

## Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	iii
<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	xii
<b>Executive Summary</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter 1 India’s Foreign and Security Policy: Expanding Roles and Influence in the Region and Beyond</b> .....	25
1. India’s Perception of the Strategic Environment, and Asia .....	27
(1) US-India Strategic Partnership while Maintaining India’s Strategic Autonomy.....	27
(2) A Game of Partnership as a New “Non-alignment”? .....	30
2. India’s “Look East” Policy: Developments in the Security Arena.....	33
(1) Defense and Security Cooperation with Southeast Asia.....	33
(2) Defense and Security Cooperation in the 2000s.....	36
(3) Dealing with Multilateral Institutions.....	41
3. India’s UN Peacekeeping: Contributing to Global Peace and Enhancing Its Status .....	43
(1) India’s UN Peacekeeping Performance .....	43
(2) India’s Peacekeeping and Counterinsurgency .....	50
(3) Making Peacekeeping Operations a Tool for Diplomacy.....	52
<b>Chapter 2 Australia’s Security Policy: Enhancing Engagements in the Asia-Pacific Region</b> .....	59
1. Defense Policy amid the Rise of Asia-Pacific .....	62
(1) The 2009 Defence White Paper and “Force 2030” .....	62
(2) Challenges Facing “Force 2030” .....	65
(3) Toward the 2013 Defence White Paper.....	69
2. Enhanced Engagements in the Asia-Pacific .....	76
(1) Alliance as a Vehicle for Regional Engagements.....	76
(2) Enhancing Engagements in Australia’s “Immediate Neighbourhood”.....	82

(3) Australia and the Rise of China .....	86
3. A New Phase of Japan-Australia Defense Cooperation .....	92
(1) Progress in Defense Cooperation between Japan and Australia .....	92
(2) The Fourth Foreign and Defence Ministerial Consultations: Visions and Challenges .....	97
<b>Chapter 3 Japan: Examining the Dynamic Defense Force .....</b>	<b>103</b>
1. Effective Deterrence and Response .....	106
(1) Strengthening of Defense Posture in the Southwestern Islands .....	106
(2) Response to Ballistic Missile Threats .....	109
2. Efforts toward US-Japan Dynamic Defense Cooperation .....	112
(1) Deepening and Expanding the US-Japan Alliance .....	112
(2) Three Pillars of the Dynamic Defense Cooperation .....	114
(3) Future Challenges: Beyond Dynamic Defense Cooperation .....	117
3. Multilayered Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region.....	120
(1) From Defense Exchanges to Multilayered Security Cooperation .....	120
(2) Three Areas of Multilayered Defense Cooperation .....	121
4. SDF's Global Operations.....	128
(1) SDF International Peace Cooperation Activities in Their Twentieth Anniversary Year .....	128
(2) Dispatch of the SDF to South Sudan .....	130
(3) Future Tasks .....	132
5. Toward the Formulation of the New NDPG .....	135
<b>Chapter 4 The Korean Peninsula: “Nuclear Weapons State” North Korea     Aiming to Become an Economic Power, ROK Seeking Active     Deterrence Capability .....</b>	<b>139</b>
1. Growing Concern over North Korea's Nuclear and Missile Development.....	143
(1) North Korea's Scrapping of Leap Day Agreement with the United States .....	143
(2) April and December 2012 Missile Launches and Technological Improvement .....	144
(3) Consolidating North Korea's Status as a “Nuclear Weapons State” ....	147

## Contents

2. “Nuclear Weapons State” Aiming to Be an Economic Giant ..... 148
  - (1) Signs of Heavier Focus on the Economy to Build a Strong and Prosperous Nation ..... 148
  - (2) Dismissal of Chief of General Staff Ri Yong Ho and Personnel Appointments Focusing on Loyalty ..... 151
  - (3) Heightened Diplomatic Activity to Lure Investment and Design a Development Model ..... 153
3. Republic of Korea: Challenges Facing the New Park Geun-hye Administration ..... 155
  - (1) Cautious Steps to Resuming North-South Dialogue ..... 155
  - (2) Lee Myung-bak’s Diplomatic Achievements and Leftover Issues .... 158
  - (3) Strengthening Active Deterrence Capabilities ..... 163

## **Chapter 5 China: The 18th Party Congress Focuses on the Next**

- Generation of Leadership** ..... 169
1. Launch of the Fifth Generation of Leadership ..... 172
  - (1) The Downfall of Chongqing Municipal Party Committee Secretary Bo Xilai ..... 172
  - (2) The Eighteenth Party Congress ..... 175
  - (3) The Xi Jinping Administration’s Efforts to Preserve CPC Rule ..... 180
2. China’s Foreign Policy: Responding to the United States and Focusing on Neighbors ..... 183
  - (1) Sino-US Relations: Continued Dialogue and Responding to the US Rebalancing to Asia ..... 183
  - (2) China’s Relationship with Japan: Tensions Mount over the Senkaku Islands ..... 186
  - (3) Constructing Foreign Relationships with an Eye on Competition with the United States ..... 189
3. The Launch of a New CMC Lineup, and PLA’s Modernizing Efforts .... 192
  - (1) PLA’s Generational Change ..... 192
  - (2) PLA Education and Training: Three Salient Features ..... 195
  - (3) China’s Military Acquisition: An Emphasis on Homegrown Equipment ..... 199

4. Conciliation Advances across the Taiwan Strait.....	204
(1) Taiwan’s Ongoing Conciliatory Policy to China, and Future Challenges.....	204
(2) Deepening Exchanges between China and Taiwan.....	206
(3) Challenges Facing Taiwan’s Military .....	207
<b>Chapter 6 Southeast Asia: ASEAN and Greater US Engagement .....</b>	<b>211</b>
1. Myanmar: Continuation of Reform and Its Outlook.....	214
(1) Domestic Political Trends: Government, Military, and NLD Share Aims for Reform.....	214
(2) Ethnic Minority Issues: Political Dialogue Stagnates, New Problems Arise .....	217
(3) Broad Improvement in Foreign Relations, including with the United States .....	221
2. Waves Still Rough in the South China Sea: The Twists and Turns of Territorial Claims .....	224
(1) Tensions Continue between China and the Philippines, Vietnam .....	224
(2) ASEAN’s Internal Disharmony: Failure to Issue a Joint Communiqué and Attempts to Mend Unity .....	231
(3) Discussions Fail to Converge, Tension Again Grows at Sea .....	235
3. US Rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific and Responses from ASEAN Countries .....	235
(1) Thailand: A Prudent Approach .....	236
(2) Singapore: Seeking Both Strategic and Economic Benefit.....	237
(3) “Potential Cooperating Country” Indonesia .....	238
4. Development of ADMM and ADMM-Plus.....	239
<b>Chapter 7 Russia: The Second Putin Administration’s Stance toward     China and Focus on Asia.....</b>	<b>241</b>
1. The Commencement of the Second Putin Presidency, and Focal Issues..	244
(1) The Aftereffects of the State Duma and Presidential Elections, and the Groundswell of Anti-Putin Protests.....	244
(2) The Ongoing Decline in Putin’s Ability to Govern Effectively.....	248

## Contents

(3) The Russian Government's Response to Structural Challenges Confronting the Economy .....	253
(4) Boosting Defense Spending to Revitalize the Russian Defense Industry .....	256
2. Russian Diplomatic Focuses on Asia.....	260
(1) Demand for Energy in East Asia, and Russia's Foreign Policy.....	260
(2) Unequal Partnership of Russia and China .....	270
(3) Russia's Focus on the Arctic, and Its Impact on East Asia.....	273
(4) Russia Seeks Security Cooperation with Japan .....	280
3. Measures to Reform the Russian Military and Defense Industry .....	283
(1) Results after Four Years of Military Reform Initiatives .....	283
(2) Conduct of Military Exercises to Verify Reforms and Improve International Military Cooperation .....	290
(3) Russian Defense Industry Comes under Pressure to Implement Reform, while Arms Exports Continue to Grow .....	294

## **Chapter 8 The United States: Challenges for the Obama**

<b>Administration's Second Term</b> .....	299
1. The Second-term Obama Administration and US National Security.....	302
(1) Obama's First Term and Reelection .....	302
(2) Deeper Defense Budget Cuts and US National Security .....	303
2. The Implementation and Challenges of Asia-Pacific Rebalancing .....	306
(1) Rebalancing and Building Stronger Ties with the Region's Nations .....	306
(2) Shift to the Asia-Pacific: Enhancing Military Presence in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean .....	312
(3) Changes in Force Posture in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Distributed MAGTF Concept .....	315
(4) Seeking Stable Channels for Dialogue with China .....	320
(5) Challenges Facing the Rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific .....	322
3. Initiatives for Maritime Security .....	324
(1) The South China Sea Disputes and Continuing Engagement with Regional Institutions .....	324
(2) Efforts for UNCLOS Ratification .....	326

**Commentaries**

India’s engagement with Myanmar .....	34
Evolution of Indo-Japanese partnership.....	56
Australia’s Defence White Papers .....	75
The <i>Australia in the Asian Century</i> White Paper .....	90
Review of the Lee Myung-bak Administration’s Policy towards North Korea .....	158
ROK-China Strategic Dialogue Twenty Years after the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations.....	162
Defense Reform Plan 2012-2030.....	167
The CPC’s Power Pyramid .....	182
China’s BeiDou Navigation Satellite System and Space Development .....	202
Confrontation between Myanmar’s Ethnic Minorities and the Central Government .....	221
Marine Corps Operating Concept and the MV-22B Osprey .....	318