Source: The Straits Times, pA20 Date: 22 September 2021



Aukus submarine deal signals new Indo-Pacific balance of power

A more transactional US and aggressive China will push the region to eventually reach an eight-stage mutually assured destruction nuclear balance

Bilahari Kausikan

For The Straits Times

The decision by the United States to share nuclear submarine technology with Australia, a privilege previously accorded only to the United Kingdom, Is vastly significant on two counts and estimated to the United Kingdom, Is vastly significant on two counts and estimated and was a key part of Aukus, the trilateral security partnership agreement between the US, UK and Australia announced last Wednesday. First, it is another indication of a sesimis shift in the post-Cold War strategic environment driven by a more transactional America and a more transactional America and a more transactional America and some transactional America and a fore the US is not the US of the US

awy price fo uphold international order. Around the world, America's international engagements are being recalibrated.

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taken aback by America's decision to cut the Gordian Knot and abruptly disengage from a futile "war against terror" in Afghanistan to focus on more fundamental challenges.

engagements will be decided on the basis of cold calculations of American national interests more narrowly defined. Allies, partners and friends will be expected to

contribute more to the burdens of meeting common challenges, primarily, although not exclusively, with regard to China. Europe and the Middle East are only beginning to understand these new realities.

MF Biden is more polite than his predecessor Donald Trump, but he isno less transactional. MF Biden is slop probably going to be more reasonable—or at least more consultative—about what he expects alies, partners and friends to do.

expects allies, partners and friends to do.

As the Australia nuclear submarine deal indicates, he is prepared to go further than any prepared to go further than any them with the tools to meet common challenges. But this does not in any way diminish American expectations, Japan under former prime minister Abe Shinzo was the lirst to recognise and act on this new reality by expanding the scope of defence and security If Assan wants to remain "central" in more than rhetoric, it has to be clear about the parameters of what it is and, equally important, is not prepared.

equally important, is not prepared to do, with the US and its allies as well as China.

well as China.
Asean plays no irreplaceable role to an offshore balancer. As an organisation of member countries, it is a convenience, not a necessity. Us engagement with Asean will increasingly be about defining parameters of cooperation. Asean members must understand they are not going to be consulted just because of good looks or natural charm.

because of good looks or natural charm.

Thailand, a formal US ally, has been bypassed twice, by Secretary of Defence Lloyd Austin and Vice-President Kamala Harris, whereas Singapore and Vietnam, neither of which is a formal US ally, were visited by both The

whereas singapore and vietnam, ineither of which is a formal US ally, was ineither and which is a formal US ally, was visited by Mr Austinto seal the renewal of a status of forces agreement.

Singapore defined the parameters of its cooperation with of the parameters of its activities and the 2005 Strategic Framework Agreement, which recognised Singapore as a major security cooperation partner of the book moves quickly to set new parameters for its alliance with the US, it will be bypassed again. The next Asean member to receive a high-level US

CHINA'S IMAGE CHANGE

It is now evident that the abandonment of former Chinese

It is now evident that the abandomment of former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's sage approach of hiding light and biding time was a strategic mixtake. It is a strategic mixtake that the strategic mixtake are strategic mixtake. The strategic mixtake are strategic mixtake are strategic mixtake. The strategic mixtake are strategic mixtake for the strategic mixtake for the strategic mixtake for mixtake freights, unite and win over the majority, and constantly expand the circle of friends. This is meffect an implicit and mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights. This is meffect an implicit and mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights are strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake freights. The strategic mixtake freights and the strategic mixtake frei

economies and in Asean.

Despite Mr Xi's instructions to
make China "lovable", it will not be Despite Na Na instituctions to make China "lovable", it will not be easy for Belling to change its open the behavior of the behavior and china's territorial claims also flow from the rewanchist ethno-nationalist historical narrative of "humiliation", "rejuvenation" and the realisation and the realisation of the behavior of the behav

If the prospect of a nuclear balance makes Asean members uncomfortable. they should focus energy on how to contribute to the stability and longevity of the existing conventional balance by defining parameters for security relations with the US and its key allies and partners. In particular, Asean

should work with them within the framework of the "one China" policy to reassure Taiwan that it can continue to enjoy political and diplomatic space, so as to strengthen Taipei's ability to resist dangerous nuclear temptations.

of the "China dream" by which the CPC legitimises its rule and which it cannot modify without looking weakt to its own people. Neither can an open international order be led by an economy in which CPC control is being more insistently and unpredictably asserted over many sectors to the chagrin of international order being more insistently and unpredictably asserted over many sectors to the chagrin of international control in the control is the chagrin of the control in the control

unpredictably asserted over many sectors to the chagrin of international investors. The chagrin of international investors are also as a partner, but it is not a viable alternative to the U.S. On the contrary, secure and strong ties with the US are the necessary condition for maintaining a close relationship with China without Persons to the through the condition of the contrary secure and strong initial French response to the nuclear submarine deal – understandable as it was a serious blow to the French defence didustry – US French ties will quickly recover for the simple reason that France cannot contrary to the contrary of the

hysterical – Indonesian and Malaysian reaction to Singapore's 1990 MOU and the lack of reaction to its 2019 renewal and the 2005 Strategic Framework Agreement, indicates that there is now greater understanding that this is a strategic reality and not just an eccentric Singaporean attitude.

NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

What is less understood in Asean is that the overarching structure of this balance of power and the foundation of Asian stability enjoyed is extended US nuclear deterrence. The American nuclear umbrella was initially deployed against the former Soviet Union, but increasingly after 1964, when China first successfully extended US nuclear umbrella was initially deployed against the former Soviet Union, but increasingly after 1964, when China first successfully extend under the US nuclear umbrella, the American alliance system will gradually loosen and may eventually drift apart. The resulting instability will affect us all, formal allies or not.

The core of stable nuclear deterrence is a credible second-strike capability; the ability to absorb a nuclear attack and still have sufficient nuclear weapons surviving to impose an

and still have sufficient nuclear weapons surviving to impose an unacceptable level of destruction on your adversary. Until recently, China did not have a very credible second-strike capability. But China is rapidly modernising its nuclear arsenal, in particular its

provision was retained when the agreement was renewed again in 2018. The greatest difficulty for any country seeking nuclear weapons is the acquisition of fissionable material, Japan already has stocks of plutonium that could be used for optutonium that could be used for plutonium that could be used for plutonium that could be used for plutonium that acould be used for plutonium that could be used for plutonium that acould be used for the possibility of a nuclear-armed Japan as a contingency to boost confidence in the US-Japan alliance against the day when China acquires a credible second-strike capability and errodes the redibility of the American nuclear umbrella conditions and the second-strike capability and errodes the redibility of the American nuclear umbrella conditions and the second second that the could be used to be used to

the US alliance system in Asia is unstable.

The 2008 US civilian nuclear deal with India, concluded despite India's acquisition of nuclear weapons, and the blind eye the US has turned towards Israel's undeclared nuclear weapon capability, both of which are serious derogations of the serious derogations of the concrete strategic calculations, not abstract pious concernes about non-proliferation, are what drive nuclear strategy for all countries.

AUSTRALIA'S SUBMARINE DEAL

This is the broader context of the US decision to share nuclear ubmarine technology with

Sobmariline technology with Amstralia.

Operating nuclear submarines and acquiring nuclear weapons are not the same thing. But they are certainly steps in the same direction. It is a fact that the only six countries which now operate nuclear submarines - the US, and India - are all nuclear weapons states.

Australian Prime Minister Sout Morrison has said that his country does not intend to acquire nuclear weapons. Given the serious domestic political complications of doing so, there is no reason not obtelled him. Norvalith be a not so the same and the same a

weapons.
I do not think that any of these countries is eager to become nuclear weapon states. But changes in the strategic changes in the strategic chinese behaviour are pointing them in that direction. It is unnecessary for any of them to explicitly state that strategic calculations are always contingent on circumstances.

I consider the strategic calculations are always contingent on circumstances. In the strategic calculations are always contingent on circumstances. In the strategic calculations are always contingent and leading in Chinese behaviour, the lando-Pacific is on a trajectory that will eventually lead to an unless there is a fundamental change in Chinese behaviour, the light-ways balance of mutually assured destruction between the Schina, Russia, India, North The Process of getting from where we now are to where I think lendo-Pacific will end up will be fraught with tension. But unless Taiwan reviews the nuclear Taiwan reviews the nuclear Taiwan reviews the nuclear and the strategic contributions of the strategic contributions. veapons. I do not think that any of these

submarine-launched ballistic missiles, the most difficult to detect and target of all nuclear weapon platforms. There is nothing sinister in this effort. In fact, it would be fort. In fact, it would be fort. In fact, it would be fort. In fact, it would be second-strike capability. But it does pose some fundamental issues for future regional stability. It is not China's modernisation of its nuclear forces per set hat its suse for future regional stability. It is not China's modernisation of its nuclear forces per set hat such a force of the force

Canberra? Can a nuclear weapon state be deterred by conventional means?

Both questions arose in Europe more than 70 years ago when the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons. The answer to both questions in Europe and the state of the sta

INDEPENDENT DETERRENTS

As early as the 1970s, similar thoughts about independent nuclear deterrents arose in South Korea, Australia and Taiwan, only

nuclear deterrents arose in South Korea, Australia and Taiwan, only to be quickly and decisively to the property of the proper

amotions that tradarever entirely abandomed – when rentirely abandomed – when entirely abandomed – when even as a distant aspiration – the outcome will be stable. Deterrence through the prospect of mutually assured destruction kept a long peace to the prospect of mutually assured destruction kept a long peace to the prospect of mutually assured destruction kept a long peace to the prospect of mutually assured destruction kept a long peace to the prospect of the peace between the eight Indo-Pacific nuclear weapon and potential nuclear weapon states. All are coherent and rational states, even whose modes goals of the prospect of the prospect of the prospect of the prospect of a mutual prospect of a mutual state, even will also freeze a multi-polar Indo-Pacific and maximise manoeuver space for small states like Singapore and other Asean members. In the prospect of a nuclear balance makes Asean members uncomfortable, they should focus energy on how to contribute to the existing conventional balance by defining parameters for security elations with the US and its key allies and partners. In particular, Asean should work with them within the framework reassure Tailway that it can continue to enjoy political and fiplomatic space, so as to strengthen Taiper's ability to resist slangerous nuclear tempatations.

Bilahari Kausikan, a former diplomat, is chairman of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore.