Regional Security Architecture in the Indo-Pacific

Dr John Hemmings

What's to come…

- Defining Security Architecture
- **Four sources** of security architecture
  - *Pax Americana*: the "San Francisco System"
  - ASEAN and ASEAN-related fora
  - South Asian fora
  - *Pax Sinica*: China's vision for security architecture
- Discussions and Questions
- Reading List

Defining Security Architecture

June 30,2016 | Special Forum

Regional Security Architecture in the Asia-Pacific: What Role for the EU?

Michael Reiterer

CRS Report for Congress

Emerging Trends in the Security Architecture in Asia: Bilateral and Multilateral Ties Among the United States, Japan, Australia, and India

January 7, 2008

ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM

GLOBAL TIMES
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Asia-Pacific security architecture needs a tweak

By Ren Yuanzhe Source:Global Times Published: 2017/10/12 17:43:40

WPR
WORLD POLITICS REVIEW®

Is the U.S.-Led Security Architecture in East Asia Falling Apart?

Elliot Waldman | Tuesday, Sept. 10, 2019

"When historians look back on this day, they will probably conclude that the unraveling of the U.S.-centric defense and security architecture in Northeast Asia began with this Korean decision"

THE DIPLOMAT
READ THE DIPLOMAT. KNOW THE ASIA-PACIFIC
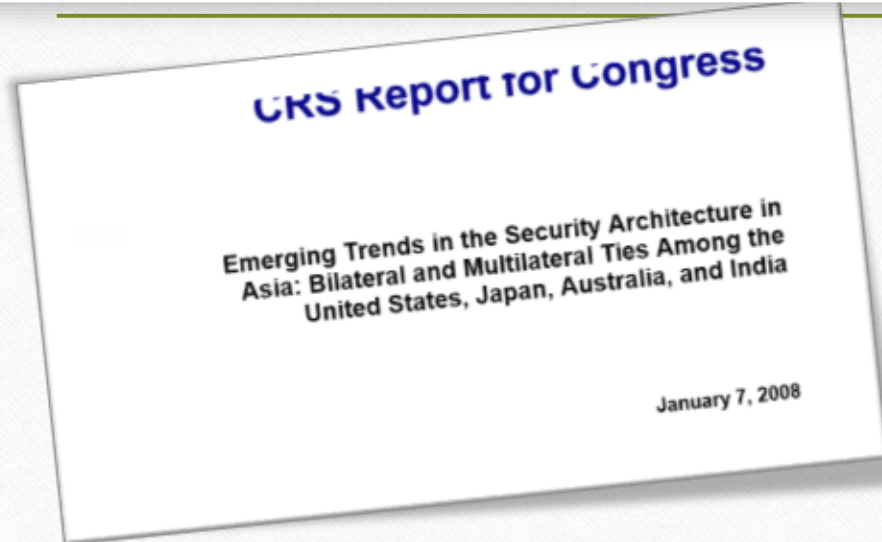
FEATURES | SECURITY

China and the U.S. Alliance System

The U.S. is likely to find its system of alliances and partnerships in Asia an increasing source of contention with China.

What is security architecture to you?

A. A large multilateral alliance (NATO) or many inter-connected alliances

B. A large institution or many inter-connected institutions that deal with security (among other things)

C. A "security community" that sees states working together on security issues

D. Processes or norms that groups of states adopt to resolve security issues

25% 25% 25% 25%

A large multilateral alliance…

A large institution or many…

A "security community" …

Processes or norms that…
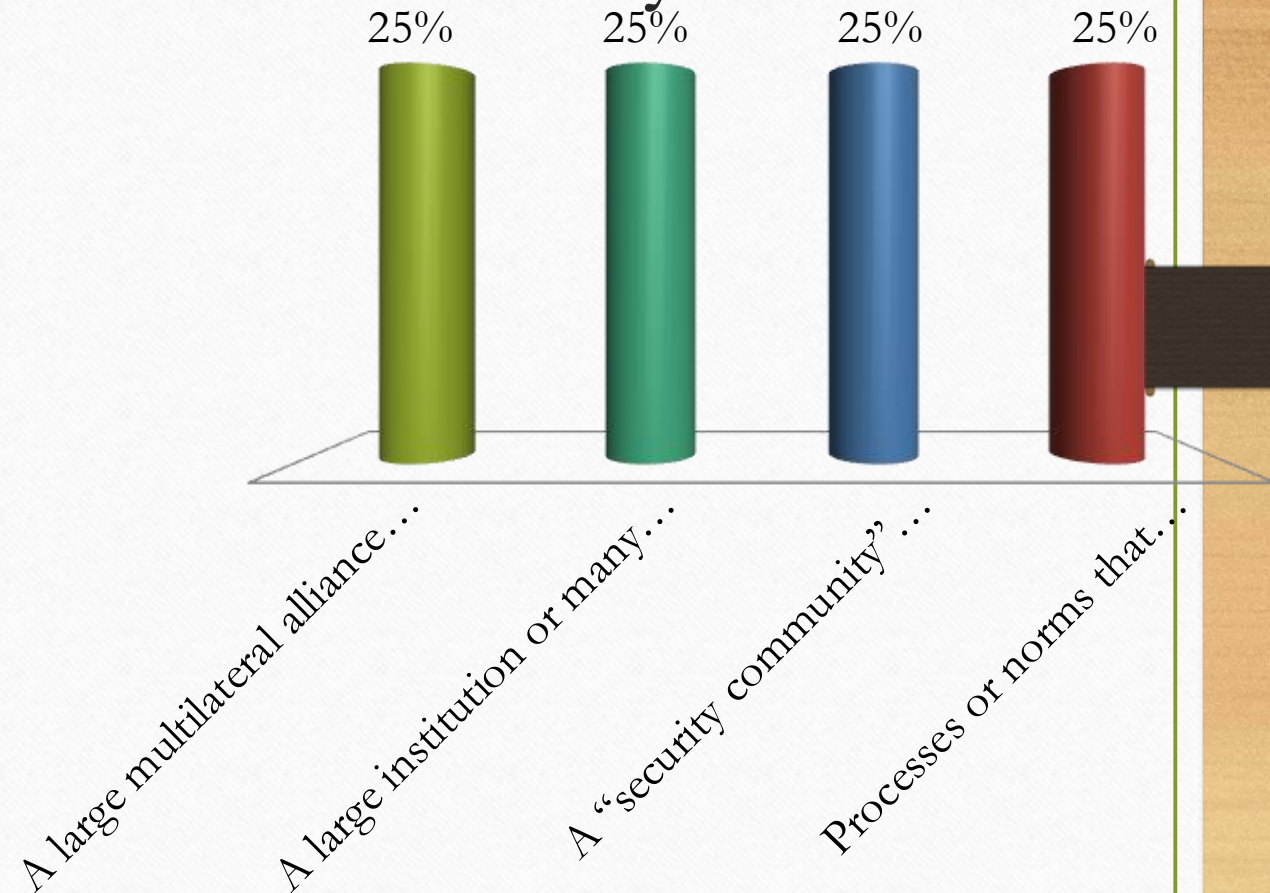
"Architecture"

- Order?
- Framework?
- Mechanism?
- Structure?
- System?
- Institution?

Architecture as order:

the '*Pax Americana*'; architecture as a defence system that promotes outcomes – such as conflict management and avoidance – as well as a rules-based, maritime-based, trading order which broadly favors US norms and standards, while also enriching key regional stakeholders.

"Architecture"

- Order?
- Framework?
- Mechanism?
- Structure?
- System?
- Institution?

Architecture as 'community-integration': the 'ASEAN Way', where process and community-integration are more important than outcomes or policy and where hierarchy is avoided in favour of consensus in institutions, such as ASEAN Regional Forum, ADMM+, and ASEAN+3.

"Architecture"

- Order?
- Framework?
- Mechanism?
- Structure?
- System?
- Institution?

Architecture as community-building:

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) are both large aspirational bodies, working across a range of issues.

"Architecture"

- Order?
- Framework?
- Mechanism?
- Structure?
- System?
- Institution?

Architecture as integration:

The 'China Dream', a new type of tributary system, in which deference to the PRC's security preferences are instilled into regional countries as they become increasingly integrated with the PRC's economy and its sphere of influence.
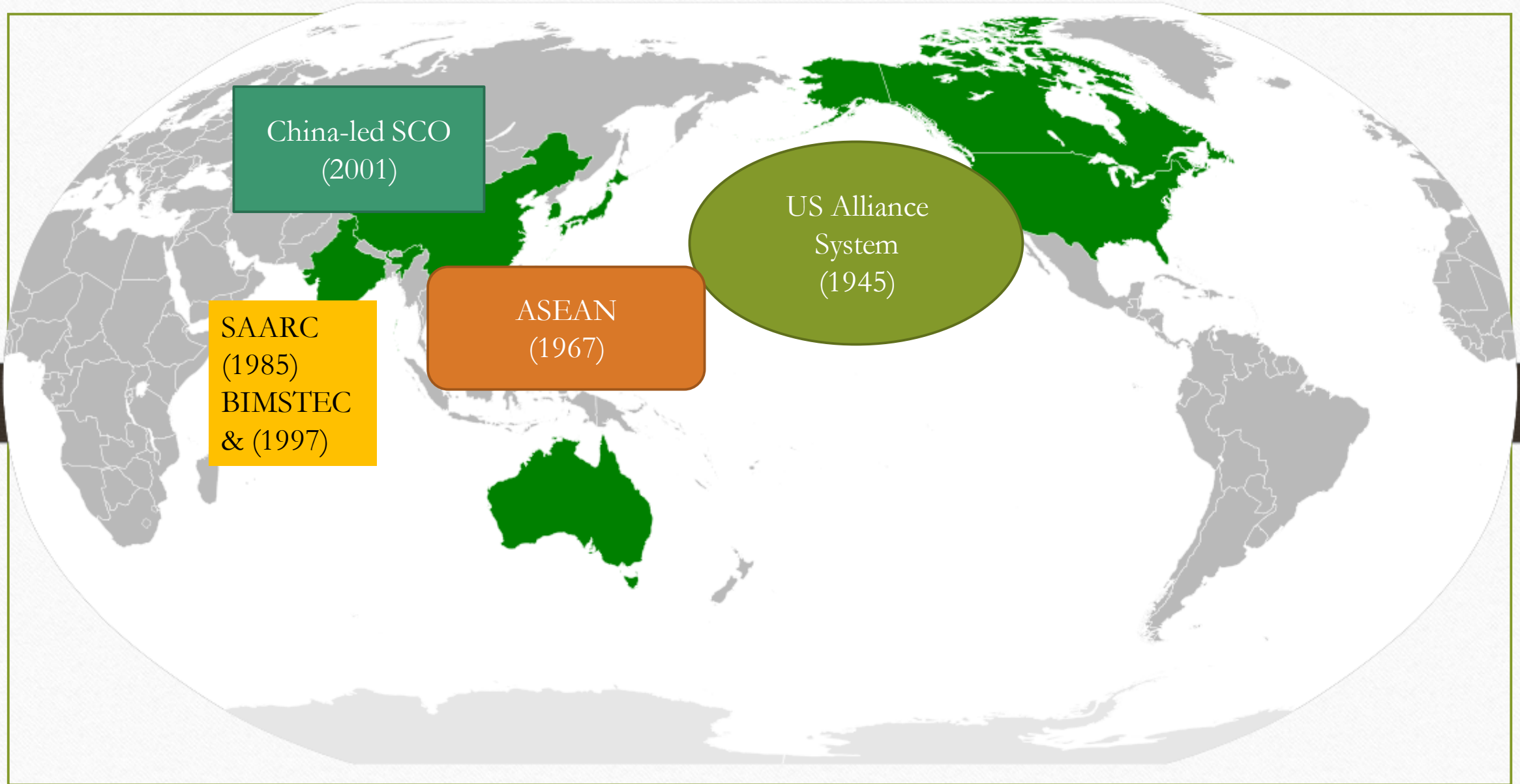
-Pax Americana: the San Francisco System

- 1. A dense network of formal security alliances

- 2. A 'hub-and-spokes' - mostly bilateral - network radiating from Washington to allies.

- 3. An asymmetrical deal, military access for defence and economic access.

- 4. Special precedence for Japan in the system.

- 5. Maritime-focused; Mahanian in geopolitical scope.

  6. Evolving in terms of partnerships (trilaterals and the quad)

K. E. Calder: "Securing security through prosperity" (2004) *The Pacific Review*
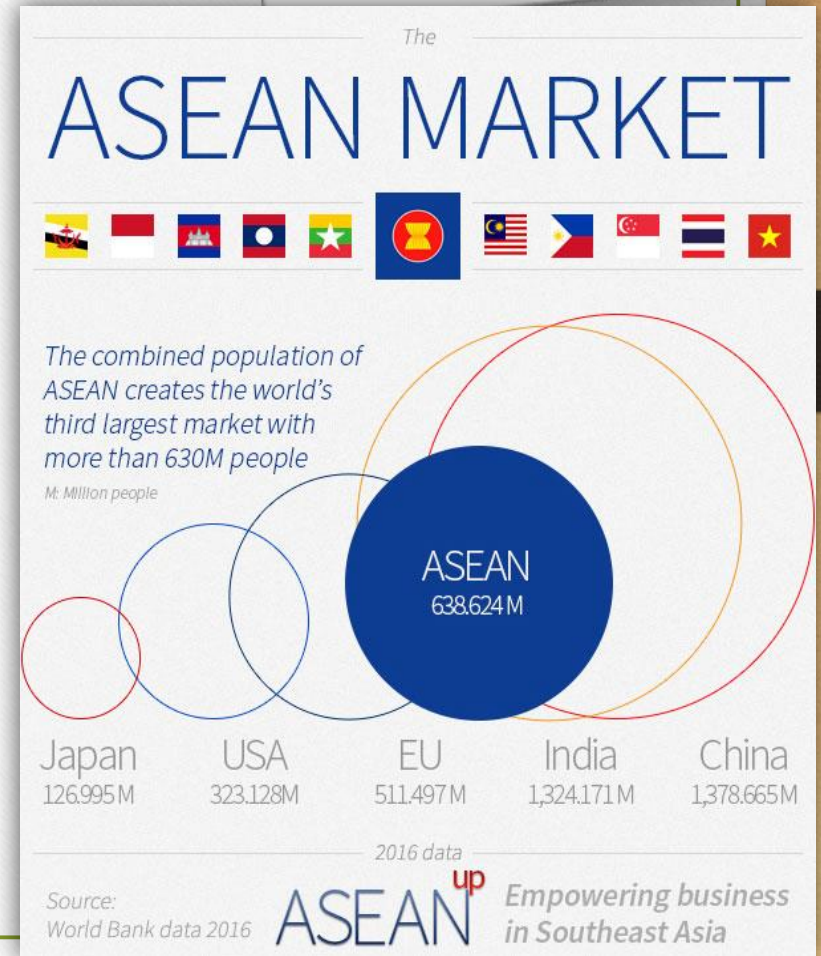
NEW TYPES OF ALIGNMENT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM

- US-Japan-ROK Trilateral (1994)

- US-Japan-Australia Trilateral (2002)

- US-Japan-Australia-India Core Group (2004/5)

- US-Japan-India Trilateral (2005)

- US-Japan-India-Australia Quad (2008/2017)

- US-Japan-UK Maritime Trilateral (2016)

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations (1967 --)

Accession in 1967
Accession in 1984
Accession in 1995
Accession in 1997
Accession in 1999

MYANMAR
LAOS
THAILAND
VIETNAM
CAMBODIA
PHILIPPINES
BRUNEI
MALAYSIA
INDONESIA
SINGAPORE

The

ASEAN MARKET

The combined population of ASEAN creates the world's third largest market with more than 630M people

M: Million people

ASEAN
638.624 M

Japan
126.995 M

USA
323.128 M

EU
511.497 M

India
1,324.171 M

China
1,378.665 M

2016 data

Source: World Bank data 2016

ASEAN up   Empowering business in Southeast Asia

ASEAN Regional Forum

Association of Southeast Asian Nations

Dialogue partners, other members of ARF

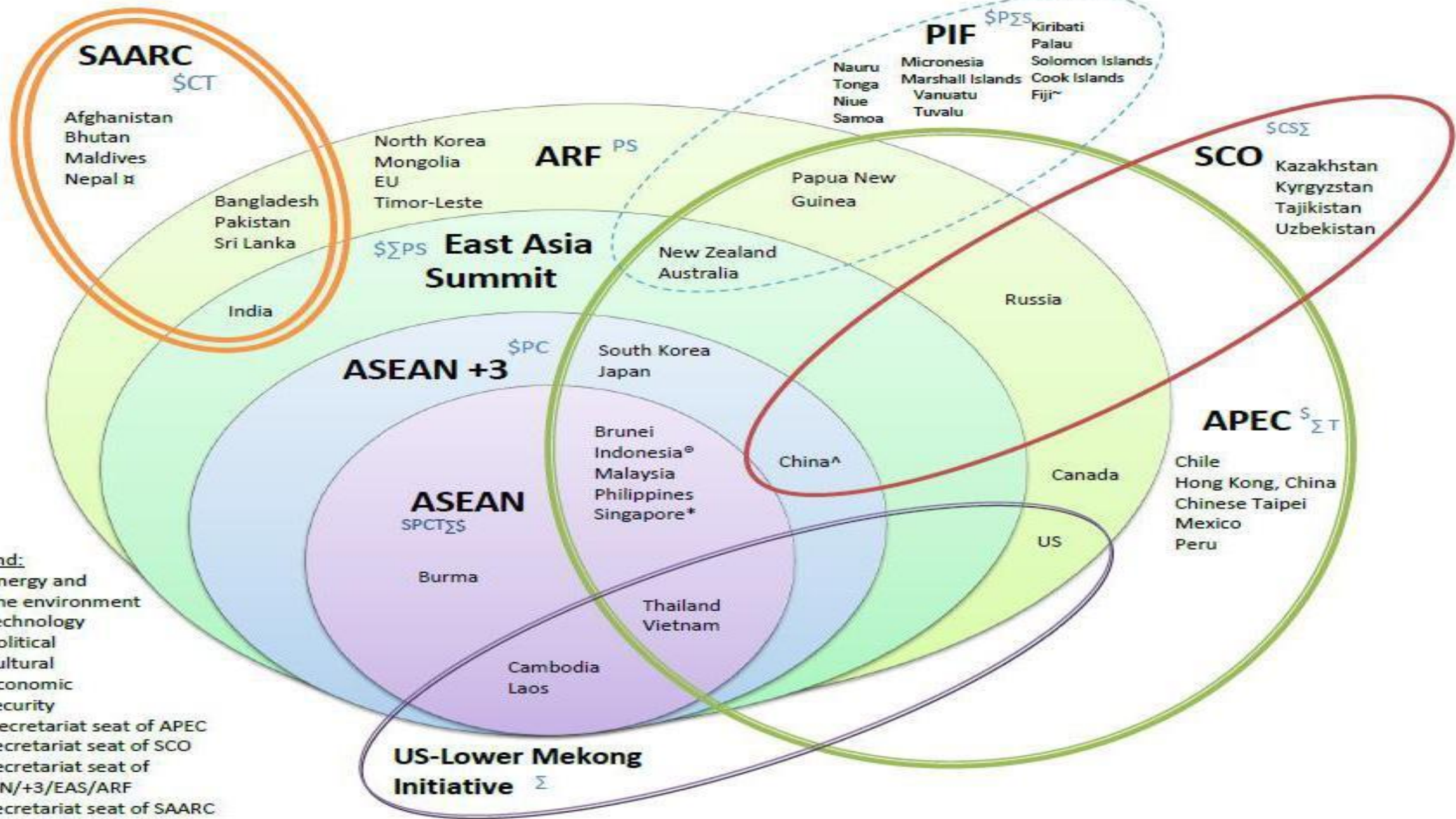Source : ARF/DFAT

INTRODUCTION

SAARC

- SAARC - South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

- SAARC is an economic and political organization.

- SAARC was established on December 8, 1985.

- In terms of population - almost 1.5 billion people.

3: OBJECTIVES

1. Inter-SAARC
    1. Welfare to people (quality of life)
    2. Economic growth
    3. Collaboration
        - Economic
        - Social
        - Culture
        - Scientific
    4. Collective self reliance
    5. Mutual trust, under-standing and appreciation

    Intra-SAARC
        1. Inter-cooperation in national forums
        2. Domestic countries strengthening
        3. International and regional organizations

4

SAARC $CT

Afghanistan
Bhutan
Maldives
Nepal ¤

Bangladesh
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

India

PIF $P∑S
Nauru   Micronesia   Kiribati
Tonga   Marshall Islands Palau
Niue   Vanuatu   Solomon Islands
Samoa   Tuvalu   Cook Islands
                          Fiji~

North Korea
Mongolia
EU
Timor-Leste

ARF PS

Papua New
Guinea

SCO $CS∑
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan
Tajikistan
Uzbekistan

$∑PS **East Asia Summit**

New Zealand
Australia

Russia

$PC **ASEAN +3**

South Korea
Japan

China^

APEC $∑T

Canada

Chile
Hong Kong, China
Chinese Taipei
Mexico
Peru

ASEAN SPCT∑S

Brunei
Indonesia®
Malaysia
Philippines
Singapore*

US

Burma

Thailand
Vietnam

Cambodia
Laos

US-Lower Mekong Initiative ∑

Legend:
∑ : energy and
    the environment
T : technology
P : political
C : cultural
$: economic
S : security
* : secretariat seat of APEC
^ : secretariat seat of SCO
® : secretariat seat of
ASEAN/+3/EAS/ARF
¤ : secretariat seat of SAARC
~ : secretariat seat of PIFF

China's new regional security architecture

- 1) China's new security concept – which advocates common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security;

- 2) regional and international norms, including the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ASEAN Way;

- 3) partnerships rather than Cold War-era alliances;

- 4) a comprehensive and multi-layered network of bodies, with a focus on improving existing institutions rather than creating new ones;

- 5) the promotion of common development and prosperity.
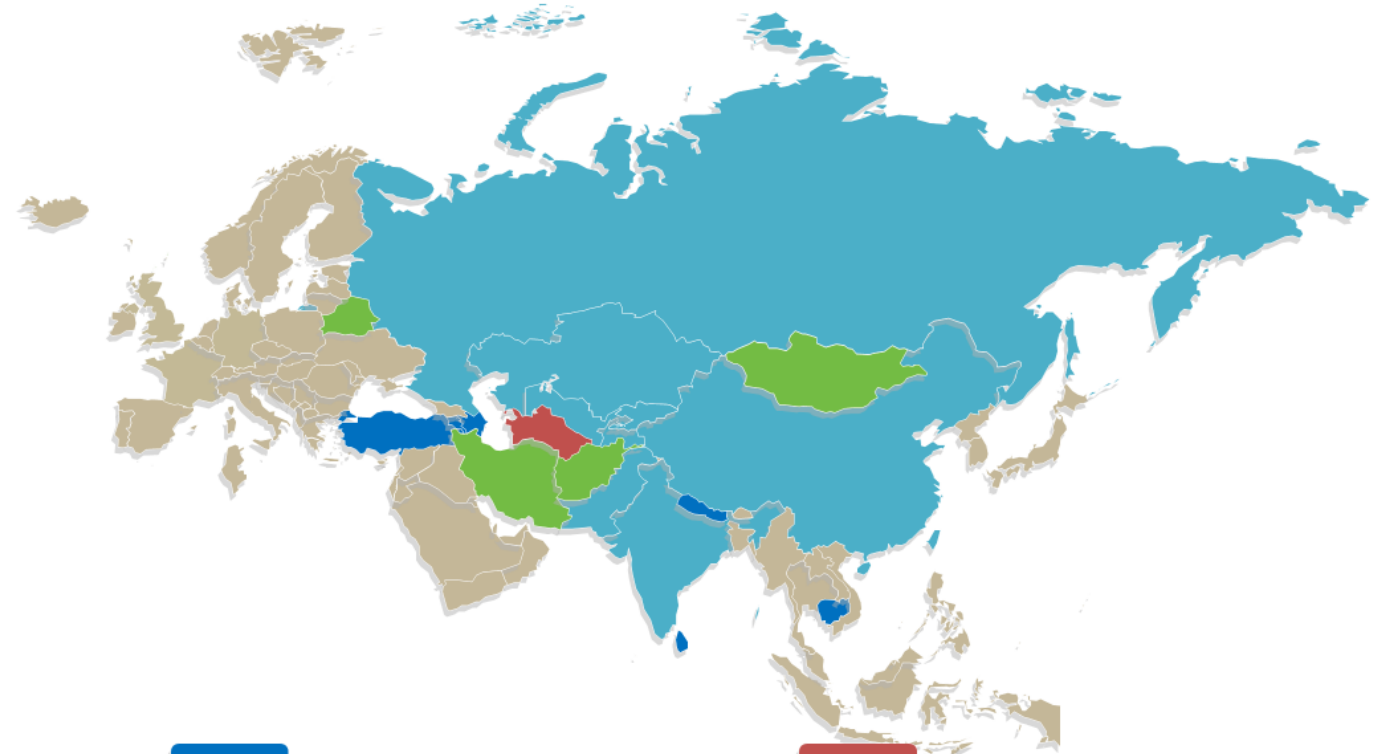
Member states

Member states

China
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan
Russia
Tajikistan
Uzbekistan
India
Pakistan

Observer states

Afghanistan
Belarus
Iran
Mongolia

Dialogue partners

Armenia
Azerbaijan
Cambodia
Nepal
Sri Lanka
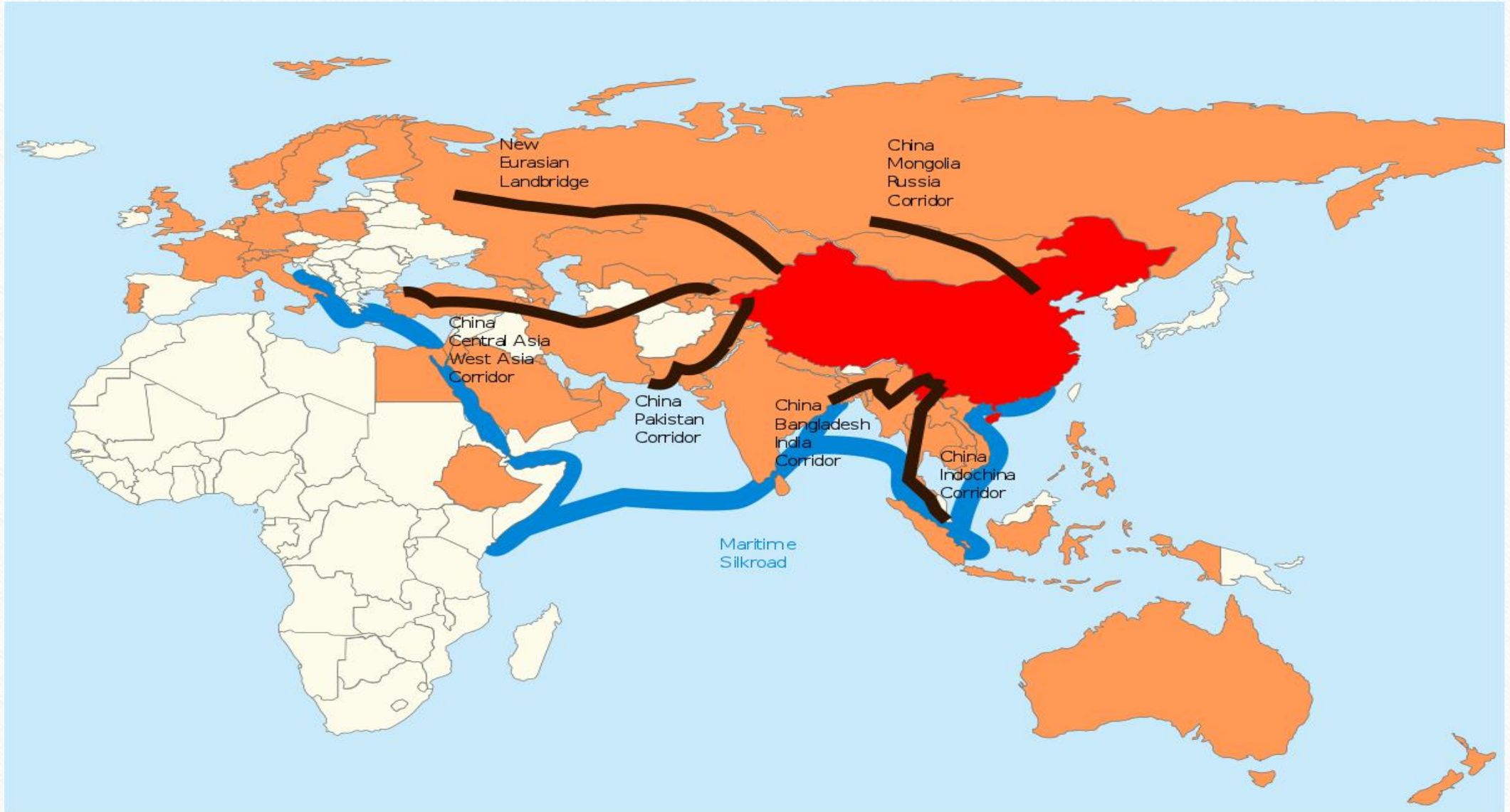Turkey

Guest attendances

ASEAN
Turkmenistan
CIS
UN

SHANGHAI
COOPERATION
ORGANISATION

Discussion and Questions

- 1. What are some of the structural challenges to Asian security architecture?

- 2. Should Asia's security architecture be built for and by Asians? Does this include South Asia as well as East and Southeast Asia?

- 3. What role should external powers – like the United States – play in building Asia's security architecture?

- 4. Are alliances really "cold war mentality" or merely a symptom of state insecurity and a traditional manner for gaining security?

- 5. Why is there no "NATO-in-Asia"?

- 6. Does Asia need a NATO-like organization? Who should be in it?

What is the best security architecture for Asia?

A. A comprehensive system including external powers like the US

B. "Asia for Asians"; whatever is built should be by the regional states

C. A network that recognizes an equal role between China and India

D. A system that prioritizes security for lesser and mid-level powers

25%   25%   25%   25%

A comprehensive system…

Asia for Asians"; whatever is…

network that recognizes an…

A system that prioritizes…
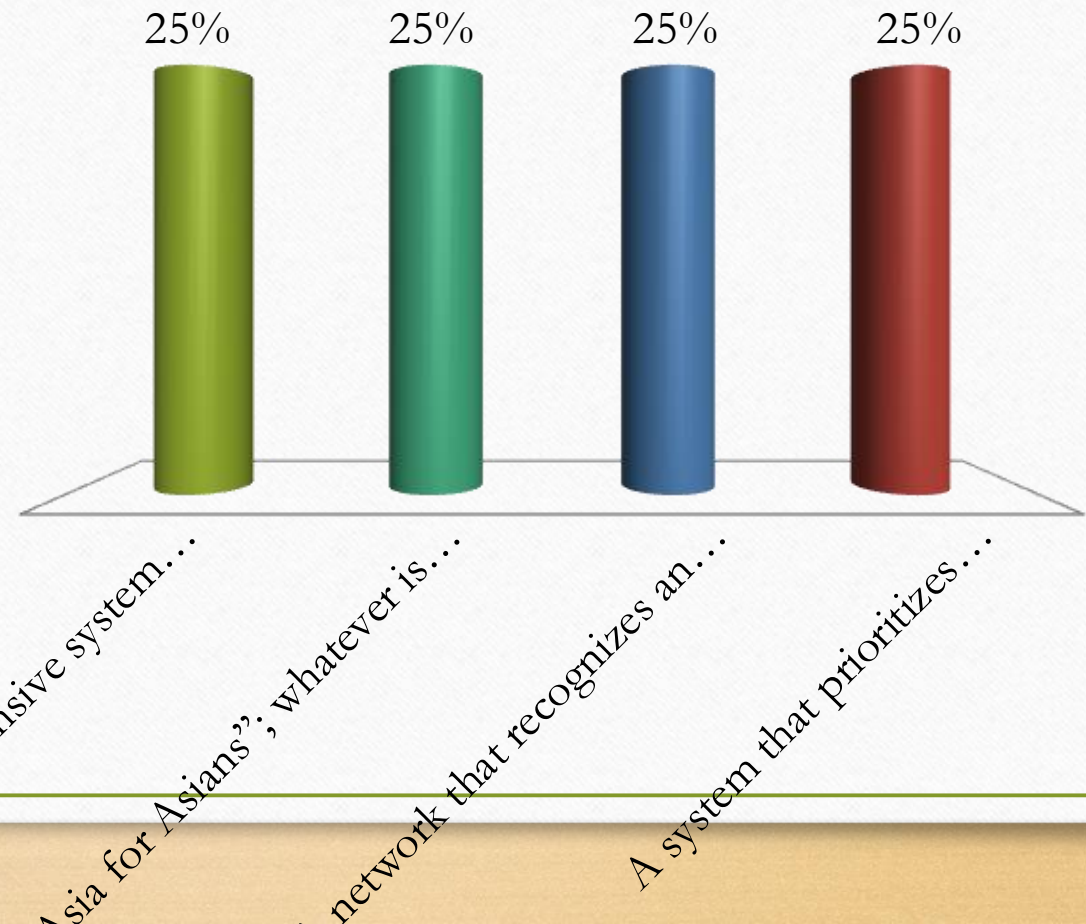
Is a NATO-like organization in Asia needed?

A. Yes, I agree strongly

B. Yes, I agree

C. Maybe

D. No, I disagree

E. No, I disagree strongly
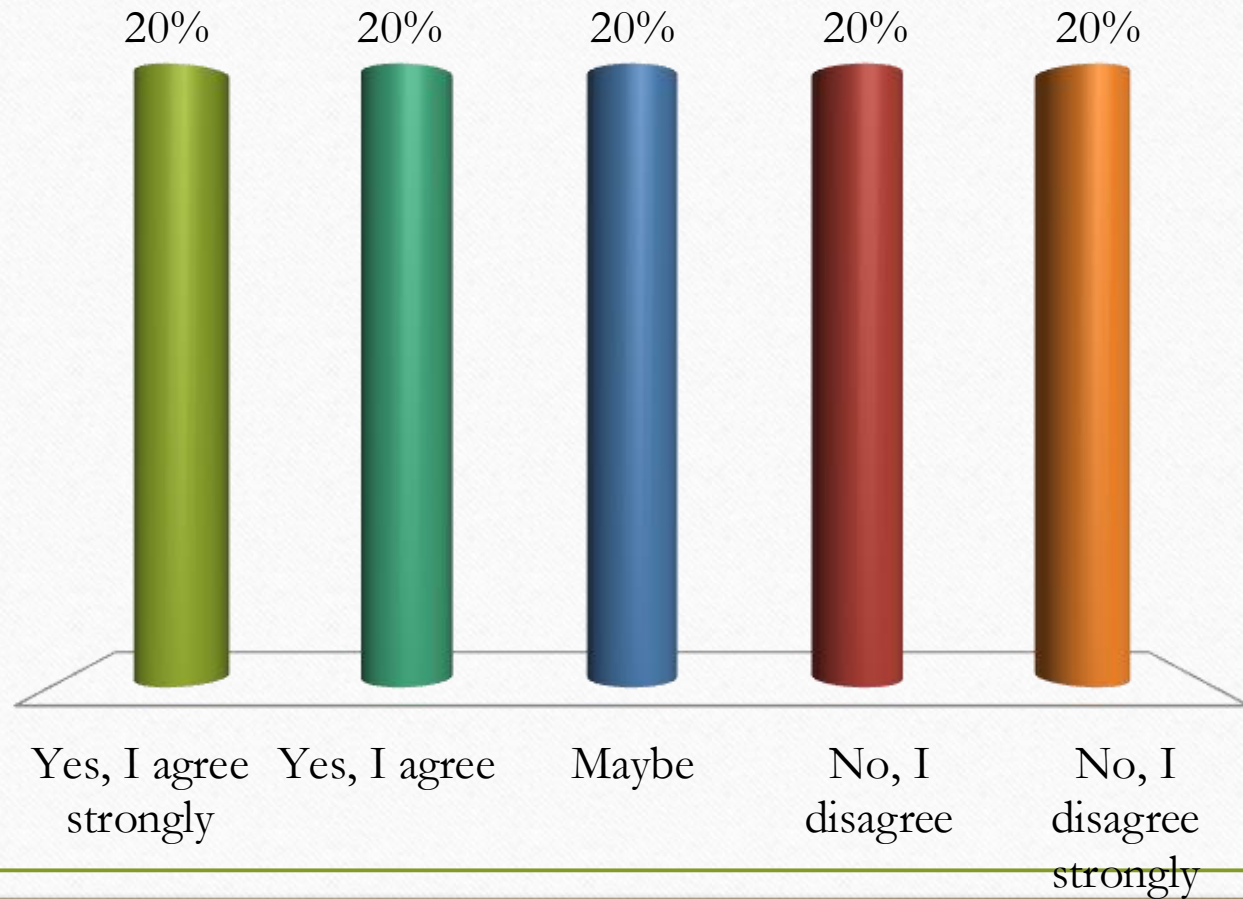
Reading list

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- Timothy Heath, "China and the US Alliance System" *The Diplomat*, June 11, 2014

- William Tow, Brendan Taylor, "What is Asian Security Architecture?", *Review of International Studies*, (2010)

- Kent E. Calder, "Security security through prosperity: the San Francisco System in comparative perspective", *The Pacific Review*, (2004)