

# 東アジア共同体形成にむけての 伝統的・非伝統的安全保障戦略

林 亮

The Strategy of Traditional and Non-Traditional Security  
Towards a Promotion of the East Asian Community

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## 要約

東アジア地域では、近年津波など自然災害が頻発し非伝統的安全保障上の危機が高まっている。各国軍隊の装備・人員を派遣し災害救助・援助機構を創設することが求められている。これによって東アジアでは信頼性醸成が可能となり、軍備拡張傾向を沈静化させることが出来るだろう。

## SUMMARY

The “East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue” and the permanent “Emergency Rescue and Assistance Force” composed of amphibious assault ship will be indispensable for East Asian Community, which is expected to be promoted in recent future. It would be an important method for the relevant country to promote a confidence-building and for big powers to secure a “peaceful presence” in East Asian region.

## Preface

This article is composed of four points as follows;

1. The traditional security in East Asia has been stable except the nuclear armament in North Korea. The Military expansion of China has been progressed as a reflection of the weakening of China deterrence due to the global military expansion of United States, therefore the military expansion of China can be considered as “defensive.”

On the other side, many countries has been developed military expansions in quality such as aircraft carrier, amphibious assault ship, Guided missile Destroyer and high-performance jet fighter. It may affect the cracks of advanced and developing countries and the destabilization of the region.

2. The protracted damage of Natural disaster concentrated to Asian region. The region suffered from those damages becomes serious threat for regional security by the expansion of poverty.

The importance of those new “non-traditional” threats for security becomes a dominant issue than the existing traditional security.

3. Those equipments such as long distance air carrier and amphibious assault ship being deployed in East Asia region are effective for the large-scale natural and human disaster through emergency rescue and assistance activity. We can expect that those equipments contribute to prevent a disaster that causes poverty forming a hotbed of terrorism and confidence-building among the countries in the region if it would be controlled and managed under the “East Asian Cooperative Organization for rescue and assistance.”
4. The permanent “emergency rescue and assistance force” consists of the equipments such as amphibious assault under the countries of the region and “East Asian Organization for emergency rescue and assistance” will be indispensable factors for the promotion of the East Asian Community. Confidence-building will be progressed

if each relevant country in the region offers the “offensive weapons” for a purpose of peace. At the same time, it will be an important method for big powers to achieve “peaceful presence” in East Asia. Confidence-building of relevant countries provides a driving force for the promotion of the East Asian Community.

## 1. Trend of East Asian Security Policy

Table 1 shows the military expenditures of East Asian countries, United States, India and Australia for recent decade since 1997. Military Expenditure has been increased in four countries, United States, China, India and Malaysia, especially China increased military expenditure notably in East Asia. The modernization of strategic nuclear weapons in China, strategy of acquiring the nuclear weapons and long-range missile in North Korea and, as a countermeasure, installation of antiballistic missile in Japan and Taiwan are growing concerns in the region. It is also concerned that the development of aircraftcarrier and new ships with anti-aircraft facility in order to strengthen a military presence in ocean, enhancement of long-range projection efficiency such as high-performance jet fighter and airlift fighter to strengthen the defense capability of territorial airspace and maritime border. Furthermore, qualitative enhancement of conventional forces notably progressed through the effort for construction of new generation military force in the region as shown in the development of the knowledge information and networking of military force by new radar system and AWACS.

We have to carefully observe the following matters inspired by the pressure of United States; modernization of strategic nuclear weapons in China, nuclear dispersal of North Korea and the extension of military forces by introduction of antiballistic system. However, China

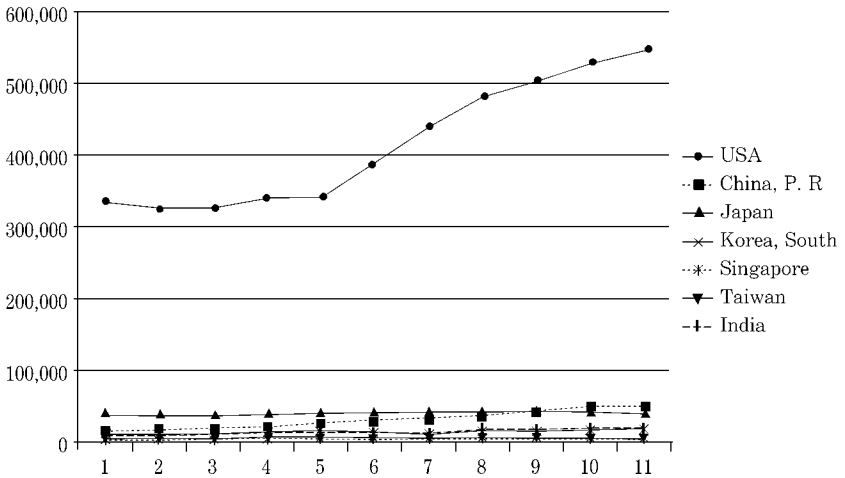


Table1・1 : the military expenditures of East Asian countries, United States, India and Australia for recent decade since 1997 ~ 2007.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute “SIPRI YEARBOOK 2007 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security”, pp. 312-314.

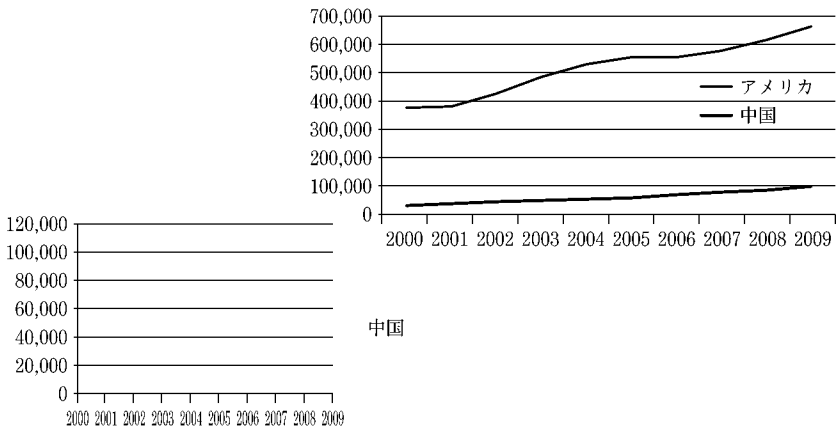


Table1・2 : 5A.4.Military expenditure by by country, in constant US dollars for 2000-2009 and us dollars for 2009. “SIPRI YEARBOOK 2010 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security.”

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. pp. 227-228.

has chosen a thorough conciliatory policy toward United States so that there are few possibilities of China-US war. In fact, a ratio of armament expenditure has kept around 1.5 percent of GDP from 1997 to 2006. It can be said that the military situation in East Asia is being stable except the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

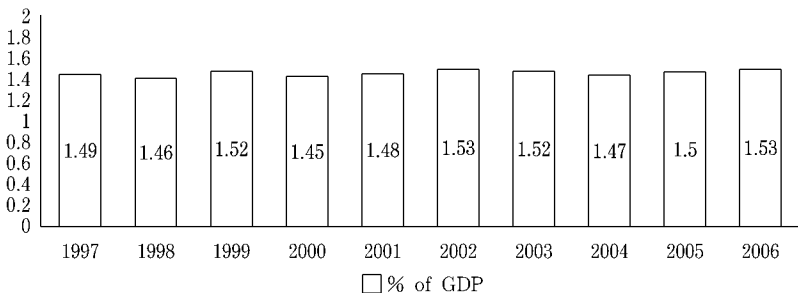


Table2 : Military Expenditure for GDP in East Asia

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance 2007", January 2007, p. 338

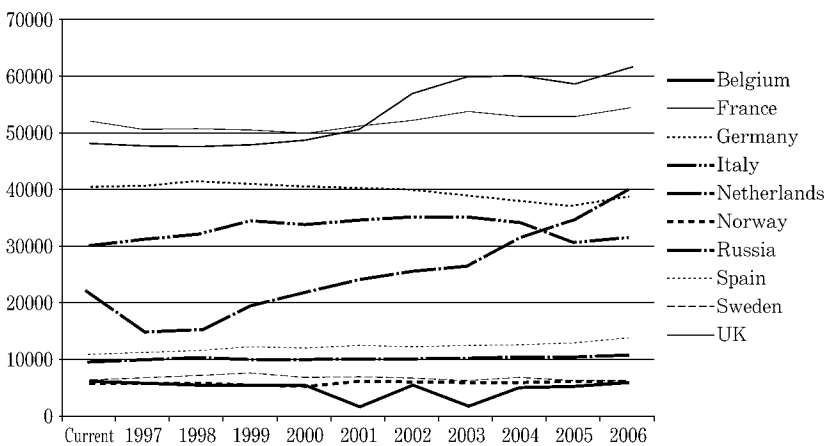


Table3-1 : Military Expenditure for GDP in EU.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute "SIPRI YEARBOOK 2007 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security"

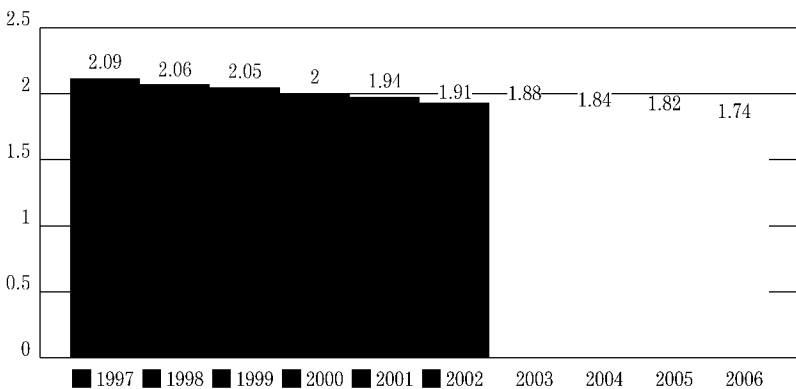


Table3-2 : Military Expenditure for GDP in NATO except America.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute "SIPRI YEARBOOK 2007 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security"

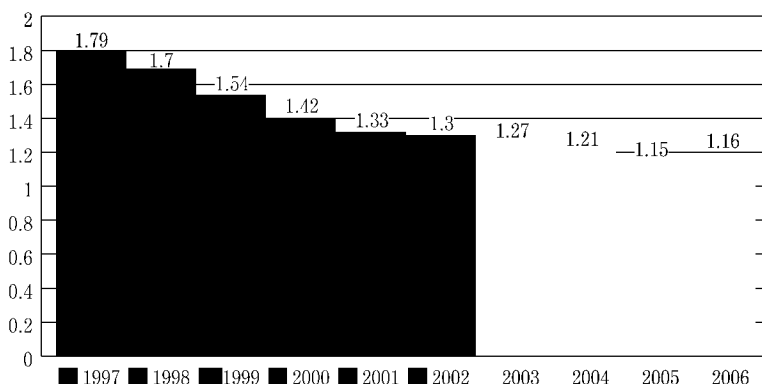


Table3-3 : Military Expenditure for GDP in Europe except NATO.  
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute “SIPRI YEARBOOK 2007 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security”

The military expenditure in East Asia region seems stable, however, it is also obvious that the military expenditures in this region is still excessive than Europe. Although simple comparison is difficult, military expenditure of Europe becomes lower than East Asian area. In both areas, China and Russia increase the military expenditure rapidly. Both countries have been kept the hostile relations with United States which continues military modernization after Cold war. It is a notable characteristic that both countries achieved military disarmaments when US military threat was low; then they started military expansion after the United States strengthened its global control. However, East Asian countries should aim to invest for peace and prosperity in order to reduce a possibility of regional conflict by a series of Confidence-Building Measures not by strengthening the military power.

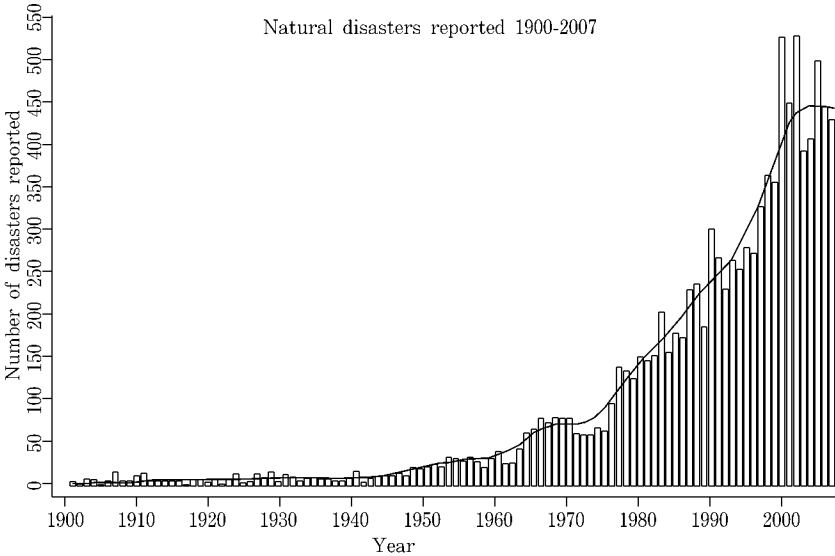
The traditional security in East Asia has been stable except North Korea. It can be said that the military expansion of China is basically defensive because it has been expanded as complementary to the

decline of China deterrence by the US global military expansion. On the other side, we have to keep attention to the countries in East Asian region which have been progressed the qualitative military enhancements such as aircraft carrier, amphibious assault ship, Guided missile Destroyer and high-performance jet fighter. Those trends of the enhancement seem of aiming the same direction of the strategies of US RMA and Sarkozy administration in France; they are aiming to strengthen the presence outside by military reform. It is concerned that those military expansions would escalate the gap between the advanced and developing countries and destabilize the region. (Please see table 1 • 2)

## **2. Growing threat of natural disaster in East Asia**

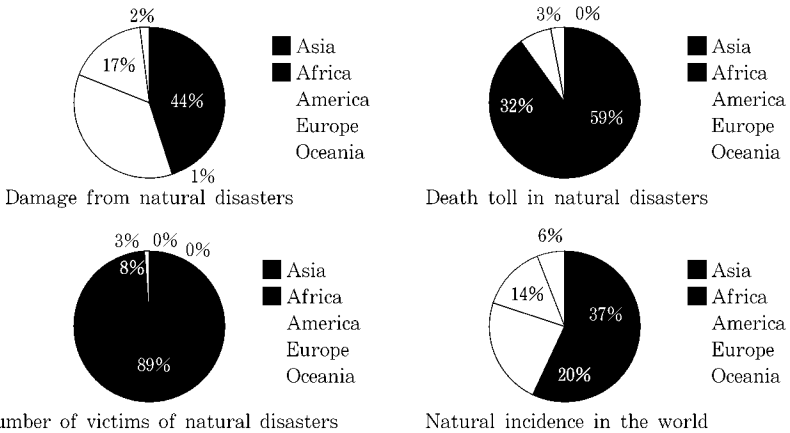
East Asian region has been frequently suffered from natural disasters recently such as tsunami disaster in Myanmar and earthquake in Sichuan. Those disasters are caused by economic growth and the globalization of economic activity, therefore it becomes threats for stability and development of East Asian region.





EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database - [www.emdat.be](http://www.emdat.be) Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels - Belgium

**Table4 : Transition of the cases of natural disasters from 1975 to 2007.**  
 Natural Disasters World 1900-2007, EM-DAT (Emergency Events Database)  
<http://www.emdat.be/Database/Trends/trends.html>



**Table5**

'Natural disasters by region of the world; 1977 to 2006', "White paper on disaster prevention in 2008", June 2008, Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs.

<http://www.bousai.go.jp/hakusho/h20/index.htm>

As shown in Table 4, the cases of natural disasters such as typhoon or high water were increased at an exponential rate in recent few decades. Table 5 shows that the cases of natural disasters, deaths, total financial damage and victims are mainly concentrated to the Asian region in recent 30 years; 30% of the cases of natural disasters, 90% of total deaths and 60% of victims are observed in the Asian region. Asian region is totally vulnerable to the natural disaster because of its high population density and the poor social infrastructure. In 1998, 2.1 billion people, which are 60% of total Asian population, are resided in coastal area within 400km from coast (except India). Especially in China, 60% of total 1.2 billion people reside in coastal area. Furthermore, it is estimated that 4.9 billion people will be concentrated to urban area as a reflection of the recent trend of urbanization. (National Geographic Association, "National Geographic - World Environment 2008-2009" (Japanese), Jan. 2008, p. 19)

Therefore the East Asian region are vulnerable not only to the natural disasters but to the human disaster. It will come with a bigger difficulty for East Asian countries than advanced countries of recovery from those disasters because of the poor rescue and assistance infrastructure. It is also clear that the appropriate responses to those natural disasters are urgently needed for peace and stability in the East Asian region. The damage of natural disasters become bigger and concentrate to Asian region, the expansion of poverty caused by those disasters becomes a major threat for regional security. Such non-traditional threats become more important than the traditional security threat.

### **3. From Traditional security to Non-traditional security**

ASEAN countries aimed for expansion of TAC (Treaty of Amity

and Cooperation in Southeast Asia) to outside of the region and established ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) with Japan, Korea, China, United States, Russia and EU. ASEAN also ratified SEANWFZ (Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty).

Those ASEAN “Ways” towards the construction of non-war community are diplomatic styles of “dialogue-negotiation process” which follow the steps of confidence building, preventive diplomacy and the dispute settlement based on the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs and nonuse of armed force. (Eiichi Shindo, Jan 2007) In this sense, we can find all of basic security components for “future East Asian Community” in those treaties such as TAC and ARFSEANWFZ.

### 1. The changing security implication

The agenda of the ARF has been expanded to the field of non-traditional security such as rescue and recovery of natural disaster, energy and bird flu problem. On the other hand, the ARF has not been able to achieve its original task “buildup of actual cooperation” because the agenda of confidence-building forced each country only to disclosure of the defense white paper. Therefore, there is a reality that the discussion of non-traditional security has been developed because the traditional security cooperation is still stagnated due to the strong wall of nation states. (Yuasa Takeshi, Apr 4. 2008 <http://www.jiia.or.jp> The Japan Institute of International Relations)

As a reflection of the necessity for military cooperation of each country against tsunami disaster in Indian Ocean in December 2004, the agenda of disaster prevention under the regional cooperation and accommodation became an important agenda in ARF together with the issue of the sea security in 2005. In May 2008, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) held Shangri-la dialogue for

Asia Security Summit and discussed the assistance for the cyclone disaster that Myanmar suffered from 130,000 people dead or missing. In the conference, French Representative Pierre Lellouche said “The principle of non interference in domestic affairs is not the right of regimes to have their populations killed in silence with nobody else able to interfere” and it generated strong protests from Asian authoritarian countries.

It is no doubt that the concerns of non-traditional security is growing in addition to the traditional security. Moreover the emergency rescue and assistance activity must be an another big pillar in addition to the known problems in non-traditional security such as drugs, transnational crime, infection, energy and environment.

## **2. The rise of non-traditional security**

The East and West countries lost their each rational goal to continue the military confrontation after Cold War. Rapid globalization increased economic activities and it resulted in the occurrence of the energy and environmental problem. Traditional military measures become insufficient in order to resolve those issues.

It is considered that the concept of “total security” suggested by Japan is a warning against a military-oriented national security, the “human security” suggested in United Nation is also a warning from international society against a contemporary situation that the human security has been threatened by national security. Although the discussion of non-traditional security can be considered as an escape from the tough negotiation in traditional security, it shows that the priority issue on security has been shifted from traditional national and military security to the non-traditional security under the trend of globalization.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize that the word of “non” in

non-traditional security means that the power used to be concentrated on the military force must be used for a new threats. The end of Cold War eliminated the need for huge military power. We should put the power into new threads caused by globalization positively. Such a new idea of power transition must be included in the concept of “non-traditional total security.”

#### 4. The formation of the East Asian Community promoted by the establishment of “East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue”

As shown in Tsunami disaster in Indian Ocean and the cyclone disaster in Bangladesh, American or French amphibious assault ships carrying large helicopters and boats for landing showed the high mobility and readiness in rescue and assistance activities despite the insufficient infrastructure in the areas such as airport and port for accepting a foreign assistance.

The damage of natural disaster such as cyclone will be expanded due to the global warming, it is estimated that the temperature will be risen by 2 degrees - 6 degrees. The scale of human disasters such as supertanker accident in Malacca Straits or nuclear accident in ASEAN region might be also expanded. Furthermore, all-out counter-measures against the large-scale infections such as SARS will be needed.

In order to resolve those disasters, I would like to suggest the establishment of East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue and the deployment of reflex force dispatched from the each county's military forces. The head office should be located in ASEAN headquarter; the appropriate location of the base should be Okinawa. Okinawa has geographical advantage and capacity of supply, and the support of United States can be expected. The three reflex forces

should be basically in full readiness permanently, which is composed of aircraft carrier or amphibious assault ship owned by ARF countries which carrying carrier helicopter and medical team. Table 6 shows the fleet expected to be a core of the East Asian Emergency Rescue and Assistance Force.

The reflex forces must have enough equipment with the amphibious assault ship and dock landing ship carrying carrier helicopter and landing boat in order to operate full assistance and support. The forces must also have a high mobility and readiness enough to respond to the large-scale human disasters such as infectious diseases or nuclear accident. It is emphasized that those equipments are military weapons converted from military use for peaceful use.

Although it is hard to say that the long distance air carrier and amphibious assault ship in East Asia are “defensive” weapons, those equipments are also useful for the rescue and assistance activities against natural and human disaster in the region. At the same time, the poverty reduction and the confidence building among the regional countries could be achieved if “East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue” controls and operates those military weapons.

Air Craft Carrier						
nationality	Vessel Class	number	Displacement	Strike Fighter	Helicopter	
America	Enterprise	1	89,600t	68	6	1961
	Nimitz	9	91,487t	68	6	constructin 10 from 1975~2009
	Gerald R,Ford	1	110000t	68	6	3 planned from 2015?
Brazil	Saopaulo	1	27303 t	15	9	Foch1963
China	Shilang	1	58500t	?	?	Varyag
	Planned		50000~60000t	20?	?	2025?
England	Queen Elizabeth		66000t	40?		constructin from 2014~16
	Invincible	3	20600t	16	6	constructin 3 from 1980~85
Furance	PA2(planned)		70000t	40?		planned
	Charles De Gaulle	1	42000t	34	4	2001
India	Vikrant	1	37500t	12	10	2015?
	Vikramaditya	1	45400t	12	6	Admiral Gorshkov 2012?
	Viraat	1	28700t	12	7	1959Hermes
Itaria	Cavour	1	27100t	8	12	2008
	Giuseppe Garibaldi	1	13850t	15	17	1985
Japan	Hyuga	2	18000t		10	2010 2011
	19500t 型 DDH		24000t		14	2015
Russia	Admiral Kuznetso	1	58500t	22	17	1990
	Planned		50000t	30?		3planned from 2010~20?
Spain	Principe De Asturias	1	17188 t	12	14	1988
Thailand	Chakri Naruebet	1	11485t	6	6	Spaine 1997

Table 6 : Table6. Expected fleet as a core of East Asian Emergency Rescue and Assistance Force.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies “The Military Balance, 2010” ,[http://www.k5.dion.ne.jp/~olraptor/MiscellaneousEvents\\_Folder/TheShipStatus\\_AC.html](http://www.k5.dion.ne.jp/~olraptor/MiscellaneousEvents_Folder/TheShipStatus_AC.html)

In addition to the aircraft carrier, amphibious assault ship is assumed in each country.

Morgenthau placed “power” as a main axis and argued the international politics as “power politics” by categorizing a policy to “keep power - the policy of the status quo,” “increase power - the policy of imperialism” and to “demonstrate power - the policy of prestige.” His “state-oriented realism” supported a world strategy of United States and many states and countries have worked as core powers to defend and keep influences through 20 century. However, globalization eliminates the borders of the states and the use of military weapons. If the countries offer the aircraft carrier or amphibious assault ship to the East Asian Force for Emergency Rescue and Assistance, those countries would gain much “national interests” such as an appreciation from the affected country, a deep communication with the military force of other countries and a confidence-building of the region. It would be fruits more than the Morgenthau argued as “the policy of prestige.” It is also a realization of the “soft power” suggested by Joseph Nye.

How does a military force contribute to the new threat caused by globalization? The answer can be also found in the idea of “Conversion of Military Production into Civil” by Deng Xiaoping. China utilized the military materials which had come to useless after “One million reduction Plan” into a purpose of new national goal. Rescue and restore activity also became a traditional task for self-defense force in Japan in order to compensate a negative legacy of imperial force and to gain a national trust. The use of military forces for the prevention of conflict or failed state seems of being discussed presently in United States. Japan, the United States and China can achieve the peaceful military presence and trust in the region simultaneously by sending peaceful rescue and assistance forces upon the request of the East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue.



## Conclusion

The “East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue” and the permanent “Emergency Rescue and Assistance Force” composed of amphibious assault ship will be indispensable for East Asian Community, which is expected to be promoted in recent future. It would be an important method for the relevant country to promote a confidence-building and for big powers to secure a “peaceful presence” in East Asian region that they offer the “offensive weapons” for peaceful purposes.

In cyclone disaster, military government in Myanmar refused the assistance of advanced countries for interfering in domestic affairs as “imposition of Western democratic system.” The East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue led by ASEAN can prevent such excuses. The establishment of the East Asian Organization of Disaster Assistance and Rescue will ease the negative aspect of nation-state system such as radical nationalism and contribute to the confidence-building through rescue and assistance activity by military forces of each country. It will also develop the conditions of relevant countries for the promotion of the East Asian Community.

In that sense, it is symbolic that the poverty had expanded to Asian region after the currency crisis in 1997 and caused translational crimes in the region. Asian region is vulnerable to the disaster therefore the poverty caused by the disasters gives a background of terrorism and crime in the region. Not only as a indispensable factor for peace and prosperity in East Asia, the activity of rescue and emergency assistance served by the East Asian Organization for Disaster Assistance and Rescue in large-scale

disaster will be also a main impetus for the promotion of the East Asian Community.

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