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THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY IN THE ASIA PACIFIC: IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STABILITY

by

Dr Ken JIMBO

Senior Fellow, The Tokyo Foundation, Japan

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The Search for Security in the Asia-Pacific
Implication for Future Stability

Ken JIMBO, Ph.D

Associate Professor Keio University

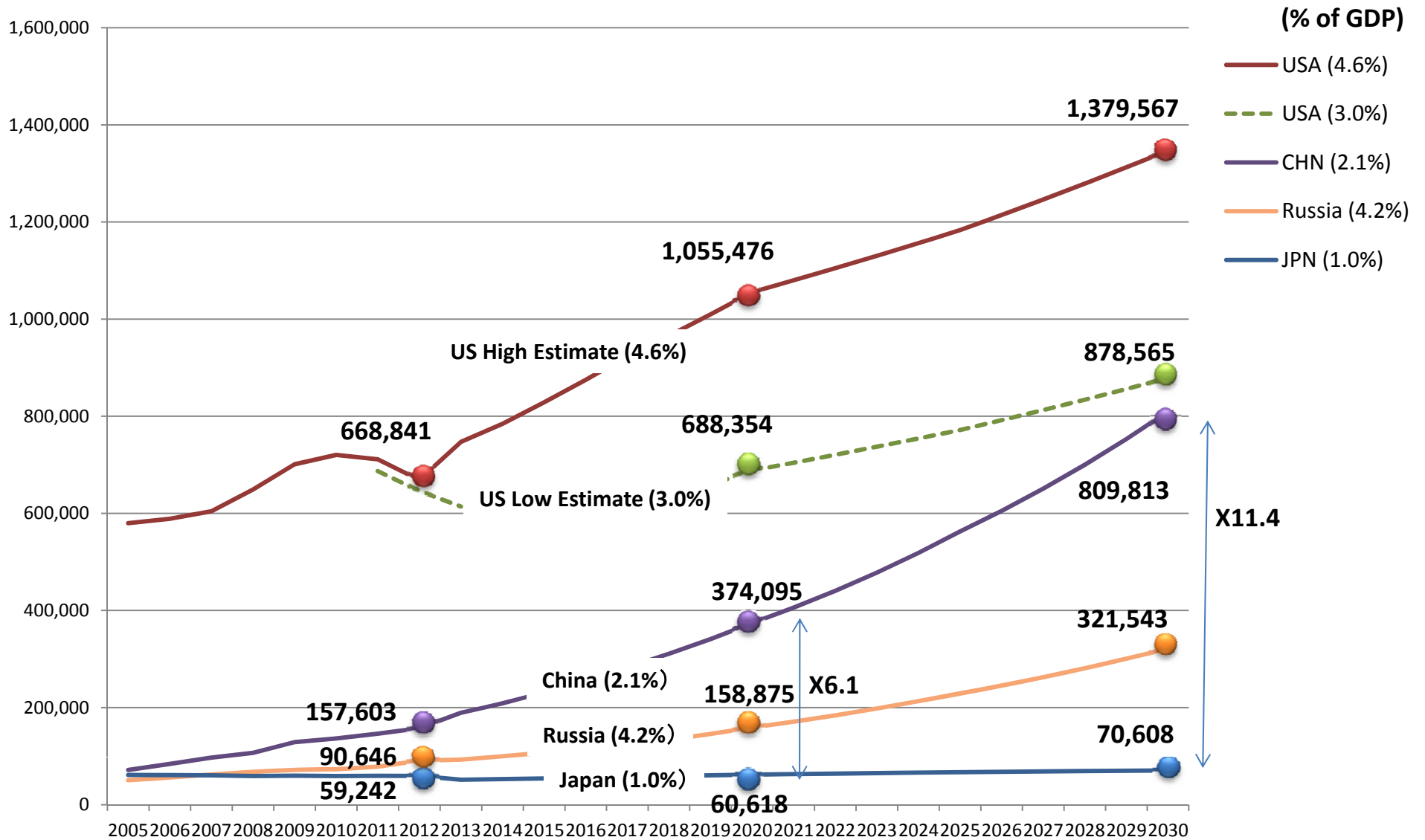
Senior Research Fellow, Canon Institute for Global Studies / Tokyo Foundation

Future Stability in Asia: Main Agendas

- **Moving Target: Dynamic Change in Distribution of Power**
 - Strategic stability in 2015/2020/2025/2030 requires different sets of system dynamics
- **Major Dynamics and Trends in Asian Security**
 - Dynamic Shift in Balance of Power
 - Patterns of Choices 1 (Peacetime): (Hard/Soft) Balancing, Hedging, Accommodating
 - Patterns of Choices 2 (Crisis): Deterrence, Denial, Cost-Imposition, Concession
 - Consolidation of Norms, Rule of Law and Institutions
 - Technological Innovation (Cyber, Space, Robotics etc.)
- **Strategic Stability in Asia: Three-tiered Approach**
 - Crafting Layers of **Asymmetrical Denial** Relations
 - Tier-1: US-China
 - Tier-2: China-Japan
 - Tier-3: China-ASEAN
 - **Three-tiered Regional Security Architecture**
 - Tier-1: Alliance and Networks
 - Tier-2: Functional Security Cooperation
 - Tier-3: Regional Frameworks and Institutions

Military Expenditure of U.S., China and Japan (2010-2030 Projection)

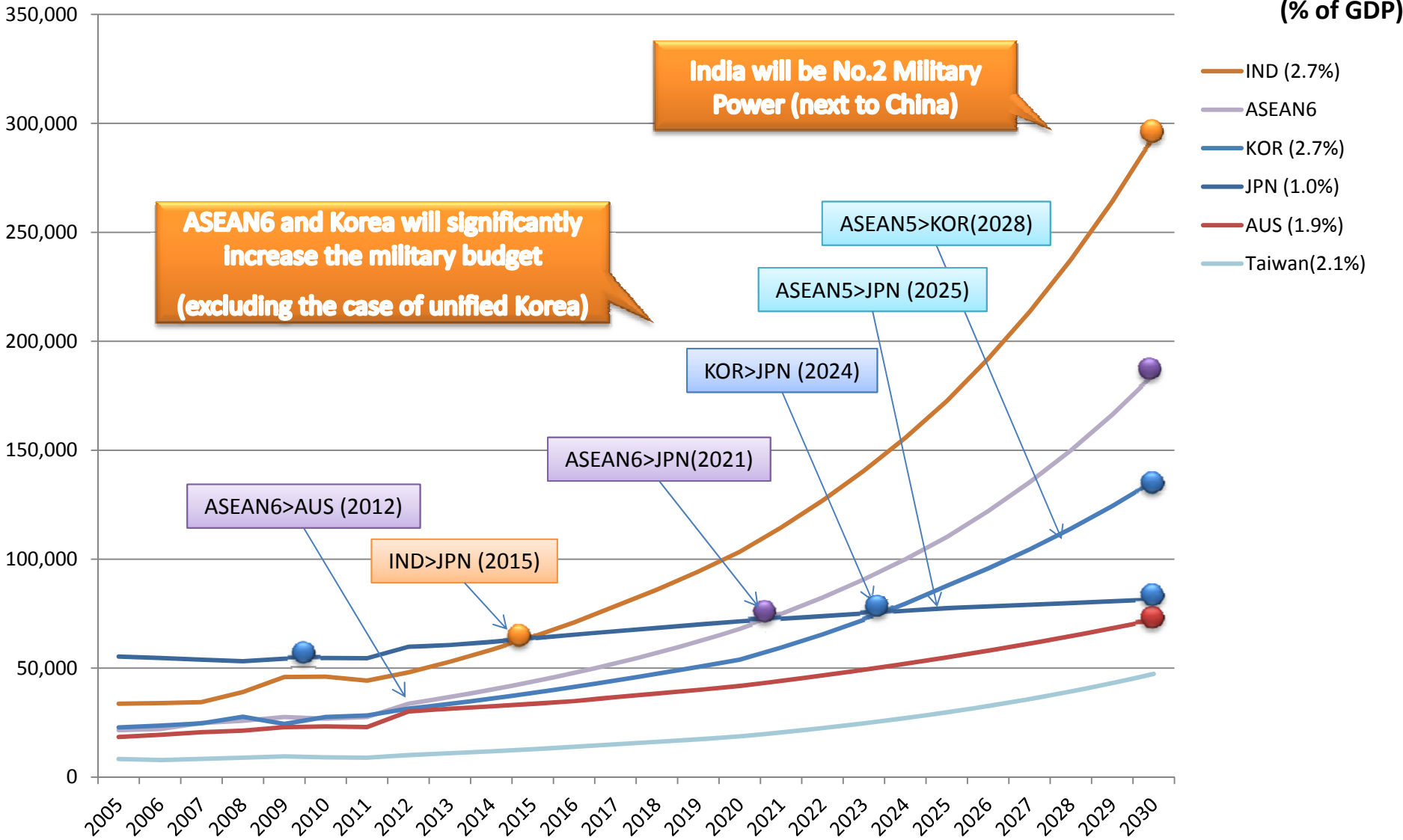
Unit: Million USD (Currency Rate as of 2012)



Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2013 (Modified)

Military Expenditure of Emerging States in Asia (2010-2030 Projection)

Unit: Million USD (Currency Rate as of 2012)

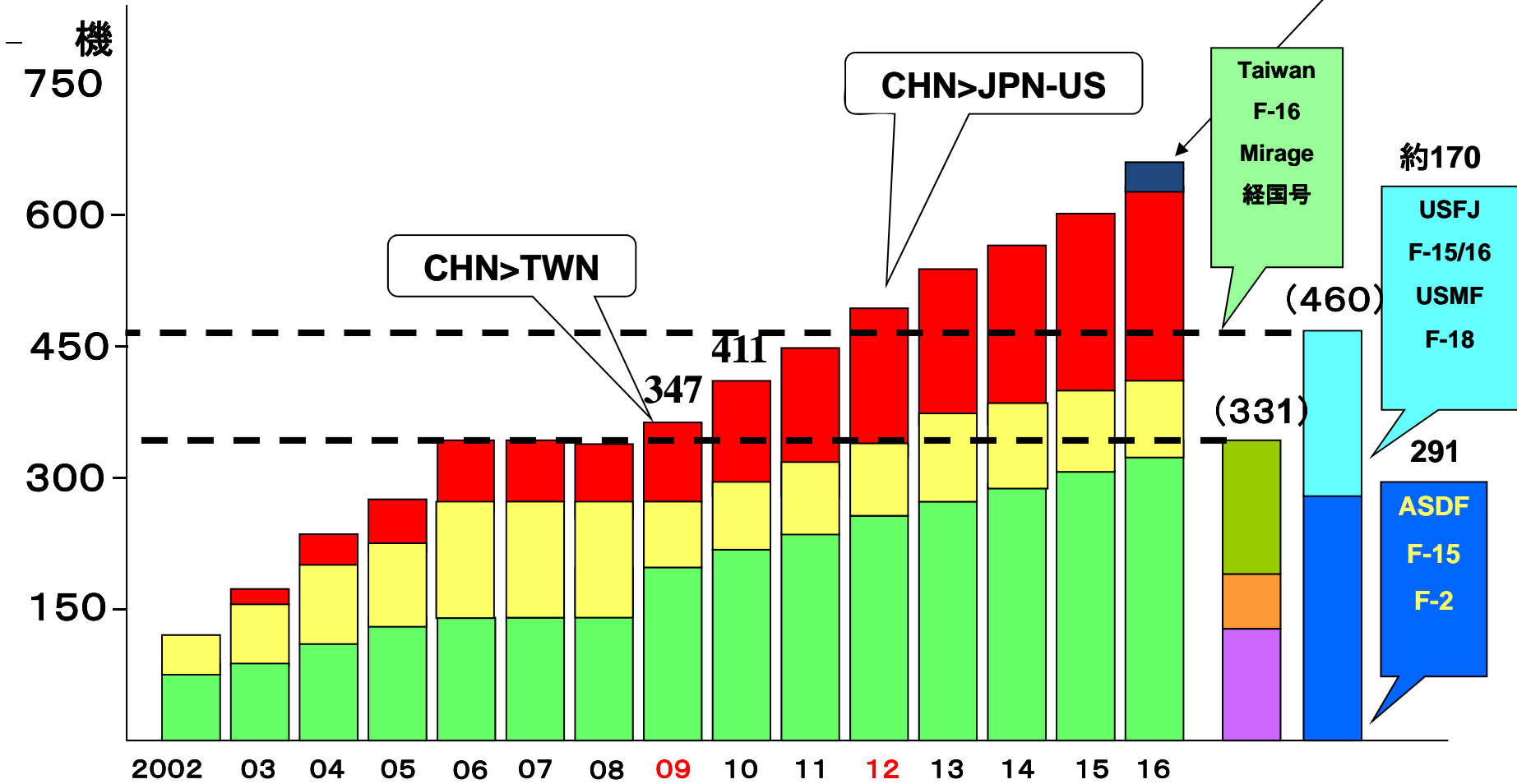


Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2013 (Modified)

Air Superiority (4th generation Fighters) in East Asia



5th Generation)



Maritime Security Challenges in East Asia

Three Domains in Military Dimension

- Military (Para-Military) Dimension

- Gray-Zone Coersion
- Low Intensity Conflict
- A2/AD Challenges



Q. How can we envision the stable maritime security order in East/South China Sea?

- Non-Military Dimension

- **Politics:** 'Status-quo' management; confidence building; rule/norms-making (eg.DoC→CoC/CUES); consensus building in multilateral forum (ASEAN)
- **Economics:** managing economic interdependence, securing safety of SLOCs, joint development of underwater resources
- **Legal:** Diverging interpretation on UNCLOS/EEZ; legal foundation of territorial claims; ADIZ; application of domestic regulations; utilization of ICJ and PCA

Maritime Security Challenges: Three Domains



- **Gray-Zone Coercion**

- **Challenges:** Infringements of territory (water/air-space) without crossing the military threshold (NDPG, 2010/13)
- **Need to:** develop, field, and operate military and paramilitary forces to contest Chinese control of disputed air and maritime areas, without necessarily causing casualties: → *(possible) symmetric competition*

- **Low-Intensity Conflict**

- **Challenges:** Accidental crashes, limited military assaults
- **Need to:** develop and field systems to deny Chinese control of disputed air and maritime areas → *asymmetric competition (China vs neighbors)*

- **A2/AD Challenges**

- **Challenges:** High-end military confrontations
- **Need to:** develop counter-A2/AD capability (operational access), missile defense, enhance resiliency, develop dispersal options

→ *asymmetric competition (US-China)*

Operational Scope in the East China Sea (Northeast Asia)




- **Gray-Zone Coercion**

- **Challenges:** “ensure Japan’s peace and security in all phases, seamlessly...including situations when an armed attack against Japan is not involved” (U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation Guideline, Apr 2015)
- **Achieve:** “Seamless response in all phases of a conflict” (reject ‘role-sharing’ model and enhance U.S.-Japan alliance dynamics)

- **Low-Intensity Conflict**

- **Achieve:** Dynamic Joint Defense Force (NDPG, 2013); Seamless Escalation Control; Bilateral CBMs (Japan-China Maritime Communication Mechanism)

- **A2/AD Challenges**

- **Achieve:** Counter-A2/AD capability (JOAC: operational access), missile defense, enhance resiliency, develop dispersal options
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Operational Scope in the South China Sea (Southeast Asia)

- **Gray-Zone Coercion**

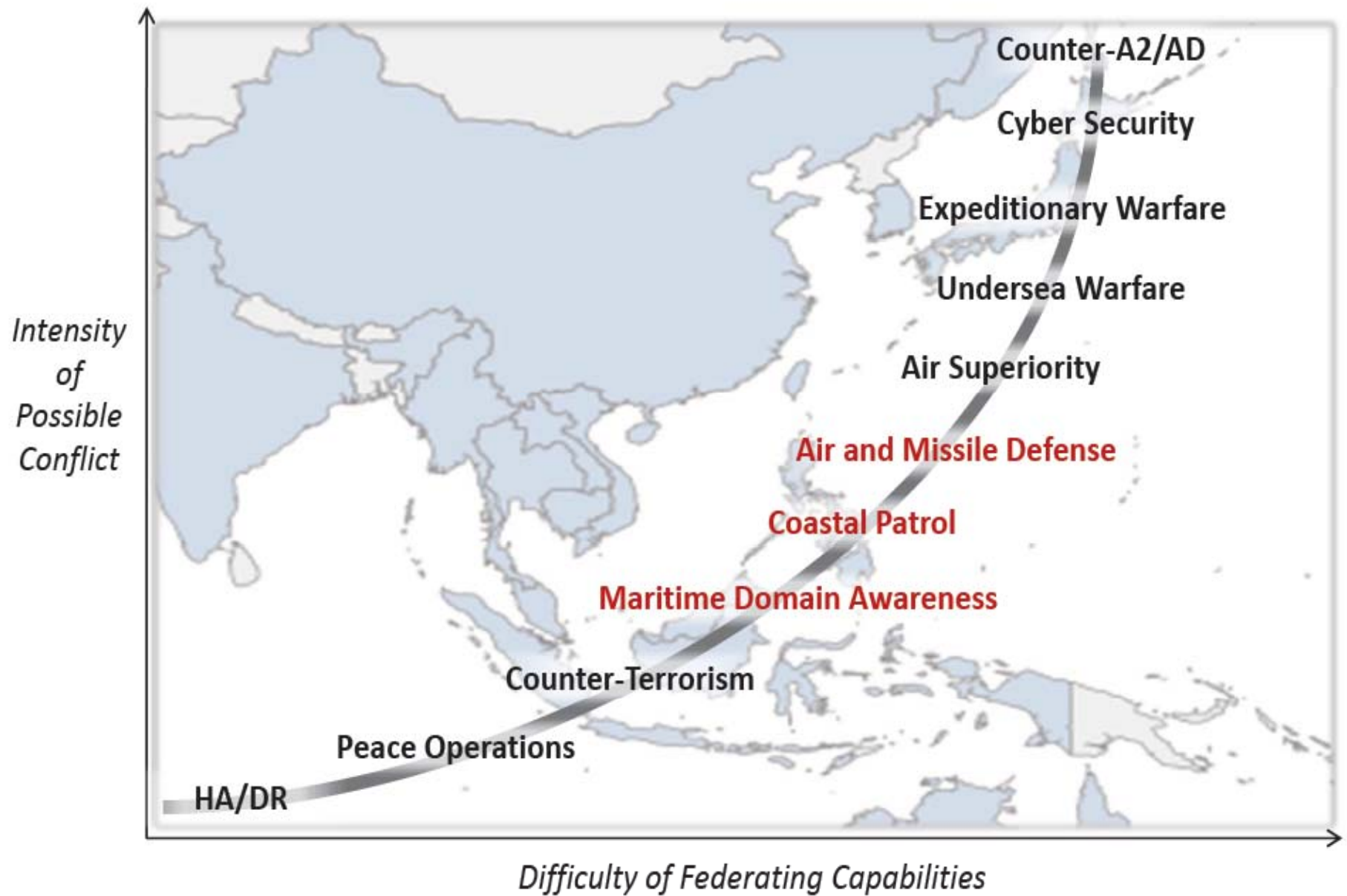
- **Achieve:** Cost-Imposing Strategy “how bad behaviors might be met with appropriate and effective penalties or costs” (CNAS, 2014)

- **Low-Intensity Conflict**

- **Achieve:** Flexible Deterrent Options (FDO) “FDOs are preplanned, deterrence-oriented actions carefully tailored to send the right signal and influence an adversary’s actions. They can be established to dissuade actions before a crisis arises or to deter further aggression during a crisis” (US JCS, *Joint Operational Planning*, 2011)

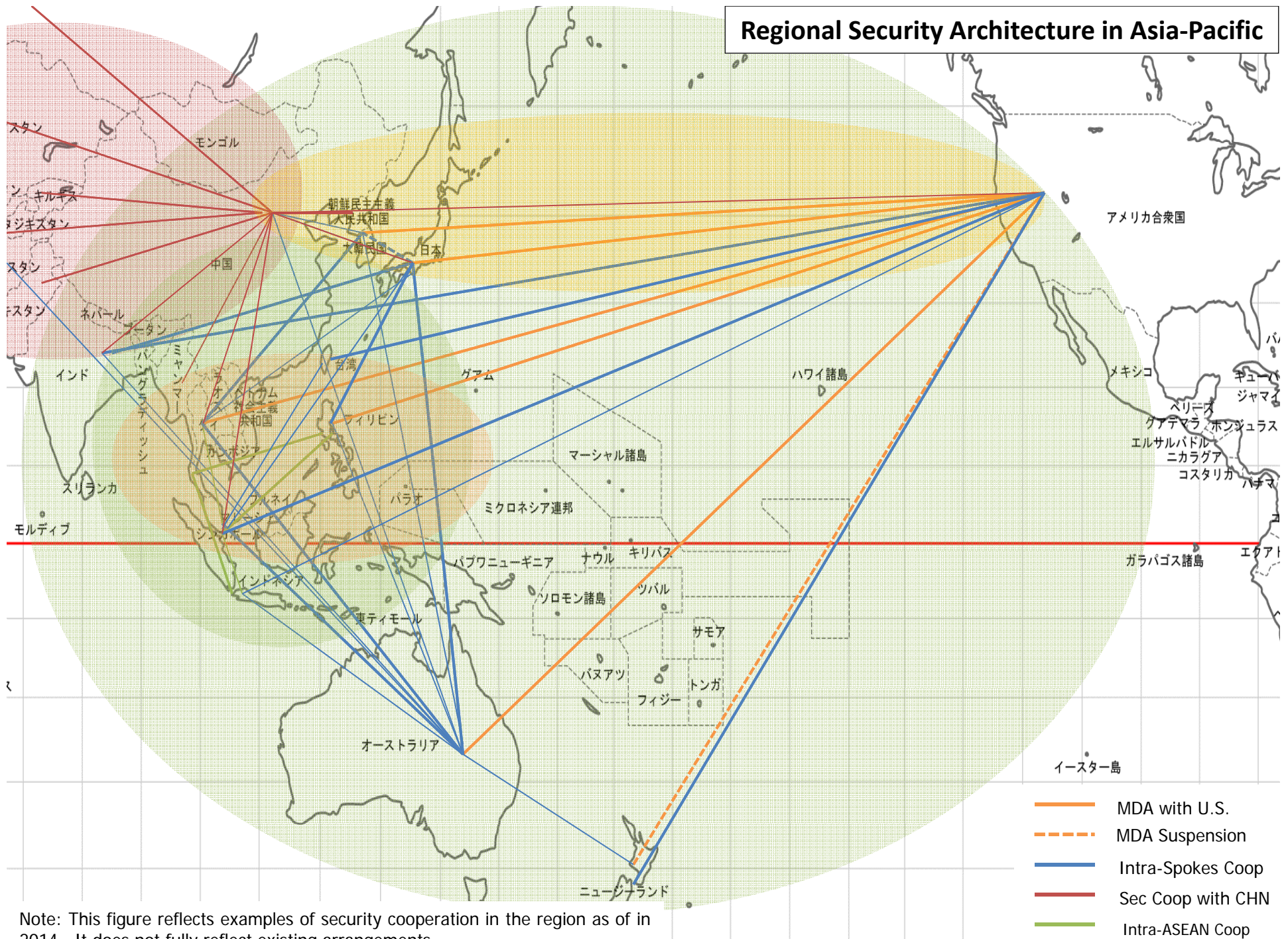
- **A2/AD Challenges**

- **Achieve:** Counter-A2/AD capability (operational access), enhance resiliency, develop dispersal options → Guam, Philippines, North and West Australia Basing Options



Source: Zack Cooper, "US-Japan Cooperation to Enhance Regional Security"

Regional Security Architecture in Asia-Pacific

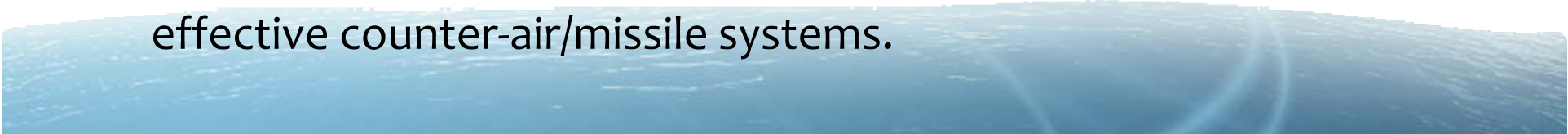


Note: This figure reflects examples of security cooperation in the region as of in 2014. It does not fully reflect existing arrangements.



Gray-Zone / Low-Intensity Domain Opportunities for Japan and ASEAN

JPN-ASEAN Joint Security Assistance to Littoral States in Southeast Asia

1. **Maritime Domain Awareness:** ISR systems (manned/unmanned), as well as ground-based sensors, ideally networked together. Common operating picture among Tokyo and Manila/Hanoi.
 2. **Coastal Patrol:** Coast Guard and Navy vessels capable of operating in local waters with relatively low acquisition and operational costs.
 3. **Air Defense:** Both man-portable and road mobile anti-air and (eventually) anti-missile systems, plus development of more cost effective counter-air/missile systems.
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Counter-A2/AD Challenges Opportunities for Japan and ASEAN

1. **Anchoring U.S. Rebalancing in the Western Pacific:** Resilient, geographically divergent, and politically sustainable US presence. Defense Cooperation Guideline (JPN) + US rotational presence / dispersal options in Philippines and Singapore.
2. **Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) Capability:** Japan will field 22 submarines by 2020 (NDPG 2010). Vietnam (Kilo-class submarine x6), Indonesia (Type-209 + RUS/KOR purchase options), Singapore (Type-218SG x2) etc.
3. **Intelligence and Cyber Cooperation:** ASEAN-Japan Information Security Policy Meeting (2009-) + Ministerial Policy Meeting on Cyber Security Cooperation (2013); deeper cooperation between National Center for Incident Readiness and Strategy for Cybersecurity (NISC) and ASEAN counterpart agencies. Need for protection of critical infrastructures in ASEAN.