

**Steve Micallef**

# **Militarisation in East Asia**

**Considerations from the Works of Thucydides  
and Alfred Thayer Mahan**



**Anchor Academic Publishing**

*disseminate knowledge*

**Micallef, Steve: Militarisation in East Asia. Considerations from the Works of Thucydides and Alfred Thayer Mahan, Hamburg, Anchor Academic Publishing 2017**

PDF-eBook-ISBN: 978-3-96067-621-8

Druck/Herstellung: Anchor Academic Publishing, Hamburg, 2017

**Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

**Bibliographical Information of the German National Library:**

The German National Library lists this publication in the German National Bibliography. Detailed bibliographic data can be found at: <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

All rights reserved. This publication may not be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publishers.

---

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Bearbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Die Wiedergabe von Gebrauchsnamen, Handelsnamen, Warenbezeichnungen usw. in diesem Werk berechtigt auch ohne besondere Kennzeichnung nicht zu der Annahme, dass solche Namen im Sinne der Warenzeichen- und Markenschutz-Gesetzgebung als frei zu betrachten wären und daher von jedermann benutzt werden dürften.

Die Informationen in diesem Werk wurden mit Sorgfalt erarbeitet. Dennoch können Fehler nicht vollständig ausgeschlossen werden und die Diplomica Verlag GmbH, die Autoren oder Übersetzer übernehmen keine juristische Verantwortung oder irgendeine Haftung für evtl. verbliebene fehlerhafte Angaben und deren Folgen.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

© Anchor Academic Publishing, Imprint der Diplomica Verlag GmbH  
Hermannstal 119k, 22119 Hamburg  
<http://www.diplomica-verlag.de>, Hamburg 2017  
Printed in Germany

# Abstract

“I believe China seeks hegemony in East Asia. Simple as that.” Such were the words Admiral Harry Harris Commander U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) used to describe Chinese actions in East Asia. After two decades of effort towards modernisation, it seems that the PLAN is in a position to challenge US primacy in East Asia. The PLAN has developed both in terms of capability and strategy through its emphasis on Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) and blue-water forces, embracing Alfred Thayer Mahan’s ideas on access and sea control. What we are witnessing in China is a shift in thinking: from a continental viewpoint to a maritime one.

After a decade of wars in the Middle East, the US has been taken by surprise. Today it looks at China’s naval build-up as threatening. The US has taken steps to refocus its attention on East Asia and meet the challenge of a contested sea. The dynamics of the Sino-American relation will also be examined through the lens of Thucydides and his ideas of great power.

This study discusses Mahan’s and Thucydides’ influence on Chinese and American ways of thinking and whether it will impact the future trajectory of the relationship. The main developments in capability and strategy on both sides will also be examined.

What remains certain is that the region is primed for great power competition.

# Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Mr. James H. Wyllie, for his instrumental assistance. His continuous guidance and support were vital for me to develop my research and eventually finish this study. His help has been invaluable and greatly appreciated.

A very special thank you goes to my family, most notably my parents. I owe them an immense amount of gratitude for their loyalty, support and optimism throughout the years. This study is dedicated to them, in the hope that I managed to make them proud.

Steve Micallef

August 2016

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	ii
Table of Figures .....	v
Introduction .....	1
Aims, Objective and Background.....	2
Research Outline.....	2
Limitations .....	3
Chapter 1 Thucydides and Mahan.....	5
1.1. Thucydides .....	6
1.1.1. Pride, Fear and Greed .....	6
1.1.2. The Thucydides Trap .....	7
1.1.3. The Elephant and the Whale.....	9
1.2. Alfred Thayer Mahan .....	10
1.2.1. Sea Power.....	11
1.2.2. Mahan's Trident .....	13
1.2.3. Historical Considerations/Evidence .....	14
Chapter 2 Chinese Naval Strategy .....	16
2.1. Island Chains and the PLAN .....	17
2.2. Mahan and China .....	18
2.3. A Sea Denial Fleet .....	19

2.4. Anti-Access/Area Denial .....	21
2.5. China's Underwater Nuclear Deterrent.....	24
2.6. Taiwan.....	25
2.7. Thucydides and Uncertainty .....	26
Chapter 3 A New US Strategy .....	28
3.1. Between Engagement and Containment .....	29
3.2. Access.....	30
3.3. A New US Strategy .....	32
3.3.1. AirSea Battle.....	32
3.3.2. Distributive Lethality.....	33
3.4. Fiscal Considerations .....	35
Conclusion .....	37
Mahan and Thucydides.....	38
Conclusion.....	40
Appendix A.....	41
Bibliography .....	50

# Table of Figures

Figure 1: Major trade routes and straits in the Asia-Pacific .....	42
Figure 2: The First and Second Island Chains .....	43
Figure 3: Major PLAN naval activities within the first and second island chains.....	44
Figure 4: Major US Bases in East Asia.....	45
Figure 5: Range of Chinese Missiles .....	46
Figure 6: SAM installations on Chinese occupied Woody Island .....	47
Figure 7: Chinese claims in the East and South China Seas.....	48
Figure 8: Claims in the South China Sea .....	49