

*Encountering
the Dominant Player*

U.S. EXTENDED DETERRENCE STRATEGY
IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC

WILLIAM T. TOW



Columbia University Press
New York

Contents

Acknowledgments	xiii
Introduction	I
The Asia-Pacific as the Focus of This Study	4
Competing Regional Deterrence Postures	7
U.S. Policy and Posture: The Need for Adjustment	15
Convergent Deterrence	21
1. Extended Deterrence Strategy and the Dominant Player Posture	23
Comparative U.S. Dominant Player Postures: Europe and the Asia Pacific	28
U.S. Extended Deterrence Strategy: Theory and Practice	32
Bridging Extended Deterrence Theory and U.S. Policy	35
The Dominant Player Approach to Asia-Pacific Allies	49
Conclusion	54
2. The Dominant and Transitional Players in the Asia-Pacific: Reconciling Global and Local Deterrence Objectives	58
U.S. Strategy Toward Asia-Pacific Allies: Conventional Forces and Nuclear Ambiguity	59
Asia-Pacific Allied Concerns: Why U.S. Allies Have Become "Transitional Players"	61

Policy Conflicts: Dominant Player versus Transitional Player	62
Asia Enters the Cold War: Testing Escalation Control	64
The Mutual Security Treaties and Deterrence Commitments	71
Refining the Dominant Player Posture: Maintaining Escalation Control	83
Extended Deterrence Commitments: Problems of Definition and Management	98
The Dominant Player Posture: Selected Regional Issues	119
Conclusion	143
3. Aspiring Player I: The Soviet Union	145
Soviet Doctrinal Shifts	147
Phases of Soviet Deterrence Strategy in Asia	149
Offense versus Defense: Identifying a "Balanced" Aspiring Player Deterrence Posture	172
The USSR's Formal Extended Deterrence Commitments: North Korea and Vietnam	180
The Wider Pacific	189
Conclusion	193
4. Aspiring Player II: The People's Republic of China	195
China's Strategic Interests and Its Deterrence Policies	196
China's Military History and Contemporary Deterrence Postures	202
The Evolution of Chinese Postwar Deterrence Outlooks	207
Ambiguity in China's Deterrence Posture	220
Linking Strategic Doctrine to China's Strategic Outlook and Capabilities	227
Chinese Nuclear Deterrence Capabilities: Survivability/Lethality/Controllability	230
Problems of Conventional Deterrence	235
China as a Regional Deterrence Actor	244
Conclusion	265
5. ASEAN as a "Reluctant Player"	269
The Dominant Player Posture in Southeast Asia	272
U.S. Extended Deterrence in Southeast Asia: Case Studies	275
Case Study Lessons	306

Alternatives to the Dominant Player Role in Southeast Asia	307
Implementing the Reluctant Player Posture: Current Problems	314
Conclusion	339
6. The Southwest Pacific: "Strategic Denial" versus "The Pacifist Player" Posture	341
Evolution of Strategic Denial	343
The Pacifist Player Emerges	350
The ANZUS Dispute: 1984-1986	355
ANZUS, Extended Deterrence, and the "Ripple Factor"	374
Threat Perceptions and the Costs of Dissent	376
Conclusion	388
7. Conclusion	390
The Outmoded Dominant Player	391
The Alternative Postures	395
Revising the Dominant Player Strategy	410
Notes	427
Bibliography	511
Index	527