

## FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND NEWS

DKI APCSS faculty members wrote the following articles and papers in their capacity as subject matter experts. The views expressed in these articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government. All listed writings are available online at <http://www.apcss.org>.

### “One Belt One Road: Dimensions, Detours, Fissures and Fault Lines”

is the title of an article published by DKI APCSS Professor Dr. Mohan Malik in *The American Interest*. Dr. Malik also wrote an article published in *Asian Affairs* entitled “Caught in a Tug-of-war” and another published on the *Macdonald-Laurier Institute* website entitled “The China-India Nautical Games in the Indian Ocean.”



“The Rise of the Small Boats” defines how terrorists use the sea in the latest analytical report by Lt. Col. Alex Carter, U.S. Army, and DKI APCSS alumnus

Captain Damian Fernando, Sri Lankan Navy.

Dr. Miemie Winn Byrd has written an analytical report entitled “The Security Risks of Rising Inequality,” about the rising effects of income equality.



### External Publications

Prof. David Shanahan had an article entitled “Security Innovation: Enhanced governance of emerging technologies needed



to promote peace and stability”

published in *Indo Asia Pacific Defense Forum*

Assoc. Prof. Elina Noor, a new faculty member at DKI APCSS, published an OpEd entitled “ASEAN and Cyber.”



Dr. Bill Wieninger recently co-authored an OpEd on N. Korea with Rep. Ted Lieu entitled: “President Trump’s Threats Against North Korea Put the World in Danger.” The OpEd was published in the Ideas section of *Time* magazine’s website.

### “Forthcoming Asia Strategy Should Avoid Second-hand-ed Pitfalls”

is a new OpEd published by DKI APCSS military professor and U.S. Marine Corp Lt. Col. Scott D. McDonald. McDonald states that “whether discussing military tactics and strategy, economic policy, or diplomacy, the narrative in the United States is one of reaction and countering a powerful and leading PRC.”

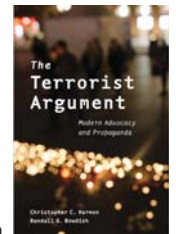


Senior Military Professor Col. James M. Minnich recently published three articles entitled “North Korea Solution: Changed Regime,” “Changed Regime: A Policy to Resolve the



North Korean Nuclear Crisis” in *Military Power Review*; and “La política hacia Corea del Norte” in *Military Review*.

Dr. Christopher C. Harmon has finished a fifth book on terrorism and counterterrorism. In January 2018 he released “The Terrorist Argument: Modern Advocacy & Propaganda,” co-authored with Randall Bowdish, PhD.



### Faculty News

Dr. Mohan Malik participated in a symposium Mar. 1 in Ottawa on “Friends and Allies: Openness, Freedom and the Rule of Law in the Indo-Pacific,” organized by *MacDonal Laurier Institute*, Canada.



Dr. Alex Vuv-ing attended a workshop in Japan Mar. 2 to conduct a presentation on “Security in Asia and the United States Pacific

Command,” which examined the role of USPACOM in generating U.S. soft power, an aspect that is poorly understood even in America.

Dr Virginia Bacay Watson delivered a talk on “Regional Security Architecture (RSA)” during a roundtable discussion at the National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP) on February 1.



## Oehlers mentors at APMC

At the invitation of the Australian Civil-Military Centre (ACMC), Dr. Alfred Oehlers was a Senior Mentor in a one-week residential Civil-Military-Police Interaction Workshop (CMPIW) from May 6-11 at the Australian Institute of Police Management in Sydney, Australia.

ACMC is a defense administered, whole-of-government organization, tasked with supporting agencies to develop more effective integrated civilian and military capabilities to prevent, prepare for and respond to conflicts and disasters overseas.

With a thematic focus on “Transition to Rule of Law,” CMPIW 2018 sought to promote stronger civil-military-police understanding and engagement, and improve networks across government, non-government and international counterparts. A total of 66 participants from Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, United States and United Nations attended, comprising military, police, civilian and non-governmental personnel (e.g. the Red Cross and Medecins Sans Frontieres) working in areas related to conflict, stabilization and peacekeeping operations.

Key insights from discussions included the differing conceptions of what “transitions” and the “rule of law” may imply in conflict, stabilization and peacekeeping operations. Participants emphasized a need to ground these terms in specific cultural, social, economic and political contexts, and highlighted the contrasts between civilian, police, military and non-governmental perspectives. While progress in reconciling these perspectives were acknowledged, participants encouraged continued sensitivity to such differences, and stronger commitments to communication, transparency, and inclusion to guide interactions in the future. 🙏

## Dr. Yamin attends conference on WPS



Dr. Saira Yamin attended a conference on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island from May 31- June 1, 2018. The conference was a joint endeavor by the Naval War College and the Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs. The event brought together a diversity of civil and military security professionals, academics, social scientists, think tanks, and international humanitarian organizations. The discussions

explored the relevance of the gender perspective on topics as wide-ranging as leadership and organizational structures, terrorism and cyber security, maritime security, foreign and public policy formulation among others.

International perspectives from countries as far and wide as Japan and Jamaica, Chile and Uruguay, Tonga and Tajikistan brought a number of global good practices to the fore. Dr. Yamin presented the DKI APCSS executive education model focusing on the integration of WPS into its security studies curricula for civil and military practitioners on the Indo-Pacific region.

## Faculty visits ASEAN AHA Centre

Dr. Justin Nankivell, Dr. Deon Canyon and Associate Professor Benjamin Ryan visited the ASEAN Coordination Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Centre) in Jakarta, Indonesia Apr. 16.

The visit included a tour of the facility and discussions about future collaboration opportunities with Ms. Adelina Kamal, Executive Director, Mr. Arnel Capili, Director of Operations, Ms. Nita Ryarti, Programme Coordinator, Mr. Mizan Bisri, Disaster and Monitoring Analysis Officer and Ms. Ferosa, Programme Assistant. The AHA Centre facilitates cooperation and coordination among ASEAN Member States and with the United Nations and international organizations, including the security sector, for disaster management and emergency response across the region.

The DKI APCSS faculty members said they were delighted to assist the AHA Centre, upon their request for assistance, in providing in-house delivery of an executive program (ACE Programme). The ACE Programme prepares future leaders of disaster management in ASEAN by developing the skills and competencies required for future disaster management and emergency response challenges. It requires the participants to commit to a six-month training program covering various disaster management and leadership topics. This includes working at the AHA Centre, training courses, workshops and comparative studies to disaster-affected areas in Indonesia, Japan and New Zealand. DKI APCSS professors will assist in teaching and facilitating a model focused on the areas complexity, causation, analytical assessment, crisis management and crisis leadership, and vulnerable populations. 🙏



# USINDOPACOM and U. S. Soft Power

by Alexander L. Vuving

For 70 years, the U. S. Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) has been a key security player in the Indo-Pacific region, but there is little public awareness of its role in the regional security environment. This lacuna has motivated a group of Japanese researchers, spearheaded by Professor Motohiro Tsuchiya and Ms. Mizuho Kajiwara of Keio University Global Research Institute (KGRI), to do something to change it. Between January 2015 and August 2016, with a Fulbright Fellowship, Ms. Kajiwara worked at DKI APCSS as a visiting academic, writing a book on USINDOPACOM. Her book, entitled “United States Pacific Command: Japan-U.S. Defense Interoperability—The Core of the World’s Strongest Alliance,” was the first book in Japanese fully dedicated to telling a story about USINDOPACOM. It will be followed by a volume edited by Prof. Tsuchiya. Part of this project was a symposium organized by KGRI on “Security in Asia and the United States Pacific Command,” which I attended on March 2 this year. My presentation to the symposium examined the role of USINDOPACOM in generating U.S. soft power, an aspect that is poorly understood even in America.

The military is usually thought of as a hard power instrument, but what USINDOPACOM does has significant implications for American soft power in the region. Soft power should not be confused with the power of soft things such as information, ideas and other intangibles; it is more than the appeal of a sophisticated culture and not the same as non-military power. I define soft power as the ability to influence people through the attraction of virtues such as kindness, competence, and commitment to a common cause. Virtues can be seen in information and ideas, but most importantly they manifest in actions and achievements.

When I looked back at USINDOPACOM’s activities in the last 20 years, I found that it has produced as much if not even more soft, attractive power than hard, coercive power. In fact, USINDOPACOM is a major instrument of U.S. soft power in the Indo-Pacific region. This is because its activities signal to regional audiences America’s kindness, competence, and commitment to the values and causes the United States shares with many other countries in the region. In the last 20 years, these activities have yielded significant success in dealing with security challenges that do not involve a great power, most notably in disaster relief

Straits, 2004/2005	Malaysia, Singapore	Security Initiative: proposes joint patrols and intel gathering.	their sovereignty and respond by conducting “coordinated patrols” and intel exchange among littoral states.
Tsunami, 2004/2005	Indonesia	Disaster relief	Massive boost to U.S. popularity in Indonesia
Cyclone Nargis, 2008	Myanmar	Disaster relief	Mixed perceptions
Typhoon Haiyan, 2013	Philippines	Disaster relief	Significant boost to U.S. popularity in Philippines
South China Sea, 2009 - present	China, Philippines, Vietnam	Freedom of navigation	Support from maritime powers (JP, AU, UK, FR) and regional partners (VN, PH). Excuse for China to militarize islands?
Battle of Marawi, 2017	Philippines	Counter-terrorism	Significant boost to U.S. popularity in Philippines. Duterte’s anti-American criticism muted.

Dr. Alex Vuving (2nd from right) participates in a panel session at a U. S. Indo-Pacific Command workshop. Vuving is also the Course Manager for the Advanced Security Cooperation course at DKI APCSS.

and counter-terrorism. But the effects are mixed when it comes to dealing with China’s rising power, particularly in freedom of navigation operations (FONOPS) and what I would call “freedom from domination” operations.

How does soft power work? It works through the signaling and perception of positive agential qualities, or virtues. Your activities signal your virtue, which is perceived positively by an audience. The audience then responds positively, thereby enhancing your influence. If you show competence and help others, they may respect you, strengthen their relationship with you, and help you back. If you demonstrate commitment to a shared value, identity, belief, or aspiration, an audience that shares the same value, identity, belief, or aspiration may respect you and seek or strengthen relationship with you. It may also increase its own commitment to the same value, identity, belief, or aspiration.



This virtuous circle of soft power has worked well with USINDOPACOM’s disaster relief and counter-terrorism operations, most notably those related to the 2004/2005 tsunami in Indonesia, Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013, and the Battle of Marawi in 2017 in the Philippines. They massively boosted the popularity of the United States among the local and regional population. U.S. assistance in fighting terrorists in Marawi has effectively muted Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte’s anti-American rhetoric. U.S. action in disaster relief and counter-terrorism produced the perception of generosity, professionalism, effectiveness, and commitment. In turn, they caused the local audience to heighten their respect and friendship with the United States as well as their commitment to the same causes.

The spotlight shows a different picture when it turns

to U.S. soft power emanating from USINDOPACOM's activities in the South China Sea. In the last decade, there have been several incidents that tested U.S. competence and commitment. Most notably, these include the Scarborough Shoal standoff of 2012, the Second Thomas Shoal standoff of 2013, the HD-981 oil rig crisis of 2014, China's artificial island building from 2013 to 2016, and the Permanent Court of Arbitration's ruling in 2016. What did USINDOPACOM do with regard to these events? Most of its activities were focused on FONOPS and they clearly demonstrated U.S. commitment to freedom of navigation. In response to U.S. commitment, several regional and maritime nations have increased their own commitment to freedom of the sea. Vietnam, for example, has shifted its position regarding freedom of navigation closer to that of the United States. Australia, Britain, and France have announced they would send warships to the South China Sea to defend freedom of navigation.

However, what is at stake in the South China Sea is more than just freedom of navigation. China's massive island building, its creeping militarization of the islands, and its expansion of military and paramilitary forces in the sea suggest that it aims to dominate the region. Regional countries are looking at the United States for "freedom from domination" operations, activities that clearly challenge China's creeping domination of the South China Sea and effectively resist Beijing's coercion of others. But they do so in vain. The lack of U.S. actions that demonstrate clearly U.S. commitment to freedom from domination in the South China Sea has produced the regional perception that the United States lacks resolve to counter China's domination. This perception in turn caused regional states to be ambivalent about America's role and commitment in the region. As a result, most states are hedging their bets, investing much of their energy and capital into options that do not count on America and do not favor America.

This may be changed in the future. The National Security Strategy issued in December 2017 gives a priority to preventing China's domination of the region. But actions speak louder than words. The United States must venture far beyond the freedom of navigation operations and conduct "freedom from domination operations" in the transoceanic highways between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Only effective action to counter domination can restore regional confidence in the United States and maintain U.S. credibility. 🙏

*Note: Since this book was written, the U. S. Pacific Command's name has changed to U. S. Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) and is reflected throughout the article.*

## Dr. Yamin and Cmdr. Nguyen Support SOCPAC Workshop

Dr. Saira Yamin and CDR Tuan Nguyen supported the Cooperation Against Transnational Threats (CATT 18) workshop organized by the United States Special Operations Command of the Pacific (SOCPAC) in Cebu, Philippines, April



Dr. Saira Yamin and Cmdr. Tuan Nguyen lead a discussion at CATT 18.

16-27, 2018. The event was hosted in partnership with the Armed Forces of the Philippines Joint Special Operations Command. The workshop is a prominent effort by the USSOCPAC to advance a shared understanding for enhanced collaboration and coordination in regional counter-terrorism operations. It has been held annually since 2013 at various locations. CATT 18 was the fifth iteration of the program, bringing together forty six military and civilian security practitioners from 19 nations. The program is supported by the US Pacific Command's Indo-Pacific Regional Initiative (APRI) and OSD's CTFP (Counter-Terrorism Fellowship Program).

Dr. Saira Yamin set the tone for the discussion by providing the participants a big picture of transnational threats in the Indo-Pacific region, focusing on structural and systemic causes and enablers of terrorism. Subsequently, she gave a presentation on negotiation as a strategic component of a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy. CDR Nguyen and Dr. Yamin facilitated breakout group discussions on a range of topics including countering violent extremism, building a common planning framework for coordinated regional efforts, Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear, and Explosive (CBRNE) response, and crime terrorism nexus.

The workshop concluded with a CATT Capstone Exercise where CDR Nguyen facilitated a Special Operations Task Force (SOTF) Bravo planning cell to develop an initial operational concept to prepare for a potential military operation to rescue the hostages emerging in the midst of a HADR response. This exercise aimed to enhance the level of appreciation for working in a multinational task force on the concept, system, procedures, structure and importance of communication, collaboration, coordination and the use of the various management tools to plan and execute a multinational response. 🙏

*Nepal's Core Group:*

## Esteemed, Credible, and Impactful

by Prof. Dave Shanahan

In September of 2006, in the aftermath of Nepal's near decade long insurgency and its abrupt transition from a monarchal rule to an interim compact between the six major political parties and the former communist rebels, DKI APCSS facilitated a workshop attended by key Nepal Government officials and subject matter experts. The event, crucially aided by the endorsement from key APCSS alumni, enabled Nepal's security and political actors for the first time to come together in focused dialogue to frame and prioritize necessary actions to ensure security providers would be properly integrated into the new constitutional framework. The product of that seminal workshop was a set of prioritized actions, briefed directly to the Prime Minister, which charted the transition path to a just, peaceful and prosperous democratic state. The product of greater and longer lasting significance from the workshop was its stimulating a process unifying the efforts a diverse group of government and policy professionals who continue in both small and profound ways to positively influence Nepal's national progress.

This process continues apace in the work of the self-identifying Core Group (CG) that has evolved over the years and has tried to respond to the needs of the changing political and security environment in Nepal. It is composed of several veterans of the initial 2006 workshop and over time has been augmented by several other capable members drawn both from APCSS alumni and other political and security backgrounds. Its work has sought to achieve three broad objectives: 1) ensuring that the peacebuilding process reaches its proper conclusion 2) assisting in the constitution making process and 3) defining how security institutions would operate in the new structures within a democratic federal republic. In each it has been able to make substantive contributions and the group continues to assess areas and issues where their unique composition and reputation offer them the ability to contribute positively.

The CG work over the last twelve years has focused on security issues, broadly defined. In doing so, it had to work within the changing political environment so that its dialogue process could deal with political impasses in the country in order to move the peacebuilding and constitution making process ever forward. Due to the cohesiveness of the Core Group and because there was no comparable group functioning in Nepal then to immediately review the situation, it met after the 2015 earthquake in Nepal to familiarize the political leaders on the developing situation in order to develop a proper response during the crisis.

In support of crafting the new Nepal Constitution and enabling legislation supporting peace building and stability the Core Group provided essential support that has been credited with advancing both areas in key respects. The Core Groups inputs were important to crafting constitutional provisions on the role and functions of the National Security Council. Whereas early drafts mirrored the former role of the body as solely being needed for mobilizing the Nepal Army, because of the contributions of the CG the constitution adopted in September 2015 reflects a more robust organizational structure and outline of functions. In supporting the peace building process legislatively the CG was immediate in helping the political parties come up with an agreement on the ordinance to be passed by the Maoist government on composing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Whereas in both cases initial progress has been enabled legislatively, much work remains to be done to assure Nepal's national security structure and transitional justice processes have the capacity to fulfill their vital roles. The CG continues to vigorously assess ways to inform and enable this work.

In the peacebuilding process the CG provided insightful and valued counsel to the government in the legal reforms needed to support democratization efforts for the Nepal Army. As well it crafted a proposal on options for addressing the thorny issues surrounding the process of integration and rehabilitation of former Maoist combatants. The Maoist representatives in the process credited the CG's work as vital to their understanding of the political decisions they had to make to a successful agreement. CG efforts to strengthen the Ministry of Defense and to stimulate the development of an integrated National Security Strategy have been continuing efforts but remain works in progress. The current ferment surrounding the new government's transition offers hope for the CG to contribute substantially in these areas.

Nepal's Core Group, many of them DKI APCSS alumni, offer a model for the outsized impact dedicated professionals unified by vision and purpose can have in charting and stimulating action to enhance a country's national security. Although the Center will, when possible, use its convening power to bring together alumni and other key officials and help facilitate their efforts for a specific purpose, the success of Nepal's Core Group clearly demonstrates that the long term impact of such efforts rest on the cohesiveness and drive of its alumni and participants who can inspire esteem, and establish credibility and demonstrate clout in changing political weather. 🙏