both organizations would enhance coherency and agility in crisis and consequence management. All PSP partners would be encouraged to participate in PSP planning and exercises. OAPC affiliates could participate in exercises but not direct core regional planning functions. Observers would be welcome to observe selected planning and exercises.

The Search Engine: Military Partnership Cell.

Supporting the PSP program requires active participation of partners. The establishment of a Military Partnership Cell (MPC) as executor of the PSP program will provide continuity, coherency, and commitment to partner intentions. Being colocated with OAPC and APCC secretariats will help ensure coordinated activity and facilitate civil-military interaction. The cell's primary mission will be to increase regional trust by transforming political concepts such as CBMs and military cooperation such as anti-piracy efforts into operational reality. An environment in which PSP leadership and staff members work side by side will foster lifelong professional and social contacts. It will also facilitate increased regional military interoperability the ability to plan and execute cooperative training and exercises. In the future, the MPC could provide a joint crisis response capability or a peacekeeping operation nucleus.

Specific complementary functions of the MPC would include defense cooperation, interacting as a broker between national headquarters and assisting regional or subregional PSP-sponsored military activities. In addition, the MPC would have the military expertise and manning to provide joint planning, training, and exercising. Many Asia-Pacific nations lack the experience, expertise, or resources to effectively plan or train beyond their respective services or national borders. The United States could signal its commitment by providing funds and personnel to mentor and train regional military personnel on headquarters staffing functions, operational concepts, and conducting joint field exercises.

A senior staff headed by a US general officer, based upon US expertise and likely pro-rata funding support, should lead the Military Partnership Cell as its Officer in Charge (OIC). Deputy director and key functional leadership posts could either be rotated biannually among APCC members to balance stability with equitability or be agreed upon annually. The MPC OIC would be charged to provide effective military support to the PSP program. His staff would reflect an agreed upon composite of contributing PSP partner nations, identifying those personnel fully trained in respective functional areas and those requiring various levels of training. The staff would reflect a representative balance of army, navy, marine corps, and air force personnel or national equivalents. Nominally the MPC staff would include the following directorates, divisions, and mission elements of emphasis, in that hierarchical order:

Military Partnership Cell Functional Staff Organization (Notional)

- Manning & Security
 - Military Partnership Cell
 - PSP Exercise/Plans/Operations Support Manning
 - Force Protection
- Intelligence
 - Military
 - Civil-Military Links
 - Transnational Crimes
 - Piracy
 - Weather Support
 - Crisis Indicators & Warning
 - Crisis Monitoring & Reporting
 - Assessment
 - Regional Risk Assessments
 - Member-nation White Papers
 - Post-Crisis/Conflict
- Operations
 - Contingency Operations
 - Exercises
 - Crisis Action Center
 - Crisis Action Cell
 - Operational Level Capability
 - Core of Deployable PD/PKO Element
- Logistics
 - Plans Support
 - Operations Support
 - OAPC/MPC Leadership Support
- Plans
 - Strategic (Long-term)
 - Operational Plans (Short-term)
 - Crisis Management
 - Natural Disaster
 - Multilateral Security
 - Sea Lines of Communication
 - Exercises
- Communications
 - OAPC/MPC Headquarters & External Links
 - Crisis Management & Contingency Support
 - Exercise Support

Table 1. Military Partnership Cell Functional Staff Organization (Notional). Source:
Author

Implementation Timing—A Strategic Window of Opportunity.

Thus, at the end of each global conflagration in the twentieth century—the two world wars and the cold war—American administrations have enunciated and, at least in some measure, have sought to act upon a vision premised on essentially similar ideas. In the cloister of academic specialists, these world order principles are known as multilateralism.

-- John Gerard Ruggie⁴⁴

If developing and announcing national security strategies can be considered the simple part of national security strategy, then their implementation accounts for the difficult tasks of resourcing and guiding the strategy to successful results. Building regional institutions reflects significant change for the nations involved and the region's self-identity. Therefore, a sense of urgency and appropriate timing must accompany the need for change in order to elicit support for the proposed changes. Much literature posits that great change results from cataclysmic events. For example, the Treaty of Westphalia ushered in the modern nation-state. The League of Nations appeared following World War I, with the United Nations on its heels following World War II. Likewise NATO marked the beginning of the Cold War while its Partnership for Peace program signaled its end.

In the Asia-Pacific region, change has followed the same path. The ARF grew out of ASEAN following the collapse of the Soviet threat and amid the growing world disorder. Since then, numerous calls for a refreshed US approach to foster building of Asia-Pacific security communities have prompted serious debate but have elicited few viable solutions. Indeed, the United States was about to announce a revised security policy towards Asia in late September 2001. However, the events surrounding the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States have delayed that announcement indefinitely. The policy was also not announced at a later opportunity, the APEC meetings attended by President Bush in Shanghai, China, in October 2001.

As a result, there appears to be a strategic window of opportunity to implement significant change. The impetus of international terrorism and its long-term potential to destabilize political regimes and disrupt national and regional economies have become very vivid to the world. The present window of opportunity offers a chance to move from the status quo in the Asia-Pacific region. US inaction may continue to foment Chinese fears of US military containment despite US verbal assurances to the contrary. Increased fears of containment will further fuel Chinese paranoia, declarations of American economic imperialism, and calls for reducing American commitments to Taiwan and the rest of the region. Additionally, maintaining the status quo over the short-term will allow China to continue inward-looking military activity and stoke additional US fears of antagonistic Chinese military intentions. Further, US reliance

⁴⁴ John Gerard Ruggie, "Third Try at World Order? America and Multilateralism After the Cold War," *Political Science Quarterly* 109, No. 4 (Fall 94), n.p.

upon its bilateral alliance structure and paying lip service to multilateral security in the region risks its exclusion in key regional security dialogue. Emerging regional multilateral forums that exclude or marginalize US involvement will subsequently challenge US leadership attempts in the future. Lastly, unless the United States leads transformational and fundamental security changes towards regional multilateral cooperation, it will be hard-pressed to declare and sustain long-term victory over international terrorism.

The opportunities to secure mid and long term stability lie with leading necessary changes that will benefit not only US interests but every other Asia-Pacific region. The US must communicate this strategies' ability to overcome fears of a zero-sum result of its implementation. The benefits of cooperative security far outweigh the risks of growing transnational crime and terrorism and the potential spread and use of WMD for political gain. The region has made significant headway, especially over the past decade, to overcome numerous economic obstacles and take advantage of economic lessons learned to proceed on a course of stability and prosperity through multilateral cooperation. However, the attacks on 911 highlight the economic susceptibility to destabilizing security threats. The United States and the region should see 911 as a wake-up call to enact multilateral security-enhancing solutions. Furthermore, the recent entries of China and Taiwan into the WTO highlight the need for a strong underlying framework and overarching umbrella of security for the region. Additionally, sporadic rises in nationalism as well as complex international criminal and terrorist activity require militaries familiar with each others' capabilities, limitations, and operating styles.

The existing security regime as embodied by the ASEAN Regional Forum is simply not equipped to handle either current or future threats. Nations must increasingly seek multilateral solutions to multinational threats at a pace and intensity well beyond the ARF's reach. The future nature of Asia-Pacific region will reflect the approach of the world's superpower or superpowers. If the approach is bilateral or confrontational, significant risk exists over the long term for regional differentiation and instability. A unilateral retrenchment is equally risky. Therefore, an assured partnership with China and the region will bode well for increased security, freedom, and prosperity...but only if it is undertaken in the near future. Once this window of opportunity passes, the effort necessary to enact such significant change may become overwhelming, given America's scope of global commitments. Similarly, regional acceptance may decline over future years as China increases in power and becomes the de facto regional leader. With Taiwan remaining as a powder keg, US-China relations will hinge on their collective ability to use wisdom, trust and confidence gained through cooperation to avoid escalation of inadvertent incidents. And we shouldn't forget Kashmir and Korea.

Given this window of opportunity, the United States should implement its Asia-Pacific strategy of Assured Partnership in a phased approach over a three-year period. In Phase 1, the United States should aggressively initiate diplomatic consultations with regional nations and existing regimes. These consultations should hinge on the need for change, crafting the institutions of the strategy, and the buy-in to enact the change. These consultations should commence immediately and, when complete, signal Phase 1's end

with a presidential declaration of Assured Partnership and its attendant institutions and mechanisms at the annual July 2003 ARF summit. Phase 2 encompasses a year-long effort to establish a temporary location for the Asia-Pacific Council and larger Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation in Singapore or other agreed upon location. Additionally, the ratification phase of OAPC membership takes place in this phase. Phase 2 concludes with the formal opening of the temporary OAPC, APC, APCC, and MPC organizations in July 2004. In the third and final implementation phase, a two-year effort, a formal headquarters building or set of building for the OAPC, APC, APCC, and MPC become reality. Phase 3 and the implementation program conclude in July 2006 with the formal opening of OAPC, APC, APCC, and MPC headquarters and execution of the PSP program's first exercise.

Implementation Leadership—Casting the Net with American Leadership.

Moving from security environment resembling islands in an ocean to one that effectively networks this large and diverse region will require significant American leadership. Despite warranted concerns of appeasement, America must find the moral courage to unemotionally explore its strategic options vis-à-vis China and the increasingly important Asia-Pacific region. America has learned to its dismay that ignoring Asian matters carries great risks. In other important ways, America has also learned to tread carefully in an increasingly complex world and amid a complex region. The axiom that in the absence of leadership chaos prevails should give some impetus for actively seeking opportunities to increase interaction with China and the Asia-Pacific region. While very different than its European counterpart, the Asia-Pacific region has some parallels that present opportunities as well as challenges. The United States should take advantage of the present opportunity to call for and lead change that will overcome the challenges of a very dangerous world and a future fraught with risk. History appears to side with the notion that democracies do not go to war. It also appears that patient nurturing of democracy has a better chance of sustained success than in environments where sudden changes in governance are lacking guiding principles or mechanisms to secure democracy, its institutions, and the rule of law. Now is the time to leverage America's power with allies, friends, and acquaintances in the region to lay the groundwork for implementing its Assured Partnership strategy.

Summary

Bundling Assured Partnership

The Asia-Pacific region faces significant risks given current internal power transitions and a long-term potential power transfer between the United States and China. Taiwan's independence highlights the differences between the United States and China and focuses attention on American fears of Chinese hegemony alongside Chinese fears of American repression. The United States has recently shifted its military security policy away from engagement backed by force. It now reflects one of security assurances to

bilateral alliances and broader dissuasion and deterrence under which other national elements of power may then flow. Meanwhile, China continues to develop its economic power and influence amid a security strategy of modernization and asymmetric influence. Notably, its economic and military power lies significantly far behind US capability but is rapidly becoming able to influence regional affairs. Taiwan continues to ebb and flow between reunification and independence complicated by recent political drifting towards independence amid growing economic interdependence with China. Likewise, the region continues to further integrate economically as reflected by APEC's increased relevance and China and Taiwan's recent WTO entries. The region also has numerous calls for increased security communities in the face of pockets of nationalism, growing transnational crime and international terrorism, and the limitations and absence of current security regimes.

Assured Partnership Security Framework

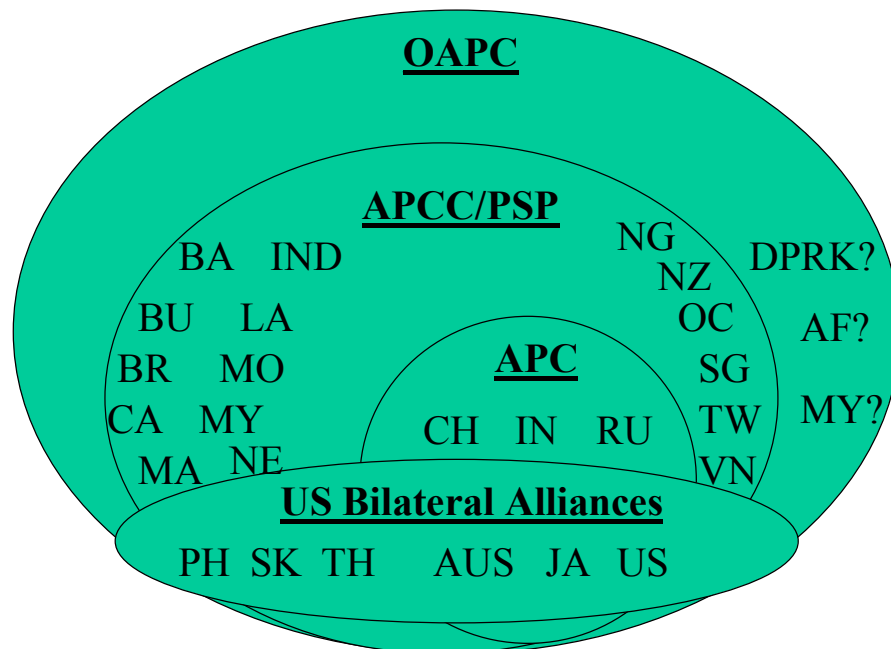


Figure 5. "Assured Partnership" Security Framework (notional). Source: Author.

Assured Partnership serves as a proposed US Asia-Pacific security strategy that fundamentally presents a solution to the US-China power transfer dilemma. Underpinned by existing alliances, this multi-tiered strategy fosters regional integration and prosperity through stability gained through an institutionalized security apparatus. It steers a fine

course between elements of containment and reliance on institutionalization to achieve strategic goals. The Assured Partnership strategy employs existing bilateral alliances to provide a hedge against potential Chinese hegemony. Adding an umbrella of institutional multilateralism, the strategy calls for transforming the ASEAN Regional Forum into a region-wide security organization named the Organization of Asia-Pacific Cooperation. It would be anchored by an Asia-Pacific Council, a group of regional and developing powers of US, China, Japan, Australia, Russia, and India. Under this strategic layer of security, the Assured Partnership strategy calls for a cooperative military partnership embodied by a Partnership for Security and Peace to foster transparency, trust, and predictability. An OAPC-sponsored Asia-Pacific Cooperation Council provides the PSP political guidance while the Military Partnership Cell plans and executes multilateral military activities. All four institutions operate from the principles of continuous dialogue, relationship building, proportional representation, and unity of effort by operating from collocated headquarters that foster coherency, rapid communication, and cooperation.

Assured Partnership offers the United States and the Asia-Pacific region a structured, inclusive approach that assures US allies of its commitment to regional security for both international challenges and should China adopt overly assertive behavior. The strategy also strives to deter China or other potential regional hegemony from engaging in counterproductive policies by providing a regional structure that balances individual diplomatic agility with institutional checks. Further, Assured Partnership attempts to derive regional stability through military cooperation through an unprecedented cooperative and confidence-building program. Assured Partnership enables the United States to positively influence China and the Asia-Pacific region in ways that best serve its interests while fostering its time-honored values of human rights, democratic political participation, and the prospect of economic prosperity.

Selected Bibliography

Acharya , Amitov. *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Allen, Kenneth W., and Eric A. McVadon. *China's Foreign Military Relations*. The Henry L. Stimson Center Report 32, October 1999.

Bajpai, Kanti. "Add Five E's to Make a Partnership." *The Washington Quarterly* 24, No. 3 (Summer 2001): 83-94.

Bernstein, Richard and Ross H. Munro. *The Coming Conflict with China*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.

Blackwill, Robert D., US Ambassador to India. "The Transformation of US-India Relations: A Status Report." Address to the Delhi Policy Group, Habitat Centre, New Delhi, India, 26 February 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 29 March 2002. Available from <http://usembassy.state.gov/posts/in1/www12.html>

Borawski, John. "The OSCE: In Search of Cooperative Security." *Security Dialogue* 27, No. 4, 1996. pp. 401-408.

Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, US Department of State. "Australia: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8162.pdf>

_____. "Bangladesh: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8179.pdf>

_____. "China: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8164.pdf>

_____. "Hong Kong: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8165.pdf>

_____. "India: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*,

February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8180.pdf>

_____. “Indonesia: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8166.pdf>

_____. “Japan: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8167.pdf>

_____. “Malaysia: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8169.pdf>

_____. “Pakistan: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8181.pdf>

_____. “Philippines: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8170.pdf>

_____. “Republic of Korea: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8168.pdf>

_____. “Russia: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8234.pdf>

_____. “Singapore: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8171.pdf>

_____. “Taiwan: Key Economic Indicators.” *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*,

February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8172.pdf>

_____. "Thailand: Key Economic Indicators." *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices*, February 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/8173.pdf>

Cable News Network. "East Asia 'upbeat' on growth." *CNN.com*, 6 April 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://asia.cnn.com/2002/BUSINESS/asia/04/06/asean.outlook>

Chang, Gordon G., International Herald Tribune. "The Big Four Banks Head Toward Collapse." *International Herald Tribune*, 2 April 2002. On-line. Internet, 2 April 2002. Available from <http://www.ihf.com/articles/53151.htm>

China Central Television. "Shanghai Communique: Pragmatic Yet Far Reaching." *CCTV.com News, English Channel*, 28 February 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.cctv.com/english/news/20020228/84171.html>

China Daily. "UN group predicts 7% GDP growth of China." *CHINAdaily*, 26 April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www1.chinadaily.com.cn/news/2002-04-25/67333.html>

Cohen, Stephen P. *India, Emerging Power*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Cossa, Ralph A. *The Major Powers in Northeast Asian Security*. Institute for National Strategic Studies, McNair Paper 51. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, August 1996.

_____. *U.S. Asia Policy: Does an Alliance-Based Policy Still Make Sense*, September 2001. Pacific Forum CSIS, Issues & Insights No. 3-01. On-line. Internet, 15 April 2002. Available from http://www.csis.org/pacfor/issues_usasia.htm

Department of Defense. *Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 30 September 2001). On-line. Internet. 21 October 2001. Available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/qdr2001.pdf>

Deutsch, Karl W. and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." AS reprinted from *World Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 3, April 1964, pp. 315-324.

Downer, Honorable Alexander, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs. "Meeting the Security Challenges of the Asia-Pacific Region." *Minister for Foreign Affairs*, 31 October 2001. On-line. Internet, 27 November 2001. Available from http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/2000/001031_fa_defence.html

Emmers, Ralph. "The Influence of the Balance of Power Factor within the ASEAN Regional Forum." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs* 23, Issue 2, August 2001. On-line. Internet, 29 October 2001. Available from <http://mail.tku.edu.tw/113922/DL/Emmers2001.htm>

Garfinkle, Adam. "The Present Opportunity." *The National Interest*, Fall 2001, pp. 153-160.

Gill, Bates. "Contrasting Visions: United States, China and World Order." Remarks presented before the U.S.-China Security Review Commission Session on U.S.-China Relationship and Strategic Perceptions." Washington, DC, 3 August 2001. On-line. Internet, 24 May 2002. Available from <http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/testimony/gill/20010803.pdf>

Gurtov, Mel. "Assessing China's Ambitions in Asia: Capabilities, Intentions, and Constraints." Prepared Remarks to *International Studies Association*, 26-28 July 2001.

Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. *Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origin of Multilateralism*. Unpublished, No Date.

Henderson, Jeannie. *Reassessing ASEAN*. The International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper 328. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hong, Ki-Joon. *The CSCE Security Regime Formation: An Asian Perspective*, London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1997.

J. Robert Kerrey. *The United States and Southeast Asia: A Policy Agenda for the New Administration*, July 2001. On-line. Internet, 1 November 2001. Available from <http://www.cfr.org/public/pubs/SEAsiaTF.pdf>

Kissinger, Henry. *Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

Kristof, Nicholas D. "The Chip on China's Shoulder." NY Times Editorial. 18 January 2002. On-line. Internet, 22 January 2002. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/18/opinion/18KRIS.html>

_____. "The New China Syndrome." NY Times Editorial, 22 January 2002. On-line. Internet, 22 January 2002. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/22/opinion/22KRIS.html>

Lampton, David M., and Gregory C. May. *A Big Power Agenda for East Asia: America, China, and Japan*. Washington, D.C.: The Nixon Center, 2000.

Mandelbaum, Michael. "Westernizing Russia and China." *Foreign Affairs* 76, No 3. (May/June 1997): 80-95.

Mathew. P.A. "Shanghai Five: Emerging Foreign Policy Dimensions." *IPCS Article 521*, 15 July 2001. On-line. Internet, 23 October 2001. Available from <http://www.ipcs.org/issues/articles/521-cr-mathew.html>

Mena, Jesus. "One Expert's Opinion: Joseph Nye on Globalization's Impact on Governance." *Q&As*, undated. On-line. Internet, 13 January 2002. Available from http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/experts/nye_globalization_hm.htm

Montaperto, Ronald. "Engaging China's Military: Blueprint for a New Military Relationship with China." *Global Beat: China Handbook*, 22 June 1998. MSNBC and New York University Center for War, Peace, and the News Media. On-line. Internet, 29 January 2002. Available from <http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/asia/china/06221998montaperto.html>

Montaperto, Ronald and Satu Limaye. "Asia and the United States' Security Anxieties—Mind the Gap." *CSIS PacNet Newsletter* 29, 20 July 2001. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.csis.org/pacfor/pac0129.htm>

Morgenthau, Hans J. "The Balance of Power." As reprinted from *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Second Edition, 1955, pp. 155-157 and 166-178.

Noonan, Michael P. and John Hillen. "The Coming Transformation of the U.S. Military?" *Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Notes*, 4 February 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.fpri.org/enotes/military.20020204.noonanhillen.comingtransformationusmilitary.html>

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *The North Atlantic Treaty*, Washington, DC, 4 Apr 1949. On-line. Internet, 20 November 2001. Available from <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm>

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *American Power in the Twenty-First Century: Two Examples*. University of California, Berkeley, Chester W. Nimitz Memorial Lectures in National Security Affairs. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1999.

_____. "The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone." *Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, Speech Transcripts* (edited transcript of remarks), 6 March 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/transcript_nye.html

Pederson, Mark. Carnegie Council Staff Writer. "Can Asians Think? Understanding the Divide Between East and West." *Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs*,

Articles, 2002. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/article_patten.html

_____. Carnegie Council Staff Writer. "Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace." *Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, Articles*, 2002 (Report on 13 February 2002 Books for Breakfast with Edward Luttwak). On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/article_luttwak.html

_____. Carnegie Council Staff Writer. "The EU, Multilateralism and the 21st Century." *Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, Articles*, 2002 (Report on 24 January 2002 Books for Breakfast with Kishore Mahbubani). On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/article_patten.html

Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." Reprinted from *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Fall 1994, pp. 87-125.

Pillsbury, Michael. *China Debates the Future Security Environment*. Institute for National Strategic Studies. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000.

Ross, Robert S. "The Stability of Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait." *The National Interest*, Fall 2001, pp. 67-76.

Scobell, Andrew (ed.). *The Costs of Conflict: The Impact on China of a Future War*. Strategic Studies Institute. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, October 2001.

Swaine, Michael D. and Ashley J. Tellis, Project Air Force, RAND Corporation. *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy, Past, Present, and Future*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2000.

Tammen, Ronald L. et al. *Power Transitions, Strategies for the 21st Century*. New York: Chatham House Publishers, 2000.

Walker, Martin, United Press International Chief International Correspondent. "Commentary: Asia's Exquisite Results." *UPI International Desk*, 7 April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 8 April 2002. Available from <http://www.upi.com/view/cfm?StoryID=05042002-122738-5633r>

US Department of State. *Bush Meets Spanish President*, US Department of State Information Agency, 12 Jun 2001, n.p. On-line. Internet, 1 December 2001. Available from <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/eur/bush01/aznar.htm>

Van Kemenade, Willem. "Taiwan: Domestic Gridlock, Cross-Strait Deadlock." *The Washington Quarterly* 24, No. 4, Autumn 2001, pp. 55-70.

World Bank. "East Asia & Pacific: regional data from the WDI database." *World Development Indicators database*, April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/eap_wdi.pdf

_____. "Key indicators: regional data from the WDI database." *World Development Indicators database*, April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/reg_wdi.pdf

_____. "Launching 'Development Round' Could Help Poor Countries Facing Global Downturn." *World Bank News Release* No. 2002/111/S, 31 October 2001. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.worldbank.org>

_____. "South Asia: regional data from the WDI database." *World Development Indicators database*, April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from http://www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/sas_wdi.pdf

_____. "Total GDP 2000." *World Development Indicators database*, April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/GDP.pdf>

Yahoo!News. "ASEAN aims to boost trade ties with US in Friday talks: minister." *Yahoo!News Singapore*, 4 April 2002, n.p. On-line. Internet, 27 April 2002. Available from <http://sg.news.yahoo.com/020404/1/2nhf8.html>

Ying, Ma. "Sino-U.S. Relations I the Era of the Post-Cold War: Issues and Implications." Draft remarks to 42nd *Annual Convention of the International Studies Association*. 20-24 February 2001.

Yuan, Jing-dong. *Asia-Pacific Security: China's Conditional Multilateralism and Great Power Entente*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, January 2000.

Zemin, Jiang, President of the People's Republic of China. "Together to Build a China-U.S. Relationship Oriented Towards the New Century." (Prepared & Translated Remarks) *Council on Foreign Relations*, 8 September 2000. On-line. Internet, 5 September 2001. Available from http://63.236.1.240/public/pubs/Zemin_9-8-00_PrepRemarks.html