

THE FOREIGN AREA OFFICER ASSOCIATION JOURNAL OF

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME XVIII // NUMBER 1 // SPRING 2015

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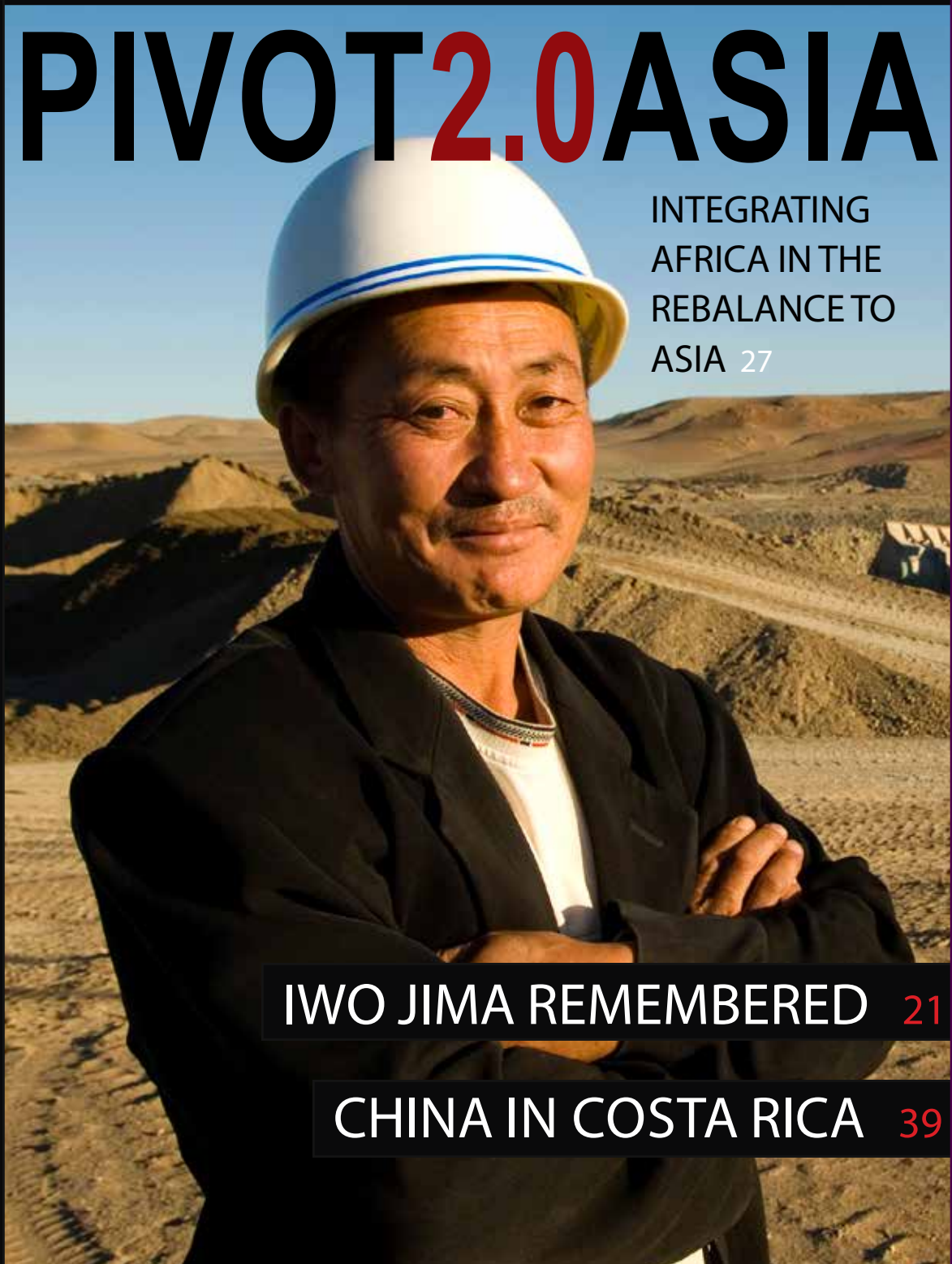
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SAVE THE DATE

15-30 August | Election for the 2015-2018 FAO Association Board of Governors - 12 members have been self-nominated for 9 positions, including 6 current Board members. A list of nominees, with short bio sketches for each, will be published online and by email. Watch for email and website announcements for voting procedures.

22 October | FAOA Black Tie Dinner, featuring Lt. Gen. (ret.) Keith W. Dayton, Director, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies - Registration will be made available through FAOA.org and email announcements will be sent with details.



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ISSN 1551-8094

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JCWS 15-02 winners (L-R): CDR Qasem Alharbi, Royal Saudi Naval Forces, MAJ Andrew Hubbard, USA, Maj Glen Langdon, USAF, LCDR Mark Steliga, USN



JAWS AY 14-15 winner: Lt Col David Dengler with Dr. Coyt Hargus

Dear Foreign Affairs Professionals, The political rhetoric of a rebalance to Asia is being tested. What does a “pivot” actually imply when the challenges we face are ubiquitous? As the articles in this edition of the Journal will attest, the geopolitics of Asia touch every corner of the globe; and what sometimes looks like mismanagement of human capital – sending PACOM FAOs to CENTCOM or SOUTHCOM AORs – might in the end provide the strategic advantage we actually need in the region.

What does a “pivot” imply, when the nature of our challenge seems primarily fiscal? While military build-up is certainly occurring, the deeper concern for several years has been focused on budgets, jobs, and debt. Congress’s recent approval for the fast-tracking of TPP negotiations reinforces the fact that our soft power is closely tied to the hard currency of US jobs and GDP, which are in turn closely tied to the Asian economy. As Secretary Carter said recently, getting the TPP finalized is “as important” as getting another aircraft carrier in the budget and the financial ties are “an important part of the strength of our country [and] a sign of our strategic influence.”¹

As of March 2015, China and Japan each held nearly \$1.26 trillion in U.S. debt.² Flashback five years: Both Admiral Mullen while CJCS and Secretary Clinton while at State asserted that the national debt was a pressing national security concern. “[Debt] poses a national security threat in two ways,” said Clinton in 2010 during a Q&A at the Council on Foreign Relations, “it undermines our capacity to act in our own interest, and it does constrain us where constraint may be undesirable.”³ The following year, Admiral Mullen was speaking to the Business Executives for National Security when he said, “I believe the single, biggest threat to our national security is our debt, so I also believe we have every responsibility to help eliminate that threat.”⁴ Since then, sequestration and continuing resolutions have further hobbled our ability to conduct long term planning. While there is a silver lining to this in that it forces us to cut fat, it also creates a strategic moment for competing nations to take advantage.

Our fiscal future is tied to our cybersecurity. While FAOs are not cyber warriors per se, increasingly we are all connected to the internet of things via our personal and professional technology. As a globalizing force, these technologies create new virtual foreign areas and make us all digital diplomats. What will this look like in a simultaneously transparent and surveilled world, in a world where diplomatic cables can be leaked to the press or hacked and the personal information of DOD personnel cannot be protected as easily? How does this affect the practice and importance of soft power? How does it raise the bar for FAOs? The OPM hack, ostensibly the work of the Chinese, creates a massive blackmail vulnerability that will need to be taken into consideration.⁵

Fiscal challenges are also tied to cultural and demographic trends. Some of these trends are less than obvious to outsiders. In 2013 China began to adjust its one child policy in answer to pressing demographic challenges.



Graham Plaster
Editor in Chief,
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Their labor pool had declined in 2012 by 3.45m for the first time in five decades. The ratio of taxpayers to pensioners was expected to drop from 5:1 to 2:1 by 2030. Since then, we’ve seen that that the one child policy was not the only thing keeping Chinese families from having more children. In many cases, having a second child has been cost prohibitive (as it turns out, fiscal constraints exist at every level). China still faces a quickly aging society with too few young people to support parents and grandparents. This will have significant geopolitical effects going into 2030.⁶

China has also witnessed a surprising religious revival over the past 40 years, with a significant increase in Christians. Chinese Protestants have grown by an average of 10 percent annually since 1979. By some estimates, China is on track to have more Christians than registered communists within the next year and perhaps the world’s largest population of Christians by 2030. The cultural shifts afoot in mainland China and among Chinese business endeavors abroad will be an interesting phenomenon to watch. How will this affect fertility, politics and the economy?⁷

As the US projects a rebalance to Asia, the Chinese may be concerned over what appears to be a US strategy of containment. Increased US military exchanges with Vietnam and Cambodia, and new agreements with the Philippines resemble efforts to build a strategic hedge in the Pacific. In anticipation, China’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) has been rapidly modernizing, thanks to a growing budget. Over the past year, relations among East Asia’s three most successful economies—Japan, South Korea and China—have been slowly but steadily improving. China, just like the U.S., would prefer power projection over war. There is an old adage that says, if you take out a small loan, the bank owns you. If you take out a large loan, you own the bank. Our debt to Asian nations locks us in a complex web that military leaders must navigate with tools beyond mere military might. In the end, debt leads to a kind of containment of both the lender and the borrower. Should this be our aim? A strategic stalemate? Does this create the most balance – a kind of mutually assured financial destruction?

These are big questions and perhaps more politically charged than usual for this forum, but certainly important. I look forward to your responses in our online fora and hope you will consider writing articles for our future editions. Your expertise and professionalism is highly valued.

Sincerely,
Graham

1 <http://goo.gl/GWKPI9> | 2 <http://goo.gl/F5eLYc> | 3 <http://goo.gl/3W0kzx>

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INTENT AND RESOLVE

Strategic Communications in Support of USPACOM Foreign Humanitarian Assistance Operations

By Major Brian Clough, U.S. Air Force
Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Morrison, U.S. Army, and
Major Marc Woodworth, U.S. Air Force

Editor's Note: This thesis won the Foreign Area Officers Association writing award at the Joint and Combined Warfighting School, Joint Forces Staff College.

Disclaimer: The contents of this submission reflect our writing team's original views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Joint Forces Staff College or the Department of Defense.

Introduction

In today's volatile global security environment, the old adage that "the only constant is change" is particularly applicable. With ongoing conflicts in Southwest Asia, the Middle East, Africa and other regions of the world, and new flare-ups occurring in Eastern Europe and Latin America, there is no dearth of competition for the attention and potential employment of the U.S. military. Amidst these events, our nation continues to execute a rebalancing of strategic priorities toward the Asia-Pacific region. In U.S.

Pacific Command's (PACOM) implementation of this policy, foreign humanitarian assistance (FHA) operations are a major component of the strategic approach for the region. Conflicting, ineffective, or incomplete strategic messaging dilutes the benefits of our participation in these activities. In a resource-constrained environment, our military force must extract maximum value and effect from its actions through complementary messaging. PACOM must achieve a greater return on its foreign humanitarian assistance investment through more effective use of accompanying strategic communications. Strategic communication operations must constitute a conscious and deliberate line of effort, integral in both steady state and crisis response activities. Doing so will benefit PACOM's theater campaign by strengthening regional cooperation and mitigating the perception of U.S. presence as a challenge to regional influence.

Priorities in the Pacific

The policy of rebalancing to the Pacific entails an overall

increased emphasis on the region, implemented through a wide range of security, economic, and diplomatic initiatives. The concept was developed under the Obama administration and formally introduced by the President in a speech delivered to the Australian Parliament in November 2011. In this speech, the President announced his intent to commit the United States to a larger, long-term role in shaping the Pacific region and its future. At about the same time, the President directed his national security team to make America's "presence and mission in the Asia-Pacific a top priority."¹ The Secretary of Defense codified military aspects of this policy soon thereafter in the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance. In this document, he states "while the U.S. military will

continue to contribute to security globally, we will of necessity rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region."² Secretary of Defense Panetta expanded on the policy shift in his remarks at the Shangri-La Conference in Singapore in June 2012, emphasizing the diplomatic and economic as-

pects of the strategy and softening any perceived adversarial tone toward China. More recently, the Department of Defense (DoD) reinforced its commitment to the Pacific rebalance in the 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review, stating "U.S. interests remain inextricably linked to the peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region."³ The document further explains America's "enduring commitment to peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region requires a sustained ability to deter aggression, operate effectively across all domains, and respond decisively to emerging crises and contingencies."⁴

Marketing is too important to be left to the marketing department.

- David Packard, co-founder of Hewlett-Packard

¹ Obama, Barack H. "Remarks By President Obama to the Australian Parliament." Presented in Canberra, 17 November 11. Accessible at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/17/remarks-president-obama-australian-parliament>

² Panetta, Leon E. "Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 2012.

³ Hagel, Charles T. "Quadrennial Defense Review." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, March 2014.

⁴ Ibid.

While this statement broadly refers to capability across the range of military operations, recent history suggests the preponderance of those crises and contingencies in the region will fall squarely in the FHA realm.⁵ Therefore, it is in our nation's interests to ensure we gain maximum benefit from our efforts, to include the value gained from comprehensive and synchronized strategic communications.

The need for humanitarian assistance and crisis response capabilities is already substantial in the PACOM area of responsibility and is likely to grow in the future. The Pacific, and in particular the island nations of Southeast Asia, provides fertile ground for disaster relief and humanitarian assistance needs. As noted in the 2014 PACOM posture statement, 80% of all natural disasters worldwide occur within its area of responsibility.⁶ The region is susceptible to a range of geological phenomena such as earthquakes, volcanic activity, and tsunamis and also to climate related events such as typhoons, cyclones, monsoon flooding, extreme temperatures, and drought. The effects of these events are exacerbated by the concentration of population and infrastructure along low-lying coastal areas. Furthermore, some areas are at risk for outbreaks of diseases such as dengue fever, malaria, and pandemic influenza. Finally, there is always the possibility of unique, non-environmental occurrences or "technical disasters" such as the damaged Fukushima nuclear reactor and recent disappearance of Malaysian Airlines Flight 370. In many of these scenarios, the likely needs of the crisis will grossly exceed the capacity of any single nation to mount a timely and effective response.

The risk associated with these environmental conditions is tangible, ultimately being measured in both lives and dollars. In March 2011, the Sendai earthquake and resulting tsunami in Japan caused over 21,000 casualties and damages in excess of \$120 billion.⁷ More recently, Typhoon Haiyan struck the Philippines in November 2013. The super storm, bearing sustained winds between 145-195 mph, caused over 6,000 deaths with estimates of another 30,000 people injured or missing. Total damages to infrastructure, social systems, and economic productivity were estimated at over \$2 billion.⁸ The magnitude of these isolated events is enormous, and the cumulative toll on the region is similarly staggering. The table below from the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction provides a regional summary of natural disasters in Asia over a recent 28-year period.⁹

Natural Disasters in Asia (1980 – 2008)

No of events:	3,341
No of people killed:	1,144,006
Average killed per year:	39,448
Economic Damage (US\$):	\$673.5 B
Economic Damage per year (US\$):	\$23.2 B

Source: PreventionWeb.net (Regional Summary)

These figures alone provide significant justification for continued investment in our ability to execute military FHA operations. Increasing and exercising our FHA-related capacity, capability, and cooperation contribute directly to our success in the security, economic, and diplomatic arenas of our rebalancing effort. As Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel stated in a recent editorial piece, "[these] non-traditional security challenges...cannot be resolved through military efforts alone. They require strong partnerships across military and civilian agencies, and with the private sector and non-governmental organizations."¹⁰ While military operations are not the sole solution, they form the backbone of a timely and effective response, bringing unique capabilities to bear and enabling critical cooperation between other agencies.

Current PACOM Strategy

As outlined in its strategy statement, PACOM's strategic approach singles out three focus areas: building strong relationships, assured presence, and effective communication.¹¹ Each of these efforts supports, and is supported by, the command's FHA developmental and operational activities. First, the formation and nurturing of strong bilateral and multi-lateral relationships is critical to developing effective crisis response capabilities. In turn, the multinational cooperation fostered by planning and training for FHA is a powerful conduit for establishing and developing these partnerships. PACOM's interaction with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its individual states on disaster response provides an excellent example of this principle in action. Second, PACOM seeks to provide assurance of a continued presence as a signal of the nation's enduring interest and engagement in the region. This is accomplished through our posture and forward stationing of forces, which enable the training and engagement with our regional partners resulting in improved readiness. Again, FHA operations are an important component of this construct, both benefiting from progress in this area while contributing materially to perceptions of U.S. commitment and interest. Last, strategic communications are intended to convey the command's resolve to protect the interests of the United States and its allies and promote stability throughout the region. FHA operations innately reinforce this message by demonstrating America's commitment and vested interest in regional stability.

5 Asian Disaster Reduction Center. "Natural Disasters Data Book 2012: An Analytical Overview," available at: http://www.adrc.asia/publications/databook/DB2012_e.html

6 Locklear, Samuel J. "U.S. Pacific Command Posture Statement." Washington, DC: Presented to the House Armed Services Committee, March 25, 2014.

7 Ibid.

8 National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council. "NDRRMC Updates re Effects of TY YOLANDA (HAIYAN)." Disaster Reports. April 17, 2014, available at <http://www.ndrrmc.gov.ph/attachments/article/1177>.

9 "Asia - Disaster Statistics." PreventionWeb, available at: http://www.preventionweb.net/english/countries/statistics/index_region.php?rid=4

10 Hagel, Charles T. "Realizing the Asia-Pacific Rebalance." Defense One. April 1, 2014, available at <http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2014/04/realizing-asia-pacific-rebalance/81730/>.

11 Locklear, US PACOM Strategy 2013, available at: <http://www.pacom.mil/about-uspacom/2013-uspacom-strategy.shtml>



However, PACOM's current use of strategic communications to complement its significant FHA efforts is incomplete, presenting opportunities for improvement.

The question the military, as well as the whole of the U.S. government, must ask itself is, "What can we do or do better around the world, and specifically in the Pacific as we rebalance our forces in that region, to ensure we achieve our national security ends within the means available to do the job?" Fortunately, a partial answer is provided in the framework of the PACOM theater strategy. Strategic communication appears in the list of "guiding principles" and is an area that offers a disproportionate return on investment. The strategic approach further directs all activities undertaken in the region will be "... amplified by clear and consistent communication of PACOM intent and resolve."¹² These activities include both real-world response missions and training exercises in support of FHA operations.

While strategic communication is an established pillar of Pacific strategy, it is a pillar not given the necessary level of effort or attention. As ADM Mullen said in a 2009 Joint Forces Quarterly article, good strategic communication is about credibility. He continues by defining credibility as a measure of the gap between what we say and what we do.¹³ It is fair to say in some cases it is even a measure of the gap between what we say at one time and what we say later. Accepting ADM Mullen's assertion that strategic communication is about credibility, and credibility is simply matching words with actions, there are minimal additional resources required to implement or improve a strategic communications lines of operation. The investment is simply in the planning effort and ensuring messages are targeted in the same way as any other precision weapon. The messages are not what we say about a particular action, but rather what a particular action says about us. A kinetic weapon that misses its target will cause unintended damage, and the same is true with strategic messages. Consequently, every effort must be made to ensure not only the proper target is selected, but also the proper message is sent to service the target.

To demonstrate the concept of tailoring a message to reach a particular audience, it is helpful to think of any successful political campaign. Campaign managers do painstaking research, usually down to the district level, to fully understand the human terrain, geography, politics, social structure,

THE UNITED STATES CAN BENEFIT GREATLY FROM WELL EXECUTED STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS ... BUT CAN SUFFER GREATLY WHEN ADVERSARIES FIND THE GAPS

and key issues.¹⁴ They can then craft messages to appeal to the voters in that dynamic. This results in candidates giving a speech to blue-collar workers on a factory floor instead of an auditorium, or speaking to farmers wearing blue jeans instead of a business suit. This is the essence of strategic communications, where the message is not so much spoken but is present in the matching of deeds to words, bringing credibility to the messenger.

Establishing and maintaining credibility assists the United States in achieving its national objectives more easily through diplomacy. Equally important, U.S. credibility reduces exploitable opportunities by eliminating contradictions, which adversaries can target for counter-messaging. The United States can benefit greatly from well-executed strategic communications in association with FHA operations in the Pacific, but can suffer greatly when adversaries find the gaps created in our credibility by poor strategic communications.

An example of gap exploitation includes recent, pervasive accusations of "disaster militarism," suggesting the U.S. military uses FHA as a tool of political and military coercion. For instance, the authors of a Foreign Policy in Focus article point out the United States was "touting relief efforts as justification for the need for a new long-term agreement for greater bilateral military cooperation and an increased U.S. military presence in the Philippines" after responding with assistance following Typhoon Haiyan.¹⁵ A credibility gap was created when the stated purpose of the relief effort known as Operation Damayan was to "restore normalcy to people's lives."¹⁶ It is exactly this kind of gap, brought about by saying one thing (restore normalcy) and doing another (seeking increased presence) which adversaries seek to exploit.

¹⁴ In his SAMS monograph, "New Military Strategic Communications System", MAJ Robert F. Baldwin laid out a useful framework to treat strategic communications in a similar fashion to a political campaign.

¹⁵ Fukushima, Annie Isabel, et al, "Disaster Militarism: Rethinking US Relief in the Asia-Pacific, available at <http://fpif.org/disaster-militarism-rethinking-u-s-relief-asia-pacific/>

¹⁶ "Recovery Effort Takes on Great Energy, Task Force Commander Says," available at <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=121177>

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Mullen, ADM Michael G., "From the Chairman Good Strategic Communication: Getting Back to Basics", JFQ, Issue 55, 4th Quarter 2009: 2-4.

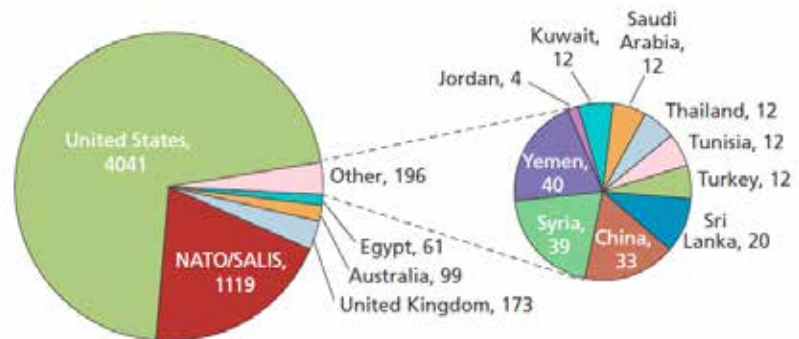
Examining Recent FHA Operations

Recent events in the Asia-Pacific region provide ample opportunity for analysis and insight on the efficacy of our messaging efforts in support of crisis response. The following vignettes describe three distinct crises, the U.S. response and military support rendered, and highlight ways more effective strategic communications may have benefited the outcome of the crisis response efforts.

Monsoon Flooding in Pakistan. In some instances, opportunities for strategic communication are made more difficult by a 'non-permissive' messaging environment. Despite this challenge, difficult does not mean impossible nor should it mean unworthy of effort. In July 2010, Pakistan received an abnormally large amount of rain during monsoon season, resulting in massive flooding. The flooding eventually killed nearly 2,000 people, injured 3,000, and negatively affected 20 million in other ways – making it the worst natural disaster in the country's history.¹⁷ The international response was significant, with the United States being the single largest contributor of support.¹⁸ Of the 5,689 short tons of aid delivered by non-Pakistani military airlift, 4,041 short tons (71%) were delivered by the U.S. military. In total, the DoD disbursed and estimated \$107.4 million in aid to Pakistan, including 450,000 packaged food rations compliant with Islamic-dietary law.¹⁹ Despite these contributions, the Government of Pakistan (GoP) was highly concerned about allowing foreign militaries, and the U.S. military in particular, from operating inside its borders. According to a Rand report, U.S. officials stated the Pakistani Army General Headquarters ended U.S. military participation two to four weeks before both the Pakistani National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and the United Nations considered doing so necessary.²⁰ Why? Pakistani political concerns necessitated the United States not receive too much credit for its role in the relief operations. As a result, Pakistani media agencies actively suppressed local coverage of U.S. efforts.²¹

The Pakistani floods, while not specifically a PACOM event, provide valuable insight into challenges the U.S. may face in conducting strategic communications.

Pakistan 2010: Aid Delivered by Foreign Militaries, by Country and Amount (in short tons)



In the broader context, there was hope that U.S.-Pakistani relations would strengthen as a result of U.S. assistance.²² At the time of the floods, the relationship was strained but showed signs of improving. Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State at the time, had just concluded a strategic engagement in Islamabad, where the United States pledged financial aid toward infrastructure development and trade incentives. Some of the money devoted to that aid was redirected towards flood relief, potentially lessening the impacts of the capital intended for strategic relationship building.²³ A more concerted strategic communications initiative could have made those redirected funds just as useful, if not more so, at bolstering the fragile but developing U.S.-Pakistani relationship. The communications would have to, at least in part, target the GoP and the Pakistani populace. Unfortunately, this did not happen as robustly as it should have. In fact, although one of the United States' desired goals from flood relief was a strengthening of U.S.-Pakistani relations, very little was done to advertise our efforts to the populace. Undoubtedly, such messaging would have had to be informed and sensitive to GoP insecurity regarding foreign assistance, and specifically that rendered by the United States. However, that insecurity need not dissuade the United States from accurately portraying its efforts.

History shows public awareness of U.S. foreign humanitarian assistance improves the perception of the United States, which consequently has the potential to strengthen strategic partnerships. In 2005, the United States spent nearly \$500 million in response to a devastating Pakistani earthquake. According to Pew Research and a 2006 Global Attitudes survey, views of the United States improved modestly as a result, with 27% of Pakistanis giving the U.S. a positive rating (up from 23% the previous year) while negative views decreased from 60% to 56%. Notably, there was no Pakistani effort to minimize reporting of U.S. aid for the earthquake

17 United Nations, "Pakistan, Floods Relief and Early Recovery Response Plan, Revision," November 2010, p. 10.

18 K. Alan Kronstadt, Pervaze A. Sheikh, and Bruce Vaughn, "Flooding in Pakistan: Overview and Issues for Congress," Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, November 18, 2010.

19 USAID, "Pakistan – Floods, Fact Sheet #9," January 21, 2011a. See also USAID Office of Inspector General, "Audit of USAID/Pakistan's Flood Relief Efforts as Administered by Local Nongovernmental Organizations," Audit Report No. G-391-11-003-P, January 24, 2011, p. 1.

20 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 73

21 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 81

22 "U.S. sees opportunity in Pakistan floods," available at <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/08/03/us.pakistan.flood/>

23 "U.S. Strategy in Pakistan is Upended by Floods," available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/19/world/asia/19dipl.html?_r=0

relief effort. This contrasts sharply with the results from 2010 and 2011, when the Government of Pakistan actively suppressed reporting on U.S. assistance efforts. Despite the United States' flood relief contributions, favorable public opinion declined from 17% to 11% while unfavorable opinion rose from 68% to 75%. Of note, the 2010 poll was taken before the floods and the 2011 poll was taken before the controversial raid that killed Osama bin Laden.²⁴ While it is unwise to attribute these attitude changes solely to strategic communications (or lack thereof), it is equally unwise to discount their effect on the polling results.

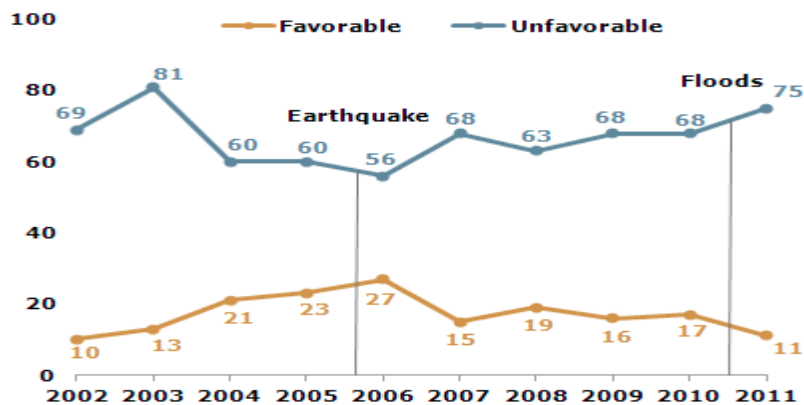
Had the knowledge of U.S. assistance been more pervasive among the Pakistani populace, it is likely the perception of the United States would have been improved. Favorable perceptions facilitate stronger relations and increase cooperation between countries, offering a key strategic advantage of conducting FHA operations. While the GoP's reluctance to advertise U.S. involvement would have required a more creative and culturally sensitive implementation of strategic messaging, that alone does not mean such efforts would have been unachievable or without significant strategic value.

Perceptions of the U.S. in Pakistan

Cyclone Relief in Burma. Conflicting messaging from various levels of government can also undermine attempts at strategic communications. On May 2, 2008 Cyclone Nargis struck the Irrawaddy Division in southwest Burma before moving over Rangoon the following day. The storm's significant power, with sustained 132 mph winds and high tidal waves, devastated the Irrawaddy Delta, most of which is at or barely above sea level.²⁵ According to local newspapers, an estimated one in four buildings remained in the hardest hit areas.²⁶ Estimates set the death toll at 130,000, with another 2.4 million affected by the storm.²⁷

The military junta government of Burma did not have a favorable standing with the international community and was hesitant to accept outside assistance. Initially, no foreign organizations were allowed in the country, a fact lamented by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA).²⁸

Views of U.S. in Pakistan



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Despite a history of poor relations accompanied by 18 years of sanctions against Burma, the United States (and the DoD in particular) saw the disaster as an opportunity to engage the reclusive country.²⁹ However, gaining access proved difficult due to extreme Burmese skepticism of U.S. intentions. This sentiment was so strong the government used state media outlets and distributed leaflets to broadcast warning of a potential invasion by the United States to gain access to the country's oil deposits. It required personal engagement and visits by ADM Timothy J. Keating, the PACOM commander, and Henrietta Fore, Director of Foreign Assistance and USAID Administrator, for the United States to be allowed to provide assistance.³⁰

To respond to the event, the United States established a Joint Task Force (JTF) focused on logistical support and the delivery of non-food relief. The JTF was created from the military units participating in PACOM's annual Exercise Cobra Gold, which was underway nearby when the cyclone hit. Despite the significant challenges involved in gaining access to the country both before and during the operation, the DoD effort eventually transported over four million pounds of relief aid on 186 C-130 sorties supporting 32 international relief agencies.³¹

Initially, the aid had to be turned over to Burmese officials for distribution once it arrived in country; the Burmese did not trust the Americans enough to allow onward movement. After some time and confidence building, the Burmese eventually allowed the aid to be distributed by NGOs.³² The U.S. also offered to provide a dozen CH-53 heavy-lift helicopters and about the same number of CH-46 medium-lift helicopters from the USS Essex, which was positioned near the west-

24 "Does humanitarian aid improve America's image?" available at <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/03/06/does-humanitarian-aid-improve-americas-image/>

25 Ian McKinnon, "How Geography and Politics Made a Cyclone So Destructive," *The Guardian*, May 6, 2008.

26 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 16

27 "To Be Busy Helps Them Forget": Burma's Storm Survivors Cobble Together a Meager Future," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 2008.

28 OCHA, "Myanmar Cyclone Nargis, OCHA Situation Report No. 26," June 2, 2008b.

29 Michael F. Martin, U.S. Sanctions on Burma, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, February 7, 2012.

30 Rand, p. 20

31 Wai Moe, "Burma Drops New Operating Guidelines," *Irrawaddy*, June 24, 2008; U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 18

32 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 20

Map of Cyclone Nargis's Path



RAND RR146-2.1

ern coast of Burma. The United States hoped the Burmese would allow these helicopters to distribute aid to otherwise inaccessible areas. To assuage concerns regarding their use, the United States attempted various confidence-building measures, from allowing Burmese personnel to ride on the relief helicopters to inviting officials to Thailand to observe what was being loaded on them. Still, the Burmese leadership eventually rejected the U.S. offer.³³

In total, the United States provided \$84.6 million in disaster relief, \$12.9 million of which came from the DoD.³⁴ This figure is far short of what it could have been in a more permissive environment than that set by the Burmese government. The United States could have attained greater access had U.S. strategic messaging been better coordinated and more consistent. Two days after the cyclone made landfall, First Lady Laura Bush condemned the junta for not giving people adequate warning of the coming storm.³⁵ The White House also issued statements criticizing Burma for not allowing greater foreign and U.S. aid to reach its people. Such messaging worked directly against DoD efforts to assure the Burmese people the United States was there to help, and not infiltrate or invade their country. The DoD considered the number of flights allowed into Burma as a positive indicator of growing Burmese confidence. It found the rhetoric from Washington worked to erode that confidence, rather than build it.

In fact, Admiral Keating, PACOM commander, made 15 separate attempts to extend the aid and enhance distribution provided by the DoD before the air bridge, and consequently DoD support, was ceased on June 22, 2008.³⁶ Had a cohesive U.S. messaging campaign focusing on confidence building rather than condemnation been undertaken, the United States, and DoD in particular, may have provided even more aid with better distribution than what actually transpired.

Operation TOMODACHI. In contrast to the previous examples, disaster relief operations in Japan demonstrate the positive effect of advantageous strategic communications. On March 11, 2011 a magnitude 9.0 earthquake struck off the eastern coast of Honshu Island, Japan. The resultant tsunami, measuring up to 40 meters high, inundated 561 kilometers of shoreline and destroyed 129,500 homes.³⁷ The Government of Japan (GoJ) estimated casualties at 16,000 people dead, with another 5,000 injured and 500,000 displaced.³⁸ In addition, the destructive force of the tsunami waves caused the reactor cooling systems at several units of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power complex to fail.

As a result, multiple explosions occurred over the next few days, complicating the relief effort significantly as the GoJ was forced to evacuate areas within 30 kilometers of the

Map of Areas Affected by the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami



SOURCE: U.S. Geographical Survey (USGS), found in "Japan Earthquake: Tsunami Hits North-East," *BBC News*, March 11, 2011.
RAND RR146-5.1

33 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 21

34 U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 11.

35 Dan Eggen, "First Lady Condemns Junta's Response to Storm," *Washington Post*, May 6, 2008.

36 Moroney, Pezard, Miller, Engstrom, and Dollreport, "Lessons from Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region," Rand, 2013, p. 22.

37 Japanese Red Cross Society, "Japan: Earthquake and Tsunami, 11 March 2011–26 April 2012," 12 Month Report, EQ-2011-000028-JPN, April 27, 2012.

38 U.S. Air Force, "Team Kadena & Operation Tomodachi (Friend): 11 March–13 April, 2011," 18th Wing History Office, undated.

plant.³⁹

International response to the disaster was swift and substantial. Within three days, 91 countries and nine intergovernmental organizations offered assistance. Due to its own well-developed response capabilities and a desire to simplify the operation, the GoJ initially only accepted help from the United States and three other countries: New Zealand, Australia, and South Korea.⁴⁰ The U.S. military deployed close to 24,000 personnel, 189 aircraft, and 24 Navy vessels in support of the disaster response.⁴¹ By April 2011, the United States had provided \$95 million in humanitarian assistance, \$88 million of which was spent by the DoD.⁴² In total, the United States contributed more money to disaster relief than any other country.⁴³

U.S. strategic messaging was accomplished in a decentralized manner throughout the operation. Multiple organizations at different echelons communicated targeted messages to specific audiences. This approach allowed for each organization to tailor its message for a specific purpose at a specific point in time, which contributed to the broader story of U.S. assistance. As such, the event provides a useful example of the benefits of communications reaching a target audience; the GoJ and Japanese people were keenly aware and appreciative of U.S. efforts. According to a Pew research poll, favorable attitudes towards the United States by the Japanese rose from 66% to 85% following the disaster. In addition, the Japanese Cabinet Office found that Japanese “friendly feelings” towards the U.S. were at 82% following the earthquake, the highest since the poll began in 1978.⁴⁴

The goodwill created from U.S. aid is a key enabler of advancing U.S. interests during bilateral and multilateral engagements on a wide range of issues, from economic matters to security cooperation.

For example, just three weeks after the Fukushima disaster the GoJ agreed to increase host nation support from three to five years and to provide 188 million yen annually to defray the costs of stationing U.S. troops in Japan.⁴⁵ The agreement is especially significant in light of two significant pressures on the GoJ and then Prime Minister Naoto Kan to reduce, rather than increase, support to U.S. presence.

First, in June 2010 the former Prime Minister, Yukio Hatoyama, resigned over the mishandling of a planned relocation of Futenma airbase to a less populated part of Okinawa, which was followed by mass protests to remove the base entirely.⁴⁶ Second, Japan’s ailing fiscal health made reducing Japan’s contribution to U.S. basing an attractive cost cutting measure.⁴⁷ Despite these pressures, the GoJ was politically enabled to bolster the longstanding U.S.-Japanese security arrangement, due in large part to the goodwill fostered by U.S. assistance in the wake of the disaster.

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39 Charles Miller, et al., “Recommendations for Enhancing Reactor Safety in the 21st Century,” United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission, July 12, 2011, pp. 10–14; OCHA, “Damaged Fukushima Nuclear Plant Cause for Concern,” March 20, 2011d.

40 Stephanie Nebehay, “Japan Requests Foreign Rescue Teams, UN Says,” Reuters, March 11, 2011.

41 Andrew Feickert and Emma Chanlett-Avery, Japan 2011 Earthquake: U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) Response, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, June 2, 2011, p. 1.

42 U.S. Agency for International Development, “Japan – Earthquake and Tsunami, Fact Sheet #17,” April 22, 2011c.

43 “FACTBOX-Aid and rescue offers for Japan quake”. Reuters. 16 March 2011.

44 Richard Wike, “Does Humanitarian Aid Improve America’s Image?” Pew Global Attitudes Project, March 6, 2012.

45 “Disaster Militarism: Rethinking U.S. aid in the Asia-Pacific,” available at <http://fpif.org/disaster-militarism-rethinking-u-s-relief-asia-pacific/>

46 “Japan PM apologizes for U.S. bases in Okinawa,” available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/10388407>

47 Chanlett-Avery, Manyin, Cooper and Rinehart, “Japan-U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, 2013, p. 18.

THE AMERICAS IN THE BALANCE

National Security Implications of Chinese Influence in Latin America

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Disclaimer: The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the US Government, Department of Defense, United States Navy, Marine Corps University, or the Marine Corps War College.

Given Latin America's proximity to the United States and each nation's shared responsibility for regional stability, the United States must not overlook the effects of China's rise in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed some countries such as Chile and Brazil continue to thrive with the opportunities brought on by increased Chinese engagement. However, other countries such as Venezuela and Argentina struggle with turning Chinese engagement into national benefit.

This paper will identify some of the causes of these struggles and how they affect the stability of the Western Hemisphere and ultimately the national security of the United States. Additionally, this paper will identify some future areas of concern as well as methods by which the United States can best engage Latin American nations. The author aims to demonstrate why the United States must further develop its relationship with its Latin American neighbors in order to address national security implications resulting from China's expanding influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Introduction

As the United States identifies future challenges and seeks opportunities to meet them, the Middle East and East Asia have dominated the discussion since the end of the Cold War. However, the United States must not overlook its neighbors in Latin America. China has not. Latin American trade with China has increased by a factor of ten since 2000. Additionally, diplomatic and military initiatives have bolstered China's standing in the western hemisphere. However, China's increasing influence has the potential to create instability in the region and threaten the national security of the United States. To neutralize this potential tinderbox, the United States must increase its engagement with Latin America to better address the consequences of China's expanding influence in the Western Hemisphere.

The growth of China's economy and subsequent global influence has been instrumental in opening great opportunities for Latin American economies. China's increasing demand for hydrocarbon fuels, precious metals, and food products has provided a generous market for Latin American exports. Additionally Chinese firms' investment

in infrastructure and manufacturing facilities has injected much capital into Latin American countries. The economic benefits have contributed to both political stability and quality of life improvement for many Latin American citizens. According to World Bank data, most (with the notable exception of Mexico) Latin American nations have seen a significant drop in poverty since the boom of Latin America-China trade began in the early 2000s.¹

However, Chinese growth has begun to slow. Subsequently, so has its demand for Latin American commodities. Additionally, those countries that have benefited from the commodities exports to China have seen their own manufactured products threatened by Chinese products in their domestic markets. According to a study by Kevin Gallagher and Roberto Porzecanski published in their book *The Dragon in the Room: China and the Future of Latin American Industrialization*, China's entry in the Latin American marketplace has generated significant direct and indirect threats to manufacturing.² Since many Latin American countries depend on each other as markets for their goods, the introduction of low-cost Chinese goods has stiffened competition, driving down prices and crowding out Latin American products. Furthermore, Gallagher and Porzecanski warn that the Chinese demand of primary commodity³ exports may inflate the local currency. This inflated currency valuation has the negative effect of making the country's other export industries overpriced and uncompetitive in other markets. The effect is known as the "Dutch Disease,"⁴ and it is the result of a phenomenon known as the "resource curse."⁵

When *Dragon in the Room* was written in 2010, Latin America faced trouble by currency inflation due to the export of its natural resources and the subsequent loss of competitive pricing for its manufactured goods. Furthermore, Gallagher and Porzecanski found that 94%

¹ Data taken from World Bank website, <http://data.worldbank.org>.

² Kevin Gallagher and Roberto Porzecanski, *The Dragon in the Room: China and the Future of Latin American Industrialization*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, Kindle Edition 2010.

³ Primary commodities are defined as commodities in a raw or unprocessed state e.g. iron ore, bauxite. http://glossary.reuters.com/?title=Primary_Commodities. *OECD Glossary of Statistical Terms* lists primary commodities as the following: Food and live animals, beverages and tobacco, excluding manufactured goods; crude materials, inedible, excluding fuels, synthetic fibres, waste and scrap; mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials, excluding petroleum products; animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes. <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6181>.

⁴ Jeffrey D. Sachs & Andrew M. Warner, "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth," NBER Working Papers 5398, Cambridge MA, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc, 1995. Cited in Gallagher and Porzecanski, Chapter 2. Dutch Disease is described by the following statement: "Nations overly dependent on commodities have been shown to deindustrialize because discoveries of such resources and their subsequent export raise the value of a nation's currency and make manufactured and agricultural goods as well as services less competitive, eventually increasing imports, decreasing exports, creating balance of payments problems and leading to poor economic performance."

⁵ Gallagher and Porzecanski, Chapter 2. "Resource curse" describes the paradoxical economic problems attributed to a nation's reliance on primary commodities for economic growth.

of all Latin American manufacturing exports (representing 40% of all Latin American exports) were threatened by their Chinese counterparts.⁶ Their research showed that China's industrial competitiveness was improving much faster than that of Latin America and subsequently predicted that the "worst may be yet to come" for Latin America.⁷

A subsequent study written by Gallagher and Rebecca Ray in 2013 reveals Latin America now carries an overall trade deficit with China, a deficit that is forecast to grow.⁸ As predicted in *Dragon in the Room*, China's diverse exports of manufactured goods (electronics, automobiles) grew in value faster than Latin America's exports to China. Moreover, most primary commodities exported to China from Latin America have begun to see a reduction in demand and price, which further exacerbates the trade deficit.⁹

From 2002 to 2012, China's share of all of Latin America's exports rose from 2.2 % to 9.1%. During the same period, China's share of Latin America's primary-based products and crude oil exports rose from 3.7% to 15.3%, showing increased Latin American reliance on the Chinese market for primary commodity exports.¹⁰ Moreover, while Latin America's economies have thrived with China's growth since 2000, it has been due mostly by increasing exports of primary commodities.

Latin America's reliance on primary commodity exports to China during the period of high growth is concerning. China's ebbing growth rate could have devastating effects on Latin America's economies if new markets are not found or if Latin American nations do not diversify their economic policies. Some Latin American nations have already developed economic and governmental policies that mitigate the boom-bust effect of commodity-based economies. Then again, other nations eschew sound policy and strategic economic planning in order to realize the greatest short-term gain. The following section identifies several examples of Chinese engagement in these Latin America nations and the impact that over reliance on China can have on both the nation itself and the Western Hemisphere at large.

Boom And Bust

Chile is one of the most successful Latin American countries in recent years. It is politically stable and considered business friendly. It has the lowest poverty rate of all the Latin American countries.¹¹ However, its economy relies heavily on trading copper, which provides 20% of Chile's GDP and 60% of its exports.¹² Furthermore, in 2012 China accounted for 80% of Chile's copper exports, making it Chile's number one export partner.¹³ With continued decline in demand from

China, Chile's copper revenues and subsequently the GDP would drop significantly as well. To offset this impact, Chile's copper industry must seek out new markets.

To further illustrate copper's importance to Chile's economy, a historical analysis from 2006 to 2013 shows a direct correlation of copper prices to Chile's GDP growth rate.¹⁴ Most notably, from late 2008 to late 2009, copper prices were less than 2 USD per pound, during which Chile experienced a negative GDP growth rate.¹⁵ During the remainder of the 2006-2013 period, copper prices ranged from 2 USD per pound to 4.50 USD per pound.¹⁶ Consequently, Chile's average GDP growth rate during this period was about 5% with a high rate of 9% (Q1 2011) that corresponded with the copper high price mark.¹⁷ Given that Chile sends four-fifths of its copper exports to China, it is easy to see that any significant change in China's copper demand would dramatically decrease Chile's GDP growth.

In addition to copper demand reductions and price decreases, there are other factors that negatively impact the marginal return rate of Chile's copper industry. For instance, the costs of extraction increase over time with the deepening of the mines.¹⁸ The Escondida copper mine, the world's largest, began producing in 1991 when the ore was 1.4% copper.¹⁹ By 2025, the ore is forecast to drop to 0.7% copper.²⁰ The diminishing ore ratio and increasing extraction costs translate to diminishing profit margins, even if the higher demand returns. Furthermore, competition from Peru, the United States and other countries with greater cost advantage will make Chilean copper less competitive in the global market. To counter such a slowdown in Chile's copper industry, the government established the Economic and Social Stabilization Fund (ESSF). The ESSF is designed to smooth government expenditures by investing surplus copper revenues when prices are high in order to inject money into the government budget when the prices are low.²¹ This policy is sound provided there is an "up" within reach of a "down" year. However, in order to maintain long-term economic growth, Chile must further diversify both its products and economic policies.

Another area of concern is the pervasiveness of loans proffered by the China Development Bank (CDB) and the China Export-Import Bank (EximBank) to Latin America. On one hand, these loans help build infrastructure and industry, enabling the recipient to maintain economic and political stability. On the other hand, these loans have served to provide cash to incompetent authoritarian governments who use them to provide handouts to ensure regime survival.²²

For instance, since 2007, China has loaned Venezuela

6 Ibid, Chapter 3.

7 Ibid, Chapter 3.

8 Kevin Gallagher and Rebecca Ray, *2013 China-Latin America Economic Bulletin*, published by the Global Economic Governance Initiative (GEGI), Boston University, 2013.

9 Ibid, 1.

10 Ibid, 6.

11 Data taken from World Bank Website, <http://data.worldbank.org>

12 The Economist Staff, "Copper Solution." *The Economist*, April 27, 2013. <http://www.economist.com/news/business/21576714-mining-industry-has-enriched-chile-its-future-precarious-copper-solution>.

13 Patricia Rey Mallén, "Trade Between Chile and China Grew 22 Percent in 7 Years as China Became Chile's Biggest Trading Partner," *International Business Times*. September 6, 2013. <http://www.ibtimes.com/trade-between-chile-china-grew-22-percent-7-years-china-became-chiles-biggest-trading-partner>.

14 "Copper Solution." Chile GDP and Copper Price data sources cited as Haver Analytics and JP Morgan.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Sovereign Wealth Fund Institute Inc Staff, "Pension Reserve and Social and Economic Stabilization Fund," *SWF Institute Inc.*, Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://www.swfinstitute.org/fund/chile.php>.

22 Charlie Devereaux, "China Bankrolling Chavez's Re-Election Bid With Oil Loans," *Bloomberg.com*. September 26, 2012. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-09-25/china-bankrolling-chavez-s-re-election-bid-with-oil-loans.html>.

approximately 41 billion USD.²³ These loans have provided the Chavez regime, and now the Maduro government, the means to fund public welfare projects. These projects, in turn, have quelled some of the popular unrest from the failing economy and garnered patronage at election time from the recipients of these projects. Thus a failing, anti-American regime has been propped up for at least another Venezuelan election cycle.²⁴

Additionally, for Venezuela, these loans are payable in oil, ensuring China's leverage in access to the oil. Currently, ten percent of Venezuela's oil production is sent to China as payment of these loans. Furthermore, these loans are often offered at substandard rates and with considerable conditions that are inconsistent with standard international lending norms, such as independent monitoring and review, environmental regulation compliance, and grievance mechanisms.²⁵

Ecuador, which depends heavily on oil exports as well, also receives significant loans from China. Since 2007, China has loaned more than 9 billion USD to Ecuador.²⁶ As with Venezuela, these loans have been used by President Rafael Correa to prop up government spending (which increased by 7.8% in 2013).²⁷ And given that Ecuador possesses Latin America's fourth largest petroleum reserves, China is very comfortable offering loans to a nation that lost access to the global credit market after defaulting on loan payments in 2008 and 2009.²⁸ Ecuador continues to receive loans from China payable either in oil or in infrastructure projects that required Chinese contractors.²⁹

Transparency is one of the greatest concerns, as CDB and EximBank do not release either terms or exact amounts of these loans.³⁰ Such transparency concerns extend to the political conditions as rival parties accuse the ruling power of corruption and mismanagement.³¹ The trends do not reveal more transparency. In 2012, \$6.0 billion out of \$6.8 billion USD of Chinese loans to Latin American countries were discretionary rather than earmarked for a specific project or industry.³²

If China's loan practices to Latin America continue to flout accepted norms, support incompetent authoritarian regimes, and lack transparency, they will contribute to the corruption associated with poor governance and **human rights abuses**. In time, political instability in these

²³ Eyanir China, "Venezuela to seek renewal of \$20 bln credit line with China," *Reuters.com*, October 4, 2013. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/04/venezuela-china-idUSL1N0HU0NM20131004>.

²⁴ Geoff Dyer, Jamil Anderlini and Henny Sender. "China's Lending Hits New Heights." *FT.com*, January 17, 2011. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/488c60f4-2281-11e0-b6a2-00144feab49a.html?siteediton=intl#axzz2q74ifVWf>.

²⁵ Kevin Gallagher, Amos Irwin, and Katherine Koleski. *The New Banks in Town: Chinese Finance in Latin America*, Washington, DC, The Inter-American Dialogue, 2012, 25, Table 11.

²⁶ Nathan Gill, "Ecuador Receives \$1.2 Billion Loan From China for Budget," *Bloomberg.com*, August 26, 2013. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-08-26/ecuador-receives-1-2-billion-loan-from-china-for-budget.html>.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ The Economist Staff, "Ecuadorians Fear Their Country Is Being Taken Over By China," *Businessinsider.com*, August 21, 2012. <http://www.businessinsider.com/ecuadorians-fear-their-country-is-being-taken-over-by-china-2012-8>.

³⁰ Dyer, Anderlini and Sender.

³¹ China.

³² Rebecca Ray and Kevin P. Gallagher, 2013 *China-Latin America Economic Bulletin*, Global Economic Governance Institute, Boston University, 2013, P.21.

abusive countries could lead to a failed state replete with valuable energy resources, modern weapons, and a sizable population of unemployed angry citizens. As evident in Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, failed states are fertile ground for terrorists and violent non-state actors – some of the United States' biggest national security threats. Except this time, the fertile ground could exist in the Western Hemisphere.

In addition to loans, China is also investing in massive infrastructure projects in Latin America. In Nicaragua, Chinese billionaire Wang Jing and his company, HKND, have put forth plans to build a 40 billion USD canal to rival the Panama Canal. In June 2013, the Nicaraguan government offered a 50-100 year lease to build, control and operate the canal.³³ It now awaits the results of a feasibility survey.³⁴ The proposed canal would provide a greater capability by providing passage for deep draft ships incapable of utilizing the Panama Canal. While the route has yet to be decided, Brito is the most likely entry point from the Pacific Ocean, passing through Lake Nicaragua to one of three proposed Caribbean points: Cayman Rock, Punta Gorda, or Isla Del Venado.³⁵ It would reduce shipping times from China to the Caribbean ports of the United States and Latin America. The project is expected to take five years to complete.³⁶

The efficacy of a second Central American canal seems apparent. Opening a canal that can service ships that are twice the tonnage of those currently permitted through the Panama Canal is the most striking contrast between the two. While the Panama Canal is currently undergoing expansion, HKND asserts that an increase in global trade demands an even larger canal than produced by the expansion.³⁷ Opening service to larger ships opens more opportunities to shipping companies that have made commitments to other routes due to the limits of the Panama Canal. Larger vessels realize an economy of scale in hauling their goods and thus reduce the cost of shipping goods. For China, this would help the competitive pricing of their goods on the East Coast of the Western Hemisphere, as well as the reciprocal benefit of lower transportation costs of products and commodities headed back to China. This is especially true for oil, as the petroleum tankers are generally the largest ships. Additionally, as a complement to the Panama canal, the Nicaraguan Canal opens up traffic flow for shipping lanes to the Pacific South American ports as well as reduced wait times to transit through the canal. During the high traffic season, it is not uncommon for ships to wait ten days to transit the Panama Canal.³⁸

For Nicaragua, the poorest country in Central America³⁹,

³³ Eric Hannis, "Building a Canal to Power," *U.S. News and World Report*, October 22, 2013. <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/10/22/china-challenges-american-primacy-in-central-america-with-nicaraguan-canal>.

³⁴ Patricia Rey Mallén, "Chinese Workers Arrive In Nicaragua To Do Viability Studies For Controversial Canal," *International Business Times*, December 12, 2013. <http://www.ibtimes.com/chinese-workers-arrive-nicaragua-do-viability-studies-controversial-canal-1507360>.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Hannis.

³⁷ HKND Group, "Trends in Global Shipping Trade Demand a New Canal," *hknd-group.com*, accessed March 4, 2014. <http://hknd-group.com/trends-in-global-shipping-trade-demand-a-new-canal>.

³⁸ Kevin Knight, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Institute for Water Resources. *The Implications of Panama Canal Expansion to U.S. Ports and Coastal Navigation Economic Analysis*, Alexandria, VA, 2008, <http://www.iwr.usace.army.mil/Portals/70/docs/iwrreports/WhitePaperPanamaCanal.pdf>.

³⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook: Nicaragua*, cia.gov, last updated on February 26,

the injection of capital into its struggling economy has brought a sense of economic hope. With the possibility of creating 40,000 jobs and doubling the GDP⁴⁰, the canal project gives the Ortega administration a chance to emulate the success of its Latin American neighbors. However, the expectation of success resting solely on such an ambitious project has the danger of leaving behind economic and social devastation for Nicaragua should the project not yield the advertised benefits.

There is significant controversy surrounding both the construction and ownership of the canal. Skeptics say that the project will cost significantly more.⁴¹ They also note the Nicaraguan government's plan to expropriate the land at below-market prices.⁴² Furthermore, the issue of Nicaragua's sovereignty has been called in question. In order to grant the concession to HKND, the Nicaraguan government amended its constitution to allow HKND to expropriate the land and natural resources from indigenous tribes in areas that were previously autonomous.⁴³ The impact on the environment is another concern.⁴⁴ And in spite of HKND's assertions, some argue that this canal is not necessary or even feasible.⁴⁵

The national security implications for the United States are apparent. China's investment in a Nicaraguan canal affords them a "strategic primacy" that provides license for further investment in security and infrastructure.⁴⁶ This is the same reasoning used by the United States in its opening of the Panama Canal to justify increased military presence in the Canal Zone. This is viewed by some as part of a "counter-pivot" by China to the United States' "Asian Pivot" or "Rebalance".⁴⁷

In addition to the implications of a completed canal, the United States must also be prepared to address those problems arising from a delayed, incomplete, or cancelled project. One of these problems would include local terrorism against the construction sites and Chinese nationals and workers of other nationalities. This could invite foreign (most likely Chinese) military intervention at locations that are within hours of the United States. Further complications could come from unforeseen engineering, geologic or weather issues. The bottom line is that any construction that does not result in a completed and operational canal will have negative implications for the political and economic condition in Nicaragua. These implications include displaced persons, starvation, higher unemployment, terrorism, human rights abuses, and failure

2014. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/nu.html>.

40 The Associated Press, "Nicaragua fast-tracks Chinese plan to build canal to rival Panama," *The Guardian*, June 11, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/nicaragua-chinese-plan-canal-panama>.

41 Mallén. "Chinese Workers Arrive In Nicaragua To Do Viability Studies For Controversial Canal."

42 The Economist Staff, "A man, a plan—and little else," *The Economist*, October 5, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21587218-yet-again-nicaraguans-are-letting-their-longing-trans-oceanic-canal-get-better>.

43 Jorge Huete-Pérez, "Nicaraguan Canal Could Wreck Environment, Scientists Say," interviewed by Brian Clark Howard, *National Geographic*, February 20, 2014, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/02/140220-nicaraguan-canal-environment-conservation/?rptregcta=reg_free_np&rptregcampaign=20131016_rw_membership_nlp_us_ot_w#.

44 Ibid.

45 Mallén. "Chinese Workers Arrive In Nicaragua To Do Viability Studies For Controversial Canal."

46 Hannis.

47 Ibid.

of government institutions. As with the risks associated with Chinese loans, these implications could lead to a failed state very close to the United States.

On their face, Chinese investment and loans should not be judged to be a detriment to Latin America writ large. However, in analyzing certain Latin American countries' political styles, it is clear to see where Chinese investments and loans would be susceptible to corruption and graft.

In evaluating the political systems of Latin America, nations are identified as either programmatic or clientelistic.⁴⁸ Nations with programmatic political systems such as Chile, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay are policy driven. These nations have strong institutions run by competent professional technocrats who deliver government service based on policy objectives. On the other hand, clientelistic nations, such as Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina, and Nicaragua, deliver services and goods to their citizens in exchange for voter loyalty. Clientelism is often associated with charismatic leaders and corrupt governments.⁴⁹

As Latin American political systems relate to Chinese loans and investment, the most troublesome recipients have been clientelistic nations. As mentioned, Venezuela and Ecuador have used their loans to prop up government spending and garner votes at election time. The promise of 40 billion USD to the Nicaraguan economy may have the same effect for Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista controlled legislature that granted the concessions for the canal. While not a discretionary loan, the canal investment can yield the same political capital for Ortega and the Sandinistas.

In a programmatic system, an investment such as the canal demands a return on that investment, sound policy to operate and competent governance to regulate. The canal's operation is geared toward maximizing social and economic success regardless of political benefit. The canal would reap political benefit only if it provides national benefit. However, in a clientelistic system, the relationship is reversed; the canal's operation is geared toward political benefit. Maximizing social and economic success is subordinate to supporting the political regime in power. The canal may just be another vehicle for quid pro quo politics rather than an engine for long-term economic growth. For that reason, the Chinese loans and investments the United States should most be concerned about are those proffered to the clientelistic political systems such as Venezuela, Ecuador, and Nicaragua. Loans and investments in these systems are more apt to stoke corruption and perpetuate poor governance; conditions that lead to civil unrest and a possible failed state.

For China's part, greater transparency can alleviate the United States' concerns about China's broad engagement in Latin America. As mentioned, China's engagement has brought significant economic benefit to the region and has the potential for more. Latin America is vested in China's continued investment and trade as well as diplomatic and military engagement. The United States' Department of Defense is keen to the positive roles China can play as well. In a 2009 speech titled "Strategic Implications of China's

48 As described by Dr. Jenny Pribble, Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies, University of Richmond, in an interview with the author.

49 Ibid. These are the examples and definitions Dr. Pribble gave for *programmatic* and *clientelistic* nations.

Evolving Relationship with Latin America," Dr. Frank O. Mora, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (DASD) for Western Hemisphere Affairs, specifically cites three concerns that can benefit from China's engagement:

- Under-governed and ungoverned territories
- Lack of economic opportunity; and
- Narcotics, arms, and human trafficking and other forms of transnational crime.⁵⁰

However, Dr. Mora goes on to say that China needs to provide "assurances, transparency and concrete actions" that demonstrate it is ready to address corruption, inequality, and environmental concerns in its hemispheric agenda.⁵¹ He further states that "concrete actions" will provide "evidence that the convergence of interests between China and the U.S. in the Americas is not only possible, but likely."⁵²

One way to encourage China to address the above concerns is to make them a requirement for conducting business in the Western Hemisphere. Current initiatives such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) set the framework for demanding higher standards in trade. In addition to eliminating tariffs, higher standards in labor safety, intellectual property, financial transparency, and environmental conservation are several of the key components of the TPP.⁵³ While China is not party to the TPP at this time, the standards outlined in this partnership empowers the TPP nations to demand more transparency in foreign trade and investment from China and other non-TPP nations. Chinese corporations and investors will have to elevate their standards in order to compete in these countries. Additionally, TPP nations will be more apt to invest in other nations that demand similar standards.

Given the economic link between the United States, Pacific Latin American nations, and several prominent nations of Eastern Asia, the TPP represents the convergence of the "rebalance" to Asia and the strengthening of United States-Latin America relationships.

While China currently does not rely heavily on Latin America in its energy security strategy, turmoil and conflict in the Middle East and Africa could drive them to seek a more stable environment. If the United States allows this to develop without engaging its Latin America neighbors, China's demand for these resources could strain the primary commodity economies over the long term, making the region rife for political and economic instability. The effects on the national security of the United States could be severe with failed states, high numbers of refugees, and possible weapons of mass destruction within several hundred miles of the United States border.

Brazil's state-run oil company, Petrobras, has recently run into financial difficulties resulting from both oil extraction and price-lowering economic policies to control inflation.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Frank O. Mora, "Strategic Implications of China's Evolving Relationship with Latin America," Speech at National Defense University, Washington DC, November 6, 2009. http://www.ndu.edu/chds/China-Wksp/Presentations/CHDS-ChinaSpeech-Frank_Mora.pdf.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Office of the United States Trade Representative, "Outlines of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement," ustr.gov, accessed Feb 6 2014. <http://www.ustr.gov/about-us/press-office/fact-sheets/2011/november/outlines-trans-pacific-partnership-agreement>.

⁵⁴ Juan Forero, "Brazil's oil euphoria hits reality hard," *The Washington Post*, January 5, 2014. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/brazils-oil-euphoria-hits-reality-hard/2014/01/05/0d213790-4d4b-11e3->

While inflation control stabilizes the economy, the demand for external investment in infrastructure and exploration is higher. The recent auction of the Libra Oil Field rights yielded two of the four awards to Chinese companies (Royal Dutch Shell and France's Total were the other two).⁵⁵

Other opportunities for Chinese investment are opening up as well, further expanding their reach into Western Hemisphere energy fields. Mexico's state-run oil-company, Pemex, has struggled as the federal government uses oil revenue to fund the government. Often there has been little to no remaining funds for exploration or reserves, stifling Pemex and its ability to effectively produce. This may change, however, as Mexico's new president Enrique Peña Nieto's oil privatization proposal was passed by the Mexican Congress in December 2013. While this has met stiff resistance from leftist Mexican lawmakers and most Mexicans, the inflow of private capital should help to firm up infrastructure for exploration and extraction.⁵⁶

As previously stated, China does not view Latin America as a major player in its energy security strategy, as it only imports less than 10% of its oil from Latin America.⁵⁷ Rather it is part of an energy diversity portfolio that can also exploit Latin America's reliance on Chinese trade as leverage for influence in the western hemisphere.

Another commodity market where Latin American countries rely on China is soy. Brazil and Argentina are the world's largest and third largest soy producers, respectively.⁵⁸ What is more, Argentina and Brazil rely predominantly on the Chinese, which receives 60% of the world's exported soy.⁵⁹ In Brazil, where soy is the country's third largest export commodity,⁶⁰ China accounts for 70% of Brazil's soy exports.⁶¹

In Argentina, where soy is the largest export commodity, China's demand for soy has an even greater impact on the trade between the two nations. Specifically, soy currently accounts for over 80% of Argentina's total exports to China.⁶²

Because of its population and economic growth, China demands soy as both a protein source for humans as well as feed for meat producing livestock. Additionally, according to an article by Margaret Myers, director of the China and Latin America program at the Inter-American Dialogue, [China's National Medium-Term Priority Framework](http://www.interamericandialogue.org/china-national-medium-term-priority-framework) <http://www.interamericandialogue.org/china-national-medium-term-priority-framework>.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Dolia Estevez, "Mexico Reverses History And Allows Private Capital Into Lucrative Oil Industry," *Forbes.com*, December 11, 2013. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/doliaestevez/2013/12/11/mexico-reverses-history-and-allows-private-capital-into-lucrative-oil-industry/>.

⁵⁷ Derived from Dr. Sun Hongbo's analysis of 2008 data in *China, Latin America, and the United States: The New Triangle* and compared with 2011 data from the U.S. Energy Information Administration. <http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=CH>.

⁵⁸ Lester R. Brown, "China and the Soybean Challenge," *Permaculturenews.org*, November 6, 2013.

<http://permaculturenews.org/2013/11/06/china-soybean-challenge/>.

⁵⁹ Lester R. Brown, "China's Rising Soybean Consumption Reshaping Western Agriculture," *Ipsnews.net*, January 8, 2013. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/01/chinas-rising-soybean-consumption-reshaping-western-agriculture>.

⁶⁰ Alex Brokaw, "Top 5 Exports: Brazil," *Minyanville*, September 18, 2012. <http://www.minyanville.com/trading-and-investing/commodities/articles/iron-ore-Brazil-exports-Brazilian-iron/9/18/2012/id/44071?page=full>.

⁶¹ Delmy Salin, *Soybean Transportation Guide: Brazil*, May 2013, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service. <http://dx.doi.org/10.9752/TS048.05-2013>.

⁶² Wesley Tomaselli, "How China's Appetite Is Changing Latin America," *Ozy.com*, February 21, 2014. <http://www.ozy.com/fast-forward/how-chinas-appetite-is-changing-latin-america/6662.article>.

(NMPF)⁶³ does not include soy as a crop required to meet the 95% self-sufficiency standard.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Ms. Myers states that urbanization, pollution and climate change on arable land, as well as concerns about food price volatility, are leading Chinese officials and firms to look overseas for agricultural investment opportunities. She describes the result as a “two markets, two resources” approach to food security, where China improves domestic production capacity in staple foods while seeking to control production, processing and logistics for commodities, like soy, that cannot be supplied domestically in sufficient quantities.⁶⁵ China’s investment in the Latin American soy industry can be expected to increase in order to maintain assured access to this commodity.

Accordingly, the soy industries in Brazil and Argentina are adapting and expanding to meet this demand, both with and without Chinese investment. In Argentina, a rail line specifically built for the soy industry is being constructed. Brazil is cultivating swaths of land for soy farming and Brazilian farmers are transitioning wheat and livestock farms to soy as well.

However, both countries have issues in this expansion. For instance, truckers in Argentina are protesting the rail line as a threat to their livelihood. Additionally, soy exported from Argentina is taxed at 35%, prompting some farmers to limit their planting.⁶⁶

In Brazil, the transition of livestock farms and other crops to soy has displaced many farmers to the cities because soy farming requiring less labor. The most likely destination for these farmers are the favelas.⁶⁷ With little money and no training in non-agriculture, these farmers’ prospects for finding new employment in the urban area are bleak.

As demonstrated, Chinese demand has significantly influenced the soy industries of Brazil and Argentina. Consequently, both countries experienced economic benefit as well as some problems. However, as discussed previously with respect to political systems, clientelistic systems present greater concern than programmatic systems. Brazil is described as programmatic and Argentina as clientelistic. Brazil is policy driven while Argentina is quid pro quo. For that reason, the risks identified with the contrasting political systems reveal that Argentina possesses the greater potential for unrest and instability from Chinese soy demand.

Engagement and Relationship Building

So, how does the United States further develop its

⁶³ <ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Country%20NMPF/China/NMPF%20Status/NMPF%20China%20draft%202009-2013.pdf>. According to the document draft at the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations website, the NMPF serves to “define priority areas of collaboration between the Chinese Government and the FAO for the next five years.” The focus areas are national grain security, nutrition and living standard improvement, amelioration of rural living conditions and agricultural technology improvement. The NMPF calls for a target of 95% self-sufficiency for China in important staple foods such as grain. The document cited covers from 2009-2013.

⁶⁴ Margaret Myers, “China Eyes Latin America to Fill Its Kitchen Cupboard,” *Caixin Online*, January 8, 2014. <http://english.caixin.com/2014-01-08/100626498.html>.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Phys.org staff. “China demand fuels record soy crops in South America.” *Phys.org*, September 17, 2013. <http://phys.org/news/2013-09-china-demand-fuels-soy-crops.html>.

⁶⁷ Myers.

relationships in Latin America? Trade, immigration, terrorism, and trans-national crime are just a few of the areas the United States can engage with Latin America. The United States can employ existing trade and security partnerships to provide a framework to further engage these critical issues. But first, there must be a conscious effort to reconnect with Latin America as partners and equals, responsible for the care and security of the Western Hemisphere.

While the United States has been comfortable with the status quo of its relationship with Latin America, the same cannot be said of Latin America. Recent events provide two dramatic examples of Latin America’s frustration at the United States’ perceived dismissiveness and meddling. In April 2013, Bolivian President, Evo Morales expelled USAID from his country as a protest to Secretary of State John Kerry’s reference to Latin America as the United States’ “backyard.”⁶⁸ Later, in September after the NSA spying revelations, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff delivered a stinging rebuke of the United States at the United Nations and postponed a meeting with President Obama.⁶⁹ Additionally, according to a Brazilian government source who stated “the NSA problem ruined it for the Americans,” a fighter contract that was expected to be awarded to Boeing was instead awarded to the Swedish company Saab.⁷⁰

As in any relationship, both sides get a vote. Positive change must come from all parties. It’s time the United States be the co-author of that change rather than fighting it or allowing it to happen unilaterally. The approach should be one of responsible multilateral stewardship rather than unilateral protectorate.

In order to engage countries in Latin America appropriately, the United States must identify areas that strengthen both the country and the country’s relationship with the United States. U.S. policy with Latin America must be one of empowerment and respect. It must refrain from the attitude of protectorate and big brother as well as using phrases like “our backyard.” Rather, the U.S. must recognize the countries of the Western Hemisphere as neighbors and sovereign equals. Much like a neighborhood whose residents can have varying levels of wealth and prosperity, it is still incumbent on each country to bear the burden of its sovereign responsibilities.

Some Latin American countries are already improving their position vis-à-vis China. According to a Boston Consulting Group (BCG) study released in June 2013, Mexico’s rising manufacturing cost advantage exceeded that of China’s in 2012. Mexico’s cost advantage is based on its lower labor and energy costs as well as short supply chains. Additionally, Mexico is involved in 44 trade agreements (more than any other country) that push

⁶⁸ Carlos A. Quiroga, Arshad Mohammed, Brian Winter and Eric Walsh, “Bolivia expels U.S. aid agency after Kerry ‘backyard’ comment,” *Reuters*, May 1, 2013. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/05/01/us-bolivia-usaid-idUSBRE94013V20130501>.

⁶⁹ Julian Borger, “Brazilian president: US surveillance a ‘breach of international law,’” *The Guardian*, September 24, 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/24/brazil-president-un-speech-nsa-surveillance>.

⁷⁰ RT.com Staff, “‘NSA ruined it!’ Brazil ditches Boeing jets, grants \$4.5 bln contract to Saab,” *RT.com*, December 18, 2013. <http://rt.com/news/brazil-nsa-defense-contract-454/>.

Mexican exports into markets with little or no duties.⁷¹

The study also predicts a boon to United States manufacturers, as products manufactured in Mexico use four times as many U.S. components as products manufactured in China. Of concern, the study identified low-skilled workers, violence, and corruption as problematic to attracting new investment. However, BCG noted that often the cost advantage of manufacturing in Mexico has warranted the investment in personnel training and security.⁷²

The U.S. must build on this momentum by expanding trade agreements and economic policies with Latin America that exploit the cost advantage of western hemisphere vis-à-vis China. NAFTA has been a force to help Mexico's recent economic success, and the United States' entry into the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) will help to bolster the quality and quantity of trade among the western hemisphere economies. These agreements are not without controversy, however. Many U.S. constituencies are affected by these agreements' policies and regulations. Issues include jobs, corporate profitability, labor relations, trademark protections, and intellectual flight. These concerns must be weighed with respect to their impact on the U.S. government's foreign policy goals for regional and global stability. It is important for the U.S. to engender a positive narrative that serves to illustrate the vital relationship between United States citizens and their Latin American neighbors. This narrative should speak to the collective responsibilities and roles each nation's citizens share in ensuring a bright future for all involved.

For the United States, no other region in the world has the intermingling of domestic politics and foreign policy as Latin America. Therefore it is imperative that U.S. domestic policy and Latin American policy are complimentary in their development and implementation. While U.S. domestic politics will determine which political ideologies are in power, the sitting government must develop a whole of nation approach to Latin America that best serves the interests of national security and hemispheric stability.

On the domestic side, the United States must consider policy that serves to mitigate negative influences on its Latin American neighbors. In the area of illicit drug trade, the United States must continue to pursue an agenda and a policy that seeks to diminish the lure of illicit drugs to the U.S. population. Certainly, the impact of legalization of marijuana in Colorado and Washington State must be applied to the development of a strategy aimed at reducing illicit drug usage and trade within the United States. Whether through regulated domestic distribution or diminished public consumption, reducing the United States' demand for illicit drugs would help to quell the profitability and the attractiveness of the drug trade.

In narcotics trafficking, the U.S. and Latin America have a mutual vested interest and a history of law enforcement cooperation. This engagement must continue in fighting the narcotic producers and their supply chain as well as addressing narcotics demand in the United States. It is too

⁷¹ The Boston Consulting Group. "Mexico's Growing Cost Advantage over China, Other Economies Will Boost Its Exports—and U.S. Manufacturers." *BCG Press Release*. June 28, 2013. <http://www.bcg.com/media/PressReleaseDetails.aspx?id=tem:12-139022>

⁷² Ibid.

soon to tell how the relaxation of drug laws, specifically marijuana, in both the United States and Latin America, will affect illicit drug enforcement in the western hemisphere.

The United States' JIATF-South is one government initiative that has achieved success in engaging Latin America in drug trafficking. Unfortunately, budget cutbacks have diminished several capabilities in narcotics enforcement, most notably airborne surveillance platforms. In March of 2013, the Navy Reserve shut down the only dedicated counter-narcotics E-2 squadron. To fill this mission, the Navy must direct carrier-air-wing E-2 units to the Caribbean. This has been done in the past, but as part of a normal rotation balancing inter-deployment cycle training and maintenance periods. However, increasing deployment lengths of carrier-air-wings and their shortened turnaround cycle limit the availability of these E-2 squadrons.

As part of increasing its engagement with Latin America, the U.S. could direct more of its surface ships to patrol the Caribbean, the South Atlantic, and Eastern Pacific. This would notably draw naval forces away from other commitments. However, in a time of balancing critical risk priorities and budget, rebalancing naval deployments to the Western Hemisphere would reduce transit time and provide a more efficient use of assets in protecting U.S. national interests. Additionally, successes (discussed later) against drug trafficking in Columbia, Central America, and Mexico have created a "balloon effect" that has pushed traffickers off the land and into the waters of the Caribbean, Eastern Pacific, and Atlantic. This increase in maritime drug trafficking further develops the case for increased maritime and air patrols in the Latin America region. Furthermore, this would provide more opportunities for port call diplomacy and U.S.-Latin America collaboration. U.S. ships visiting Latin American ports have the additive effect of U.S. dollars contributing to the economies of their neighbors and engendering goodwill.

Understandably, redirecting naval forces away from traditional deployment areas as the Arabian Gulf and the Western Pacific requires a major paradigm shift in how and where the United States uses its navy. To start, the U.S. would need to engage its partners in the regions affected by the shift. It would also require diplomatic engagement with Latin America to ensure any significant shift of forces to the Western Hemisphere is not construed as a precursor to aggression. Part of the diplomatic engagement comes in the form of multilateral law enforcement partnerships that bridge transnational and domestic efforts to combat criminal and terrorism activities.

Currently, several multilateral law enforcement initiatives already in place are helping to provide a framework for future success. The Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) is the U.S. State Department funded program that aims to combat transnational criminal activity through collaboration with Central American partner countries. Collaboration areas include counter-narcotics, organized crime, community security, justice and legal institution improvement, and border security. The program has been provided \$496 million USD from 2008-2012, while the Obama administration has requested \$167.5 million USD for FY014.⁷³

⁷³ Peter J. Meyer, Clare Ribando Seelke, *Central America Regional Security Initiative: Background and*

These efforts must continue and expand. Currently, CARSI funds the Central American participants in Operation Martillo, a multilateral counter-narcotics operation aimed at reducing drug trafficking through the Caribbean and Eastern Pacific. By most accounts, it has met with much success. For example, although Martillo took a hit in mid-2013 when sequester cuts shortened the deployment of two U.S. Navy frigates,⁷⁴ the operation still managed to seize \$2.6 billion USD of cocaine and apprehend 295 suspects.⁷⁵ As of this writing, Martillo has already netted \$53 million USD in cocaine seizures in 2014.⁷⁶

With successes like Martillo, U.S. collaboration with its Latin American neighbors (as well as other nations) has strengthened the collective commitment to regional security issues. In light of the economic, political, and social vulnerabilities identified previously, prudence demands maintaining an active ongoing security commitment vice a security treaty that is reactive in nature. This is important in several ways. First, active engagement with partner countries provides an opportunity to create an expectation of responsible governance and a commitment to shared values such as human rights, rule of law, and reducing corruption. Secondly, active participants are able to provide understanding and context to the challenges each country faces. The interaction generates a dialogue among neighbors rather than a lecture. This dialogue should seek to improve not only the cooperative security apparatus of the partner countries but also the effectiveness of government institutions and governance as well.

Good governance and competent government institutions are the key to regional stability. In Latin America, several countries have a recent history of fighting security issues within their borders while concurrently strengthening both their economy and their government institutions. Mexico and Columbia are two examples. Whether revolutionary forces such as the FARC in Columbia and the Zapatistas in Mexico or well-armed, well-financed drug cartels, each has generated significant violence to achieve their goals. However, these challenges were overcome by the population's confidence in the ability of their government to not only provide current needs but also to foster confidence in a stable future situation.

Immigration is another area in which the U.S. has a vested interest in engaging Latin America. Data from the Department of Homeland Security publication "Estimate for the Legal Permanent Resident Population in 2012" shows that Mexico accounts for 25.1% and 30.6% of all immigrant residents and immigrant residents eligible for naturalization, respectively.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Latin America accounts for an additional 17.5% of each of those numbers.⁷⁸ These numbers combined with the volatile political and economic

situations in Latin America demonstrate that the United States must build a foreign policy for Latin America that is complimentary and consistent with any immigration reform.

Immigration reform is needed and desired in the United States. Bi-partisan solutions have been offered, such as The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act (S. 744). The bill has been passed by the U.S. Senate but is stalled in the House of Representatives. The process is slow due to the lobbying of groups affected by reform and consequently a House vote before the 2014 mid-term elections is uncertain. Furthermore, while national security concerns have been raised in these debates, they often are lumped in with border security and transnational terrorism rather than regional economic and geo-political concerns. Reform must address all these issues with the understanding that both national character and national security are not mutually exclusive.

Immigration reform also provides an opportunity for the United States to moderate the perception that the U.S. is dismissive about or even hostile towards Latin American immigrants. According to Carl Meacham, Director of the America's Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, immigration reform would send the message that the U.S. government "recognizes the region's (Latin America) and its people's importance in our own prosperity moving forward."⁷⁹ Immigration reform that promotes the preceding sentiment while addressing U.S. domestic and national security concerns also promotes the United States as both a good home and a good neighbor for those in the Western Hemisphere.

One agenda that is perhaps the most controversial in Latin America-United States relations is the normalization of U.S.-Cuba relations. However, this also may provide an opportunity to neutralize an antagonistic nation that has emboldened numerous other Latin American authoritarian regimes to challenge U.S. interests. Removing a legacy source of antagonism could help break down the diplomatic barriers to other confrontational Latin American nations, most notably the membership of Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA)⁸⁰.

It is unlikely the U.S. political climate will allow for normalization of relations with Cuba with a Castro regime in power. However, the U.S. policy for Cuba normalization must articulate both a call for good governance as well as a vision for bilateral engagement to enhance regional stability. The United States must ensure that the dialogue has moved beyond settling scores and towards building a relationship that will serve as positive influence throughout all of the western hemisphere. Constructing a trade agreement and bringing Cuba into security initiatives like CARSI can create opportunities to build a positive relationship. No doubt the concerns of the Cuban-American community will weigh heavily on the character and conduct of normalization negotiations, however, the U.S. government must not let old grievances impede diplomatic progress.

⁷⁹ Carl Meacham, "U.S. Immigration Reform: Good for the Americas?" *csis.org*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC. June 13, 2013. <https://csis.org/publication/us-immigration-reform-good-americas-0>.

⁸⁰ ALBA member nations are: Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Venezuela.

Policy Issues for Congress, CRS Report for Congress R41731 (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, May 7, 2013), 22. <https://www.fas.org/sfp/crs/row/R41731.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Dianna Cahn, "Budget cuts force Navy out of anti-drug operation," *The Virginia-Pilot*, March 6, 2013. <http://hamptonroads.com/2013/03/budget-cuts-force-navy-out-antidrug-operation>.

⁷⁵ United States Southern Command, "Operation Martillo," *southcom.mil*, March 4, 2014. <http://www.southcom.mil/newsroom/Pages/Operation-Martillo.aspx>.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷⁷ Nancy Rytina, "Estimates of the Legal Permanent Resident Population in 2012," Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Washington, DC. 2013, 4. http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/ois_lpr_pe_2012.pdf.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 4.

As seen, the United States is not disengaged from Latin America. It has healthy engagement with Latin America in anti-crime initiatives and is a strong trading partner with most Latin American nations. However, the perception is that the U.S. takes Latin America for granted. It doesn't take much more than following the news in the United States for a week to see that Latin America is barely mentioned, short of a natural disaster or a sensational narco-trafficking murder. This must change in order to break that negative perception. The rhetoric has certainly been there. Take, for instance, President Obama's speech in Chile in 2011 where he offered the following:

In order for these words to have meaningful impact, the U.S. leadership must communicate that rhetoric to its citizens as well. If U.S. citizens do not have "sense of shared responsibility" with Latin America, it is foolhardy to think that the elected U.S. politicians will be able to muster (or in some cases, divert) the support and resources to advance an effective strategy for Latin America.

That said, Latin American citizens are still bullish on America. In a recent survey of Latin American citizens, the United States scored more positively than China in the areas of trust and model for development.⁸¹ However, in the same survey, respondents place China six percentage points ahead of the United States with respect to being a positive influence for Latin America.⁸² So, in other words, Latin America likes and trusts the United States, but believe that currently China is doing more for them.

It is no secret that in some areas of the Latin American public, China is sometimes welcome for being nothing more than an alternative to the United States. This is a dangerous viewpoint for Latin America, as it blindly grants China a pass just by putting on a different flag. And while Latin American governments still understand a necessary relationship with the United States, they often can stoke latent public animus towards the U.S. to divert attention away from domestic problems. The U.S. must focus its foreign policy in Latin America towards reinforcing the positive engagement that continues as well as communicating the value of the United States – Latin American relationship in providing a stable hemisphere.

Conclusion

Increasing engagement with Latin America is not about crafting a grand strategy to strike a harmful blow to an adversary vis-à-vis China. Nor is it about exerting national power to widen its seat at the global table. It is about developing both existing and latent relationships that will best prepare the United States to address national security challenges brought on by increased external influence in the western hemisphere. In this case, the most dominant external influence is China.

On their own, most Latin American countries are well equipped to meet the many challenges faced by nations in the modern world. The region possesses natural resources, geography, vibrant economies, and a desire for success.

However, these assets can quickly turn to liabilities if subject to the negative forces of human nature such as greed and fear. These forces foster a lack of respect for laws and human life. Thus, as neighbors and partners in the Western Hemisphere, the United States and Latin American nations equally share the responsibility in ensuring that good governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights are the predominant forces in play in the Americas.

For its part, the U.S. must demonstrate its commitment to the American neighborhood by prioritizing its foreign policy to the same. This foreign policy must meld the governmental and institutional capabilities of the United States and Latin America to successfully meet the challenges posed by the increasing influence of China in the Western Hemisphere. Moving forward, the expectation is that Latin America will demand the same transparency and accountability from China as they invest within each other's borders and trade within each other's markets. U.S. entry into the TPP would reinforce its own commitment to transparency and accountability in trade. In addition to TPP, cyber security is another area of engagement to protect trade as well as infrastructure. A multilateral commitment to cyber security provides both transparency and accountability for member nations' cyber activities in addition to building a well-structured network against cyber-attack. A pervasiveness of transparency, accountability and rule of law would serve to provide a more stable political and economic environment, thus a more secure hemisphere. Therefore, it is imperative that the United States strengthen its relationship with Latin America as a cornerstone to its broader national security strategy.

As for the bad actors in the region, the United States must not meddle in the domestic politics of sovereign nations. It is hypocritical at best to try to manipulate the regime makeup and government of a sovereign nation. To truly develop long-term credibility as a social and government construct worth emulating, the U.S. must allow a sovereign nation's citizens to steer their own course. The U.S. should be viewed as an enabler for democracy, rather than a using democracy as an enabler for their own self-interests. If called upon to assist a suppressed people, the United States must ensure that the people, structure, and will are in place for a capable and legitimate government to thrive. If not, the U.S. must avoid the "anybody but fill in your favorite dictator" model of regime change. As has been proven in many cases, most recently Iraq, the cost of blood, treasure and national prestige are immense.

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⁸¹ Joseph Boris, "China seen favorably in Latin America," *China Daily USA*, March 29, 2013. http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/2013-03/29/content_16357265.htm.

⁸² Ibid.

IWO JIMA TODAY & MEMORIES OF YESTERDAY

By Major Kent E. Justice, U.S. Army

It is a hot, remote, two-mile by four-mile speck of an island approximately 650 miles away from Tokyo, but it is Japanese soil. Fiercely defended by Imperial Japanese forces, Iwo Jima (Iwo-to in Japanese, or Sulfur Island in English) was the site of an epic battle in the Pacific Theater that spanned five weeks. At the end of 36 days of fighting, there were more than 24,000 American casualties, including over 6,000 dead, and approximately 19,000 Japanese dead out of their initial defending force of 20,000.

A total of 27 Medals of Honor were awarded to U.S. Marines and Navy personnel. The 22 awarded to the U.S. Marines amounted to over a quarter of all the Marine Corps Medals of Honor awarded during the entire Pacific campaign.

For many Americans, the extent of their familiarity with the battle is limited to the iconic image of the American flag being raised on Mount Suribachi. But Iwo Jima featured heart-stopping scenes of brutality in combat. The Japanese defenders fought to the last man as they sought to make the U.S. forces pay with their blood for every inch of territory gained. All the while, their exhaustive efforts were conducted while enduring a deep, unnerving thirst, as there is no natural fresh water source on the island.

Iwo Jima is closed to casual visitation, but I had the good fortune to visit this island for a period of four days in September 2014 as part of the curriculum for the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF) Command and General Staff Course (CGSC). The trip provided a rare opportunity to explore the island in a small group, which afforded mobility in the tight spaces in which we often found ourselves, and room to spread out to study various areas on the island associated with the battle.

The Japanese government continues efforts to recover the remains of up to 12,000 Japanese dead that are estimated to remain buried on Iwo Jima. American dead were interred in Division cemeteries established on the island after the conclusion of the battle. Later, these cemeteries were excavated and the remains were relocated to various locations in the U.S.

A present day duty assignment to the island as a member of the JMSDF still provides a sense of isolation. The island is out of range of all cellular telephone antennas, and does not have commercially available internet services. While the Japanese Basic Officers Quarters and Basic Enlisted Quarters on the island have rooms that are well equipped with functioning air conditioning and a television that has a few channels of satellite TV, for those accustomed to being constantly con-



Figure 1: Bunkers provided overwatch and interlocking fields of fire with other defense positions. A rusting machine gun mount and a disabled machine gun remain in place.

nected and informed, it can be a bit different to be secluded and off the grid.

It was 1945, and the pendulum of momentum and success in the Pacific Theater had long since swung the Allies' way. However, this did not mean that finishing the job would be easy. While the Allies maintained air and sea superiority in the weeks leading up to the Battle of Iwo Jima, such combat advantages only got them so far. The Japanese Imperial Navy developed very deep intricate and coordinated defensive positions. Lieutenant General Tadamichi Kuribayashi was the Japanese general who, in June of 1944, was charged with making the final defensive preparations on the island in the face of the inevitable invasion by the Americans. He had only eight months to conduct his assessment and execute his defensive plans.

Kuribayashi had previously served in the U.S. as a Deputy Defense Attaché, and was thought by the Imperial Army to maintain some unique insights into the American psyche that could potentially be of benefit to arranging the defense of the island. Others speculate that Kuribayashi had been labeled as a defeatist, having offered before the war that Japan should not engage in warfare with the United States, and believing that a negotiated peace during the war was the path for reaching the optimal end of the conflict. As a result of such beliefs, some believe he was given what was perceived as a suicide mission in overseeing the defense of Iwo Jima.

In contrast to the Navy's position of holding a defensive line along the coast, Kuribayashi preferred to move the fight



Figure 2: Panoramic view from atop Mount Suribachi. Two U.S. Marine Corps divisions landed on the south coast (right).

inland towards extensively prepared tunnel networks and defensive positions. He also ordered an end to banzai attacks, which was a tactic in which groups of soldiers made a last ditch run towards the enemy lines in an effort to create chaos and kill as many troops as possible before being killed. Banzai attacks would meet mixed results of effectiveness, but would ultimately quickly drain troop numbers, for it meant certain death to openly charge towards enemy lines. Kuribayashi preferred to allow the U.S. Marines to land, and draw them into nest after nest of machine guns and ambushes as they fought tooth and nail to advance north on the island. The loss of Iwo Jima was inevitable. But, for every day that the U.S. advance could be stalled, it was one day longer to delay the U.S. forces from intensifying the bombing of the Japanese homeland and preparing for a land invasion. For every casualty inflicted, it was one Marine less that could carry out the job. In Kuribayashi's mind, it was also another day of opportunity for the Japanese and U.S. governments to potentially see the wisdom of ending the conflict through negotiation instead of warfare.

General Kuribayashi arrived on the island on 19 June 1944. With his idea of allowing the Marines to land and then defend in depth throughout the island, he began designing and excavating over sixteen miles of underground tunnels to combat an anticipated fighting force of thousands of U.S. Marines. The tunnels were dug in the heat of the island mostly by hand, as there was a lack of machinery available to assist with the task.

When the heat outside of the tunnels was not sapping the strength of the men, it was the heat inside that was overbearing. Iwo Jima is an active volcano, so holes and tunnels dug into its slopes can radiate intolerable levels of heat. At one point during our tour, in response to a discussion we had about the extreme heat of the tunnels, our driver took us to what was known to him as the hottest tunnel on the island. Located on the perimeter of the main airfield, it is covered by a manhole to help avoid any accidental falls. Upon removing the manhole cover, steam billowed out from the tunnel. By then, we were accustomed to seeing similar steam and sulfur vents around the island. When we placed our hands in the path of the steam exiting the tunnel, we met a sensation

akin to using your hand to stop the steam escaping from a teakettle. For the men digging inside the tunnels, they could sometimes only endure ten-minute stretches of work before having to rotate. There was also, and still is, the danger posed by the venting of sulfur gas.

Food and water also were in critical supply, with some defenders resorting to eating worms and weeds for sustenance. Because of increased Allied fighter and bomber attacks, the majority of the tunnel work had to be conducted at night and in complete darkness. While trying to rest during the day, the defenders were subjected to the disruptions of Allied aircraft attacking the island. The Imperial soldiers and sailors were exhausting themselves before the battle was even at hand. Yet, despite the exhaustion and state of dehydration and emaciation, morale among the troops was high, as they intended to keep the foreign force away from their families and homeland. General Kuribayashi disseminated a rousing letter to the soldiers, inspiring them to remember the nature of their mission on the island, and to give everything they had to further the defense of Iwo Jima.

Mount Suribachi, a 554-foot (169 meter) high mountain located on the southwest corner of the island, offers a sweeping view of all of Iwo Jima. It is the location where the U.S. flag was raised within a few days of the onset of the battle. This image was captured and became the inspiration for the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial in Washington, D.C. The famous photograph was ac-



Figure 3: Memorials mark tunnel entrances throughout the island.

tually of the second raising of the flag at that location. At the time of the U.S. Marine Corps invasion, Mount Suribachi was defended by a battalion of Japanese soldiers, along with four fixed Navy anti-ship gun positions embedded directly in the mountain. There were countless machine gun nests and fighting positions as well, all situated to provide a sweeping view of the southwest beach of Iwo Jima, where the U.S. Marines would land. Today there is a paved road with switchbacks that provides access to the top of the mountain, making our trip to the summit infinitely easier than it had been for the attacking American forces.

Atop Mount Suribachi are numerous memorials erected in tribute to both the Japanese and U.S. service members that gave their lives on the island. The exact spot where the flag was raised is noted by a circular plate on the ground, and there is a large memorial in tribute to the 5th Marine Division, which eventually fought to take the mountain from the Japanese defenders. There are also two small stands covered with mementos, such as uniform nametapes and rank insignia, left behind by visiting uniformed personnel.

As one stands and gazes at this particular memorial, the background of the beach area where the U.S. Marines landed is ever present. The sea to the south of the beach was full of U.S. ships, raking the mountain with heavy supporting naval gunfire; landing craft strived to rapidly increase the numbers of landed Marines and supplies. While the current view from atop this mountain is of a serene volcanic island, its image for those weeks in 1945 is one that will likely never be recreated.

A short jog down the paved road on Mount Suribachi brings one to the south beach of Iwo Jima where the Marines conducted their landing. As an active volcanic island, Iwo Jima continues to slowly expand its borders into the sea.



Figure 4: A small stand atop Mount Suribachi collects memorial offerings.

The black sand of the beach, which is actually composed of small bits of volcanic rock, is not the actual beach where the Marines landed and stood their ground in 1945. Rather, a few short meters inland from the black beach is where vegetation begins to overtake the sand, and it is here that the Marines first placed their boots on the island.

As the beach landings began at 0900 hours on 19 February 1945, there was initially no enemy response. General Kuribayashi had instructed his men to allow for the accumulation of numbers on the beach in order to ensure the maximum effectiveness of each expended munition once firing commenced. At 1030 hours the order was given, and a mass of fire erupted from Mount Suribachi, along

with fire from a series of prepared bunkers and pillboxes arranged with over watch along the beach. With interlocking fields of fire carefully planned and orchestrated, the Marines were exposed along the entire length of the beach to heavy enemy fire. There was no safe place. They had to force themselves forward, in the face of the withering fire, and destroy the firing positions as best they were able. The remains of these destroyed bunkers and pillboxes can still be seen on the beach, and a few still have the machine guns in place. They now are rusted through, disabled, and in complete disrepair, yet they remain as a testament to the killing field that was the south beach of Iwo Jima.

For U.S. forces, the M4 Sherman Tank provided a decisive combat advantage. Besides the firepower from its main gun and heavy machine gun, the tank could be equipped with a flame thrower that could clear great swathes of ground and enclosed spaces over 100 yards away. Moreover, the armor on the vehicle was largely impenetrable to Japanese gunfire, allowing it to provide an adequate shield for dismounted troops as it moved across the battlefield. It required engagement at specific spots in order to render the tank inoperable. As a result, the Japanese created a method of attack known as niku-kou, which roughly translates into 'meat attack'. Through a coordinated small team effort, one individual would approach the tank with a high explosive material that he would manually place in an area on the front of the tank. If successful, this would fix the tank in a location, allowing for a heavier gun to approach from the side to effectively target areas on the side of the tank that were vulnerable to gunfire. Sherman tanks were outfitted with concrete around the tracks in order to protect against the attachment of magnetic bombs. It added additional weight, slowing it down and making it easier to target by dismounted attackers.



Figure 5: A disabled navy gun emplacement on Mount Suribachi

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State Owned Enterprises and Economic Reform in Vietnam

By Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Frank, U.S. Air Force

Editor's Note: LtCol Frank's paper won the FAO Association writing award at the College of Naval Warfare. Because of the length of the thesis, the author has provided a shortened version, below.

Disclaimer: The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

Introduction

The year is 2025 and Vietnam is in peril; economic growth has stagnated, inflation is approaching 40 percent and tensions rise as unemployment soars. Any hope that Vietnam might ever join the ranks of the Asian tigers has all but faded as growing uncertainty and unrest take over the country. In an effort to keep its grip on power, the communist government has declared martial law and begun a relentless crackdown on dissidents. The heavy-handed tactics have backfired, and the country is now engulfed in mass protests and general lawlessness. Regime infighting has paralyzed any hope of a united response to the economic stagnation. While Vietnam is distracted by its domestic crisis, China takes action and claims the oil reserves off the coast of Vietnam as part of its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) in the South China Sea. In response to this brazen act, India, a significant investor in the development of Vietnam's coastal oil resources, lodges a formal protest with the UN and is steering its newest carrier group towards the coast of Vietnam. China's foreign minister has stated that the presence of any Indian warships in its EEZ would require China's authorization, and any violation would be interpreted as an act of aggression. India has responded with a vow to protect its national and economic interests with military force if necessary. The two nuclear-armed nations are locked in a spiral of increasingly bellicose rhetoric and both appear prepared to escalate the conflict. Tensions that began with the economic implosion of Vietnam now threaten to engulf the entire region in war.

Could this stark vision of the future become a reality? In 2013, Vietnam's economic growth is slowing, crippled by failed economic policies and ineffective strategies of the central government. If Vietnam does not find a way to boost its economic growth, it could face a future as dire as the scenario depicted above.

In the years following the Vietnam War, the communist government embarked on an ambitious strategy of collectivization and centralized planning. The socialist economic model failed and by 1980, Vietnam experienced a 25 percent collapse in rice production in the South and

struggled to feed its population.¹ As public frustration grew, the Communist Party sensed a threat to its hold on power and successfully introduced limited capitalist reforms to increase rice production. This newfound pragmatism spread cautiously into other areas of the economy, and in 1986, at the Sixth Party Congress, the Vietnamese Communist party introduced a policy of "doi moi" (renovation). Doi moi initiated limited privatization across multiple sectors of the economy, including the powerful State-Owned Enterprises (SOE).

Vietnam's SOEs are a remaining economic vestige of the socialist vision for Vietnam. These industries comprise 40 percent of Vietnam's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and were conceived as centrally planned companies that would be agents of socialist efficiency. This influential sector of the Vietnamese economy includes a wide cross-section of businesses with the largest engaged in energy, telecommunications and heavy industry. Communist party appointees, selected for their loyalty and orthodoxy rather than their knowledge of the industry, typically lead the SOEs. Since their inception, the Vietnamese government lavished easy loans and preferred status on the SOEs, but the results have been disappointing. The majority of SOEs are not profitable and their combined debt exceeds \$20 billion, 16% of Vietnam's GDP.² In an effort to improve performance, the government adopted a policy of limited privatization they term "equitization." Through this equitization process, the government has embarked on an effort to partially privatize SOEs while retaining a controlling ownership stake.

The Communist Party explains the obvious contradiction of a privatized industry operating with state 'guidance' under the rubric of 'capitalist reforms with socialist ideals.' This strategy makes perfect sense to the Communist Party leadership; the reforms keep the population content while the Communist Party maintains its hold on power. It is this motivation that pervades the execution and purpose of any restructuring. Reforms have been excessively slow because the party will relinquish only enough power and control to keep the economy growing.³ For now, the people of Vietnam tolerate the situation, but the slow pace of SOE reform could ultimately stall the country's economy. In order to encourage economic growth, it is imperative Vietnam reform its state-owned enterprises.

¹ Bill Hayton, *Vietnam Rising Dragon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 31.

² Frances Yoon, "Vietnam's Long Road to SOE Reform," *Asia Money*, October 17, 2012, <http://www.asiamoney.com/Article/3104210/Vietnams-long-road-to-SOE-reform.html>.

³ Hayton, *Vietnam Rising Dragon*, 3-9.

Way Ahead

Vietnam's path to reform has been particularly difficult. The government has committed repeatedly to privatize SOEs, yet reform has been very slow. The changes that have been implemented have not spurred market forces because the government still retains a controlling stake in 70 percent of its "equitized" SOEs.⁴ Further complicating matters, the very people who must execute the reforms are also those who will have to relinquish their power and access to wealth. Slow and incremental improvement will frustrate those who support swift and comprehensive reform, but it may offer the only way forward that is palatable to the communist regime.

The Vietnamese government will face many obstacles in implementing reforms, but as economists Daniel Kaufmann and Paul Siegelbaum of the World Bank concluded in their research on the privatization of the former Soviet Eastern bloc, "...from a corruption standpoint, taking into consideration all other characteristics of the transition, privatization – with all its inadequacies – is preferable to its absence."⁵ In addition to reducing grand corruption,

true financial status of their enterprises. The regime can be motivated by offers of international expertise and, through diplomatic channels, pressured to analyze and disclose the financial shortfalls of their enterprises. Privatization of SOEs with significant debt issues should be delayed until the government can devise solutions to settle the debt.

Another criterion that must be considered is the ability of the private market to replace or absorb the SOE. Private companies in most capitalist economies provide many of the goods and services that, in Vietnam, are produced by SOEs. The state sector should not be "the sole provider of a good or service unless there is a compelling reason to believe that the private sector will fail in that role."⁷ The Vietnamese government should produce a prioritized list of SOEs with acceptable debt burdens and that can be readily absorbed or replaced by the private market.

Second, the prioritized SOEs must be scheduled for privatization. Liquidation offers the least corruption-prone method to 'shed' SOEs because it "reshuffles ownership links and completely severs residual state connections."⁸ It is possible that the Communist Party will not embrace liquidation as a preferred method of privatization, but it



FIRST, SOES MUST BE PRIORITIZED ACCORDING TO THEIR DEBT BURDEN AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ABILITY TO ABSORB OR REPLACE THE ENTERPRISE. UNFORTUNATELY, MANY SOES CARRY SIGNIFICANT DEBT AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT, OR CANNOT, REVEAL THE TRUE FINANCIAL STATUS OF THEIR ENTERPRISES.

privatization of the SOEs will enable market forces to allocate financial and human capital more efficiently. Productivity will increase as the competitive process of creative destruction forces former SOEs to grow leaner and more effective. Vietnam's prospects for growth are exceptionally good if the government can complete comprehensive market-based reforms of its SOEs.⁶ There are four steps that Vietnam should follow to ensure an orderly process of privatization that optimizes the chances for economic growth.

First, SOEs must be prioritized according to their debt burden and the private sector's ability to absorb or replace the enterprise. Unfortunately, many SOEs carry significant debt and the government will not, or cannot, reveal the

⁴ Fredrik Sjöholm, "State Owned Enterprises and Equitization in Vietnam," *Scandinavian Working Papers in Economics*, no 228, last modified August 2006. <http://swopec.hhs.se/eijswp/papers/eijswp0228.pdf>.

⁵ Daniel Kaufmann and Paul Siegelbaum, "Privatization and Corruption in the Transition," Worldbank.org, last modified Winter 1997, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWBIGOVANTCOR/Resources/siegel2.pdf>

⁶ Sjöholm, "State Owned Enterprises."

should be encouraged by the international community wherever possible. Where complete liquidation is rejected by the government, sale of a controlling stake in the SOE (greater than 50 percent) should be the minimum acceptable goal.

Research shows that the more rapidly a privatization process is implemented, the more likely it is to be corruption-free.⁹ A delicate balance must be struck between efforts to increase the pace of reform through aggressive scheduling of privatization and maintaining the political will of the government to support those reforms. The international community should request that Vietnam provide a schedule including specific SOEs and their planned date of privatization. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and similar organizations should offer expertise and support. International political pressure and incentives should be applied to encourage

⁷ Wheelan, *Naked Economics*, chap. 1, 4, 10, 13.

⁸ Kaufmann and Siegelbaum, "Privatization and Corruption."

⁹ Ibid.

reforms and to ensure they do not stall.

Third, the Vietnamese government must pursue a transparent “unraveling” of SOE debt and develop a program to pay or forgive the liabilities. The scale of the debt poses a serious destabilizing risk to the Vietnamese economy, and it is vital the international community offer assistance through loans, grants, debt forgiveness and expertise.¹⁰ This aid must come with binding obligations for Vietnam to use these resources to pay off SOE debt followed by rapid privatization of those enterprises, preferably through liquidation.

Finally, those SOEs that the Vietnamese government will not or cannot privatize, must be reorganized to increase the efficacy and independence of their management. SOE leadership must be selected based on qualifications, not party ideology. Profit motive should drive the payment of managers and failure to achieve performance goals should result in removal. The SOE manager must report to an independent board of directors who will evaluate performance and provide a check on the manager’s power. Wherever possible competition should be encouraged to force SOEs to perform more efficiently and maximize productivity. Where there is no competition, clearly articulated and publicly available performance objectives should be developed and managers held accountable to achieve them. Ties between financial service companies and the remaining SOEs must be severed to minimize the risks associated with “black-box” financing. These actions will improve the governance and efficiency of the remaining SOEs.

Encouraging these reforms requires a thoughtful balance of support and political pressure from the international community. The U.S. can take advantage of existing trade agreements with Vietnam and offer increased economic cooperation and assistance. The Trans-Pacific Partnership, currently under negotiation, also offers a potential point of leverage to encourage and sustain reform. A combination of economic, military, informational and diplomatic pressure and encouragement can provide the impetus for Vietnam to reform its SOEs, maximize economic growth potential and increase economic stability.

Conclusion

The state-owned enterprises comprise a significant portion of the Vietnamese economy and must be reformed if Vietnam is to achieve strong economic growth. SOEs are rife with corruption, they discourage foreign investment and they retard the development of infrastructure. Generous lending practices and preferred government treatment have concentrated disproportionate financial and human capital in the SOEs with poor economic outcomes. The absence of competitive market forces permit SOEs to invest heavily in multiple subsidiary companies, many of which are neither profitable nor linked to the SOEs’ core businesses.

Grand corruption, combined with the arbitrary and reckless use of capital, has stunted Vietnam’s economic growth and must be dealt with by a comprehensive program of SOE privatization.

Vietnam sits at a crossroads. It can choose to keep its SOEs largely unreformed and carry on down a steady path of slow economic decline. The government risks instability if it does not take action. If growth stagnates, the Vietnamese population may eventually lose patience with its leadership and demand change on their own terms.

The second path offers a more hopeful future for Vietnam. It will require the political will to embrace genuine reform and compel those, who may be unwilling, to change. Tensions may rise in the Party as those who understand the need for reform are confronted by colleagues unwilling to relinquish their hold on wealth and power. Furthermore, the Vietnamese government must be transparent in its handling of the SOE’s endemic debt problems. Self-financing “black boxes” must be opened and debt obligations paid or written off.

The privatization process will result in sustained long-term gains as FDI is encouraged, infrastructure is properly funded, and capital, both financial and human, is put to better use in the private sector. The outcome will likely be a vibrant, growing economy and a burgeoning middle class. It is a future that holds the greatest opportunity for economic stability for Vietnam as its population shares in growing financial security.

About the Author

Lt Col Stephen Frank is a Fellow with the Chief of Naval operations Special Studies Group (CNO-SSG). Prior to his arrival at the CNO-SSG, he served as the Deputy Commander of the 47th Operations Group at Laughlin AFB, Texas. Lt Col Frank is a USAF Test Pilot with over 2,800 hours in twenty-eight different aircraft. His other assignments include squadron command, chief of wing safety and deputy division chief for the Air Force Special Programs Directorate at the Pentagon. Lt Col Frank has deployed in support of operations NORTHERN WATCH, IRAQI FREEDOM and ENDURING FREEDOM.



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¹⁰ *International Monetary Fund*, “IMF Executive Board Concludes 2013 Article IV Consultation with Vietnam: Press Release, August 9, 2013.” <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2013/pr13304.htm>

FROM PIVOT TO SYMMETRY INTEGRATING AFRICA IN THE REBALANCE TO ASIA

By Lieutenant-Colonel, Pierre Gaudilliere, French Air Force

Editor's Note: Lieutenant Colonel Gaudilliere's thesis won the Foreign Area Officers Association writing award at the Air War College.

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Abstract

Already not a priority in American strategy, Africa seems bound to suffer from the U.S. pivot to the Asia-Pacific from 2014 onwards. Indeed, the debate still rages to determine whether the focus on Asia will be significantly increased. While broadcasting a rebalance of its diplomatic and military resources, the U.S. administration also assures that American commitment to other regions will not falter. Given present budget constraints, this assertion appears unsustainable. The U.S. necessarily has to prioritize its involvements across the globe in an environment of finite resources. In this regard, the subsequent international leadership void seems particularly striking in Africa. Meanwhile, China has conducted its own pivot towards African resources. Considered as a predation for some analysts or as an alternative development model for others, the interdependency between Beijing and Africa has now reached levels that exceed simple economic relations to enter the realm of grand strategy. Based on non-conditional aid and bilateral agreements, Chinese interactions with African states challenge the United States in terms of interests and values. If the Washington consensus may appear threatened, strategies to contain China in Africa are both illusory and unproductive. On the contrary, identifying Africa's development as the primal center of gravity inevitably leads to a liberal approach which China's current policy clearly dismisses. U.S. liberal objectives must therefore be implemented through a multilateral strategy capitalizing on burden sharing and distributive leadership among allies and African partners, avoiding the pitfalls of bluntly and unilaterally imposed ideals. They also must include China as an enabler, controlled by a web of overt agreements, instead of negating fruitlessly its contributing power.

Introduction

Either defining or dismissing the concept, analysts cannot resist invoking a "new Cold War"¹ between China and the U.S.. The position of Africa in this paradigm remains crucial, as it was during the bipolar era. Realists tend to put it in an ontological perspective: "Evidence that China was expanding its interactions with [...] Africa [...] raised the specter of a new global rivalry for power and influence."²

Moreover, avoiding a too simplistic analogy with the USSR, they also underline a unique consequential feature: "But China is dependent on overseas markets and raw materials, unlike the autarkic Soviet Union, which will give it powerful incentives to interfere in many places around the globe"³.

For this school of thought, China's "development will lead to more friction with the United States." Less euphemistically, although "[a] war between China and America is far from inevitable, [if] inexperienced, reckless or over-confident leaders come to power on either side, the danger of war will rise."⁴ The appropriate strategy, in the same vein, encompasses an actualized version of containment, for "America's most natural and instinctive response to China's challenge is to push back."⁵

However, this offensive reaction renders America's famous pivot to Asia either incompatible or unsustainable. Accordingly, John J. Mearsheimer describes two global containment scenarios that this essay applies in regards to Africa. First, if the pivot to Asia allows "China [to] become a regional hegemon [in this case, in Africa], the U.S. simply may not be able to contain it."⁶ From this declinist point of view, the competition is already lost, as a natural evolution of the global balance of powers. In that case, the American *laissez-faire* attitude that necessarily derives from it contradicts the proactive stance of current American

¹ Aaron Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security*, Vol. 30/ 2, p.8, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/is3002_pp_007-045_friedberg.pdf, (accessed 16 January 2014).

² Friedberg, p. 7.

³ Stephen M. Walt, "Dealing With a Chinese Monroe Doctrine," *New York Times*, 26 August 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/05/02/are-we-headed-for-a-cold-war-with-china/dealing-with-a-chinese-monroe-doctrine>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Hugh White, *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc., 2012), p.100.

⁶ John J. Mearsheimer, "'Peaceful rise' will meet U.S. containment", *Global Times*, 6 November 2013, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/823045.shtml>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

projects for Africa⁷. The second hypothesis assumes that “the Chinese economy will continue to rise but not at such a rapid clip, in which case the U.S. will be in a good position to contain China.”⁸ Such a hard power showdown is also self-defeating. Indeed, the success of containment supposes a renewed U.S. commitment in Africa, with strength and will. The former requires massive economic and military resources, which are, by presidential choice and budget constraints, directed towards East Asia. The latter suffers from the fact that, in the economic and diplomatic realm, “[...] the stakes for China in [Africa] will always, in the end, be higher than for America.”⁹

In the face of this strategic dead-end, defensive realists recommend an offshore balancing strategy¹⁰. This option transforms indeed containment into a cost-effective enterprise compatible with the pivot. However, it assumes the existence of partners in Africa aligned with U.S. interests on the one hand, and simultaneously at odds with Chinese practices on the other hand. Reality presents a different picture. Although the practices of China remain far from being consensual among African countries, the all-out demonization of its involvement is not credible. First, alternative investigations hint that China may be interested in the long term development of Africa.¹¹ Reciprocally, direct benefits for Africa include “infrastructure, increases in African earnings, fulfillment of unmet African consumer demands, source of business credit and finance, spurring global commercial interest in African resources and markets [and] autonomy in international politics by lessening their dependence on official aid and credit from Western donor countries.”¹² From an indirect perspective, “China may also represent an alternative locus of global power with which African countries can ally in order to balance their ties with the West, particularly when faced with political conditionalities demanded by Western countries in return for aid, credit, or political cooperation”¹³. It is illusory to believe that an African country would renounce all of these benefits in order to be trapped in a bipolar paradigm again.

Moreover, these considerations only refer to hard power. Yet, China has already become conscious of the necessity to develop a softer side of its involvement abroad: “as a matter of fact, China’s soft power [is] increasing in Asia and other parts of the developing world, particularly after the 2008 global financial crisis.”¹⁴ In Africa, the increase in the number of Confucius Institutes encompasses the emphasis Beijing puts on broadening its influence through cultural outreach, namely a “diplomatic strategy of

offensive influence.”¹⁵ The first of these non-profit programs promoting Chinese language and culture throughout the world were created in 2004. The first one opened in Nairobi in 2005. In 2010, 27 Confucius Institutes were teaching Chinese in 19 different African countries.¹⁶ As a former French Joint Chief of Staff noticed, “every time I go to Bamako, I meet my Nigerian interpreter: she also speaks perfect Chinese. A true Chinese Strategy exists, and the Confucius Institutes are an example of it.”¹⁷ President Hu Jintao officially endorsed this endeavor “[to] enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country [...] a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength.”¹⁸

The way to “avoid a U.S.-China cold war”¹⁹ in Africa lies therefore in the ability to transform the sterile hard power controversy between “dragon slashers and panda huggers”²⁰ through cooperation and the “power [that] springs up among men when they act together.”²¹ According to Joseph Nye, “this important dimension of a ‘smart power’ strategy for the twenty-first century is not captured by the concept of containment.”²²

The preceding analysis leads to two correlated theses that will be examined in this paper.

Thesis

1. If the U.S. strategic shift to Asia is to be successful, Africa must be included, given the history, the nature and the extent of China’s own strategy on this continent.
2. In this redefined balance of powers, multilateral and inclusive initiatives are likely to be more successful than realist containment in order to achieve a grand strategy for Africa with the ultimate goal of Africa’s development by and for Africans.

Despite wishful reassurances by the Obama administration, the pivot to Asia-Pacific does look like a zero sum game as far as global U.S. security engagements are concerned. Finite assets and rising budget constraints require a resource reapportionment to support this new priority in U.S. foreign policy.

Ironically, the subsequent regional voids may fall to a major competitor and potential adversary which the U.S. is precisely trying to balance in East Asia. The “special

¹⁵ French Senate, *L’Afrique est notre avenir*, Rapport d’information n° 104 (2013-2014) de MM. Jeanny Lorgeoux et Jean-Marie Bockel, fait au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées, déposé le 29 octobre 2013, p. 295, <http://www.senat.fr/rap/r13-104/r13-1041.pdf>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Christian Quesnot, in *Conférence ID4D Relations Chine Afrique impact pour le continent africain et perspectives*, Agence Française de Développement, Paris: 8 February 2013, p. 23.

¹⁸ Hu Jintao, 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Speech, 15 October 2007, in Richard N. Rosecrance (ed.), *Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the U.S.-China Relationship*, 1st ed (New York: PublicAffairs, 2009), p.28.

¹⁹ Henry A. Kissinger, “Avoiding a U.S.-China cold war,” *The Washington Post*, 14 January 2011, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/13/AR2011011304832.html>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

²⁰ Ambassador Winston Lord, *Sino-American Relations: Amour or Les Miserables?* Inaugural Nancy Bernkopf Tucker Memorial Lecture, Wilson Institute, Washington D.C., 18 April 2013, p. 6, [http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/winston_lord_speech.pdf](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/inaugural-nancy-bernkopf-tucker-memorial-lecture), (accessed 16 January 2014).

²¹ Hannah Arendt and Margaret Canovan, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.200.

²² Joseph Nye, “Should China be ‘Contained?’” *Project Syndicate* website, July 4, 2011, <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/should-china-be-contained-->, (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷ Obama, *Presidential Policy Directive, U.S. strategy toward sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington: June 2012, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf, (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁸ Mearsheimer, “‘Peaceful rise’ will meet U.S. containment”.

⁹ Hugh White, p.103.

¹⁰ Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press ; 2007), pp.159-192.

¹¹ Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.307.

¹² Nicolas Cook, Specialist in African Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *China’s foreign Policy and “Soft Power” in South America, Asia and Africa, a Study Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, Congressional research Service, Library of Congress, April 2008, p. 107, http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2008_rpt/crs-china.pdf, (accessed 16 January 2014).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Joseph S Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011), p.86.

relationship” between China and Africa illustrates this dilemma. As a matter of fact, their mutual dependency is based on a dedicated strategy by Beijing. Ultimately, the unregulated predation of African resources could lead to regional hegemony, exercised by China. Therefore, Africa must be included in the U.S. strategic shift to Asia if China’s rise is to be managed.

However, a resort to a symmetric grand strategy may fail if carried out unilaterally. Accepting the leadership of allies and the ownership of African partners provides a way to cope with growing Chinese power in Africa. The entanglement of China in a multilateral and cooperative web is likely to ultimately prevent unilateral action by Beijing to protect its ever-growing interests on African soil.

Regional Focus, Continental Vacuum, The pivot to Asia: reality beyond rhetoric

At first glance, a pragmatic approach suggests that in order to be effective, the U.S. rebalance to Asia must be focused on the Western Pacific. To begin with, the President of the United States presents the pivot to Asia as a “deliberate and strategic decision”²³ following a straightforward analysis of the balance of power on the global scale and pushing U.S. interests. Indeed, he argues that Asia embodies the fastest growing region in the world, and that American interests are subsequently at stake as far as global security, prosperity, and human rights are concerned in this region. This new strategy naturally translates into increased economic, diplomatic and military efforts, described by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense. However, the executive branch remains very realistic when it assesses the means available for this strategic surge. In the wake of Iraq and Afghanistan, “two wars that cost us dearly, in blood and treasure,”²⁴ the global financial crisis has further precipitated the capacity of America “into a period of unprecedented budget turmoil at home.”²⁵ The Secretary of Defense took drastic measures: “At the same time, the United States, like many other nations, is dealing with large debt and large deficits, which has required the Department of Defense to reduce the planning budget by nearly half a trillion dollars or specifically \$487 billion that were directed to be reduced by the Congress in the Budget Control Act over the next decade.”²⁶ Therefore, the President clearly describes his decision as a prioritization of efforts, making “the Asia Pacific a top priority. As a result, reductions in U.S. defense spending will not -- I repeat, will not -- come at the expense of the Asia Pacific.”²⁷ And the secretary of Defense acknowledges that while crafting this new strategy requires “choices and priorities [...] we [the United States] have rightly chosen to make this region a priority.”²⁸

²³ President Barack Obama, *Remarks to the Australian Parliament*, Canberra, 17 November 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/17/remarks-president-obama-australian-parliament>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

²⁴ Obama, *Remarks to the Australian Parliament*.

²⁵ Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, *Remarks to the Malaysian Ministry of Defense*, Malaysian Institute of Defense and Security, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Sunday, 25 August 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1799>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

²⁶ Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, *Remarks to Shangri-La Security Dialogue*, Singapore, 2 June 2012, <http://www.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1681>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

²⁷ Obama, *Remarks to the Australian Parliament*.

²⁸ Panetta, *Remarks to Shangri-La Security Dialogue*.

Thus, American strategy becomes, of necessity, more of a zero-sum game emphasizing its commitment to Asia at the expense of its other global engagements, including Africa. Reassuring stances try to contest this fact, forecasting that the U.S. will maintain its worldwide presence through innovative means: “We will also maintain our presence throughout the world. We will do it with innovative rotational deployments that emphasize creation of new partnerships and new alliances. We will also invest, invest in cyber, invest in space, invest in unnamed systems, and invest in Special Forces operations. We will invest in the newest technology and we will invest in the ability to mobilize quickly if necessary.”²⁹ However, although the Middle East still consumes much U.S. attention, the dramatic nature of the pivot and the shift away from other regions remains all too present within executive rhetoric, selective engagement and choices of courses of action.

Africa, The “Great Forgotten One” Of The Pivot... To Asia

First, the administration has quickly reacted with a rhetorical move in order to diminish the negative connotation inherent to the word pivot. The euphemistic use of rebalance, or refocus to Asia tries to counter the impression that the U.S. is pivoting away from other places. Nonetheless, this effort cannot hide the downgrading of Africa contained in official expressions of U.S. grand strategy since 2011. For instance, the Defense Strategic Guidance of 2011 uses the word “Africa” only once throughout its sixteen pages,³⁰ compared to twenty-four appearances in the 2010 National Security Strategy.³¹ Moreover, symbolically enough, Africa is addressed as the last item on the White House Foreign Policy webpage.³² The 2012 Presidential Policy Directive on U.S. strategy toward sub-Saharan Africa partly fills this rhetorical gap, but its implementation remains hinged on the same structural contradictions.

In fact, the translation of U.S. strategic motives into operational objectives leads to selective engagement, as opposed to a holistic strategy that addresses challenges on the whole African continent. In this vein, the 2013 presidential trip to Africa epitomizes two things. First, it underscores the position of Africa on the American agenda. It is the only appearance of Barack Obama on this continent since 2009, a relative “absence” with political implications: “when we talk about U.S.-Africa policy [...] we trace it back to Bill Clinton, you trace it back to George W. Bush, and very little of President Obama. In that sense, [...] Obama has not been felt in Africa.”³³ Second, by choosing Senegal, South Africa, and Tanzania, the U.S. shows its eagerness to trade with democratic African nations, more than its will to address the root problem of putting illiberal countries and failing states on the road to free market democracy.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Department of Defense, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, January 2012, p.3, http://www.defense.gov/news/defense_strategic_guidance.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

³¹ The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 2010, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

³² White House website, Foreign Policy head page, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

³³ Mwangi Kimenyi, director of the Africa Growth Initiative at the Brookings Institution, in Gwen Ifill, *Assessing the Substance and Symbolism of Obama’s Africa Trip and Outreach*, 2 July 2013, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/july-dec13/africa2_07-02.html, (accessed 16 January 2014).

Moreover, the military component of American engagement in Africa seems also trapped in a strategic “catch-22”. Indeed, AFRICOM has had to face existential dilemmas since its creation in 2008. A spin-off from EUCOM, sharing the continent with CENTCOM (which maintains its “traditional relationship”³⁴ with Egypt), its autonomy has always faced difficulties. Symbolically, the location of AFRICOM’s headquarters in Stuttgart followed a controversy about its implantation on the African continent,³⁵ hampering its credibility. Operationally, it has been heavily dependent on other commands (notably EUCOM and CENTCOM) and has faced subsequent difficulties when leading Operation Odyssey Dawn over Libya.³⁶ In times of financial constraints, the idea of AFRICOM’s dissolution has even surfaced within a broader realignment of the COCOMs.³⁷ These rumors have seen no concretization yet. In fact, some analysts even characterize an American “surge in Africa” in 2013:³⁸ special operations have taken place in Somalia and Libya, and the U.S. increases its mentoring of African troops for counter-terrorism.³⁹ However, the same analysts worry that the emphasis of U.S. Africa policy tends to focus on military actions, thereby narrowing the grand design of a U.S. Africa strategy. Indeed, if only the military part of the 2012 U.S. Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa is being implemented, this focus on hard power appears inadequate in comparison to China’s broad approach of its African affairs.

“Chinafrica”? Interdependent Strategies For Global Issues, A Chinese Pivot On Rather Than To Africa

China has long operated a focus on Africa, which has evolved in time and scope. While Chinese economic, military and political support to African liberation movements existed during the Cold War, it was undermined by bipolar opposition, given China’s relative weakness.⁴⁰ Coinciding with the fall of the U.S.SR, China’s rise during the nineties has fostered a renewed relationship with the African continent. It has developed a strong and exclusive interdependency, based on Chinese appetite for resources to sustain its galloping growth and Africa’s desperate need for economic investment. Economically speaking, China has become the major competitor for the U.S. in Africa. A RAND survey shows that “securing access to natural resources remains the primary driver for both countries in Africa. In 2011, 80 percent of Chinese imports from Africa

³⁴ AFRICOM website. <http://www.africom.mil/Map>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

³⁵ Stephen Burgess, “U.S. Africa Command, Changing Security Dynamics and Perceptions of U.S. Africa Policy,” U.S. Air Force Academy, Institute for National Security Studies, Colorado Springs, 2008. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a539969.pdf>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

³⁶ Joe Quartararo, and others, “Libya’s Operation Odyssey Dawn: Command and Control”, *Prism*, Vol 3 no 2, March 2012, pp.141-156.

³⁷ Marcus Weisgerber, “DoD Weighs Major COCOM Realignment”, *Defense News*, 11 August 2013, <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130811/DEFREG02/308110001/DoD-Weighs-Major-COCOM-Realignment>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

³⁸ John Vandiver, “Is the U.S. ‘pivoting’ toward Africa?”, *Stars and Stripes*, 17 October 2013. <http://www.stripes.com/news/an-increasing-us-focus-on-africa-but-is-it-a-pivot-1.247488>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

³⁹ Eric Schmitt, “U.S. Army Hones Antiterror Strategy for Africa, in Kansas”, *New York Times* website, 18 October 2013, http://mobile.nytimes.com/2013/10/19/world/africa/us-prepares-to-train-african-forces-to-fight-terror.html?hp=&_r=0, (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴⁰ Richard J. Payne and Cassandra R. Veney, “China’s Post-Cold War African Policy,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 9, September 1998, University of California Press, p.867, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645623> (accessed 16 January 2014).

and 84 percent of U.S. imports consisted of oil, minerals and other natural resources. Similarly, more than half of each country’s investment in Africa is concentrated in mining and extractive industries.”⁴¹ Although, the same study argues that China and the U.S. remain far from a strategic conflict in Africa, a closer look at the nature of these resources and the amount in which they are imported reveal that economic competition is sliding toward a more serious, threatening strategic paradigm. In relative terms, China’s African oil consumption rose from one quarter to one third of its oil imports between 2004 and 2013.⁴² From the other side of the lens, this exchange accounts for two third of Africa’s exports to China. Meanwhile, U.S. African oil imports have doubled since 2002, from 15% to 22% between 2004 and 2006. However, these figures should stall with the implementation of fracking techniques. In absolute terms, China’s dependency on African resources remains striking. For instance, China imports 85% of its cobalt from the Democratic Republic of Congo and neighboring Zambia, a strategic mineral for computer industries and metallurgy. Similarly, Beijing takes over 96% of African wood exported to Asia. The size of investments also thrusts China’s financial involvement into the strategic realm: Chinese foreign direct investments in Africa have soared from \$100 million in 2003 to \$12 billion in 2011.⁴³

The scale of these numbers indicates that China’s economic interests in Africa engage the entire spectrum of its DImE-C. Though still debated,⁴⁴ the existence of a Chinese grand strategy dedicated to Africa is manifested through official ways and non-official means, and is hinged on the following political objectives.⁴⁵ First, Africa offers strategic resources such as rare minerals and oil. Second, Africa is a maritime node for Chinese economic flows between Asia, Europe and the Americas. Third, the rallying of African countries strengthens diplomatic power in multilateral arenas. Africa counts for a third of the votes in the United Nations General Assembly and a fifth of the votes in the Security Council. This latter argument seems especially important when possible reforms of the Security Council envisage an inclusion of Japan, China’s historical rival, or a permanent representation of Africa.⁴⁶ Moreover, “China’s current political efforts to foster allies among Africa’s many states are motivated by its perennial and increasingly successful efforts to internationally isolate Taiwan and efforts to curry African votes within

U.N. and other international forums in order to achieve

⁴¹ Larry Hanauer and Lyle Morris, *Agreeing to Disagree about Africa*, RAND website, 5 June 2013, <http://www.rand.org/blog/2013/06/agreeing-to-disagree-about-africa.html> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴² David H. Shinn, *Africa, China, the United States, and Oil*, Center for Strategic and International Studies website, 24 November 2013, <https://csis.org/story/africa-china-united-states-and-oil> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴³ Dambisa Moyo, “Beijing, a Boon for Africa,” *New York Times* website, 27 June, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/28/opinion/beijing-a-boon-for-africa.html> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴⁴ Agence Française de Développement, *Conférence ID4D Relations Chine Afrique Impact pour le Continent Africain et Perspectives*, Paris: 8 February 2013, http://www.afd.fr/webdav/shared/PORTAILS/EVENEMENTS/Conference_ID4D_Relations_Chine_Afrique_AFD.pdf, (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴⁵ Marie Bal, Laura Valentin, *La Stratégie de puissance de la Chine en Afrique*, ed. Christian Harbulot, Intelligence économique, June 2008, p.13, http://www.infoguerre.fr/documents/La%20strategie%20de%20puissance%20de%20la%20Chine%20en%20Afrique_Infoguerre.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁴⁶ *Security Council Reform*, Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations in New York website, <http://www.franceonu.org/france-at-the-united-nations/thematic-files/un-reform/security-council-reform/france-at-the-united-nations/thematic-files/un-reform/security-council-reform/article/security-council-reform>, (accessed January 28, 2014).

diverse policy goals.⁴⁷ The fourth and subsequent political goal of China lies in the opportunity to indirectly oppose or circumvent other foreign powers in Africa, notably the U.S..⁴⁸ In order to sustain these strategic goals, Beijing's policy aims at African ruling elites through non-conditional aid and loans. The Forum on China Africa Cooperation, a ministerial conference of Chinese and African officials, embodies this endeavor to build bridges at the highest level, without any Western interference. It has gained in size and momentum since its creation in 2000: Chinese loan announcements doubled between 2006 and 2009.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a common action plan for 2013-2015⁵⁰ agreed on the following topics: cooperation consolidation, peace and regional security, convergences in international affairs, and development through aid, investment and technical and human exchanges. These subjects encompass a strategy that goes indeed far beyond economic maneuvers.

Illiberal thorn, illegal wounds

The rise of a Sino-African axis poses several challenges to American policy. The most apparent one lies in the direct competition for resources and markets described above. Economically speaking, although the U.S., France and other Western powers exercise indirect regional hegemony through the IMF, the World Bank and "conditionality,"⁵¹ China overtook the U.S. as Africa's principal trading partner in 2009.⁵² Analysts note that "the U.S.'s lack of attention to Africa's commercial opportunity comes at a time when the region is poised for an economic takeoff."⁵³ However, Chinese ways and means in Africa also overshadow the non-economic approach of the presidential guidance for sub-Saharan Africa and related AFRICOM core missions. Undoubtedly, the non-conditional realpolitik of China is rooted in an intractable belief: the absolute right of state sovereignty and the advocacy of non-interference in internal affairs. Indeed, this "approach [...]" represents a fundamental challenge to U.S. interests in promoting democracy, good governance and sustainable development in Africa.⁵⁴ In that sense, China has contributed to the

support of "rogue" regimes such as Mugabe's in Zimbabwe and Beshir's in Sudan, with terrible records of human rights abuses against their own population and devastating rule of their countries. The combination of the unfiltered and munificent characteristics of Chinese aid has implications in terms of regional security.

Using the example of Sudan, China continuously opposed binding resolutions in the Security Council during the Darfur crisis. Also, China's arms sales to this country dramatically increased in the nineties, which coincided with the first investment of CNPC (China National Petroleum Corporation) in Sudan's GNPOC (Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company).⁵⁵ One security corollary has been the trafficking of Chinese arms in West Africa.⁵⁶ In fact, Sudanese weapons including those produced in China represent the majority of illegal arms traffic in Africa: "today, most come from Eastern Chad and the Darfur region in Sudan. Sudanese weapons and ammunition have been detected in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and Mali." More important, while "[...] most of the assault rifles detected are of the Kalashnikov variety, today, though, the newer ones are mostly of Chinese manufacture (Norinco Type 56). Similarly, the light machine guns encountered today are mostly PK-pattern, such as the Norinco Type 80." And "much of this ammunition originates from Iran, Sudan, or China." Moreover, the same report indicates another major security issue linking Asia and Africa: drug trafficking. First, Chinese crime syndicates introduced methamphetamine production via South Africa in the 2000s.⁵⁷ While local consumption keeps on rising, the major destination of African methamphetamine remains the East Asian "high value methamphetamine markets such as Japan, South Korea, [...]" but also including China [...].⁵⁸ Second, China represents the first of the top 5 exporters of counterfeit medicine, with a study confirming the Asian origin of fraudulent medicines detected in Africa.⁵⁹ The broad spectrum of potential threats appears to require a grand strategic scheme more than the narrow scope witnessed in the latest manifestations of U.S. policy toward Africa.

The Concentric Arenas Of Cooperation & The Long Term Development Of African Countries As A Center Of Excellence

A smart power strategy towards Africa is more likely to be successful if the first arena of continuous cooperation focuses on African countries. True, "Sino-African bilateral investment agreements are the focus of criticism because they often fuse business, political, aid, and sometimes military considerations. These allow China to offer integrated 'package' deals."⁶⁰ But the highest critique they get remains also their biggest advantage: "in parts of the developing world, the so-called Beijing

be a Priority for the United States, Brookings, 2013, p.6.

55 J.-P.Thompson, "Le Grand jeu de la Chine en Afrique", *Journal Alternatives*, 2007, Vol.14, 02.

56 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Transnational Organized Crime in West Africa: A Threat Assessment*, (Vienna: UNODC, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013). <https://www.unodc.org/toc/en/reports/TOCTAWestAfrica.html>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Nicolas Cook, *China's foreign Policy and "Soft Power" in South America, Asia and Africa, a Study Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, p. 107.

47 Nicolas Cook, Specialist in African Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, "Sub-Saharan Africa," in *China's foreign Policy and "Soft Power" in South America* Service, Library of Congress, April 2008, p. 106, http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2008_rpt/ers-china.pdf, (accessed 16 January 2014)., *Asia and Africa, a Study Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, Congressional research

48 Valérie Niquet, "la Stratégie Africaine de la Chine," *Politique Etrangère*, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris: IFRI, Summer 2006/2, p. 363, <http://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-etrangere-2006-2-page-361.htm> (accessed 16 January 2014).

49 Marie Helene Pozzat, *L'aide chinoise à l'Afrique : la difficulté à penser la notion d'aide publique au développement*, UQAM, Montréal, 2009, p.21, http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/IMG/pdf/L_aide_chinoise_a_l_Afrique.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

50 Agence Française de Développement, *Conférence ID4D Relations Chine Afrique Impact pour le Continent Africain et Perspectives*, p. 2 and p. 10.

51 i.e. better governance in exchanges for loans.

52 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Africa's Trade Partners," *OECD Factbook 2011 Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics* (Paris [France]; Bristol [Eng.]: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; University Presses Marketing, 2011), December 2011, <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/factbook-2011-en/04/01/05/index.html?itemId=/content/chapter/factbook-2011-37-en>, (accessed 16 January 2014).

53 Witney Schneidman, "Transforming the U.S.-Africa Commercial Relationship," in *Top five reasons why Africa should be a priority for the United States*, Brookings, 2013, p.11, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Reports/2013/04/africa%20priority%20united%20states/04_africa_priority_united_states.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

54 Lesley Ann Warner, "Advancing Peace and Security in Africa," in *Top Five Reasons why Africa should*

consensus on authoritarian government plus a successful market economy has become more popular than the previously dominant Washington consensus of liberal market economics with democratic government.⁶¹ One has therefore to analyze what these packages do not provide in order to turn this competitive advantage into a comparative dynamic, which will ultimately benefit all Africans. Indeed, American efforts to “strengthen democratic institutions and boost broad-based economic growth [...] through trade and investment”⁶² represent an endeavor strikingly absent

dedicated African Strategy, dubbing it “the great forgotten continent.”⁶⁴ As declared in the 2012 presidential address on African Policy before the Senegalese Parliament, these security objectives remain included in a holistic political will to both depart from the paternalistic “Françafrique” system⁶⁵ and start a new form of non-intrusive cooperation, “far from setting an example, or imposing a model or teaching a lesson.”⁶⁶ It insists that Franco-African partnership must not be limited to state to state relationships “that ignore people and societies”⁶⁷ but shall be extended to NGOs,



AFRICAN OWNERSHIP OF REFORMS REMAINS THE ONLY WAY TO TRANSFORM CHINESE AND AMERICAN STRATEGIES FROM RIVAL MODELS INTO A COMPLEMENTARY DYNAMIC, ALLOWING AFRICANS TO GET THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS.

from Chinese policy in Africa. Moreover, Chinese aid is aimed directly at the leadership level through corruption or official means and benefits seem unevenly shared: “China, which is not a member of the OECD, is operating under rules that the West has largely abandoned. It mixes aid and business in secret government-to-government agreements.”⁶³ Therefore, the support to lower social strata and projects appears as an alternative way of orienting financial and institutional investments in Africa. This indirect approach avoids the pitfall of conflicting ideologies on the same ground, which dispossesses African countries of their own strategic ownership. Thus, African ownership of reforms remains the only way to transform Chinese and American strategies from rival models into a complementary dynamic, allowing Africans to get the best of both worlds.

Acknowledging Rising Leadership Within The Circle Of Traditional Allies

Cooperation with non-African allies offers another cost-effective option, especially with those with strong historical and cooperation ties with the continent. For instance, France has renewed its African policy, operating a strategic “pivot” epitomized in its 2013 White Paper on Defense and National Security. It acknowledges two facts. First, the head of the French Joint Chief of Staff Admiral Edouard Guillaud recognizes that the previous document of 2008 lacked a

⁶¹ Nye, *Future of Power*, p.86.

⁶² President Barack Obama, Foreword, *Presidential Policy Directive, U.S. strategy toward sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington: June 2012, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁶³ Sharon LaFraniere and John Grobler, “China Spreads Aid in Africa, with a Catch,” *New York Times*, 21 September 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/22/world/africa/22namibia.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (accessed 16 January 2014).

communities, and local entrepreneurs.⁶⁸ With a strong emphasis on transparency and governance, this speech shows converging ideals with the U.S. policy toward sub-Saharan Africa.

Second, the 2013 paper itself takes the U.S. rebalance to Asia into account: “The United States is cutting back on military spending and partly refocusing their military efforts on the Asia-Pacific region. Consequently, our U.S. allies are likely to become more selective with regard to their foreign commitments,”⁶⁹ with “this lower military priority also [extending] to the Mediterranean and to Africa.”⁷⁰ France is also receptive to “United States interests in the area” and subsequent American concerns “that the Europeans must play a greater role in its security, since they are more directly concerned by its stability and have the resources needed to take on this responsibility.”⁷¹ In fact, recent operations in Libya, Mali, and the Central African Republic have all shown the concretization of this renewed involvement, with France “in the first line but not alone.”⁷² The U.S. Department of

⁶⁴ Admiral Edouard Guillaud, Minutes of Universités de la Defense, Brest: 11 September 2012, http://www.universite-defense.org/fr/system/files/actes_mars_x_seance_pleniere.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁶⁵ Francois Hollande, *Discours Politique africaine - Discours du président de la République, M.*

François Hollande, devant l'Assemblée nationale de la République du Sénégal, Dakar: 12 October 2012, <http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/exl-doc/EPJ00089801.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ French White Paper on Defense and Security Policy, 2013, p. 9, <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/content/download/215253/2394121/file/White%20paper%20on%20defense%20202013.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.29.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Francois Hollande, *Presidential address to the press*, Paris: 16 January 2013, <http://basedoc>.

State recently acknowledged this leadership in the CAR.⁷³

Open Partnerships And The End Of Hegemons In Africa

Ultimately, the widest scope of U.S. cooperation would involve working African issues with African partners and European allies but also with China itself. Indeed, even from the French point of view, the “new investors such as [the BRIC] are a good thing for Africa [...] as long as transparency, social and environmental responsibilities improve.”⁷⁴ To that extent, the inclusion of the Sino-U.S. dialogue within multilateral forums offers a double advantage. First, Chinese contributions within multinational efforts broaden burden-sharing and encourage transparency. China’s participation in the IMF and World Bank promises to make its action in Africa more transparent through mechanisms of funding and engagement in multilateral development programs. Furthermore, integrating instead of ostracizing China in global initiatives may also regulate its formidable investments in Africa. For instance, more and more African countries are participating in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), either as members (e.g. Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Niger, and Nigeria) or candidates (e.g. Chad, Guinea). China has become increasingly aware through its experience with EITI members that “access to international markets depends in part on cultivating a positive public perception.”⁷⁵ China has considered a possible membership, although prudently: “Chinese companies will most likely need to first join as observing members before they are able to actively participate in them.”⁷⁶ De facto, China’s entanglement in a multilateral web also assures that the leadership remains distributed and diluted among partners, denying Beijing the status of a regional hegemon in Africa. One has also to accept that it necessarily forbids the same hegemonic status to France or to the U.S.. In fact, at the center of these concentric arenas of cooperation, “Africa, the African Union and the sub-regional organizations have thus become players in the security of the continent, making a major contribution towards peace and international security.”⁷⁷

Conclusion

The U.S. pivot to Asia Pacific threatens to lessen American involvement in Africa, which paradoxically benefits China’s growing influence in the region. If China

diplomatie.gouv.fr/exl-doc/EPJ00130401.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷³ “the United States commends yesterday’s actions by French military forces, in coordination with regional forces, to begin the process of restoring security to the people of the Central African Republic. We believe that France’s strong leadership in committing 800 additional troops and their support to the African Union-led stabilization mission in the CAR (MISCA) sends a forceful message to all parties that the violence must end.” Marie Harf, *U.S. Support of French Military Actions in the Central African Republic*, press statement, Deputy Department Spokesperson, Office of the Spokesperson, Washington, DC, 6 December 2013, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/218470.htm> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷⁴ Ministre délégué chargé du Développement auprès du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Interview by France Info Radio, Paris, 13 October, 2012, <http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/exl-doc/EPJ00089801.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷⁵ *The Chinese Experience in EITI*, grant project, Revenue Watch Institute website, <http://www.revenuwatch.org/grants/chinese-experience-eiti> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷⁶ Dr Guo Peiyuan, SynTao General Manager, “How to engage Chinese companies in EITI”, based on Dr Peiyuan presentation at the EITI Global Conference, Global Witness website, 21 June 2013, <http://www.globalwitness.org/library/how-engage-chinese-companies-eiti> (accessed 16 January 2014).

⁷⁷ French White Paper on Defense and Security Policy, 2013, p. 24, <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/content/download/215253/2394121/file/White%20paper%20on%20defense%20%202013.pdf> (accessed January 16), 2014.

still emphasizes security through cooperation for the moment, it could nonetheless develop a tougher strategy to protect its interests if directly threatened by chronic African instability, or hampered by foreign interventions of any nature (economic, diplomatic, military) in Africa. Instead of losing energy in an impossible containment of Chinese economic power in the region, the U.S. and its allies might be better served by focusing on Kantian policies⁷⁸ which China is unwilling, if not unable, to offer to African societies. Two strategic compromises would arise. First, combining both sides’ soft power in a multilateral environment would acknowledge Chinese investments in Africa while moving towards regulating them. Second, distributing the leadership of hard power interventions appears the best way to ultimately hand the operations over to the Africans through coalitions and partnerships, while keeping China away from the temptation of any unilateral move.

Therefore, the exclusion of regions, which is latent in the pivot geometry, finds itself measured here against a “triple inclusion”:

- the inclusion of Africa in any U.S. and allied strategy toward China
- the inclusion of allies and African partners in any African strategy,
- the inclusion of China as a contributor to multilateral African development in any strategy dedicated to controlling Beijing activities in Africa

This “non-Manichean” approach, preferred to the revival of a Cold War, would foster win-win dynamics for global benefit. In sum, despite regional pivots, Africa matters symmetrically to all continents.

The Malian experience of 2013 offers a convincing example that such a strategy has a reasonable chance of success. Indeed, armed jihadist groups of northern Mali sought to extend their rule to the entire country in early 2013. At the request of the president of Mali, and following UN Security Council Resolution 2085, France launched operation “Serval”. In fact, this operation encompasses the three concentric arenas of cooperation depicted above, paving the way for renewed conditions for intervention in Africa. Indeed, this operation’s early strategic aim focused on African interests, threatened by this national crisis and regional spillovers: France intervened to “support the Malian armed forces against the terrorist threat that threatens all Western Africa.”⁷⁹ In this regard, the French commitment remains temporary, “preparing the deployment of an African Intervention Force, in order to allow Mali to recover its territorial integrity, as stated in the Security Council Resolution.”⁸⁰ The Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) was involved in diplomatic and military efforts supporting this operation. ECOWAS engagement in the UN during November 2012 negotiations, the actual

⁷⁸ Promotion of democracy, economic interdependence, and international law and organizations. See Bruce Russett, John R. Oneal and David R. Davis, “The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950-85”, *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Summer 1998), p.441.

⁷⁹ President Francois Hollande, *Déclaration Mali - Déclaration du président de la République, M. François Hollande, à l’issue du Conseil restreint de défense*, Paris, 12 January 2013, http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/exl-php/cadecgp.php?CMD=CHERCHE&QUERY=1&MODELE=vues/mae_internet_recherche_avancee/home.html&VUE=mae_internet_recherche_avancee&NOM=cadic_anonyme&FROM_LOGIN=1 (accessed February 12, 2014).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

troop contributions from its member states to the operation, and its close coordination with the African Union show the maturation of African multilateral institutions. Furthermore, this operation outlines the existence of a strong political will in Africa capable of handling their own security issues if technically enabled in critical domains. To that extent, American support to the operation, providing logistics and ISR, proves that the U.S. is concerned by African issues but also ready to accept its allies' regional leadership to defend common liberal interests. Lastly, China has been included from the start of this process. Indeed, Beijing voted in favor of the UNSCR 2085 allowing the use of force under Chapter VII. Its participation to the global effort now culminates with the deployment of Chinese blue helmets in the Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)⁸¹.

Two questions remain, though, in the wake of this success story. First, is this cooperation model replicable in the rest of Africa? The author thinks so, as a combination of necessity and opportunity demonstrated in this paper. Second, is this analysis applicable in other parts of the world, such as South East Asia? True, security issues present similarities, such as piracy and illegal trade. Yet, analogy can be a disastrous endeavor, ignoring the fact that "strategy needs continual definition."⁸² In the end, implementing a blunt strategic symmetry on Africa and Asia could be worse than any kind of pivot.

About the Author

LTC Pierre Gaudilliere is assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff, French Air Force. A French Air Force fighter pilot, he graduated from the French Air Force Academy (Ecole de l'Air) in 1999 with a masters of aeronautical science, and from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Institut d'Etudes Politiques deParis) in 2010 with a masters of international affairs-international security. He also served as Attaché-Assistant to the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations in New York in 2009.



81 United Nations, *Mali: with terrorists regrouping, Security Council urges full deployment of 'blue helmets'*, United Nations News Center, 23 January 2014, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?www.unama-afg.org/news/pc/english/2008/html/www.iaea.org/html/story.asp?NewsID=46990&Cr=+mali+&Cr1=> (accessed February 3, 2014).

82 Michael Howard, "The Forgotten Dimensions of Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, vol.57, nr. 5 (Summer 1979), p. 975.



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Enhancing US-Japan Defense Guidelines for 21st Century Challenges

By Captain Brent D. Sadler, U.S. Navy

Recent bloodshed in Ukraine, a jihadi influenced civil war across Syria and Iraq, and atrocities committed in Nigeria by Boko Haram make it easy to be distracted from significant strategic change in Asia. In a region comparatively at peace, one such change is the quiet diplomacy underway redefining the U.S. and Japan security alliance.

The effort to enhance this alliance directly supports President Obama's Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific, and the most recent attempt to do this was launched following the October 2013 bilateral Security Consultative Committee (SCC) meeting or '2+2.' Its goal is to enhance the alliance based on an acknowledgement in both countries that the strategic environment has dramatically changed, and requires a new approach in order to ensure the alliance remains effective and credible. Central to this effort is revising the Defense Guidelines for U.S. and Japan Defense Cooperation, from now on referred to as the Guidelines, first approved in 1978 and updated only once in 1997.

The effort to revise the Guidelines has for the past year instigated a remarkable and heated national dialogue in Japan. This has been due to the fact that efforts to enhance the security alliance will have constitutional ramifications regarding collective self-defense. Now is a good time to review what both nations are seeking to ensure the security alliance remains viable for the next decade.

The D.C. Context

There are several reasons for expecting U.S. political support for new Guidelines that enhances Japan's participation in the alliance as an equal partner. Most significantly, since the first Gulf War there has been a consistent call for a greater operational role of the Japanese Self Defense Forces (JSDF). Moving the alliance forward raises several recurring Congressional concerns that policy makers in the U.S. should consider.

There are concerns about the sustainability of U.S. forces in the Asia-Pacific, to include training ranges and the adequacy of airlift and refueling capabilities. On a similar subject, the realignment and way ahead for U.S. Marine forces, particularly as concerns Okinawa. The U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) is concerned about critical munitions requirements in the Asia-Pacific, and where they can be stored. Finally, the entire issue of missile defense systems, cooperation with Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK), remains an important issue, particularly the sustainability of Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense on the island of Guam.

The Tokyo Context

The Guidelines articulate the roles and missions covered by the alliance, and are being reviewed at a time of increased tension over competing claims in the East China Sea. China's increasingly aggressive posture keeps those tensions at a high level. However, focusing on tensions there has the potential to cloud the opportunity and significance this review holds. Understandably policy makers, especially in Tokyo, are driven to respond to Chinese provocations, incursions, and rising military threat. Therefore the policy review must in part address these concerns as it fuels Japanese public and political support. To ensure new Guidelines achieve a lasting result, policy makers must contend with this current domestic political context, and appreciating that requires a little history.

The current national discussion on the alliance and collective self-defense specifically, is the first since Prime Minister Kishi's 1957 attempt to revise the security treaty with the U.S. Japanese generally support a greater role in regional security, but that support is conditional on personal popularity of Prime Minister Abe, buoyed by his economic performance to date under so-called 'Abe-nomics.'

It is interesting to note that the first Guidelines approved in 1978 were in response to concerns of U.S. abandonment amidst a growing Soviet threat in East Asia. Japanese fears were heightened at the time by a weakened U.S. economy and pressures to withdraw from overseas bases following the long war in Vietnam. This resulted in Japan taking on more missions and burden sharing in regional security, mostly in anti-submarine warfare, and expanded the area Japanese self-defense forces would operate to 1,000 nautical miles from Japanese shores.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War and several crises, it took a decade to complete a revision to the Defense Guidelines. Central to the U.S. request for a second revision was the 1994 nuclear crisis with North Korea and Chinese missile intimidation of Taiwan in 1996. These crises challenged assumptions of Japanese logistical support vital to U.S. planning and sharpened Japanese security concerns. The result was the revision begun in 1996 and completed a year later in 1997. However, vital enabling domestic laws wouldn't be passed in Japan until May 1999, helped along by a North Korean missile launch that overflew Japan in August 1998.

SCC 2+2 October 2013 Defense Guidelines Objectives:

- Ensure the Alliance's capacity to respond to an armed attack against Japan.
- Expand the scope of cooperation, to reflect the global nature of the U.S.-Japan Alliance, encompassing such areas as counter-terrorism, counter-piracy, peacekeeping, capacity building, humanitarian assistance/disaster relief, and equipment and technology enhancement.
- Promoting deeper security cooperation with other regional partners to advance shared objectives and values.
- Enhancing Alliance mechanisms for consultation and coordination to make them more flexible, timely, and responsive and to enable seamless bilateral cooperation in all situations.
- Describe appropriate role-sharing of bilateral defense cooperation based on enhancement of mutual capabilities.
- Evaluating the concepts that guide bilateral defense cooperation in contingencies to ensure effective, efficient, and seamless Alliance response in a dynamic security environment that includes challenges in emerging strategic domains such as space and cyberspace.

Exploring additional ways in which we can strengthen the Alliance in the future to meet shared objectives.

There are several important preliminary changes that have occurred to set the stage for a remarkable enhancement of the alliance. First, in August 2007, was the formalizing of safeguards regarding sensitive information vital to facilitating operationally relevant combined security efforts. Relevant domestic law was further enhanced by the 2013 Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets.

Second, in late 2011, was the relaxation of the Japanese government's interpretation of legal constraints regarding overseas transfer of defense equipment. This legal relaxation has allowed for co-development and co-production of such weapon systems as the F-35 fighter, ballistic missile defense components and munitions, as well as active collaboration on regional security capacity building measures. On this last point, in the past case-by-case reviews have occurred, such as the 2007 transfer of patrol craft to Indonesia. But, this legal move helps clear the way for more routine transfer of military equipment such as ten coast guard vessels to the Philippines.

Third, the revision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) Official Development Assistance (ODA) charter opens more opportunities for building partner nation security capacities.

Fourth, at the Ministry of Defense (MoD) two initiatives that have Diet approval and will enhance Japan's collaboration with the U.S. efforts include legislation to elevate external affairs, to include security cooperation, to a newly created Deputy Minister of Defense. The second initiative is a

proposal to streamline defense procurement processes by consolidating various MoD processes into a single joint office that provides oversight of technical research and development. This new agency could be manned by as many as 2000 people and likely include corporate as well as foreign consultants.

Lastly, the December 2013 release of Japan's first National Security Strategy and establishment of the National Security Secretariat provide an important avenue for policy coordination. Taken together these actions can enable meeting the objectives for the current Defense Guidelines review laid out in the October 2013 2+2 statement.

Moreover, it is unlikely support of Prime Minister Abe's efforts will slacken in the face of recent Chinese actions in the East and South China Sea as well as North Korean nuclear tests and missile provocations.

This leads next to what roles and missions should an enhanced security alliance take? Two authors with deep knowledge of the U.S. and Japan security alliance recently wrote on this topic.

Approaches to Revising the Defense Guidelines

In the absence of a unified command and control (C2) structure, the Guidelines provide critical guidance for bilateral operational coordination. Two recent articles, one from Project 2049 and the other from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, don't contest this C2 structure while recommending approaches to revising the Guidelines. Common to both are recommendations that policy makers use a scenario-based approach to define roles and missions, and that adjustments should enhance operational cooperation and coordination and the need to address the conduct of alliance operations in the 'grey zone' between peace and conflict.

In his Carnegie article titled "How to Upgrade U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation," James L. Schoff introduces a front office and back office concept for the division of alliance security labor. The idea basically keeps the current divided command and control (C2) construct in place while allowing for greater collaboration. This framework divides missions not by geography but by capability, while being sensitive to political limitations. Mr. Schoff's incremental approach may not be the best way forward based on the security and budgeting challenges facing both Japan and the U.S. Overall, discussions in Tokyo regarding constitutional re-interpretation and U.S. concerns for regional burden sharing likely make the front/back office concept too constraining in realizing the full potential of the alliance.

The Project 2049 paper "Upgrading the Japan-U.S. Defense Guidelines" by Sugio Takahashi focuses on where the Defense Guidelines need to enhance operational cooperation. Mr. Takahashi recommends policy makers consider mechanisms for enhanced cooperation in "grey-zone" operations, especially when contending with escalating North Korean provocations. The speed in which such a crisis could unfold will stress the current framework for alliance

PRIME MINISTER ABE'S 15 SCENARIOS

Grey Zone Situations:

1. A landing by an armed group on a remote island.
2. Response by JSDF units training IVO an attack on Japanese civilian shipping.
3. Prior to hostilities, response to a ballistic missile attack on a U.S. warship in waters surrounding Japan.
4. Collective Security: Response by JSDF forces participating in a UN PKO mission to defend/rescue non-allocated PKO participating third parties. The so called 'kaketsuke-ikego'
5. Use of force by JSDF to attack hostile forces threatening PKO transport and NGO operations.
6. Rescue operations by JSDF in cases where Japanese nationals are taken captive in a third country.
7. Use of force in effecting/protecting the provision of assistance (materials) during UN mandated coalition operations.

The Right of Collective Self-Defense (CSD): (in situations occurring around Japan)

1. Protection of U.S. vessels transporting Japanese nationals (example: during a noncombatant evacuation from Korean Peninsula)
2. Providing defense of U.S. support ships unable to protect themselves from attack.
3. Stopping and inspecting a non-cooperative vessel involved in supplying a belligerent.
4. Interception of a missile overflying Japanese defenses that is targeting the U.S.
5. Interception of ballistic missiles targeting U.S. warships that would compromise the defense of Japan.
6. Respond on request by U.S. to defend U.S. logistic and troop ships during Weapons of Mass Destruction attacks on the U.S. mainland.
7. When an attack occurs in sea lanes important to Japan, conduct minesweeping operations in international waters.
8. When an attack occurs in sea lanes important to Japan, participation in international efforts to protect commercial shipping.

operations and necessitates standing mechanisms of policy and operational coordination that the BCM has yet to deliver. Moreover, Mr. Takahashi asserts that the U.S. and Japan will need to demonstrate their robust deterrence posture in more visible and operational ways. Doing this could rightly prevent a fast moving Senkaku crisis from becoming a fait accompli unfavorable to both alliance members. But placing too much focus on these two near-term operational challenges risks missing the global role and mid- to long-term challenges confronting Japan.

Both articles, while not contesting the alliance's divided C2, do provide recommendations to enhance operational unity of effort and a scenario approach to Guidelines revision that can be useful for policy makers.

Roles and Missions

An important goal of the Guidelines is the delineation of roles and responsibilities for the two nations' militaries. This is especially important because the alliance lacks a unified command structure. The Guidelines alone provide a process for which bilateral operational coordination can be effected. The need for such coordination is underscored in the inaugural Japanese National Security Strategy and the fourth National Defense Program Guidelines as well as equivalent U.S. documents. Less clear is how the two allies plan on safeguarding and acting on those shared interests in an operational manner. This is a task the next Defense Guidelines will need to address, and layout in greater detail than in the past.

Building a proactive operational strategic approach will require clear benchmarks and processes to enable action and define the roles and missions the allies will play. To do this, the Guidelines must provide a level of detail that is not too tactical so it remains flexible and malleable for a decade. At the same time the Guidelines must be specific enough to provide a meaningful framework within which budget and policies in both countries can be aligned. This level of detail, as both Mr. Takahashi and Mr. Schoff mention, can be developed through consideration of various scenarios. It is an approach Prime Minister Abe is using to convince allies in the New Komeito Party as well as the general public on the merit of collective self-defense and the need to reinterpret the constitution. Mr. Abe's use of scenarios now is political, but in crafting the next Guidelines, operational concerns will need to take priority in selecting scenarios that advance a more proactive alliance globally.

Recommendations for 2014 Defense Guidelines

In accordance with the 1997 Defense Guidelines a comprehensive mechanism together with a BCM would have facilitated robust whole of government coordination but not likely at the strategic level nor in resourcing. According to the 1997 Defense Guidelines the SCC would be central in comprehensive bilateral planning and standardization of processes involving all relevant agencies. What has resulted, however, are periodic consultations at the SCC

and its subordinate body the Subcommittee for Defense Cooperation (SDC) that meet a couple of times a year. The 1997 Guidelines go on to state that under normal conditions a BCM with relevant agencies, singling out the U.S. military and Japan SDF, for bilateral coordination involving potential contingencies.

While the comprehensive mechanism and BCM associated working groups conduct critical military operational planning, it has not been effective at incorporating the interagency planning that is increasingly vital to effective operational planning. Also in question due to its infrequent use, is provision of the hardware and software explicitly mentioned in the 1997 Defense Guidelines required to facilitate coordinated operations at the BCM.

Failure to adequately resource (manpower, authorities, equipment) resulted in shortcomings in bilateral coordination during the Great Tohoku Earthquake and Fukushima nuclear disaster of March 11, 2011. Critiques of the bilateral response included the problem that there was no unified U.S. plan for evacuation of U.S. citizens, which complicated efforts to identify and get the appropriate authorities to effect responses. And although the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) was institutionally the single lead for U.S. Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR) efforts, it was neither manned nor equipped for a disaster of this magnitude involving radiological contamination spread.

According to the Independent Investigation Commission on the Fukushima Nuclear Accident, led by Koichi Kitazawa and published in February 2012, the Japanese side was slow (11 days late) in establishing a crisis center adequate to coordinate the U.S.-Japan approach to the crisis. One of the committee's relevant findings was that a predetermined disaster plan was less needed than a capacity for planning that is always ready.

Unfortunately the BCM has never been formally stood-up due to domestic Japanese concerns that it was signaling an intention to escalate a crisis. An informal form of BCM has been used on three occasions since 2006 in response to North Korean provocations. Authority for using this informal BCM required consent by Commander U.S. Forces Japan and Japan's Joint Staff Commander, both four star generals, and notification to the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cabinet Secretariat. The Joint Coordination Group (JCG) has been limited to policy issues relating to the status of forces in Japan, and has not taken on larger policy or regional strategic initiatives. This is in part due to internal Japanese bureaucratic organizational structures, but specifically due to the inability to establish the Policy Committee that is intended to facilitate wide ranging policy coordination in a crisis at a fairly senior level of leadership.

A final critique is that today's structures, as detailed in the current Guidelines, are overly focused on crisis management and coordinated actions in crisis. This situation provides no authoritative platform for strategic planning, national level policy, and strategic communication coordination. It is important that the alliance do crisis management well, but focusing on only senior level coordination mechanisms on

crisis does little to enhance the alliance for a more regionally proactive role in securing peace and stability.

The Current Comprehensive Mechanism and BCM Structure:

An enhanced BCM needs to meet fully the goals of the October 2+2 statement to expand the scope of cooperation to reflect the global nature of the alliance, to promote deeper security cooperation with regional partners, and enhance alliance mechanisms for consultation and coordination so as to strengthen the alliance to meet future shared objectives. To do this requires a deeper strategic relationship underpinned by robust operational coordination that can deliver strategic and operational effects. The following recommendations aim to provide this.

First, establish and make routine the use of national policy formulation and strategic messaging coordination mechanisms likely between the NSS in the U.S. and NSC in Japan. The BCM was not intended and has not been effective at doing this, and does not provide for robust national policy and messaging coordination. A good example recently of how this has failed the alliance was the response to the Chinese November 2013 Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea.

Second, enhance budgetary synchronization regarding investments in building partner capacities such as Philippines' maritime security. The new Deputy Minister of Defense for external affairs will be helpful to this end, but additional new resourcing avenues of coordination between the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Departments of Defense and State should be pursued. At the same time, mechanisms are needed for consulting in the drafting of budget priority documents in both countries to include; in Japan the periodic National Defense Program Guidelines, and in the U.S. the Defense Planning Guidelines. Additionally, this can support expansion of ongoing efforts at co-development and co-production such as with the F-35, and need to include co-production or coordinated procurement of critically limited munitions. The lessons learned during NATO's recent operation Odyssey Dawn in Libya in March 2011 make clear the need to coordinate and ensure arsenals are appropriately stocked. Moreover, the MoD's new agency dedicated to resourcing provides an avenue for greater budgetary and resource coordination.

Third, establish a coherent mechanism that facilitates coordinated military operations and deployments region-wide. As U.S. military assets become increasingly in short supply, ways to leverage allies' platforms and capabilities must be included in the Defense Guidelines. The Department of Defense global force management (GFM) processes offer a framework that could incorporate allied presence operations and deployments. Today there are over 100 bilateral working groups tackling issues important to the alliance; these should be rationalized in a more manageable way to ensure oversight, responsiveness and prevent redundancy of effort.

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China and Costa Rica A New Beginning?

By Dr. R. Evan Ellis, PhD

In July 2014, Costa Rican president Luis Guillermo Solís met in Brasilia with his Chinese counterpart, Xi Jinping, as part of the first summit between the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) and the forum of Latin American and Caribbean states known as CELAC (Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños, in English The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States). Although the meeting between the two presidents received little attention beyond Central America, it was significant as the first official encounter between the two leaders following the unexpected victory of Mr. Solís as the dark-horse candidate in the April 2014 presidential runoff election. The meeting was even more significant in that controversy over major proposed projects involving Chinese companies in Costa Rica had arguably contributed to a sense of frustration among Costa Rican voters with the previous governments of the National Liberation Party (PLN) and their corresponding receptivity for the “ethics and transparency” message of Solís.

The meeting between Presidents Xi and Solís was important in demonstrating that both sides could continue to work together, even if issues that President Solís raised concerning the Chinese projects demonstrated that the tone of the relationship would not be the same as it had been under the governments of his predecessors Oscar Arias and Laura Chinchilla.

On the positive side, the Xi-Solís meeting effectively created a space for restructuring and re-launching the projects that had been the subject of controversy during the electoral campaign, including the expansion of the petroleum refinery complex at Moin, and improvements to Route 32 between the capital city of San Jose and the port city of Limón. Still, the brief meeting produced no reason to believe that a compromise could be ultimately reached that would be acceptable for both sides. Moreover, in the months following elections, the new Solís government had little success in mobilizing the fragile coalition of parties that backed him in the Costa Rican National Assembly to pass new legislation, suggesting that movement on controversial new projects with the PRC would be highly complicated.

Costa Rica is currently at a crossroads in its relationship with the PRC. There have been two changes of government in the country since 2007 when then-president Oscar Arias briefly made the nation a center of attention in the region by switching Costa Rica’s diplomatic recognition from Tai-

wan to the PRC. While the PRC may continue to look with favor on Costa Rica today for being the first nation in Central America to establish relations with it, the residual debt of Chinese gratitude is arguably much diminished from what it was when Oscar Arias changed the country’s diplomatic posture more than seven years ago. Reciprocally, while Costa Rica’s current President Solís is not inherently anti-Chinese (and indeed has some Chinese ancestry), he is a U.S.-educated academic whose career has given him a deep personal commitment to ethics and the rule of law. He is not inherently disposed to modify Costa Rica’s legal or administrative framework to accommodate Chinese companies in order to court favor with the PRC government.

During the July 2014 Xi-Solís meeting, the two presidents agreed to a period of five months in order to re-plant the Route 32 project. The next scheduled face-to-face meeting between the leaders occurred when Solís traveled to Beijing in January 2015 for the most recent China-CELAC summit, as part of the group of Presidents representing CELAC. Thus if major progress can be made on Chinese projects in the country, the January China-CELAC summit was a logical place for the “good news” to be announced.

Beyond the Moin refinery and Route 32 projects, a major initiative of the previous Costa Rican government of Laura Chinchilla that has persisted in the Solís administration is the proposal to establish five Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in the country, supporting investments by Chinese companies with financing from Chinese institutions such as China Development Bank (CDB). The plan was presented by the outgoing Chinchilla administration, literally three days before having to vacate their government offices (to accommodate the entry of the newly elected Solís government’s team). For this reason, it was perceived at the time by many in Costa Rica to be “dead on arrival.” Yet despite such pessimism, the Solís administration has continued to develop the concept launched by its predecessor. Indeed, China Development Bank has indicated its willingness to mount a feasibility study for the establishment of five zones: a hub site in Puntarenas, and satellite zones in Limón, Turrialba, San Carlos and Liberia, with the government hoping to announce the first Chinese investors with a declared interest in participating in the zones by June 2015.

Although the granting of special zones to Chinese companies, with associated tax breaks and other incentives,

could be difficult in the present political environment, Costa Rican political analysts interviewed for this report note that similar zones were created for Taiwanese companies in the past without problems. Moreover, the cessation of computer chip production in Costa Rica by the technology giant Intel is likely to increase both political and economic pressures for the government to attract some type of investment to the country to compensate for the loss.

At least one of the two controversial projects involving Chinese companies in Costa Rica mentioned in the opening paragraph, the improvement of Route 32, has a reasonable chance of going forward. Per the timetable established during the Xi-Solis meeting in July 2014, Costa Rica's Ministry for Public Works has submitted a counterproposal for the project to China Harbour and China Development Bank, proposing that at least 60% of the workers on the project to be Costa Rican, and retaining the immunity of the Costa Rican government in the relationship.

The Moin Refinery, while arguably facing greater obstacles than the Route 32 project, nonetheless appears to retain some possibility of going forward. At the end of November 2014, Sara Salazar, the new President of the Costa Rican state petroleum organization Recope, traveled to China to discuss the path forward for the deal. However, her expressions of continued interest in its realization, have not necessarily overcome concerns over the project within the Comptroller General's office.

Another area in which short-term progress between China and Costa Rica is possible is in phytosanitary protocols for control of plant diseases agricultural exports. The Chinese and Costa Rican governments currently have negotiations in progress for protocols that would facilitate Costa Rican exports of pineapple, yucca, shrimp and tuna. The cost and spoilage associated with shipping Costa Rican fruits and vegetables to the other side of the world arguably limits the potential for such exports to penetrate the Chinese market. This is particularly relevant in the face of competition from similar offerings from closer sources such as the Philippines. Yet such certifications will nonetheless likely contribute to some additional exports in the luxury market segment, as well as helping Costa Rican businessmen to continue to make connections and increase their knowledge, potentially making them more effective in penetrating the Chinese market.

On the other hand, other projects remain stalled or completed with less success than expected, testifying to the continuing difficulty for the Chinese of doing business in Costa Rica. Perhaps the best example is Costa Rica's Chinatown, the widespread criticism of which within Costa Rica was arguably one of the final nails in the coffin in the Presidential candidacy and political career of San Jose mayor Johnny Araya. The district, established with financial assistance from the PRC government, with an entrance marked by an ornamental arch built by Chinese workers, has failed to attract a significant number of either tourists or Chinese shopkeepers. Among the persons interviewed in Costa Rica for this report, it was viewed almost universally as a less-than-successful

venture.

Another important question shaping Costa Rica's engagement with the PRC is the country's potential formal entry into the Pacific Alliance. Although President Solis, as candidate, expressed reservations about the organization, since assuming the Presidency he has adopted a more positive tone, committing to study the matter. Even more positively, Foreign Minister Manuel González Sanz has also expressed a favorable opinion towards Costa Rica's eventual joining. While the current finalization of a free trade accord between Costa Rica and Colombia represents a minor obstacle to the treaty, additional pressure comes from Panama, which has indicated that it would probably join the alliance. This raises the danger of leaving Costa Rica outside of the group of nations affirming commitment to a market-oriented approach to participation in the new Pacific economy.

Also uncertain is to what extent the Solis government will go beyond the current focus on trade and investment in its engagement with the PRC. All of Costa Rica's ambassadors to China, in one form or another, have been businessmen. To date, Costa Rica has been notably reluctant to engage with the PRC on values-based issues or topics where there might be discord between the two countries such as Tibet, or questions of human rights. Even themes such as the opening of a Taiwan commercial representative office in the country, such as those established in the United States and other major Western countries, has been absent, arguably due to the desire of the Costa Rican government not to offend the Chinese government and thus jeopardize access to the Chinese market and other benefits.

To the extent that the Costa Rica-China relationship has touched on themes beyond economics, one small but important theme has been security cooperation. The PRC government has donated 350 cars to the Costa Rican national police, although more than half of them were out of service within months of their delivery because of mechanical failures and a lack of spare parts. The Chinese government has also committed to the construction of a new police training facility in Pococí, in the province of Limón, although the project has been slow to get off the ground. It has also committed to the training of police officers, although some have expressed concern whether such influence could have a negative influence on the respect for civic rights among Costa Rican police officers within Costa Rica as a democratic society.

Whatever the resolution of such issues, some level of law enforcement cooperation between China and Costa Rica will become increasingly important in facing challenges from expanding transpacific organized crime, including the smuggling of persons, precursor chemicals for drugs, and money laundering. Combating these matters will require technical cooperation between the two nations as well as translators with capabilities in Hakka, Cantonese, and Mandarin, as well as greater sharing of data on criminals and groups.

As noted previously, an important factor in the evolution of the China-Costa Rica relationship, in both economic and political terms, is the current impasse in the Costa Rican

political system, which has inhibited President Solis' ability to take projects forward in general. His own party the Citizen's Action Party (PAC), only has 13 of the 57 seats in the National Assembly, and depends on a loose coalition with the center-right Social Christian party (PUSC) and the leftist Frente Amplio (FA) party for its governing majority. The PUSC, once one of Costa Rica's two dominant parties, arguably hopes to use its role in the current government to return to power in the national elections of 2018. The PUSC is likely to become even less cooperative with President Solis and the PAC as the government's political position worsens, creating a potential downward spiral that could deepen government paralysis in the coming months.

The leftist Frente Amplio has its own aspirations to capture power in 2018 under candidate José María Villalta, similarly limiting their incentives to assist the success of a moderate coalition with the PAC and PUSC, so long as their greater rival, the National Liberation party (PLN) remains weak. Although Frente Amplio is a left-of-center party, this does not make it inherently disposed to support initiatives by the Solis government to contract with Chinese companies or improve political relations with the PRC. The party's leftist core was forged during the Cold War in the Soviet-Cuban tradition, at a time when the Chinese were viewed with distrust, and arguably retains mixed feelings in its orientation toward the PRC today.

Further complicating matters, the PAC itself is split, with its founder Ottón Solís, who took a position highly critical of collaboration with China, now occupying a position within the National Assembly from which he serves as a political rival to President Solís, a source of political pressure from within the party limiting the President's ability to move too quickly to embrace the PRC, or to take projects with Chinese companies forward, particularly those that seek to lack sufficient transparency, participation of Costa Rican businesses, or questionable terms.

For the United States, the evolving Costa Rica-China relationship offers an opportunity to explore, on a small scale, effective new engagement strategies in the context of a region that cannot and should not be blocked from developing relationships with the PRC and other actors beyond the hemisphere. Indeed, Costa Rica arguably presents a complex situation in which the ability of the United States to engage the country over its commercial and political relationship with the PRC could go well or badly, depending on the astuteness, sensitivity, and creativity with which the issue is handled. Costa Rica is unique in Central America in having both a formal political relationship with the PRC and a socialist political party as part of its governing coalition on one hand, while on the other hand, being a country with a U.S.-educated President and politicians generally favorably disposed toward the United States, as well as a strong rule-of-law tradition and a principled leader.

The challenge for the United States is to retain a respectful engagement with Costa Rica that provides real value added to the country's engagement with China, helping the latter realize the greatest commercial and other benefit from the

relationship, true to Costa Rica's tradition of having some of Central America's strongest institutions. While doing so might extend to three-way collaboration with Costa Rica and China in matters of trans-Pacific crime, the United States probably should concentrate on supporting Costa Rica's economic engagement, where desired, and to listening prior to advising. The respectful and constructive relationship that the United States has already begun with both the Solís government and the leftist Frente Amplio party is arguably a good move in this direction.

The meeting between Costa Rican President Luis Guillermo Solís and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping during the January 2015 China-CELAC summit in Beijing gave some indication regarding whether the new Costa Rican government's attempt to re-set its relationship with the PRC is bearing fruit, or is following a path toward disappointment. Costa Rica became a leader in Central America with its 2007 shift in diplomatic recognition to the PRC. Its new government now has the opportunity to demonstrate that even a small Latin American nation can develop a mutually beneficial relationship with the PRC based on adherence to principle, consistent with a strong relationship with the United States. As in 2007, Costa Rica's Central American neighbors will be attentive to the outcome.

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Getting It Wrong in China

Pol-Mil Lessons From the Stilwell Experience, 1942-1944

By Major Jason Halub, U.S. Army

As the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II approaches, heroic stories about the conflict are beginning to resurface in the popular media and in official state-hosted events in China and the United States. One of the more enduring storylines to come out of America's involvement in the Pacific theater of World War II is the experience of General Joseph Stilwell in China from 1942 to 1944. According to the conventional narrative, the sharp-tongued American General, known as "Vinegar Joe," did everything he could to coax his reluctant and corrupt Chinese ally, Chiang Kai-shek, to fight the Japanese. Despite Stilwell's tireless efforts and millions of U.S. dollars in aid to China, the traditional account argues Chiang would not take the American General's advice to fight the Japanese. Instead, the Chinese leader was more interested in fighting the Chinese Communists. In the end, Chiang instigated Stilwell's recall to the United States and, after World War II, went on to suffer a devastating defeat during the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949).

While there is certainly truth to aspects of the conventional narrative, the complicated nature of Chiang's political position and the role of Stilwell in U.S. domestic politics are grossly misrepresented. This article sheds light on these two points and the implications they hold for the conduct of U.S. operations in developing and post-colonial states. I argue that Stilwell got military-to-military relations wrong in China because he failed to understand the link between military capabilities and political capital in Chinese domestic politics. At the same time he refused to accept the largely symbolic role of his command, which was mainly to demonstrate to the American people that the U.S. was doing something about Japan when in fact the U.S. government was directing the bulk of its efforts towards fighting Germany on the European front.

The Precarious Position of Chiang Kai-shek: Military Power as Political Capital

One of the major misconceptions in the traditional Stilwell narrative is the idea that Chiang refused to fight the Japanese. Recent scholarship has challenged this assertion and provided evidence that Chiang Kai-shek actively fought the Japanese for much of the war, particularly during the first four years (1937-1940). Chiang committed his best troops against Japan in Shanghai in 1937. His troops fought valiantly, but were ultimately overwhelmed by the better-

equipped Japanese Imperial Army. Chiang would continue to resist, but each defeat would diminish his army and undermine Chiang's position as China's paramount leader. Having come to power through the Northern Expedition, a military campaign to unify China, Chiang maintained his political position through his control of the Central Army and, secondly, through his ability to knit together a loose coalition of warlords who each possessed their own armies and economic resources. Chiang's control over the Central Army made it possible for him to hold this coalition together. Thus, the military capacity of the Central Army gave Chiang Kai-shek the political capital to control much of China. It is worth briefly explaining China's domestic political scene during the years leading up to Chiang Kai-shek's ascension to power.

The fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 left a political and military power vacuum, which remained contested until the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power in 1949. The first Chinese leader to attempt to restore order was the former Qing general, Yuan Shikai, who, as China's first formal President, abolished political parties and declared himself the "Constitutional Emperor" of an unpopular and short-lived imperial dynasty. In response to this move, leaders from several southern provinces declared their independence from Beijing while harboring their own independent sources of income and military power. In 1916, Yuan Shikai died and his government in Beijing splintered amongst his former subordinate generals Feng Guozhang and Duan Qirui. From 1918 to 1924 China experienced three major civil wars as three different factions (Zhili, Fengtian, and Anhui) fought to establish military supremacy and unify the country. The last of these civil wars saw the Fengtian clique victorious, but, in fact, all of the contending parties were severely weakened. In the end, China was left divided among several warlords who each possessed independent armies and resources. While these warlords held sufficient power to guarantee their regional position, they were unable to project their militaries much beyond their local domains and unify the country.

The military resurgence of the famous revolutionary and one-time provisional President of China, Sun Yat-sen, and his reconstituted Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or KMT) soon broke the delicate balance of competing regional warlords. Sun dreamed of uniting China through a military campaign that would begin from his base of support in Guangzhou and drive north to defeat all of the various warlords. He initially attempted to ally with sympathetic warlords to

achieve unification, but was frequently betrayed. Eventually, Sun concluded that if his plans were to have any chance at success, he would need to reform his party along stricter lines and develop his own military forces. Relying on financial assistance and military advisors from the Soviet Union (the West refused to support him), Sun founded the Whampoa (Huangpu) Military Academy in 1924 and selected Chiang Kai-shek to serve as the academy's commandant. Though cancer claimed Sun's life the following year, Chiang would go on to lead the Kuomintang on the Northern Expedition. By 1927, the KMT achieved nominal unification of China.

Although the Northern Expedition provided the opportunity for Chiang Kai-shek to become the key military and political leader of China, his position of leadership in the KMT was far from secure. In fact, at the onset of the Northern Expedition, Chiang was not even the chosen successor to Sun Yat-sen. Instead, that honor belonged to Wang Jingwei, who would become a bitter political rival to Chiang within the KMT. Still, by virtue of his loyal following of Whampoa Military Academy graduates, as well as the unstable domestic political landscape of China, Chiang was eventually able to position himself to become the indispensable military strongman of a KMT plagued by internal divisions in a China that remained a patchwork of several independent warlords. By 1931, he was still in the process of consolidating his rule when Japan invaded Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo. Having previously attended military training in Japan, Chiang was familiar with Japan's military and understood that his military forces were not yet ready to stand up to the Japanese Imperial Army. Moreover, Chiang understood that his domestic political rivals would take advantage of Japanese aggression by urging Chiang to commit his armies to fight (and die) against the Japanese, while Chiang's warlord rivals and "allies" improved their respective military positions. Thus, China's various military forces were only nominally unified behind Chiang Kai-shek. Beneath this thin façade of military and political unity, there persisted the cold reality that political power was predicated on military force and this was a zero-sum game.

The Political Costs of Fighting the Japanese

Despite Chiang Kai-shek's concerns about the KMT's military capabilities, he took important steps to prepare for and fight the Japanese. Initially, Chiang bided his time by avoiding armed conflict with Japan so that he could strengthen his fiscal and military position. He increased his control over the Chinese trade with the foreign powers in the concession areas around Shanghai and the Yangtze delta. With these resources, Chiang hired German advisors, including Max Bauer, Hans von Seeckt, and Alexander von Falkenhausen, to help modernize and train the KMT Army.

Meanwhile, he engaged in a series of five encirclement campaigns to exterminate the Chinese Communists. Chiang relied on his warlord "allies" to help fight the Communists during the first four campaigns. Though these efforts failed to completely destroy the Communists, they did serve a sec-

ondary purpose of whittling away the military forces (and political capital) of his warlord "allies." Finally, Chiang sent his German-trained troops to employ a blockhouse strategy that successfully drove out the Communists from their base in rural Guanxi province. The Communists then proceeded on their long retreat (which is euphemistically remembered as the heroic "Long March") to Yanan that cost the Chinese Communists nearly ninety percent of their forces. It was at this time that the Japanese began pressing Chiang for formal recognition of Manchukuo and for more concessions.

Though Chiang Kai-shek publicly attempted to negotiate a settlement with Japan, in private he did not back down. When hostilities broke out between Chinese civilians and Japanese naval and marine personnel in Shanghai in 1932, Chiang privately directed Cai Tingkai, commander of the Chinese 19th Route Army, to oppose Japanese aggression. During the brief three-week engagement the Chinese, lacking sufficient artillery, were outgunned and suffered nearly 14,000 casualties to Japan's 3,000. This brief but deadly encounter with the Japanese reinforced to Chiang the necessity of military modernization and political consolidation before attempting to again square off against his technologically superior foe. However, Chiang's rivals, particularly the Chinese Communists, were quick to criticize this strategy and called on Chiang to resist the Japanese, knowing full well the KMT would bear the brunt of the fighting while the CCP reaped the political benefits. Nevertheless, Chiang was in secret negotiations with some of the Communists when, on December 9, 1936, two of his warlord "allies," Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, kidnapped him, in what became known as the "Xi'an Incident."

After the Xi'an Incident, Chiang Kai-shek agreed to form a second united front with the Communists (the first having been during the Northern Expedition). Additionally, he was forced to take a publicly harder stand against increased Japanese incursions into North China and the issue of Manchukuo. This may have contributed to an escalation of hostilities, as a relatively unremarkable military clash at the Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937 quickly escalated into all out war by the end of the month. World War II in Asia had begun. Chiang stood firm, just as he had in Shanghai in 1932. On August 13, he attacked the Japanese in Shanghai in order to divide Japanese forces that were already striking victories in Beijing and Tianjin. Though the KMT's losses were staggering, Chiang continued to resist, even staging a failed counter attack against the Japanese in Shanghai and resisting at Xinkou and Hangzhou.

However, lacking adequate air power, armor assets, and artillery, the KMT was no match for the Japanese. By October 30, Chiang was forced to move his capital from Nanjing to a more defensible location at Chongqing and adopt a strategy of attrition to fight the Japanese. He continued to resist Japan, fighting costly battles in Hubei, Hunan, and Guangxi provinces, but as S.C.M. Paine points out, by 1940 "the creeping Japanese occupation deprived the [KMT] of 90 percent of their former tax revenues." Although fighting the Japanese

provided a degree of political legitimacy to Chiang Kai-shek as China's paramount leader, his actual political capital – the fiscal resources and military capacity of the KMT – had been greatly eroded. On the eve of General Joseph Stilwell's arrival to China the KMT was barely holding on.

Stilwell Enters the Scene: Misreading the Political Situation

General Joseph Stilwell arrived in China on March 4, 1942 and assumed the role of chief of staff of the Chinese army. While much has been written about Stilwell's exploits in China, there is still a great deal of confusion regarding his actual purpose in China and the China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater. Historian Hans J. van de Ven convincingly points out that Stilwell's mission in China was inherently political. Stilwell failed to grasp or refused to fully accept these points and his role in American domestic politics. Neither President Franklin D. Roosevelt nor General George C. Marshall shared Stilwell's interest in opening up a major ground offensive in China or the CBI Theater. Their main concern was winning the war in Europe.

The U.S. public, however, was clamoring for revenge after Pearl Harbor. Therefore, Roosevelt and Marshall sent Stilwell to China to present the appearance that the U.S. government was doing all it could against Japan when, in fact, it was gearing up for the war in Europe. Militarily, Roosevelt and Marshall used Chiang to tie down as many Japanese troops and military resources as possible. Politically, they used Stilwell as their "man in China" to oversee a token relief fund (compared to what was sent to Europe) and keep up appearances, much like the Doolittle Raid of April 18, 1942, that the U.S. was fighting Japan.

Once Stilwell assumed his duties in China, he also failed to appreciate Chiang Kai-shek's political situation. In fact, many of Stilwell's plans and actions illustrate an utter misunderstanding of Chiang's political position, which rested on his control of the KMT's dwindling military forces. Perhaps the single most dramatic illustration of Stilwell's insensitivity to, if not ignorance of, Chiang's political situation was the American General's demand that he be placed as the commander of China's armies. Part of Stilwell's insistence on being named commander no doubt stemmed from the fact that he had no real troops of his own to command. Whatever the reason, few other actions could have been more damaging to Chiang's legitimacy than to hand over command of his forces to a foreigner. After all, Chiang Kai-shek, also known as the Generalissimo, had come to power by leading a military campaign of unification known as the Northern Expedition. Ultimately, these actions fatally undermined Chiang and Stilwell's relationship.

Stilwell made other ill-fated decisions that damaged U.S. relations with the Nationalist regime and sowed lasting distrust. In addition to demanding to be put in charge of China's army, Stilwell often hoarded supplies that were intended to bolster the Nationalist Regime and support its resistance against the Japanese. Stilwell even withheld supplies during

Japan's Ichigo Offensive, when Chiang's armies were faced with the fiercest and largest-scale land operations since the war began, in order to undermine Chiang and facilitate the American general's assumption of command of the Chinese army. What is more, Stilwell courted Chiang's rivals, such as Bai Chongxi and Chen Cheng of the Guangxi Clique, and even floated an idea to his subordinate, Brigadier General Frank Dorn, about having Chiang assassinated. Collectively, these points indicate an utter misunderstanding of, if not disregard for, the dynamics of Chiang's political situation: the idea that, under conditions where central power is contested, control of military forces becomes a major source of political capital. They also did little to forward U.S. interests in a region where America was heavily reliant on other countries, particularly China, for troops and at a time when U.S. political leaders wanted to maintain smooth relations so they could focus on Europe.

Implications: The Political-Military Relationship in Post-Colonial and Developing States

So what can we learn from the Stilwell experience in China during World War II? It is common knowledge that U.S. military officials, particularly foreign area officers, need to possess a solid understanding of the host-nation political situation. China during World War II offers an interesting example where political power was contested and military capability equaled political capital. This situation is not unlike that of Afghanistan, Iraq, or many other countries where U.S. troops are and will deploy. The Stilwell experience in China during World War II is a case study in very poor execution of national policy and military-to-military relations.

This example reminds military leaders to consider carefully the unintended consequences of their decisions. Roosevelt and Marshall wanted to use Chiang's forces to tie down the Japanese army – which Chiang did – but on several occasions Stilwell undermined Chiang's ability resist Japan by delaying and even denying supplies. Of course there were valid American concerns that Chiang was simply stockpiling these supplies for a later showdown with the Chinese Communists. But Stilwell's plans and actions did little to reassure his ally and were at odds with U.S. policy, which aimed to avoid deploying a large contingent of troops to Asia. Ultimately, Stilwell and America got the military and political relationship wrong in China. Hopefully, we can heed these lessons so that wherever we may be, we do not get it wrong again.

About the Author

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Lost in Translation

Taiwan, National Identity, and Implications for the Island's 2016 Presidential Election

By Ms Cindy Liu

Editor's Note: Ms. Liu's paper is too lengthy for inclusion in the hard-copy edition of your Journal. She prepared this shorter version for the Journal. Her full article, with complete references and analysis, can be read in our on-line

Historical Background

In 1949, having lost the Chinese Civil War to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang (KMT)) retreated to the island of Taiwan. After normalization of relations between the US and China during the Nixon Administration, the United Nations withdrew Taiwan's membership seat in 1971, recognizing the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the only "China." Yet, since 1949, Taiwan has been a de facto independent state whose democracy and national identity took a great leap forward with the island's first open, free, and direct presidential election in 1996. The victor, native son Lee Teng-hui, even occasionally spoke of Taiwan as a separate country. This election contrasted sharply with the opaque manner by which leaders in Beijing still come to power, through selection by the Politburo Standing Committee.

Because Beijing still considers Taiwan a renegade province that must never declare independence, a presidential election victory for a pro-independence candidate – such as Lee, Chen Shui-bian, or any candidate from the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) – is seen as a threat to the PRC's sovereignty and core interests. Likewise, Taiwan's distinct national identity has transformed into a uniquely Taiwanese political identity, characterized by anxiety over the island's future nation status.

Two-Dimensional Concept of Taiwan National Identity Conceptualized

Taiwan scholar Rou-Lan Chen argues that two dimensions of Taiwan's national identity are central to the discussion: the "primordial dimension," or solidarity and affiliation with one's own ethnic community, and the "political dimension," or loyalty to a political unit vis-à-vis citizenship and boundaries. Ethnic affiliation and nationhood by themselves cannot fully define Taiwan's national identity; however, when they are analyzed in relation to one another and in tandem with concurrent political discourses and events, a more complete picture of the evolution and factors influencing Tai-

wan's national identity emerges.

Chen further argues that a belief in common descent and a sense of difference from other ethnic groups characterize national identity, which is a political construct manifested by nationhood and citizenship. That is, a significant dimension of national identity is contingent upon historical and cultural factors. The more time advances from 1949, for example, the more identities on either side of the Strait diverge because of a lack of shared experiences. As well, Taiwan's humiliating loss of nationhood in the 1970s and the ensuing struggle for international recognition have shaped the Taiwan national identity and help explain the strength of its political dimension. Taiwan's relationships with China and the rest of the world also influence both dimensions of Taiwan's national identity, primordial and political. Ethnically and primordially, China signifies a glorious cultural past and common ancestry and descent. Politically, a strengthened Taiwanese national identity coalesces around the goal of defining the island's territorial boundaries with civic rights within its territory.

Important Primordial and Political Trends in Taiwan

According to several recent surveys of Taiwanese attitudes conducted by National Chengchi University in Taiwan, Taiwan people have increasingly identified themselves as "Taiwanese," not "Chinese" or "both Chinese and Taiwanese." Respondents who identify themselves as "Chinese" have decreased from 26 percent to less than 5 percent, and a slight decrease has occurred among those who identify as both "Taiwanese and Chinese." Yet, the number of Taiwan people self-identifying as "Taiwanese" has sharply increased regardless of which political party is in power. This indicator of Taiwan's evolving national identity suggests that with every passing year since 1992 (when the survey was first conducted), the Taiwan electorate has more strongly rallied around a separate and distinct "Taiwanese" identity.

However, this one-dimensional indicator cannot explain how changing conceptions of national identity might progress along various parameters in response to external changes such as cross-Strait tensions and domestic sociopolitical developments. In order to analyze the two-edged effect of China on Taiwan's national identity both primordial and political dimensions of national identity must be analyzed. This is because the PRC has played these two conflicting roles in

Taiwan's recent history: desired motherland and principal national security threat. On the one hand, China's glorious dynastic past and magnificent culture ingratiate Taiwanese of Han descent. On the other, irredentist, hard-lined communist Chinese rhetoric, policies, and short-range ballistic missiles aimed at the island – also propounded by Han Chinese – threaten these same nostalgic Taiwanese. This constant cognitive dissonance, this vacillation between historical identification and political animosity – subconsciously, between cultural immortality and physical annihilation – is something that Taiwanese must deal with privately but address publicly, at least every four years during presidential elections.

The Election Study Center Surveys of Important Political Attitude Trend Distribution

To address the political dimension of Taiwan national identity, an additional survey, also published by the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University, is invoked: "Changes in the Unification – Independence Stances of Taiwanese." This attitudinal survey addresses the political dimension of Taiwan national identity, whereas a survey on Chinese, Taiwanese, or both addresses the primordial dimension of national identity. The survey has been conducted annually since 1994 and highlights trends, evolution, and shifts in Taiwan's national and political identity. The major trend observed from 1994 to 2014 indicates that approximately 85 percent of Taiwan people favor the expansive meaning of maintaining status quo (including "maintaining status quo, decide at a later date," "maintain status quo indefinitely," "maintain status quo, move toward independence," and "maintain status quo, move toward unification").

While the percentage who support "Maintain status quo, decide at a later date" has not changed in the past two decades, the percentage who support "Maintain status quo indefinitely" has shifted from a low of 9.8 percent in 1994 to 24.9 percent in 2014. This may be because the Taiwanese realize that independence is highly unlikely (due to potential Chinese military reprisal) and unification undesirable and so the more attainable political future for Taiwan is as a de facto independent entity, which can be achieved through maintaining status quo indefinitely.

This is also the political future that the Taiwanese want future Taiwan presidents to secure for the island: maintain status quo, protecting an independent-like status for Taiwan. The 2011 Taiwan National Security Survey reveals that 80.2 percent of Taiwan people would favor a declaration of independence by Taiwan if it would not cause mainland China to attack the island. Thus, with every successive Taiwan presidency, no matter which party holds the executive office, the goal is the same: maintain the status quo. The percentage of Taiwanese who support "Maintain status quo, move toward independence" has more than doubled (through slow but steady increases) since 1994 – from 8.0 percent to 18.0 percent in 2014. This trend supports the argument that while Taiwanese desire to "maintain status quo, détente with Chi-

na" (primarily to prevent a military attack), they also will assert the national identity of Taiwan and de facto sovereignty as allowed within the framework of current cross-Strait relations.

Similarly, the percentage of Taiwanese who support "Maintain status quo, move toward unification" has decreased to some extent – from 15.6 percent in 1994 to 8.8 percent in 2014. Note as well that the political extremes of "Independence as soon as possible" and "Unification as soon as possible" have remained the least popular stances from 1994 with approximately 5 percent supporting the former and a lowly 1.4 percent supporting the latter. Indeed, despite the election rhetoric of certain past Taiwan presidents who seem very pro-independent, namely Lee Teng-hui in 1996 and Chen Shui-bian in 2000 and 2004, "Independence as soon as possible" has never garnered more than single-digit support in Taiwan. Therefore, not only are these two political extremes (independence or unification as soon as possible) unpopular in Taiwan and historically so for the past two decades, they are also untenable as political platforms for the viable Taiwan presidential candidate in 2016. These results are all the more remarkable given Taiwan's ethnic diversity, awareness of which was first suppressed and then promoted for political gain.

These are the political trends contributing to the development of a Taiwan national identity. How have they come about? Several factors are contributing to the development of a Taiwan national identity.

1. SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AS A DE FACTO STATE

Chiang Kai-Shek and his supporters retreated to Taiwan 65 years ago at the time of this writing. While some of the original Nationalists survive, mortality rates dictate that fewer and fewer people remain who remember life in pre-Communist China, much less retain political nostalgia for that time. That is, with each passing year, the number who followed Chiang Kai-Shek to Taiwan decreases. According to the demographic breakdown of Taiwan, only 11.6 percent of the population is age 65 or older and could have either direct experience of the China to Taiwan migration or observed the massive influx of KMT supporters to Taiwan. Necessarily, even fewer remember the event. Thus, at least two generations of Taiwanese citizens have been raised with no experience of mainland China institutions of socialization, which include schools, compulsory military service, and mandatory party affiliations for advancement. Most Taiwan people, in fact, know China only as a separate country that aims over 1,100 missiles at the island as part of a comprehensive offensive military threat. Meanwhile, the Taiwan democratization process collectively experienced in the past two decades solidifies in the national consciousness.

2. EXPERIENCE AS A DEMOCRATIC ENTITY

Growing up and living in a democratic de facto state shape one's identity differently from how it would be shaped in a

non-democratic state. In turn, democratic freedoms, including freedoms of press and speech, instill a sense of nation, a sense of what Benedict Anderson describes as an imagined community, specific to a place and time. The values, norms, and ideologies available in a free press – which Taiwan has – must also frequently differ from those propagated in a state-controlled one. Hence the partial (China) to full (North Korea) control of media in different nations: Censorship of news reduces avenues of thought, preventing citizens from envisioning themselves in ways independent from and even antagonistic to the power structures in place.

Political rhetoric also reflects this sense of identity. In a 1994 political slogan, for example, the DPP touted the Taiwan gubernatorial and Taipei and Kaohsiung mayoral elections as “the first battle in four hundred years for the whole people to stand up and become masters of their own fate.” During the 1996 presidential election campaign, Chinese threats became a key point. An ad for KMT’s candidate Lee Teng-hui claimed that “March 23 is not only the first direct popular election in five thousand years, even more it is the choice between democratic freedom and communist rule!” Like Lee, Chen Shui-Bian ran on a platform of “Taiwanese” identity and “Taiwanization,” using Taiwan national identity and multiculturalism as rallying cries, methods to mobilize his supporters and win the presidential elections for DPP in 2000 and 2004. Chen’s eight years as Taiwan’s president consolidated Taiwan’s democracy and continued Lee’s Taiwan-centric political views.

3. HAVING CHINA AS A COMMON ADVERSARY

Chinese ballistic missiles aimed at Taiwan establish a common interest among the island’s inhabitants. China thus strengthens the bond of all Taiwan people (and their national identity) by antagonizing them. Other threats are more subtle. Passports issued by the PRC since May 2012 include a dashed line that encompasses the South China Sea and Taiwan, as well as pictures of two Taiwan scenic attractions. Taiwan people strongly protest this depiction. And by restricting Taiwan’s international space and excluding it from membership in the United Nations and other international organizations, China inadvertently helps to unite the Taiwan people toward the goal of enlarging the island’s international space.

4. INCREASED CROSS-STRAIT TOURISM

About a million tourists travel annually between China and Taiwan. While allowing individual Chinese tourists to Taiwan was advertised as a form of cross-strait cultural exchange, it has served to highlight the stark differences in experience between the Taiwanese and the Chinese people, as well as what the Taiwanese view as the boorish behavior of mainland tourists. In fact, rather than increasing mutual understanding between the two people, Chinese tourists in Taiwan have inadvertently accentuated differences on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Indeed, other than shared ethnicity and a somewhat shared spoken language, there is not much more

experientially in common between the people of the PRC and the majority of those in Taiwan.

Taiwanese political attitude trends and factors contributing to the development of a national identity having been examined, the discussion now turns to implications of Taiwan’s national identity on political identity.

Implications of Taiwan’s National Identity on Political Identity

Rou-Lan Chen’s empirical findings suggest a positive correlation between primordial and political dimensions, correlations that have increased sharply since 2001. That is, primordial Taiwanese people tend to be politically Taiwanese as well and vice versa. The dramatic increase in correlation seen in 2001 was mostly due to a change in the political environment, especially given that the Taiwanese consistently make up approximately 85 percent of the population. The explanation for the phenomena of dramatic increase of correlation between primordial and political dimensions in the 2000s may lie with the Taiwan government’s promotion of Taiwanese ethnic discourse to replace a China-centric ideology, thus reconciling primordial identity with mainstream Taiwanese political identity. By the 2000s, Taiwan people could identify politically with Taiwan as a democratic entity and as a defense against China’s military threat. These were the same people who in the 1990s still had significant ethnic affiliation with mainland Chinese. The speed and depth of evolution of Taiwan’s national identity surprised observers outside of Taiwan, particularly those in mainland China. However, Taiwan’s national identity has evolved – one could argue, has had to evolve – since the 1990s in response to irredentist China and Taiwan’s own democratic transition. Hence, the focus of identity politics will likely evolve with every presidential administration and as a response to cross-strait relations. Whereas President Lee Teng-hui promoted ethnic nationalism in the 1990s, for example, President Chen Shui-bian promoted political nationalism from 2000 to 2008. Current President Ma Ying-jeou, on the other hand, has espoused neither and focused instead on cross-strait dialogue and communications while also promoting Taiwan’s international space.

President Ma’s course seems, in turn, pragmatic, most likely because he understands the dangers of Taiwan’s economic marginalization in the Asia-Pacific region and diplomatic marginalization in the international realm. He has also acknowledged that Taiwan will remain marginalized unless it engages in some cross-strait dialogue with the PRC. The danger lies in being unwittingly drawn into political dialogue with the PRC or to overly depend on the PRC for economic prosperity.

Overall, Taiwan’s electorate is evenly divided on this issue of trade versus security. However, there is pronounced dissonance between Blue supporters (mostly supporters of KMT) and Green supporters (mostly supporters of DPP) on this extensively debated issue. An overwhelming majority of Green supporters (82.8 percent) in 2011 opposed strengthening trade relations with China, whereas 75.9 percent of

Blue supporters (made up of mostly KMT supporters) were in favor. Based on the above survey results, the next Taiwan president will likely focus on a similar agenda of cross-Strait détente and promote Taiwan's sovereignty regionally and internationally. The difference will be the pace, approach, and subjects of dialogue with the PRC.

How National Identity Affects Political Identity

In understanding Taiwan's political identity – and how the Taiwan electorate votes – social factors commonly found in Western democracies such as class, religion, center-periphery, and rural-urban are irrelevant or overshadowed by concern over national identity. University of South Carolina political scientist John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh argues that national identity is the most important issue separating major political parties in Taiwan. For Hsieh, national identity does not include primordial dimensions of national identity but solely refers to the attitude of the people regarding future political relationships between the island and China.

However, because the majority of the Taiwan electorate prefers the status quo, the issue is not about the future political relationship with China but about how Taiwan should preserve its status quo, its de facto status, while engaging China. With the exception of the Taiwanese who support de jure Taiwan independence, most Taiwan voters agree that, one way or another, the best choice is to preserve the status quo. Taiwan politics is passionate and divisive precisely because the goal is clear yet so difficult to maintain. Whereas Taiwan's national identity has transformed significantly in the past decades and become a force that both KMT and DPP need to address, political identity has shifted more moderately. The most profound shift as a result of Taiwan's national identity on political identity has been the rapid erosion of the public support for reunification.

Because of the evolving Taiwan national identity, the Taiwan electorate tends to agree regarding the political future of Taiwan vis-à-vis China. Status quo, not reunification or independence, is very strongly preferred. Indeed, the two major political parties' platforms have surprising similarities on important issues such as relations with China, the United States, and importance of encouraging "multiculturalism" in Taiwan society. Despite inflammatory and charged rhetoric of presidential campaigns of all political stripes, the cross-Strait positions are quite moderate and more similar than dissimilar.

In the 2008 presidential campaign, Ma, the KMT presidential candidate, firmly supported Taiwan as a sovereign nation: "Taiwan enjoys sovereignty, and Taiwan's future should only be decided by Taiwanese people." This position was remarkably close to DPP presidential candidate Frank Hsieh's position on China. Undoubtedly, the Ma campaign believed that the Taiwan sovereignty platform was a better selling, more fitting one to attract the greatest number of votes because it most reflected the Taiwan sentiment. It was easier to garner votes with a Taiwan sovereignty platform than with the "Cross-Strait Common Market." Thus, the DPP presidential

candidate of 2008, Frank Hsieh, attacked the KMT's "One China Common Market" during the 2008 election campaign by emphasizing that a Common Market involves loss of sovereignty. Ma's campaign began to distance itself from the policy, which involved a loss of sovereignty and thus hinted at unification with China.

Shifting political identity as a result of the autonomous Taiwan national identity has given rapid rise to the DPP and led the KMT away from its traditional one-China stance. Despite the desire of many in Ma Ying-jeou's administration to bring Taiwan closer to China and revive the "Chinese" identity of Taiwan people (which Lee and Chen de-emphasized), the island's emergence as a true democracy and the continued strengthening of Taiwan's identity in politics made this agenda problematic.

How KMT and DPP address Political Identity in Their Platforms

Taiwan mainstream politics has moved away from the extremes of reunification or declared independence. Since most people in Taiwan strongly prefer status quo with China, at least in the short-term, KMT and DPP each vie to convince the electorate that it is the party that can deliver the optimal management of relationships between China and Taiwan and stay true to the island's de facto independence.

Despite the charged rhetoric hurled during the three-way 2000 presidential campaign between Chen Shui-bian (DPP), James Soong (independent), and Lien Chan (KMT), for example, all three candidates came from the broad middle. Although during the campaign they attempted to attract a few voters on the extremes, they all espoused moderate positions on China and on cross-Strait relations. They all supported the Republic of China as a sovereign nation. Though Chen was more pro-independent, he accepted that he would not declare independence if elected and China did not invade. Even their stances on foreign relations and economic policies were similar. All three candidates advocated for programs such as a strong military, protecting the environment, and increasing cultural production and participation.

On the other hand, intraparty distinctions must still be made. While Lee and Ma are both from the KMT party, they differ in their approaches to cross-Strait relations, China's Communist Regime, and Taiwan's sovereignty. Whatever the official cross-Strait KMT platform might be, each presidential candidate from the KMT will likely put forth a different agenda, mostly based on what the mainstream Taiwan political identity is at the time of the campaign. That is, each KMT presidential candidate since 1996 has had a different agenda towards cross-Strait relations and towards Taiwan's sovereignty (some adhered more to the official KMT platform than others). And if the KMT candidate is elected as the Taiwan president, the actual agenda pursued and realized could diverge from the one on which the candidate ran.

President Ma is a prime example of this divergence. He ran on a platform of endorsing Taiwan sovereignty (a popular platform for the Taiwan electorate at large); however, during his presidency, Ma can be perceived as too eager to

sign agreements with mainland China, thus losing Taiwan's negotiating power. This could explain why Ma's approval ratings have tumbled into the teens; his propensity to be overly eager to negotiate with China and unwittingly undermine Taiwan's sovereignty. Even though Chen is the only Taiwan president from the DPP party thus far, the same political maneuvering based on current Taiwan political identity may also be generalized for the DPP presidential candidates. The DPP candidates for the 2008 and 2012 Taiwan president, Frank Hsieh and Tsai Ing-wen, were more subdued in their Taiwan pro-independence stance than was Chen.

Even though the Taiwan electorate seems to have tired of Chen Shui-bian's overuse of ethnic politics during his presidency, identity politics will likely be manipulated to appeal to certain voter segments in the 2016 election. Thus, the question to be answered by the KMT and DPP presidential candidates in 2016 will be whether s/he will be able to maintain détente with China, strengthen the domestic economy, and not undercut Taiwan's sovereignty and national identity. And at the same time, can said candidate strengthen Taiwan's standing internationally, stay above corruption, and run an efficient government?

DPP's Recent Political Moderation

DPP is increasingly flexible and pragmatic in its party platform – demonstrating political growth as a maturing political party that can adapt to a changing political climate and adjust to the will of the people. The party will likely argue that Taiwan cannot have such strong economic ties only with China but needs to develop strong economic ties with many other countries as well. DPP has the upper hand when it comes to identity politics in Taiwan because national identity, sovereignty, and "Taiwanization" have been main features of its platform. Whereas the KMT traditionally has represented big business and the elites of Taiwan, the DPP will likely argue that it represents the middle and working classes of Taiwan who have not benefited much from the implementation of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement. The belligerent approach towards China that characterized the administration of Chen Shui-bian alienated the population and thus is no longer popular within Taiwan. The DPP candidate in 2016 will likely promote such mainstream, "broad-middle" goals of maintaining peaceful cross-strait relations, asserting Taiwan's sovereignty on the world stage within acceptable (and feasible) boundaries, strengthening the domestic economy by forming economic agreements with entities other than China, and lobbying for the working and middle classes of Taiwan.

National Identity, Political Identity, and the 2016 Taiwan Presidential Election

Taiwan national identity strongly influenced the 1996, 2000, and 2004 presidential elections. Indeed, Presidents Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian ran successful presidential campaigns on ethnic nationalism, political nationalism, and "Taiwanization." Through democratization and the collec-

tive experience of smooth transfers of power from the KMT to the DPP and back, a unique Taiwan political identity – an important dimension of the Taiwan national identity – has developed. In general, the people embraced Taiwan politicians who found ways to capitalize on the growing concern about Taiwan national identity. While third-party presidential candidates were viable back in 2000 and 2004, they no longer pose a threat to KMT and DPP presidential candidates. Not only have the citizens of Taiwan instilled predictability in their democracy by largely eliminating the viability of marginal candidates for the Taiwan presidency, they also prefer infrequent ruling party changes. In the past five presidential elections, only two have resulted in a transfer of power, 2000 and 2008. Thus, a unique Taiwan political identity has strongly influenced the presidential election in 2000 and 2008 and will do so again in the 2016 presidential election.

Likelihood of DPP Win

The Taiwan electorate has expressed its preference for infrequent party-changes while not allowing any one political party to monopolize the executive position. It uses the two party system – and democracy – to balance power, to prevent any one party from ruling Taiwan unchecked, as well as to maintain an intricate strategic balance in cross-strait relations (close economically but not politically), refracted through the lenses of political and national identity I have herein presented. Based on past trends, driven by the various identity factors discussed, and the desire of the Taiwan electorate to keep in check the two main political parties, there is a high likelihood that the Taiwan electorate will elect the DPP presidential candidate in 2016.

Conclusion

Full understanding of cross-strait relations must include intimate knowledge of Taiwan's own sense of national and political identities, complex concepts that have evolved over time and will continue to change due to forces internal and external to the island. To acquire such knowledge will require the observations, experiences, and skills of historians, political scientists, social scientists, and especially Foreign Area Officers, who actually live and work among the people. The analytic approach I have demonstrated here may have wider applications in the region. Some of the same identity factors I have discussed – generational differences and the lack of shared experiences, the view of mainland Chinese as uncouth upstarts – underlie recent tensions in Hong Kong over Beijing's incursions into local politics. We ignore such factors at our peril.

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A FOUNDATION FOR ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY

BUILDING AN ASIAN STRATEGIC AIRPOWER CAPABILITY

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Editor's Note: This thesis won the Foreign Area Officers Association writing award at the Joint and Combined Warfighting School, Joint Forces Staff College.

Disclaimer: The contents of this submission reflect our writing team's original views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Joint Forces Staff College or the Department of Defense.

Introduction

The Defense Strategic Guidance issued by the President and the Secretary of Defense in January 2012 specifically emphasizes two topics that are fundamentally altering the direction of United States defense strategy: the "rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region" and the Budget Control Act of 2011. Specifically, the U.S. must "expand our networks of cooperation with emerging partners throughout the Asia-Pacific to ensure collective capability and capacity for securing common interests" and "create new opportunities for burden-sharing." This article proposes a program that directly answers these twin tasks by taking the proven model of Europe's Strategic Airlift Capability (SAC) and exporting it to Southeast Asia.

SAC is a prime example of the Smart Defense approach advocated by the NATO Secretary-General. Smart Defense is "building security for less money by working together and being more flexible while encouraging multinational cooperation [and] combining resources to build capabilities that can benefit the Alliance as a whole." This approach consists of three main elements: prioritization, specialization, and cooperation. An Asian Strategic Airlift Capability (A-SAC), as proposed herein, will prioritize supporting non-traditional security missions such as Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR). It will specialize in providing much-needed lift, a critical capability that too often relies on the U.S. during times of regional crisis. Lastly, A-SAC's ground-up design will allow co-operation via a collective security organization from states that might not otherwise be able to offer significant contributions to regional security.

Non-traditional security missions include HA/DR, counterterrorism (CT) and peacekeeping operations (PKO). Given historical regional mistrust amongst nations, these non-controversial and non-threatening mission areas are a good

beginning to collective security since consensus already exists in the Asia-Pacific to combat these types of threats cooperatively. Starting with a focus on non-traditional security missions, an Asian Strategic Airlift Capability (A-SAC) has the potential to serve as a stepping-stone to a substantive and enduring Asian collective defense organization.

The European Model

A European example of military cooperation serves as an excellent model for investing in an intrinsically Asian regional security capacity. The SAC partnership began operating its three C-17 air mobility aircraft in 2009, providing multi-mission global air transport of equipment and personnel for its 12 partner nations. SAC includes NATO members Hungary, Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, U.S., and the Partnership for Peace nations Finland and Sweden. All partner nations have a need for heavy airlift but many do not have the resources to source the mission on their own. By pooling resources, the member states accomplish missions essential to their own national interests while building partnership and military capacity amongst the nations. Each participating country provides representation to an oversight committee, and a fully integrated multinational unit operates the aircraft. SAC conducts a full spectrum of missions; however, each nation maintains the right to refuse participation in missions that do not align with national interests or caveats.

The SAC consortium averaged 3,000 flight hours per year from 2010-2013 and eclipsed 10,000 total flight hours in April 2013. SAC divides its operational missions amongst the 12 participant nations' requests based strictly upon each country's level of financial investment. This cooperative shareholder approach provides a capability in smaller investor-nations that is otherwise absent, and allows larger countries to reap the benefits of economies of scale. Prior to the initiation of SAC, analysts estimated the annual operating costs of a single C-17 to be 24 million Euros. The annual operating cost of a four-plane unit drops to 13 million Euros per airframe. SAC traces its origins to security agreements signed after the September 11, 2001(9/11) terrorist attacks. Strategies for preventing terrorism require global power projection. Addi-

tionally, in an increasingly globalized world, reacting to regional crises and natural disasters becomes a key interest for more and more of the international community. Following 9/11, Europe did not have the capacity to carry out global missions, requiring the U.S. to bear the vast majority of the burden of rapid strategic airlift. "A former U.S. Ambassador to NATO estimated that only 3-5 percent of European army forces could rapidly deploy overseas" in the event of an international crisis or conflict. In 2007 alone, the U.S. military supported 29 European nations with 900 airlift missions moving over 20,000 tons of cargo.

The U.S. recognized a consortium construct would fill a critical capacity gap while developing the military aptitude of its European partners. By pooling resources and platforms with the U.S., partner nations increase mission capabilities, enhance interoperability and standardization, and strengthen cooperative security. Notable SAC missions since 2010 include support for disaster relief in Haiti and Pakistan, peacekeeping operations in Mali and Kosovo, and military operations in Afghanistan and Libya.

Asian Cooperation

Present day fiscal challenges further exacerbate the problem of ever-increasing global rapid airlift demands. In 2012, the U.S. Department of Defense announced an 18% reduction of its air mobility fleet, acknowledging deletion of the ability "to support two large, simultaneous and rapidly developing ground campaigns." By embracing collective airpower in the Asia-Pacific region, current leaders can mimic the success of the SAC and create a unifying military capability in Asia, while simultaneously advancing U.S. national security interests in a budget-constrained environment.

Recent history reflects some collaborative defense efforts in Southeast Asia. Although many of the nations in the region experience historically tenuous relationships, nations ignored differences and formed alliances to meet specific objectives. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) serve as three examples.

SEATO grew out of concern for communist growth in the region after the Second World War. Championed by the U.S. in its Cold War containment strategy and as a by-product of the unraveling French empire, SEATO sought to bring stability to a region ripe for unrest. In 1954, the U.S. joined the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand in building a military alliance to defend against aggression in the form of armed attack. SEATO enjoyed small successes and failures. Military planning and operations improved between member states. However, lack of resources, political differences, and diverging priorities led to SEATO's slow demise. The unraveling of the organization began with Pakistan's exit, and France's termination of funding caused complete dissolution of the treaty by 1977.

The formation of the FPDA is a second example of improved relations among neighbor states with a tumultuous

history. Singapore and Malaysia joined the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand in the spring of 1971 in agreeing to consult each other based upon threats or attack. As Britain withdrew from its empire territories, it advocated for the protection of the Malaysian peninsula through air defense and increased exercises. The exercises continue to grow in complexity as the member nations improve their joint and combined capabilities. Today, the FPDA maintains an Integrated Area Defence System Headquarters inclusive of personnel from all the military services of the five member states. This headquarters routinely exercises air and naval operations, and is moving toward integration of selected army elements.

In 1967, ASEAN began building a foundation for renewed security commitments within the region. The founding members were Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore. Today, membership also includes Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam. Two significant characteristics are the involvement of nations with history of conflict and the exclusion of external powers. A generic vision and purpose coupled with participation from newly minted nation-states prioritized consensus at the expense of true cooperation. Domestic issues and national sovereignty dominated the ASEAN bloc in its early years, as young regimes sought to consolidate political legitimacy. Rather than collective defense against an outsider, ASEAN focused instead on potential disputes amongst the member states. Resolutions stressed the principles of non-interference, peaceful dispute resolution, and renunciation of threat of force.

Since the 1990s, ASEAN has focused on economic improvement. ASEAN formed a free trade area and negotiated trade agreements with outsiders as an economic bloc. In addition, the dialogue is moving toward regional security issues, primarily through the ASEAN Regional Forum, which includes 23 Asian countries plus the U.S., Canada, Russia and the European Union. Most recently, the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+) Experts' Working Groups (EWG) established in 2010 have organized and executed the first true Southeast Asian regional security exercises, bringing together the ten members of ASEAN plus Australia, China, India, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Russia and the United States for three 18-nation multilateral exercises in 2013.

Potential A-SAC Consortium

The ADMM+ exercises took place in Brunei, Indonesia and Australia and covered four of the five mission areas allocated to the EWGs. These five non-traditional mission areas are HA/DR, CT, PKO, military medicine, and maritime security. Of these five mission areas, all except maritime security typically have a strategic or tactical airlift component.

Like its European counterpart, the day-to-day missions for A-SAC will support air mobility requirements as apportioned to each shareholding member nation. A-SAC will facilitate a true regional identity by simultaneously supporting multiple nations participating in a regional exercise. Member nations that have no other significant airlift capacity will reap all the benefits of regional cooperation and multilateral

training, many of which were previously unavailable to them. In times of crisis, actual HA/DR requirements will naturally trump exercise requests. In addition, real world scheduled CT and PKO missions will begin to fill the flight schedule as A-SAC countries further share in the global security burden. Once again, the presence of a regionally based and responsive capability will prove invaluable for the Asian players who currently lack airlift capacity.

Countries that stand to gain the most from A-SAC, considering topography, current airlift capacity, and economic output, are the following nine countries: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam. The latter three countries are especially in need of additional capacity for HA/DR and CT given their expansive under-governed archipelagos. In the wake of Cyclone Nargis in 2008, Myanmar refused western military assistance for political reasons, despite a severe lack of capacity to distribute aid within the country. The European SAC prototype includes two non-NATO participants. Likewise, A-SAC will not be limited to ASEAN countries; it will simply be a business venture between willing shareholder nations, and can therefore include Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea.

A-SAC will also provide support for PKO. Member states will require a global strategic airlift capability as international PKO efforts continue to source from an expanding set of contributors. As burden-sharing increases in the global community, it is essential that the smaller Asian countries, like the smaller European countries in SAC, are able to provide for their own transportation. This ensures that the international community will view their participation, however modest, as a contribution rather than an encumbrance. All the ASEAN countries, including Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, stand to benefit from A-SAC's global reach capacity and economies of scale. One or more of these three nations should take the lead and allow the U.S. to play a lesser role than it does in the SAC.

If A-SAC initially operates the C-17 as proposed, U.S. aircraft manufacturer Boeing will provide the aircraft and maintenance. While it might seem logical to have U.S. Air Force pilots and loadmasters participating in A-SAC as crew and/or trainers, a more politically palatable option for A-SAC would be to employ Asian countries to help ensure safety and stan-

dardization among its operators. India and Australia currently operate their own C-17 fleets. Shareholder participation from these two countries will enhance A-SAC readiness and mitigate regional sensitivities concerning great power partiality. Other informal leadership options include the U.K. and New Zealand, both of which already have security ties to Singapore and Malaysia via the FPDA.

Regardless of which countries participate, airlift support of multilateral exercises and international missions will enhance the status of all A-SAC nations in the global community. The rapid rise of China threatens the preeminence of the U.S. security apparatus in the western Pacific, with the two major powers competing for regional influence. Southeast Asian nations delicately balance their relationships with these two large powers. Oftentimes, Asian countries can gain room to maneuver by cooperating with one another to resist the squeeze of the major powers. "Middle-power cooperation" allows countries to "bridge wide gaps among their policies and capabilities, and leverage their influence against the great powers." This concept is even more applicable for some of the smallest nations found in Southeast Asia. By providing their own airlift for equipment and personnel, A-SAC countries can participate on a more even footing with the major powers of the western Pacific.

Future Expansion and Potential Frictions

The C-130 airframe is reliable for tactical and operational lift of smaller payloads at lower initial and recurring costs than the C-17. With the addition of mission-specific equipment, the C-130 also serves as a capable platform for reconnaissance, command and control, aerial refueling, special operations, and other missions. After proving the A-SAC concept, the consortium should push for the purchase of C-130s or another comparable platform in order to expand capabilities beyond simply airlift. As A-SAC moves away from the initial noncontroversial HA/DR airlift mission to some of these other traditional military capabilities, China may become nervous and view A-SAC as a threat to its regional power.

European, Russian, Israeli and Chinese manufacturers offer aircraft, sensors and equipment designed for these traditional military missions. In 2014, China displayed its largest demonstration pavilion in the history of the Singapore Air Show, which included many new Chinese defense manufac-

WHILE IT MIGHT SEEM LOGICAL TO HAVE U.S. AIR FORCE PILOTS AND LOADMASTERS PARTICIPATING IN A-SAC AS CREW AND/OR TRAINERS, A MORE POLITICALLY PALATABLE OPTION FOR A-SAC WOULD BE TO EMPLOY ASIAN COUNTRIES TO HELP ENSURE SAFETY AND STANDARDIZATION AMONG ITS OPERATORS.

turers. To assuage Beijing's fears of a collective defense organization directed specifically at the PRC, A-SAC should consider sourcing equipment from China or another non-U.S. manufacturer. While this strategy would create technological interoperability challenges, it may be the catalyst necessary to overcome hesitation in a consensus-based organization. If implemented, the U.S. should not view this strategy as a pivot away from the West; enhancing Southeast Asian regional security is not a zero-sum game.

As pointed out above, an airlift capability can aid in four of the five transnational non-traditional security missions endorsed by the ADMM+. The addition of a multinational capability in the final mission area of maritime security is a natural extension of A-SAC. For the past decade, observers from Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia fly aboard a single aircraft provided by one of the nations to locate and identify potential criminal vessels in the Strait of Malacca. Small turboprop aircraft equipped with surface search radars and infrared sensors conduct these air patrols. The countries' naval vessels also conduct joint anti-piracy patrols. Since 2004, this joint maritime security program directly correlates to a sharp decline in piracy in the Strait and demonstrates the ability of seemingly disparate nations to cooperate effectively toward common security goals. By pooling resources and acting as a bloc, these nations have denied requests from both the U.S. and China to join the patrols.

Despite the successes of the Strait of Malacca joint maritime patrols, Southeast Asian nations are rapidly losing the capacity to defend their own interests in the South China Sea. There are two unmistakable trends in maritime Southeast Asia over the past few years. First is the increase in "China's overt moves to seize control over land features and maritime space in the South China Sea." Second is the "growing salience of multilateral arrangements" in the region. If these tendencies continue, A-SAC can expand to include the purchase and operation of advanced maritime patrol aircraft such as the P-8.

In the past two years, the Chinese have detained Vietnamese fishermen near the Paracel Islands, the PRC and the Philippines had a naval standoff at the Scarborough Shoals, and the PLA Navy has conducted patrols over the Malaysian marked South Luconia Shoals. China chooses not to operate in accordance with international law (UN Convention on the Law of the Sea) and insists on bilateral negotiations in its maritime disputes. China prefers to keep the U.S. out of negotiations and, on principle, the U.S. does not want to take sides in the territorial disputes. Finally, the PRC will have considerable leverage through de facto control of the maritime space due to ever-growing PLA naval capacity and activity. Given these conditions and trends, maritime Southeast Asia must develop a credible multilateral naval security capability. A P-8 consortium would force China to acknowledge the other claimants in a multilateral setting, and the participant

nations would be able to bargain as a bloc.

Conclusion

In the current times of war weariness and declining defense spending, the U.S. Department of Defense must reconsider its approach to securing a more complex international order. Today's threats require regionally based, rapidly responsive capabilities. Burden sharing and collective security are important elements of U.S. national strategy. The Smart Defense approach demonstrated in Europe's SAC provides a model for expansion and replication; SAC builds efficiencies through economies of scale, grants capabilities to nations that cannot otherwise afford them, and furthers American interests by building partner capacity and alleviating the burden on diminishing U.S. military assets.

Given the regional capabilities and requirements for airlift, both regularly and in times of crisis, an A-SAC based in Southeast Asia will be a highly successful venture. Outside the limited scopes of SEATO and FPDA, a more inclusive Southeast Asian alliance has thus far eluded the ASEAN bloc. A-SAC has the potential to act as the foundation of a substantive future collective security organization based in Southeast Asia. Capabilities can expand from supporting less controversial non-traditional security mission sets such as HA/DR, CT and PKO, to supporting other missions such as maritime security, reconnaissance, and special operations. By making the region's inhabitants responsible for the region's security, A-SAC will advance the U.S. national strategic priorities of ensuring strong alliances and investing in the capacity of strong and capable partners, all while reducing costs to the U.S. taxpayer.

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Conclusion

The opportunity to enhance the U.S.-Japan alliance is here and the basic intent is laid out in the recent 2+2 statement, U.S. Defense Strategic Guidance, and the Japanese National Security Strategy. Realizing an enhanced alliance, however, will require clearly articulating expectations and a way ahead to achieving those aspirations. Critically, it will require political commitment over several years and investment on both sides to institutionalize and deliver an enhanced alliance necessitated by the changing strategic environment in Asia.

The next Guidelines must be a framework that remains relevant for a decade or longer, and still provide the level of detail required by policy makers and budget processes in both countries. Three central tenants that will enhance the alliance: One, development of the mechanisms to facilitate a proactive operational strategic approach. Two, move away from purely geographic definitions of security responsibility to a security partnership based on availability and capability of assets relative to the needs of a specific mission. Three, ensure that the bilateral alliance encourages more multilateral security approaches with other alliance nations (Philippines, Australia, NATO etc.). A final point on which little has been said, is the importance that both nations begin – without delay – consultations with regional allies and partner nations and shape expectations as to what an enhanced U.S - Japan security alliance will mean and how they too can join in it. No matter how effective this is done, negative reactions from North Korea and China should be no surprise and not deter the allies from enhancing their shared security alliance.

About the Author

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Foreign Area Officers on the Monterey Peninsula

From Colonel Mark Brice Chakwin, U.S. Army-Retired

Department of Defense Schools on the Monterey Peninsula continue to develop the next generation of Foreign Area Officers and Regional Affairs Strategists at the Naval Postgraduate School and at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. Collectively, these two DoD Schools annually educate and train the highest number of FAOs/RAS in the nation. Our FAO Association also continues to be a part of that training effort.

In June 2015, The Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) held its annual Spring Graduation. Among the many talented officers was Lieutenant Commander Justin Dragon, U.S. Navy, who received a degree in National Security Affairs from the School of International Graduate Studies. He also was the winner of our Foreign Area Officer Association Award for excellence in International Affairs. This highly-competitive award is presented to the graduating FAO officer who demonstrated both the highest standards in scholarship and contributed exceptional insights in the field of International Affairs during the degree program. LCDR Dragon is training to become a Middle East FAO for the U.S. Navy; and will tackle Modern Standard Arabic at the Defense Language Institute (DLI) as his next step. This ceremony also marks the first anniversary for the FAOA Award at the NPS. It has been awarded semi-annually and provides incentive and focus for FAOs studying at the school. It also provides greater awareness for faculty and NPS stakeholders on the importance and role for FAOs in DoD and the four Services.



LCDR Justin Dragon Receives the FAOA Award for Excellence from COL (ret) Mark Chakwin, U.S. Army, and the President of the Naval Postgraduate School, VADM (ret) Ronald A. Route, U.S. Navy.

Also in June, the DLI conducted its semi-annual Joint Foreign Area Officer Orientation Program (JFAOOP). Originally this was a mandatory program for Army officers studying to become FAOs. In recent years the Services have recognized the value for “Jointness” in this training and now the JFAOOP has been a collaborative effort among Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force FAO/RAS Proponents. It also includes FAO-consumer agencies like Defense Security Cooperation Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency. FAOA also has been an integral part of this program –both in providing a breakfast session where the FAOA organization and its contributions to the community are introduced, and in sponsoring a “FAOs on TAP” session to build community and to facilitate networking in our community for FAOs new-and-old.

FAOs at the Naval Postgraduate School

With the graduation of this summer’s class many of the senior FAO students have moved on from the school. This creates the annual need for FAOA to reach out and link up the nascent FAO Association of the Monterey Bay (FAOM). That is the organization that NPS FAOs have traditionally organized with support of the greater FAOA. We are undertaking to do this between now and September.

On-going Activities

FAOA will continue to help sponsor smaller, more personalized activities – like small FAO happy hours at DLI’s Weckerling Center (a mini-FAOs on Tap) and FAO Brown Bag Luncheons at NPS’s National Security Affairs Department (guided and sometimes even participated in, by the U.S. Army FAO Chair at NPS).

FAOA has made available free on-line subscriptions to the FAO Association Journal of International Affairs for all FAOs in training. This benefit is provided by signing up on the FAOA website and entering a FAO training code. The training code has been provided to both NPS and DLI FAOs. (If you are a FAO in training at another institution, please email webmaster@faoa.org and request your own free training subscription!)

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While this attack technique had the possibility of being successful, a number of factors increased the risk, such as expo-



Figure 6: A disabled Sherman tank. Note the concrete attached on both sides of the tracks to counter attachment of magnetic bombs.



A JAPANESE GRAPHIC DEPICTING DEFENSIVE POSITIONS IN BLUE AND U.S. FORCE MANEUVERS IN RED. MOUNT SURIBACHI IS AT THE BOTTOM-LEFT OF THE GRAPHIC, AND THE BEACH WHERE U.S. FORCES LANDED LIES DIRECTLY TO ITS RIGHT.

sure to the fire from the heavy machine gun of the targeted tank, or premature explosions from the hand carried high explosive material being affixed near the front of the tank.

All of the destroyed and disabled vehicles and tanks from the Battle of Iwo Jima have been cleared from the island except one. A Sherman Tank remains in its downward facing position in the hole in the ground where it was destroyed. Grass has grown tall around it and it functions well as a playground for a variety of insects. The driver and machine gunner hatch remain open, allowing for visitors to peer into the remains of the tank. Rusted metal that has turned to dust accumulates in crevices and nooks, while a fork still hangs on a screw inside the hatch, dangling as it did years ago. Parts of the surface of the tank are pock marked from where ineffective Japanese fire was unable to penetrate its armor. However, a close examination of the front area of the tracks on the left side of the tank reveals two holes where Japanese munitions foiled the collective efforts of the Sherman tank's armor, possibly a testament to the success of the 'meat attack' technique. While this particular tank did not last until the end of the Battle of Iwo Jima, many others did, providing an advantage to the Marines as they advanced on the Japanese positions.

A central, unavoidable theme of the Battle of Iwo Jima was the lack of potable water. A visitor entering those tunnels quickly becomes attuned to the hardships of the common soldier on this island. However, while the visitor has ready access to sources of water to quench their thirst, the Japanese defenders on the island had no such luxury. As a tribute to this dire lack of water, the various memorials and monuments around the island have numerous bottles of water placed at their base. It is customary to pay your respects to the location by taking some water and pouring it back and forth across the top of the memorial so that at least in that moment, far removed from the battle as it raged, there is a small medium of liquid available for the spirits of those in need.

Water's further importance is highlighted in that for every higher Japanese military headquarters cave location on the island, a dugout well was placed directly past the commander's room in the tunnel complex. This acted as a measure to keep men honest about their water intake, and reflects the high level of esteem that the defenders held for the liquid in their situation. As stocks depleted on the island, the defenders became entirely reliant on rainwater as their source of hydration. The water would often become contaminated, resulting in cases of dysentery. With no rain at times, they were subjected to harsh periods of thirst, yet defensive preparations had to continue.

For years after the conclusion of the battle, some Japanese defenders were able to successfully hide and escape capture within the extensive network of tunnels and defensive positions. They could not have been able to do so without some source of water. As the U.S. forces occupying the island after the conclusion of the battle eventually discovered, on the northeast corner of the island is a type of well. It is

not a well in the sense that it provides access to a natural water source. Rather, it is a rocky outcropping around an area of sulfur vents. Its shape allows for the trapping and condensation of moisture, which, after accumulating on the walls of the cave, trickles down into an indented area on the ground. Even today, a small puddle remains through this natural occurrence. Squeezing through the narrow openings and scraping by the walls to get access to the small puddle, a taste of the water is heavy with sulfur. My taste of this water is the same that was experienced by some who fought around this area on the island, and by those who were able to hold out for years afterwards. Once the U.S. forces learned of this location, they were able to effectively control access to it, thus forcing the hand of some of the remaining forces that chose to evade capture.

In General Kuribayashi's headquarters cave on the northeast portion of the island, there is a left behind piece of equipment of what was a then modern water purification system. However, such systems were not in abundance. It remains as a tribute to Kuribayashi's efforts and memory, while also standing as a testament to how important water was in this conflict.

Leaning on and around this machine are bottles in varying amounts of fullness of Johnny Walker scotch whiskey. Kuribayashi was known for his affinity for Johnny Walker Black Label Whiskey. In preparation for the moment when I was at his headquarters room, I acquired a small bottle before the trip in Tokyo. Looking around the large room with my flashlight, I appreciated that this was the location where Kuribayashi, knowing he was facing certain death in defending Iwo Jima, commanded and spurred on his force out of love for his country and consideration for the land and its people. I opened the bottle and poured it over the water purification system and the other bottles that had been placed at the location. On that day, Kuribayashi was able to enjoy one more taste of his favorite alcohol. The dust and dry earth of Kuribayashi's headquarters cave quickly drank up the offering, and the smell of scotch whiskey hung in the air once more.

The detailed story lines and intrigue of this historic battle are not known on a large scale. While recent movies and television shows shifted the spotlight once again to these horrific moments in history, the ebb and flow of interest in what happened results in the persisting image of Iwo Jima being that of the flag raising on Mount Suribachi. But there is much more. We are still learning more about the defensive networks and efforts made by the Japanese defenders on this island, as new discoveries are still being made. Near the end of the tour, with some extra time to use, we stopped by a new site that had recently been cleared of rough vegetation, where various caves and tunnels are marked for further examination. As is customary for areas around the island, some artifacts that were found inside had been gathered and placed in a grouping just outside some of the tunnel entrances. Amongst the bottles and various dishes was a pristine China cup and bowl set bearing the blue star of the Imperial Army. Such items had laid in wait to be discovered since the end of the battle in 1945. There are doubtless countless other artifacts that will be discovered again as the Ministry continues its excavation work.

Though close allies now, the U.S. and Japan once fought against each other on Iwo Jima in one of the most heated and desperate conflicts during World War II. Japanese defenders fervently believed they were fighting in a last ditch effort to salvage their country and their way of life after embarking into the conflict of the war. This fighting turned into death, as thousands fought to the very last moments of their lives to fulfill their perceived purpose. Access to Iwo Jima remains restricted, making it a difficult battlefield to visit. I hope that by recording these words in these few pages, even if for a few brief, fleeting moments, the memory of the actions of those men who fought in such desperate conditions can be honored and remembered once more.

About the Author

Maj Kent Justice, U.S. Army, wrote this article while in training to become a Northeast Asia Foreign Area Officer. He lives in Tokyo, Japan, and is a student in the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Command and General Staff Course Class #60, with graduation expected in summer 2015, and will be assigned as a Pol-Mil Advisor at U.S. Forces Korea. Maj Justice was commissioned from the U.S. Military Academy in 1980 and received an M.A. as an East-West Center Fellow at the University of Hawaii, and is a linguist in the Korean and Japanese languages. He has served in intelligence assignments in Korea and with the 1st Special Forces Group at JBLM, during which he deployed twice to the Philippines in support of Joint Special Operations Task Force-Philippines.



Figure 7: This rocky outcropping maintains a small puddle of drinkable sulfur-infused water.



Figure 8: A recently unearthed cup and bowl set bearing the blue star of the Japanese Imperial Army

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