

The Fall and Rise of Navies in East Asia

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Military Organizations, Domestic Politics,
and Grand Strategy

On March 20, 1997, the Thai navy took delivery of the *Chakri Naruebet*, a 10,000-ton Spanish-built aircraft carrier equipped with eight Sea Harrier fighters and six Seahawk helicopters. With this purchase, Thailand became the first East Asian state since the 1950s to own and operate an aircraft carrier. The purchase was one of many events signaling the rise of naval power across the region. Since 1980, aggregate East Asian naval tonnage has increased 69 percent, while the average age of warships has decreased.¹ No comparable growth was recorded in the equipment holdings of armies, air forces, or navies anywhere else in the world. What accounts for this shift in military strategy in East Asia, and what is its significance for international peace and security?

There are two common explanations for this phenomenon, both of which are flawed. The first is that the combination of the end of the Cold War and the development of regional multipolarity increased the level of insecurity in East Asia and thus the need for enhanced military capabilities. This explanation fails to consider, however, the timing of the naval buildups, some of which began in the early 1980s and others only in the late 1990s (in most cases without apparent connection to either the end of the Cold War or the geographic position of the states involved). Also, in most cases, these buildups occurred around the same time that the leaders of these states were busy heralding the most secure international environment in decades. A second explanation holds that the increases in naval power were by-products of economic growth and decisions to replace labor with capital.² This explanation is insufficient because

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1. Except where otherwise noted, the information on East Asian militaries in this article includes data from twelve countries: Australia, China, Indonesia, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. Although Australia is not included in some assessments of East Asia, its primary strategic concerns lie in this region. Surface warships weighing more than 500 tons (loaded) are included.

2. The two explanations discussed here appear frequently together in works on East Asian security. Those emphasizing strategic competition include Paul Bracken, *Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999); Aaron L.

it cannot account for why the navies of several East Asian states (e.g., Thailand during the late 1940s and Indonesia during the 1950s) stood at the center of postwar defense planning despite regional economic stagnation. Nor does it explain why these forces subsequently declined in size and power despite rapid national economic growth.

This article proposes an alternative explanation for the rise of East Asian naval forces over the last two decades, as well as the vagaries of Asian naval fortunes more generally after World War II. I argue that because of their composition, organization, and sociology, navies have domestic (economic, social, and political) preferences that differ from those of armies. As a result, naval officers generally ally with liberal political leaders in domestic political battles over the organization of the state, whereas army officers form alliances with integral nationalist leaders. (Integral nationalists believe that economic, social, and political development should be balanced across regions and that income be relatively evenly distributed—conditions that require a strong state and a high level of state intervention in the economy.) Political leaders who emerge victorious from these struggles seek to protect their positions by promoting military officers who share their ideology: Liberal leaders generally support naval interests, integral nationalists frequently back army leaders, and both often seek to reduce the strength of the other.

This explanation is part of a larger, civil-military coalition theory that advances several general propositions about (1) the involvement of military organizations in the domestic politics of developing states and (2) the effects of this involvement on strategic outcomes. A brief regionwide survey of major political and military trends from 1945 to the present and a more detailed assessment of events in three states (Thailand, China, and Indonesia) confirm the theory's predictions. In East Asia, naval fortunes improved during the brief flowering of liberal government in the immediate aftermath of World War II, and they fell following the emergence and consolidation of integral nationalist regimes, only to rise again with the rebirth of liberalism in the 1980s.

The article is divided into six sections. First, I describe the rise of East Asian naval forces and doctrines from 1980 to the present. Second, I assess problems

Friedberg, "Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future?" *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 147–159; and Paul Dibb, "Strategic Trends: Asia at a Crossroads," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 22–38. Treatments that stress the importance of economic growth include Kent E. Calder, *Asia's Deadly Triangle: How Arms, Energy, and Growth Threaten to Destabilize Asia-Pacific* (London: Nicholas Brealey, 1996); Desmond Ball, "Arms and Affluence: Military Acquisitions in the Asia-Pacific Region," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993/94), pp. 78–112; and Paul Mann, "Arms Races Likely When Asia Recovers," *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, March 4, 2002, pp. 22–23.

with existing explanations for the rise of navalism. Third, I lay out the general propositions of the civil-military coalition theory and its derivative predictions relating to the role of armies and navies in domestic politics. Fourth, I survey the region's political and military development and the relationship between domestic ideology and military strategy. Fifth, I examine the history of Thailand, China, and Indonesia, focusing on the political positions adopted by their armies and navies during major political transitions and the treatment of each service by the countries' political leaders. Sixth, I assess the consequences of these findings for the understanding of international relations in contemporary East Asia and for U.S. policies designed to consolidate new liberal regimes.

The Rise of East Asian Navalism, 1980–Present

East Asia's shift toward maritime force-building and strategies has been broad, involving at least half of the states of the region, and deep, as evidenced by dramatic changes in their equipment and manpower holdings, the promotion of naval officers to top positions in the military hierarchy, and statements by national leaders on military strategy.

EQUIPMENT AND MANPOWER

Naval inventories have grown dramatically in East Asia since the early 1980s. Between 1980 and 2001, the number of major surface warships in East Asian inventories increased from 198 to 300, or 52 percent. Because the average size of those warships also increased, aggregate tonnage grew even faster than the number of warships deployed—69 percent during the period. At the same time, the average age of ships in these inventories decreased from twenty-three years to twenty-one years. If one applies a 2 percent discount rate to the value of ships with each year of age, the growth in “effective” tonnage was some 89 percent.³

During this period, army and air force inventories grew much more slowly. The number of tanks (including both light and main battle tanks) rose by only 11 percent, while the number of combat aircraft decreased by 28 percent. Changes in the distribution of military manpower also reflected a shift toward naval priorities. Between 1980 and 1997, East Asian navies' share of total mili-

3. In large, modern navies (e.g., those of the United States and countries in Europe), ships remain in service for twenty to thirty-five years, depending on type and circumstances. Even states without the funds to procure replacements generally do not keep ships in service for more than fifty years. Hence a 2 percent discount rate (yielding ships effectively worthless for naval combat after fifty years) is used here.

tary manpower climbed 25 percent (from 11.4 percent to 14.3 percent of the total), while the armies' share dropped by 5 percent (from 75.2 percent to 71.8 percent), and the air forces' rose by 8 percent (from 12.7 percent to 13.7 percent).

There are two possible objections to these figures. First, because only a few large states hold the bulk of East Asia's military equipment (and manpower), changes in one or more of those states might create the impression of regional trends, even though other states in the region have not experienced similar shifts.⁴ An alternative method of calculation would determine the percentage changes in the military inventories of individual states and then average those changes. This method weights the military inventories of small states such as Singapore equal to those of China or Japan. According to this approach, the number of warships in East Asian inventories increased by an average of 80 percent, the number of tanks by 45 percent, and the number of combat aircraft by 16 percent. Although this method yields different results from those above, it still shows that the growth of naval inventories has outstripped the growth of army and air force inventories.

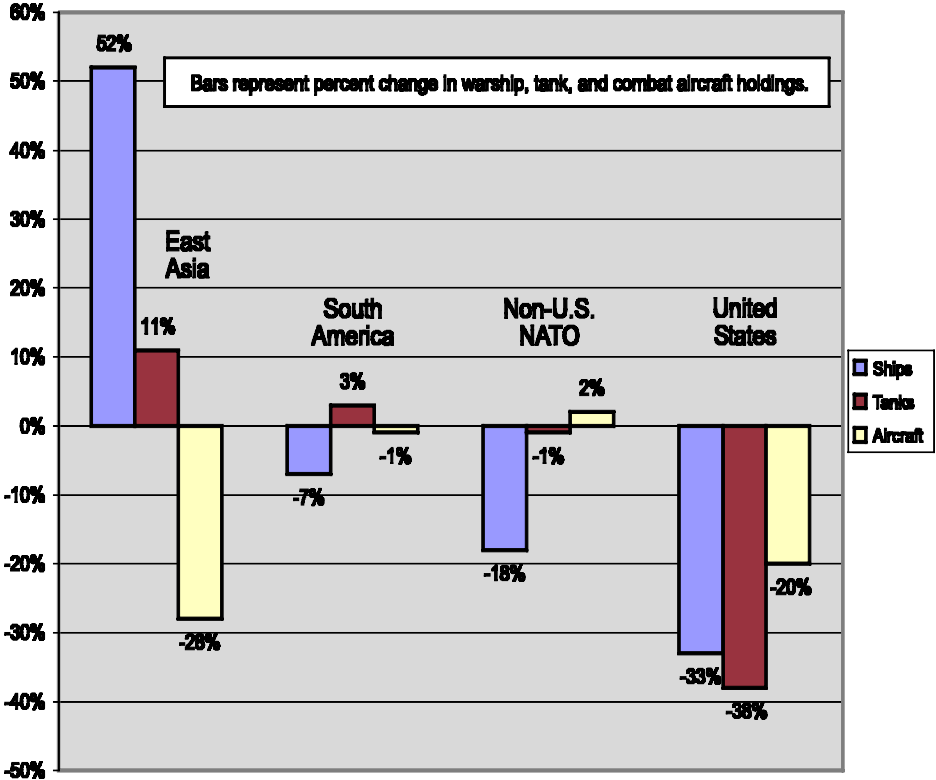
A second possible objection is that the cost inflation for different types of military equipment may not have advanced at the same rate. If this is to explain the disproportionate increases in East Asian naval holdings, however, similar patterns should be evident in other regions of the world. No such pattern has emerged (see Figure 1). An assessment of military inventories in the Southern Cone of Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), among the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in the United States shows growth differentials between various types of military equipment to be much smaller than those in East Asia. It also shows that growth in these naval inventories has not led that of the other services.

LEADERS, STRATEGIES, AND BUDGET STATEMENTS

Other indicators of a regional shift toward maritime forces and strategies include the unprecedented promotion of naval leaders to the top of the military hierarchy and strategic statements by civilian and military leaders. During the 1990s naval officers were promoted to the highest uniformed posts in the militaries of China, North Korea, and Indonesia, where naval personnel made up only 9 percent, 4 percent, and 13 percent (respectively) of total military manpower. Traditionally, army officers held these posts, making these promotions

4. This is a particularly large concern regarding China, which held 55 percent of all regional tanks and 65 percent of all combat aircraft in 1980.

Figure 1. Changes in Military Equipment Holdings: International Comparisons, 1980–2001.



SOURCES: International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance, 1980–81* (London: IISS, 1980); International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2001–02* (London: IISS, 2001); and Richard Sharpe, ed., *Jane’s Fighting Ships, 2001–02* (Coulson, U.K.: Jane’s Information Group, 2001).

particularly noteworthy. Even in East Asian countries where naval officers did not reach the pinnacle of the military command, their relative positions improved. Thailand and South Korea, for example, undertook structural reforms designed to break the dominance of army leaders within the military and restore equality among army, navy, and air force chiefs.

Policy statements and budget plans also provide evidence of change. In 1995, one year after the election of South Korea’s first nonmilitary president since 1961, the South Korean defense minister announced that the budget shares of the services would be readjusted. The army’s share would be reduced (from 46 to 39 percent), the navy’s share would be increased (from 19 to 23 per-

cent), and the air force's share would be slightly lowered (from 22 to 21 percent).⁵ In 1999, shortly after becoming Indonesia's first democratically elected president since the 1950s, Abdurrahman Wahid announced his decision to strengthen the country's maritime defenses. Shortly thereafter, plans were formulated to expand naval manpower from 47,000 to 70,000 within five years. Also in 1999, Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party leader (and later Taiwan's first non-Guomintang president), Chen Shui-bian, chastised the Guomintang's overreliance on army forces and called for the readjustment of manpower shares between the services from 3.5:1:1 (army, navy, and air force) to 2:1:1.⁶

Problems with the Conventional Wisdom

Explanations for the buildup of naval forces in East Asia can be grouped into two categories: realist and economic. None is compelling.

REALIST THEORIES

Some observers argue that the end of the Cold War created a multipolar system in East Asia that has exacerbated regional insecurities. Others argue that China's drive to develop offensive maritime forces and its aggressive behavior in the South China Sea has motivated other East Asian states to readjust their military strategies. Regardless, they all believe that military insecurity and intensified rivalries are behind the recent shifts in strategy.

Although these explanations appear plausible when the region is viewed as a whole, they are, for the most part, unsustainable when specific events are examined. For example, China's maritime shift, which began in the early 1980s, occurred when the political leadership was reducing the country's military budgets and seeking closer ties with the West.⁷ When the end of the Cold War eliminated the major motivation for Sino-American military cooperation, and after the increase of tensions between China and the United States following

5. "Ministry to Reorganize Basic Defense Structure," *Yonhap*, September 25, 1995, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS)-FTS-1995-0925.

6. Taiwan Democratic Progressive Party, "Taiwan's DPP Defense White Paper," November 23, 1999, FBIS-FTS-2000-0126.

7. In 1978 Deng Xiaoping initiated his "reform and opening" program, which opened China to the outside world. Official Chinese attitudes toward both the Soviet Union and the United States had been softening steadily since 1976. Full text searches of *Renmin Ribao* (People's daily) reveal that in 1976, among articles that referred to the United States, 45 percent also mentioned the word "hegemonic." By 1983 the figure had dropped to 7 percent, and by 1985 it was 4 percent. Among articles that mentioned the Soviet Union, 48 percent contained the word "hegemonic" in 1976, 10 percent in 1983, and 4 percent in 1985.

the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, Chinese force building became somewhat less weighted toward its navy.⁸

Thailand, which has built up its naval force proportionally faster than any other state in East Asia, began its maritime shift (c. 1987) when even naval commanders saw no major naval threat on the horizon.⁹ Relative to its immediate neighbors, Thailand's military position was strong and its largely sanguine outlook on China was reflected both in its close diplomatic ties with Beijing and in the fact that six out of nine of its major warships purchased after 1987 were built in China. Senior Thai naval commanders have visited Beijing frequently since the late 1980s to discuss possible arms purchases, and there is no evidence that such visits have slowed.¹⁰

Nor did the relative strength of Indonesia's navy (*vis-à-vis* the army) correlate with the degree of actual or perceived external threat. In the mid-1990s, tensions between Indonesia and China increased over ownership of the Natuna Islands and China's apparent push into the South China Sea. Yet during that period, Indonesia did little to build up its naval power and instead expanded its ground forces. Only when Indonesia later sought to strengthen its ties with China did it begin to focus more on building maritime forces. In a keynote speech in October 1999, President Wahid called for greater cooperation with China (later expanded into calls for active partnership) and increased emphasis on maritime forces and strategy.¹¹

Developments in South Korea and Taiwan also raise concerns about realist explanations for the buildups of East Asian naval forces. In South Korea, where a hypothetical Japanese threat has been a major rationale for fleet expansion since 1992, questions about the efficacy of surface naval forces (as opposed to air power or submarines) in the confined Sea of Japan have been prominent—as have questions about South Korea's sudden decision to view

8. Between 1980 and 1990, Chinese defense budgets declined by 21 percent, but naval tonnage increased by 86 percent (or 55,600 tons); between 1990 and 2000, defense budgets grew 91 percent, while naval tonnage increased by only 33 percent (or 39,800 tons).

9. In November 1993, when the buildup was in its sixth year and reaching its peak, the commander of Thailand's navy stated, "We must first figure out what kind of threats we might face" and "which countries should be listed as possible enemies." "Admiral Calls for Adjustment of Combat Forces," Bangkok Army Television, channel 5, November 2, 1993, FBIS-EAS-1993-1102. At that time, Thailand's naval forces were vastly superior to those of all other states with which it had boundary disputes. Thailand had more than twice the naval tonnage of Vietnam and three times that of Malaysia.

10. Thailand was the first Asian nation to sign a strategic partnership agreement with China. On the latest visit by a Thai naval delegation to Beijing, see "PRC Defense Minister Meets Thai Navy Commander-in-Chief," Xinhua news agency, July 3, 2000, FBIS-CPP-2000-0703.

11. On Wahid's keynote speech, see "Indonesia: Naval Spending Set to Increase," Radio Australia, October 25, 1999, FBIS-FTS-1999-1025.

Japan, a neighboring democracy, as a potential threat. The Taiwan case poses a different question: Why was this small island state off the coast of China the last in the region to emphasize sea power, and why did it do so only after its first democratic presidential elections and the demise of the long-dominant Kuomintang? Realist theories may help to explain some aspects of these naval buildups, but they leave unanswered many more important questions.

ECONOMIC THEORIES

Some experts argue that East Asia's expanding naval inventories are the result of economic growth and would have occurred without the territorial conflicts and preexisting security dilemmas that have exacerbated regional tensions. A variant of this theory involves the rational allocation of resources in developing states: Labor (e.g., infantry) is relatively cheap, but as countries become wealthier, they begin to take the economically rational step of replacing labor with capital (e.g., warships). Economic theories fail to explain, however, why navies grew in several East Asian countries in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when regional economies were stagnant, and why they shrank in the 1960s and 1970s, when regional economies were booming. Moreover, the second variant (i.e., the replacement of labor with capital) does not explain why there should have been such a pronounced shift toward naval forces, rather than more significant changes within each of the services toward greater capital content (e.g., from infantry to armor and artillery).

Civil-Military Coalition Theory

The civil-military coalition theory holds that armies and navies embrace different political philosophies, that those philosophies and their supporters (both military and civilian) clash in battles for domestic political hegemony, and that the outcomes of these conflicts have a profound impact on national grand strategies. Below are four general propositions about military organizations, domestic politics, and grand strategy, followed by three predictions (to be tested against the historical evidence) related to armies and navies.

PROPOSITION 1

Military organizations are likely to have stable domestic preferences. Different types of military organizations (i.e., different military services, branches, or functional units), however, may have dissimilar economic, social, and political preferences. Students of government (and other) organizations have long observed that differences in composition and mission frequently lead these organizations to pursue differ-

ent objectives—often in opposition to one another and sometimes even in opposition to executive political authorities. Analysts of military organizations have concluded, for example, that the relatively fixed doctrinal preferences of the services, regardless of the strategic merits in individual cases, complicate the task of integrating various military elements into winning combinations.¹² The same theoretical precepts suggest that different types of military organizations may have relatively constant domestic political or economic preferences, in addition to military ones. Like other organizations, military forces may benefit from or suffer as a result of particular domestic policies.

The services vary in their composition and organizational characteristics. Also, they may have economic, social, and political interests that differ dramatically from other military organizations in the same country. Key distinctions between military organizations may lie in (1) the degree of technological and capital content, (2) the quality and quantity of human resources, (3) the location and type of material infrastructure, (4) the level and type of contact between domestic and foreign officers, and (5) the degree to which each organization can contribute to and benefit from different types of economic, social, and political policies.

PROPOSITION 2

Military organizations are likely to be drawn into—or seek to create—domestic political coalitions with like-minded civilian actors when the legitimacy of the state’s political structures is challenged. In 1968 Samuel Huntington observed, “Military explanations do not explain military intervention. The reason for this is simply that military interventions are only one specific manifestation of a broader phenomenon in underdeveloped societies: the general politicization of social forces and institutions.”¹³ When the legitimacy of political institutions is challenged, social groups may organize either to take direct action to establish a new order or to defend against such actions by their adversaries. In these circumstances, the probability of one or both sides seeking allies from among likely candidates within the military is high. These appeals place additional pressure on military officials and organizations to become involved in politics.

12. See, for example, Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: Britain, France, and Germany between the World Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984); Stephen Van Evera, “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War,” *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984), pp. 58–107; and Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).

13. Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 194.

PROPOSITION 3

Military partners in domestic coalitions that emerge victorious in political contests maintain a dominant voice in military policymaking under new political regimes or structures, at least until those regimes are consolidated. The consolidation of new democratic regimes may take ten years or more, even under ideal circumstances.¹⁴ Nondemocratic regimes, for their part, lack peaceful means of succession and may never be secure against either armed threats or, depending on the circumstances, “people power” (i.e., nonviolent mass action aimed at crippling the government). Two-level games theorists draw a connection between domestic insecurity and foreign policy outcomes, modifying traditional realist precepts by arguing that national leaders give overwhelming priority to whichever threats to the regime—foreign or domestic—are greatest.¹⁵ All areas of state policy, including military and foreign policy, may in turn be affected by the exigencies of addressing those concerns.

Although new leaders seek to expand their control over all facets of the military, military organizations tend to be largely self-governed and difficult to penetrate.¹⁶ Civilian leaders may be able to replace top military leaders, but military organizations often have control (either by law or by custom) over which individuals stand as candidates for those top positions. More important, the self-contained nature of military society creates organizational cultures that may be difficult to influence in the short term using the tools available to civilian leaders. Faced with these dilemmas, civilian leaders frequently rely heavily on known allies within the military. In return, these civilian leaders may give substantial control of military policy to those coalition allies.

PROPOSITION 4

The degree of difference between the domestic preferences of military organizations, and the political and strategic relevance of those differences, are larger in developing states than in developed ones. Differences in the characteristics of military organizations within a single state are generally greater in developing states than in

14. Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

15. Robert D. Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 427–460; Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

16. On the self-governing nature of military organizations, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Practice of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957); and Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Free Press, 1960).

developed ones. For example, in the developing states of East Asia, the per capita capitalization of navies (marines included) is between 50 percent and 287 percent higher than that of armies.¹⁷ In the United States, where even the army is highly mechanized, the navy's per capita capitalization is only 13 percent higher. Hence the service divide is most acute in developing states, though some differences can be expected in developed states.¹⁸

In addition, the service divide matters more in developing states. Although advanced democracies may become highly polarized (e.g., France after World War II and the United States during the Vietnam War), developing states are significantly more prone to this condition. Both Huntington and Barrington Moore have described the processes of industrialization, social change, and political development as protracted, iterated, and violent.¹⁹ Indeed Moore argues that major political transitions are almost invariably accompanied by large-scale, organized domestic violence.

PREDICTION 1

Navies will generally support liberal nationalist domestic positions, whereas armies will frequently support integral nationalist ones. Observers from Aristotle to Otto Hintze have suggested that whereas armies tend to support absolutist or authoritarian rule, navies tend to ally with the forces of progress, liberty, and democracy.²⁰ During the late twentieth century, naval involvement in antidemocratic activities (especially in Latin America) led some observers to reject the idea that naval organizations inevitably support electoral democracy per se.²¹ Yet although navies may not always support electoral democracy,

17. The lower percentage is from Taiwan in 1997; the larger one is from South Korea in 1995. The budget shares of Taiwan's services can be derived from data in "Analyses of Taiwan's Overall Military Policies," *Kuang-Chiao Ching*, May 16, 1996, FBIS-FTS-1996-0516. Taiwanese service manpower is from International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance, 1997-98* (London: IISS, 1997). Korean service budget shares are from "Ministry to Reorganize Basic Defense Structures," *Yonhap*, September 25, 1995, FBIS-FTS-1995-0926. Korean service manpower is from IISS, *The Military Balance, 1995-96* (London: IISS, 1995).

18. On the "personalities" of military services in the United States, see Carl Builder, *The Masks of War: American Military Styles in Strategy and Analysis* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

19. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*; and Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon, 1966).

20. For Aristotle, see Samuel E. Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 84. For Otto Hintze, see his "Military Organization and the Organization of the State," in Felix Gilbert, ed., *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 178-215.

21. See, for example, Samuel E. Finer, *Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (London: Pall Mall, 1962); and Bruce W. Farcau, *The Transition to Democracy in Latin America: The Role of the Military* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996).

they tend to support liberal economic and social policies. Where such economic and social values are not threatened under the existing electoral system, navies also support electoral democracy.²² In this preference ordering, navies are similar to their societies' middle classes (and especially upper-middle classes), with which they are almost invariably allied in domestic political disputes.²³

The integral nationalism adhered to by army leaders posits that economic development and increasing national power can be achieved only by unifying the nation. This in turn calls for reducing differences and increasing coordination between all elements of society. Integral nationalists seek development that is balanced across regions and in which income and other resources are relatively evenly distributed.²⁴ "Balanced" (i.e., even) development requires strong central leadership of the economy and society and tight restrictions on foreign economic involvement.²⁵ Unregulated trade and social contact with foreign cultures tend to further favor the most advanced regions of the state (generally coastal areas), exacerbating the divide between the nation's large

22. The histories of Brazil and Argentina are instructive. In the 1930s and 1940s, the navies of both countries opposed populist army officers (Getulio Vargas in Brazil and Juan Peron in Argentina) who had staged coups d'état and established corporatist regimes. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the navies led or strongly supported coups d'état—despite the opposition of significant army elements—to remove democratically elected civilian politicians who backed programs or platforms originally put forward by Vargas and Peron. Neither the armies nor the navies were consistently pro-democratic or antidemocratic. But the navies (with the upper-middle classes) consistently backed politicians who supported free market positions, while the armies were generally split but contained significant (and sometimes dominant) elements sympathetic to nationalist economic positions. On Brazil and Argentina, see Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History, and Its Impact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964); Edwin Lieuwen, *Generals versus Presidents: Neomilitarism in Latin America* (New York: Praeger, 1964); Finer, *Man on Horseback*; and Farcau, *The Transition to Democracy in Latin America*.

23. Part of the problem of identifying which service has been more "democratic" lies in differences in how democracy has been defined. Edwin Lieuwen wrote of the Argentine military, "The Navy's democratic traditions, albeit of the classical Greek, privileged-class type, conflicted with Peron's [and the army's] proletarian oriented authoritarianism." Ikeda Kyoshi wrote of pre-World War II Japan, "In contrast to the army, which was made up largely of farmers and had a 'democratic' if militant character, stood naval 'liberalism.'" The navy's ideology was, he said, "cosmopolitanism without roots in the realities of Japanese politics." Lieuwen, *Generals versus Presidents*, p. 15; and Ikeda, *Kaigun to Nihon* [The navy and Japan] (Tokyo: Chukoshinsho, 1981), p. 28.

24. On the desire of the military, and especially the army, for income equality and justice more broadly construed, see Harold Lasswell, "Sino-Japanese Crisis: The Garrison State versus the Civilian State," in Jay Stanley, ed., *Essays on the Garrison State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1997), p. 53.

25. Integral nationalists believe in concentrating the state's limited financial assets (especially foreign currency) and managerial talent to achieve maximum results. This requires government intervention and supervision. See Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

hinterland and its few wealthy trading centers.²⁶ Integral nationalists are likely to oppose political systems in which the electoral process is the only point of contact between social groups and the government. They are also likely to oppose systems in which private money plays a major role. They generally prefer systems where electoral politics is supplemented by government-mediated corporatist systems of direct social representation.²⁷

The liberal nationalism adhered to by naval leaders, on the other hand, tends to stress policies that emphasize national progress through integration with global markets and the free flow of people and ideas across borders. It accepts—indeed honors—differences at home between individuals, regions, and social groups. Moreover, it tends to favor a reliance on markets, classical economic rationality, and economic pluralism. Wealth, according to liberal nationalism, will eventually diffuse throughout the state. Liberal nationalists support electoral systems that respect individual difference, personal freedoms, and the free market.²⁸ They may oppose democratic electoral systems where checks and balances on government power do not protect those values.²⁹ Conflict between integral and liberal nationalist visions of the public good has characterized many of the political struggles in the developing world since World War II, and disputes over “democracy” frequently mask these contests over the economic and social organization of the state.

The domestic preferences of the armed services derive from their organizational attributes. Compared to navies, armies depend less on technology and more on a steady stream of manpower from the nation’s social base—in developing states, the peasantry and the lower middle class. Hence policies that divide society or that compromise the welfare of the countryside have an

26. This philosophy is broadly consistent with the dependency school of political economists. See Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); and Peter B. Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational State and Local Capital in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979).

27. On corporatist systems, see Howard J. Wiarda, *Corporatism and Comparative Politics: The Other Great “Ism”* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997); and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971).

28. Liberal nationalists believe that free markets are necessary for democracy to flourish and to defend against authoritarianism. See Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

29. Liberalism is often equated with electoral democracy. In fact, liberalism respects individual rights and differences, whereas democracy subjects the minority to the will of the majority. On this tension, see David Braybrooke, “Can Democracy Be Combined with Federalism or with Liberalism?” in J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, eds., *Liberal Democracy* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

immediate negative impact on the army's internal cohesion and effectiveness. Naval organizations, on the other hand, depend far more on technology. In developing states, that technology either is found in relatively advanced (and frequently coastal) pockets of the domestic economy or must be imported. Given the high technological content of naval systems, navies require fewer individuals to man their forces than armies but higher educational standards. Hence navies draw their manpower from narrower, more urban, and generally wealthier segments of society (i.e., those that benefit first from the same liberal policies that tend to unsettle rural segments of society). The terms of service are also different: A higher percentage of naval enlisted personnel are long-term professionals, most of whom serve as noncommissioned officers (a position that effectively does not exist in many armies).³⁰ Because fewer naval personnel are conscripted, and fewer conscripts hail from rural areas, navies are significantly more insulated from the countryside than armies. Finally, most naval officers have considerably more contact with foreigners and members of their countries' upper-middle classes than do most army officers.

PREDICTION 2

Navies tend to be more united in their political and economic preferences than armies. The degree of unity or disunity within each service depends on the degree of homogeneity in (1) the educational and experiential backgrounds of its officer corps and (2) the composition and structure of its subordinate organizations. High-ranking army officers may have almost entirely technical or nontechnical backgrounds, depending on their branch and choice of career path; virtually all senior naval officers have substantial technical education and experience. Army organizations may perform highly technical functions (e.g., in the case of communications or general staff units) or almost entirely nontechnical ones (e.g., in the case of infantry units). Almost all naval units perform highly technical functions (e.g., manning weapons systems or weather centers). Given the homogeneous nature of naval organizations (in terms of officer experience and the characteristics of subordinate organizations) and the heterogeneous nature of armies, navies tend to be unified in their political views, whereas armies are frequently divided.

30. For example, based on interviews with Chinese officers and on a survey of several dozen relevant articles from *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation army daily), I estimate that between 3 percent and 8 percent of army enlisted personnel (at the division level) are long-term volunteers, while the number in the navy is between 25 percent and 35 percent.

PREDICTION 3

*Victories for liberal nationalists in domestic political contests tend to signal shifts toward maritime strategies; victories for integral nationalist positions often signal shifts toward continental strategies.*³¹ Several analysts of civil-military relations have dismissed the domestic role of navies because, they argue, navies have little military power to influence domestic events.³² If this observation were correct, then the political and economic preferences of navies would be of little consequence to either political or military outcomes.

The civil-military coalition theory posits, however, that navies frequently have a major impact on the outcome of domestic political disputes. First, although navies never have as many ground-force personnel as armies do, they can still conduct or deter coups d'état, which are generally launched by small forces (frequently battalion-sized or less). And when the army is divided (which again is not uncommon), warships, marine forces, and aircraft may tilt the balance in an all-out civil war. Second, navies (like armies) have intelligence organizations that can provide advanced warning to political leaders of possible coups—whether military or civilian. Finally, senior naval officers can be tapped for senior positions in the armed forces (as opposed to simply within the navy's own hierarchy). Once in those positions, naval officers can be used to circumvent army opposition and carry out military reforms—including those that may affect the army's internal structure and functions.

Three Political and Military Eras in East Asia

This section offers an overview of domestic political change in East Asia and its relationship to strategic change in three eras: the post-World War II interlude of liberal politics, a longer period of state-led integral national government, and a liberal revival beginning in the 1980s.³³ These eras correspond to the growth, decline, and rebirth of naval power in the region.

LIBERAL NATIONALISM AND NAVAL STRENGTHENING, 1945–60

From the mid-1940s to the early 1950s, a number of liberal regimes were established in East Asia. In each, legitimacy derived from an elected parliament

31. This prediction derives directly from proposition 3. Here I address only the military and political value of the navy to its civilian coalition partners.

32. See *Finer, Man on Horseback*; and *Farcau, The Transition to Democracy in Latin America*.

33. For a summary of the region's postwar political development, see Minxin Pei, "The Fall and Rise of Democracy in East Asia," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democracy in East Asia* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

(though all became less democratic over time). The regimes were led by Western-trained men from wealthy families, including Syngman Rhee in Korea (1948–60), Pridi Phanomyong in Thailand (1944–47), and Sukarno in Indonesia (1949–67). Rhee, who governed an overwhelmingly rural population with little education beyond grade school, was a descendant of a former king. He lived outside Korea for thirty years and held a Ph.D. from Princeton University. China also experienced a variant of liberal dominance during the 1950s and early 1960s. There, Communist Party moderates ushered in an era of intraparty democracy and a measure of reconciliation with intellectuals, technocrats, and even former members of the Nationalist government.

During this period, the military strategies of several East Asian states emphasized conventional war-fighting capabilities and the strengthening of naval and air forces. Naval officers—including ministers of defense in South Korea and Thailand, a deputy minister of defense in China, and a chairman of the joint chiefs of staff in Indonesia—were promoted to the top positions in the military hierarchy. In Indonesia, defense funds were allotted primarily for the purchase of warships and combat aircraft.³⁴ By the early 1960s, Indonesian naval tonnage was at least 370 percent of what it would be in 1979 (or 520 percent as large when both fleets are discounted 2 percent per year of age). Thailand added ships to its inventory in the 1930s and 1940s, and by the mid-1940s its combat tonnage was twice what it would be in 1979 (or three times as large when discounted 2 percent per year of age). In China the doctrinal shift in the early 1960s from “people’s war” to “people’s war under modern conditions” signaled a new emphasis on conventional forces.³⁵ China established a domestically built destroyer fleet at the same time as both the size of its military and the defense budget were being reduced.

INTEGRAL NATIONALISM AND ARMY DOMINANCE, 1960–80

By the mid-1960s, naval development in most East Asian states had slowed dramatically or ceased altogether as the result of decisive shifts in domestic ideologies and regime type. In most cases, liberal political and economic governance had failed to improve economic welfare and stability. In response, army officers with integral nationalist conceptions of the public good seized

34. Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia* (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1996), pp. 96–98.

35. The term “people’s war under modern conditions” (*xiandai tiaojian xia de renmin zhanzheng*) became popular in the early 1960s, disappeared during the Cultural Revolution, and reemerged in 1978. A full-text search of *Jiefangjun Bao* on CD-ROM shows more articles discussing the term in 1960 than at any time until 1978.

power. They were domestically educated, midlevel officers from distinctly lower-middle-class or peasant origins. Among them were Park Chung Hee in South Korea (1961–79), Sarit Thanarat in Thailand (1957–63), and Suharto in Indonesia (1965–97). In China, although the policies of Liu Shaoqi and other moderates had generally succeeded, they nevertheless gave way to the radical politics of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution (1966–76).

This new generation of leaders saw their first task as building unity out of the patchwork of ethnic, religious, and especially class differences that threatened the cohesion of their states. They explicitly rejected liberal parliamentary rule as representing, by definition, sectional rather than national interests. They were deeply suspicious of businessmen, intellectuals, and traditional elites.³⁶ And they called upon the government to mediate between groups, organize and monitor business, and homogenize society. Ultimately, they sought to develop strong industrialized states, but they placed equal emphasis on ensuring that no social group—most notably the peasants—was alienated in the process.³⁷

Although the Cultural Revolution, launched by the domestically educated and inwardly oriented Mao Zedong, was a far more ambitious and disruptive attempt to transform society than those undertaken by other integral nationalist leaders in East Asia, it was not the only such revolution under way in the region. Park's Military Revolutionary Committee, Sarit's Revolutionary Party, and Suharto's Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups all attempted, with varying degrees of commitment and success, to transform their societies.

36. Park, Sarit, and Suharto had all been heavily influenced by their contacts with the Japanese army, which adhered to what Samuel Huntington has described as "military socialism." Park received his early military training in the Japanese Manchurian army, where the Japanese army ran much of the economy. In 1948 he was sentenced to death for organizing and leading a communist cell within the South Korean military. The sentence was later suspended. See Cho Kapuche, *Paku Chonhi: Kankoku Kindai Kakumeika no Jissho* [Park Chung Hee: the real portrait of Korea's modern revolutionary] (Tokyo: Aki Shobo, 1991), pp. 99–151; and Se-Jin Kim, *The Politics of Military Revolution in Korea* (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

37. In Suharto's Indonesia, the state sector of the economy grew from 13 percent in 1968 to 41 percent in 1983. Net sales from the top-ten conglomerates in South Korea, all of which had been created by the government and were tightly tied to it, rose from 15 percent of the total value of the gross national product in 1974 to 67 percent in 1984. In China, agricultural production on private plots fell from around 25 percent of total production in 1965 (under Liu Shaoqi) to virtually nothing during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution (under Mao Zedong). Indonesian figures are from Michael R.J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 56. The figures on South Korea are from Alice H. Amsden, *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Figures on China are from Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), pp. 550, 596, 607.

Under these regimes, navies suffered from two problems. First, national rulers doubted their political loyalties. Where the navies had undertaken armed opposition to new integral nationalist leaders during periods of political transition (e.g., Thailand and Indonesia), suspicions ran deep, provoking full-bore assaults on naval power. But in a broader set of countries (including China, Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand), the higher social origins of their naval officers and the close association of these officers with business and other liberal social elements increased doubts about their loyalty. Second, under integral nationalist regimes, military doctrine emphasized the role of guerrilla resistance against outside invasion and relegated naval forces to supporting roles. “Total people’s defense” in Indonesia, “total defense strategy” in Thailand, and “people’s war” in China all called for dispersed, decentralized organization, semiautonomous regional commands, and close collaboration between local garrisons and the people. For integral nationalist leaders, the domestic merit of these strategies lay in the capability of forces deployed in rural areas to participate in development projects.

LIBERALISM AND THE REBIRTH OF EAST ASIAN NAVIES, 1980–PRESENT

Since the 1980s, integral nationalist regimes in East Asia have begun to bump up against the limits of their capabilities, especially in the management of complex economies tied to global markets. They have also proved unable to respond to growing middle-class demands for the rule of law, transparency in government, and political accountability. The resulting evolution or collapse of integral nationalist regimes has culminated in relatively free elections and democratic rule in Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Other states, most prominently China, have undergone ambitious economic and social reform.

Navies again became military players in the region, and the timing of their comeback in almost every case—including China, Indonesia, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand—was closely associated with the rise of liberal leaders. None of these liberal transitions was uncontested. Elements that benefited under integral nationalist regimes resisted reform. Conservative army elements with interests in and philosophical affinities for integral nationalism have represented the greatest danger. Navies, in most cases already on record as being sympathetic to liberal political and economic policies, joined or were enlisted into the liberal cause. Across the region they shepherded liberal reformers into power, protected them once there, and undertook military reforms that changed longer-term calculations about the survival of those regimes.

Testing the Civil-Military Coalition Theory: Nine Case Studies

This section presents nine case studies from three states that have experienced the fastest rates of naval growth in East Asia over the last two decades: Thailand, China, and Indonesia. I divide the postwar history of each state into three eras corresponding to the type of political regime (liberal or integral nationalist) that prevailed at the time. I then examine the responses of senior army and navy officers to the rise and consolidation of these regimes, how new political leaders treated the services, and what impact the relationship between service leaders and politicians had in each country on military strategy.

THAILAND

Thailand's purchase of an aircraft carrier, new destroyers, and naval combat aircraft during the 1990s represented a return to glory for the Thai navy. The navy, which had enjoyed considerable prestige during the early, liberal phase of the Thailand's modern history (1932–47), was treated as politically suspect and thus starved for funds under the country's army rulers from 1955 to 1973. The degree to which naval fortunes have been tied to those of liberal politics in Thailand is illustrated by a correlation between naval officers who served as defense minister and periods of democratic rule. Between 1932 and 1997, there were only two brief periods (1945–47 and 1975–76) when the Thai constitution provided for an elected senate with no administratively appointed military representatives. Only during these democratic interludes did naval officers serve as ministers of defense.

THE NAVY, THE FREE THAI MOVEMENT, AND OPPOSITION TO MILITARY RULE, 1932–55. During this period, liberal nationalists and integral nationalists competed for political supremacy. The navy sided squarely with liberal leaders, establishing credentials with the liberal community that remain strong today.

Despite the naval officer corps' much smaller size, there were nearly as many naval officers as army ones in the coup group that overthrew Thailand's absolutist monarchy and established a constitutional monarchy in 1932. In addition, there were almost as many naval representatives in the new parliament following that event.³⁸ The first signs of a rift between the political positions of

38. For example, there were sixteen naval and eighteen army officers in the 1932 and 1933 parliaments. Kato Kazuhide, *Tai Gendai Seijishi—Kokuou wo Genshu to Suru Minshushugi* [Modern Thai political history—democracy under the monarchy] (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1995), p. 102.

the army and the navy emerged in 1938, after Gen. Phibun Songgram became prime minister. Phibun's domestic policies, including greater national control over industry and a legally sanctioned code for social behavior, demonstrated a clear preference for integral nationalist principles. His political methods were largely authoritarian, and his foreign policy aligned Thailand closely with Japan's military leaders during the first phases of the Pacific War.

Phibun's moves did not go unchallenged, as many senior naval officers joined the opposition. A rebel Free Thai movement, led by Pridi Phanomyong, a prominent liberal parliamentary leader, emerged in the Thai countryside shortly after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Pridi's naval affiliations were strong even before the war, and the navy formed a core element of the Free Thai military force. In 1944, with the war running against Japan, the National Assembly turned Phibun out of office, and Pridi and other Free Thai officials stepped in to fill the vacuum. They established a thoroughly democratic constitution under which the elected lower house of parliament held effective power to govern.

The navy thrived under this liberal order. Fearful of a comeback by dissatisfied army elements, Pridi and his parliamentary allies appointed naval officers to key cabinet positions and strengthened the navy's capabilities. Between 1944 and 1946, they increased naval budgets by 50 percent, while reducing the army's budget by 40 percent.³⁹ Pridi funneled many of the best weapons given to the Free Thai movement during World War II by the U.S. Office of Strategic Services to the navy. By 1947, Thailand's naval marine infantry units were equipped with tanks and were generally better equipped than most Thai army units.

The Thai navy remained loyal to Pridi and the democratic cause after an army coup in November 1947 overthrew his close political ally, Prime Minister Thamrong Nawasawat (a naval admiral), and reinstalled General Phibun. The three main targets of the coup—Pridi, Thamrong, and Admiral Sangworn (adjutant general of the armed forces)—escaped arrest and, between 1948 and 1951, participated in three attempted countercoups. Officers from the army's general staff, who were concerned that military rule would damage military professionalism, led the first countercoup in October 1948.⁴⁰ In February 1949, a second countercoup was launched primarily by the navy, with support from

39. Daniel Fineman, *A Special Relationship: The United States and Military Government in Thailand, 1947–1958* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 27.

40. Although the facts of the case remain murky, the military government was convinced that the navy was also involved in the incident. Thak Chaloemtiarana, *Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism* (Bangkok: Thammasat University Press, 1979), pp. 42–43.

Pridi's former allies from parliament and the Free Thai movement.⁴¹ Pridi, disguised as a naval officer, returned to Bangkok, while naval units took over both the palace and the national Thai radio station. The rebel leaders announced the establishment of a new government, under which a liberal member of parliament would be named interim prime minister and senior naval officers would serve as supreme commander and minister of defense. A combination of luck (including ocean tides that prevented marine units from landing in the capital) and advanced intelligence on key parts of the plot enabled Thailand's army rulers to crush the revolt. During a third countercoup attempt in 1951, junior naval officers captured Phibun during a ship christening ceremony and transferred him onto the navy's flagship (a cruiser). Army leaders ordered an immediate attack on the disorganized rebels, sinking the flagship and destroying resistance elsewhere. Casualties on both sides totaled 600.

After the failure of the 1951 countercoup, army leaders treated the navy as a vanquished enemy and established a committee to (in their own words) "restructure" the navy. They stripped it of responsibility for public security, under which it had controlled police functions in six of the nation's seventy-one provinces. The navy's combat aircraft were transferred to the air force, and its number of authorized personnel was reduced. Its marine corps was cut from four battalions to one. The navy's independent spirit, however, remained unbroken. Naval officers continued to collaborate with parliamentary civilian opponents of military rule, especially members of the liberal Democrat Party, until the parliament was disbanded by Thailand's army rulers.

INTEGRAL NATIONALISM AND THE NAVY AS CONQUERED FOE, 1957–80. In 1957 General Sarit, the army's commander and one of the principal conspirators in the 1947 coup against Pridi, led his Military Party in a second coup. He exiled his rivals within the 1947 coup group and disbanded the parliament. Except during the democratic interlude between 1973 and 1976, naval fortunes languished between the 1957 coup and the gradual restoration of democratic politics after 1980. The size of the fleet declined, and the average age of the ships rose.

The lower-middle- or middle-class backgrounds of Sarit and the other army officers who dominated the Thai government between 1957 and 1980 helped to shape the distinctive integral nationalist ideology held by those individuals. The army's leadership defined the nation's first task as narrowing regional and class disparities, while attempting to lift the national economy through coordinated state-led efforts. They devoted much of the state's energies to develop-

41. On the second and third countercoup attempts, see *ibid.*, pp. 46–55.

ing the economy and infrastructure of the impoverished, landlocked northeast. They also shifted the emphasis of national education policies away from improvements in higher education (a pre-1957 priority) to guaranteed access to basic education.⁴² Throughout this period, the army's leaders were profoundly suspicious of free markets and entrepreneurs, whom they described into the 1980s as "dark influences" in the Thai countryside.⁴³

The navy, whose officer corps had significantly higher social origins and was drawn primarily from urban coastal areas, did not share the army's insular, anticapitalist, antiparliamentary beliefs.⁴⁴ In 1968 popular pressure forced the army leadership to promulgate a new constitution and schedule parliamentary elections for February 1969. The navy remained solidly behind the Democrat Party, and generals in the military's high command reportedly ordered the fleet to sea during the elections to prevent its members from voting.⁴⁵ In 1971 Gen. Thanom Kittikachorn executed a bloodless coup, suspending the constitution, dissolving parliament, and making himself prime minister. In October 1973, 200,000 student protesters took to the streets, demanding the general's resignation. The navy's chief, Adm. Sangad Chaloryu, was the most prominent among a handful of officers who opposed employing force to clear the streets as ordered by General Thanom. The king, fearing that a civil war might be imminent, sent Thanom into exile.

In recognition of Admiral Sangad's contribution to the restoration of democracy, the new prime minister, Sanya Dharmasakti, appointed him supreme commander and later minister of defense. Student and labor groups grew more radical, however, making it increasingly difficult for Thailand's new civilian leaders to govern effectively.⁴⁶ In October 1976 Admiral Sangad, with the support of the army and the middle class, announced a coup. He assured

42. Thailand's new rulers also increased the aggregate education budget. As a percentage of total government spending, it increased more than 300 percent between 1957 and 1958. Suehiro Akira, *Tai: Kaihatsu to Minshu-shugi* [Thailand: development and democracy] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1993), p. 42.

43. Suchit Bumbongkarn, *The Military in Thai Politics, 1981-86* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987), pp. 69-70; and Chai-Anan Samudavanija, *The Young Turks* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982), pp. 61-62. See also Muthiah Alagappa, *The National Security of Developing States: Lessons from Thailand* (Dover, Mass.: Auburn House, 1987).

44. According to one observer, the aristocratic composition of the navy and its technological expertise gave its officers a sense of social superiority vis-à-vis their army counterparts. Thak, *Thailand*, p. 50.

45. David Van Praagh, *Thailand's Struggle for Democracy: The Life and Times of M.R. Seni Pramoj* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1996), pp. 112, 130.

46. The number of strikes increased from 34 in 1972 to 241 in 1974. Suehiro, *Tai*, p. 72. The prime minister, Seni Pramoj, later admitted to feeling unable to handle the situation and to being relieved when the military removed him from power. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

the public, however, that his real objective was the speedy restoration of stable democracy. When the king appointed another hard-line figure—an uncompromising anticommunist judge—the admiral led the high command in a second coup. As one historian has observed, “For the first time, the military moved to get rid of a civilian government not because it was too liberal for their tastes but too conservative.”⁴⁷ A democratic constitution was put forth, and in 1980 Gen. Prem Tinsulanonda, an advocate of political reform, became prime minister.

THE NAVY AND STABLE DEMOCRACY IN THAILAND, 1980–PRESENT. The Thai navy has continued to support liberal political parties and positions. In 1992 it helped to topple another military government and was rewarded by Thailand’s civilian leaders with extensive new contracts for warships and a greater voice in policymaking.

Throughout the 1980s the Thai army remained deeply divided on key political issues. General Prem, who served as prime minister from 1980 to 1988, led efforts to reestablish meaningful civilian government and to curb military involvement in governmental affairs. Former members of the Democratic Soldiers faction, a group composed of army officers from the general staff and the army’s educational institutions, which was formally disbanded in 1981, supported Prem in these efforts.⁴⁸ However, senior line officers (e.g., infantry unit commanders), who had dominated the military since the 1947 coup and who were entrenched both in its central bureaucracy and the countryside, resisted bitterly.

Opposition from army factions led by line officers took several forms: attempted coups d’état, the use of army media outlets to attack reformists and their policies, and the stonewalling of military reform efforts. Army elements launched abortive coups in 1981 and 1985 and a successful one in 1991. Hostile army officers also used the army’s 124 radio stations (which overwhelmingly outnumbered parliament’s 16 stations) and other army media outlets to criticize Prem, his allies, and his policies.⁴⁹ Attacks on the business-affiliated Democrat Party (Prem’s primary parliamentary ally) in the 1980s were particularly fierce, suggesting with some irony that the Democrats were under the control of either bankers or communists.⁵⁰ In November 1984, Supreme Commander Gen. Arthit Kamlang-ek took to the airwaves to criticize the devaluation of the Baht and demand the removal of cabinet members responsible for it.

47. Van Praagh, *Thailand’s Struggle for Democracy*, p. 196.

48. Suchit, *The Military in Thai Politics, 1981–86*, pp. 14–16.

49. “Army Bids to Hold 124 Radio Lines,” *Nation*, May 6, 1998.

50. Suchit, *The Military in Thai Politics, 1981–86*, p. 44.

During the 1990s, the Thai army continued to resist political and military reforms designed to strengthen the authority of the country's elected officials and the defense minister's office. The army's attitude toward proposed constitutional changes was reflected in an August 1995 article by an officer attached to the Army Secretariat Office. In it, he ridiculed political reform as "impossible" and a matter of "taking away power from the powerful by the unpowerful."⁵¹ The 1991 military coup and subsequent year of military rule motivated civilian leaders to address the issue of military reform. Yet even with urban public opinion running against the army, it resisted moves to exclude prominent participants of the 1991 coup government from promotion to key positions within the army. In July 1995 the army's commander, Wimon Wongwanit, warned against civilian meddling, stating "If they want to make changes to the [promotion] list, let them. But I think they understand what they have to do if they do not want the military to become involved in politics."⁵²

The navy remained an integral part of the reform coalition. In the 1980s, it welcomed structural changes designed to strengthen central military planning (and weaken the army's autonomy). In 1991 Gen. Suchinda Kraprayoon overthrew the democratically elected government and assumed the presidency. When demonstrators demanded his resignation in May 1992, army troops fired on them, killing at least 100 and wounding many more. Marine units, on the other hand, not only refused orders to suppress the demonstrations but also shielded protesters from the army. In the words of journalist and historian David Van Praagh, "The marines—true to the navy's prodemocratic tradition—stood their ground against advancing army troops."⁵³ Civilian government was restored, at least in part because marine actions threatened civil war. The navy came away from the events of May 1992 as the darling of liberal political elites and the press. After elections for a new parliament were held in 1993, the navy was showered with contracts for new equipment.⁵⁴ In 1993 the new government adopted three defense-planning documents, all of which emphasized

51. Quoted in "Army Paper 'Ridiculed' Political Reform Panel," *Bangkok Post*, August 16, 1995, FBIS-FTS-1995-0816.

52. Watsana Nanuam, "All Set for the Changing of the Guard," *Nation*, July 23, 1995, FBIS-FTS-1995-0723. The army also resisted attempts to reduce the number of overstrength army officers. Today there are more generals in the Thai army than in the notoriously top-heavy and much larger Russian army.

53. Van Praagh, *Thailand's Struggle for Democracy*, p. 258. On these events, see also David Murray, *Angels and Devils: Thai Politics from February 1991 to September 1992* (Bangkok: White Orchid, 1996), p. 168.

54. On the parliament's generous mood, see Rodney Tasker, "Silent Service: Navy Reaps Rewards of Steering Clear of Politics," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 21, 1993, pp. 30–31.

the importance of naval power.⁵⁵ An article in Bangkok's *The Nation* predicted that by 2010 the navy would be "the most influential policy decision-maker" in Thailand."⁵⁶

CHINA

In China the struggle between party moderates, who would allow room for individual economic and social differences, and hard-liners, who would eliminate such differences, mirrored the conflict between liberals and integral nationalists in other East Asian states. Between 1953 and 1965, the Chinese navy aligned itself closely with party moderates, who rewarded it with considerable autonomy and increased resource allocation. During the Cultural Revolution, however, the navy came under fierce attack from radical integral nationalists. Then in 1976, the navy helped to engineer the return of Deng Xiaoping from political exile and provided strong support for his policy of "reform and opening" (1978–2002).

THE CHINESE NAVY, LIU SHAOQI, AND "MODERATE" POLITICS, 1953–66. The post-Korean War period saw the rise of party moderates in China such as Liu Shaoqi (vice chairman of the Communist Party, 1949–66, and president, 1959–66), Deng Xiaoping (Communist Party general secretary, 1954–66), and Zhou Enlai (prime minister, 1949–76). These individuals were never completely in control of every policy area during this period, but rather shared power uneasily with Mao Zedong and his more radical associates. With the exception of the years 1957–59 (i.e., around the time of the Great Leap Forward), however, party moderates controlled much of the day-to-day administration of the economy. In both civilian and military affairs, these individuals emphasized the merits of technical proficiency over rigid ideological purity.

Peng Dehuai, whose roots as a soldier extended farther back than his roots as a party member, became the minister of defense and vice chairman (the highest uniformed position) of the Central Military Commission (CMC) in 1953. With the support of moderate civilian officials, Peng began the creation

55. Panitan Wattanayagorn, "Thailand: The Elite's Shifting Conception of Security," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 438–439.

56. The article from *The Nation* is quoted in J.N. Mak and B.A. Hamzah, "Navy Blues," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 17, 1994, p. 30. The navy's prominent participation in (and the army's absence from) a series of 1999 meetings jointly sponsored by the Democrat Party and Thammasat University on Thailand's economy and society reflects the ongoing relationship between it and Thailand's premier liberal institutions. See Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Opposing Sides Dig in for the Battle over Kra Canal," *Nation*, August 30, 1999, in Lexis/Nexis; and Voraphun Srivoranart and Kulachada Chaipipat, "Knowledge Crucial to Nation," *Nation*, August 28, 1999, in *ibid.*

of a conventional military organization, and although he focused primarily on improving air and armored capabilities, he also strengthened China's naval forces. In 1954 China's first destroyer detachment was assembled, and in 1956 its first domestically produced destroyer was launched.⁵⁷ In 1954 the navy's commander, Xiao Jinguang, assumed the concurrent position of deputy minister of defense.

In 1959 Peng unsuccessfully challenged Mao over the failure of the Great Leap and was removed from office. His replacement as vice chairman of the CMC, Lin Biao, put much greater emphasis on ideology and less on technical capabilities. He distrusted the navy for its employment of 4,000 former Guomindang sailors and 30,000 "intellectuals" (individuals with a college education).⁵⁸ In 1962 Lin compared the navy to a sick patient who, "instead of taking the perfectly good medicine already in his possession [i.e., socialist theory], searches blindly for new medicine [i.e., Western military science]."⁵⁹ But with Mao largely discredited after the failure of the Great Leap and Liu and his colleagues holding key administrative posts, the navy had political protection against Lin's attempts to dictate naval policy.

THE CHINESE NAVY IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1966–76. During the Cultural Revolution party moderates were purged, leaving the navy exposed to increasingly heavy-handed interference by Chinese ideologues. In 1962 Lin Biao had appointed Li Zuopeng, a political officer with no experience in naval affairs, as deputy naval commander and naval political commissar. After 1966 Li came to operate as a shadow naval command, influencing everything from personnel appointments to naval educational policies.

Although Lin died under mysterious circumstances in 1971 and Li was stripped of his party and military positions two years later, the Gang of Four (civilian radicals who dominated Chinese politics between 1971 and 1977) were no less persistent in their assault on the navy. In 1972 Zhang Chunqiao—a member of Standing Committee of the Politburo and one of the Gang of Four—staked out a military rationale against the navy, stating, "We are continentalists. With advanced missiles installed on shore and capable of hitting targets at any location, there is no need for building a big navy."⁶⁰ Yet de-

57. *Zhongguo Haijun Baike Quanshu* [Naval encyclopedia of China] (Beijing: Haichao Chubanshe, 1999), p. 1946.

58. *Haijunshi* [History of the navy] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jiefangjun Chubanshe, 1989), pp. 75–76.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

60. Quoted in "'Sirenbang' Shi Yihuo Shizu de Touxiangpai, Maiguopai" [The Gang of Four was a band of defeatists and traitors], *Jiefangjun Bao*, March 15, 1977, p. 1. For more on the Gang of Four's influence, see John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, *China's Strategic Seapower: The Politics of Force Modernization in the Nuclear Age* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 223.

spite this strategic justification, other incidents betrayed a political motive for the Gang of Four's campaign against strengthening the navy. In a June 1974 fleet visit, Jiang Qing, Mao's wife and another Gang of Four member, pointed to an officer in front of the assembled crew and said: "I do not trust your type, and that is to say I do not trust you." Singling out an enlisted party member, she then declared, "I do trust you and your type." She derided naval headgear as "imperialist" in fashion, calling on sailors to cut the "tails" off their caps, and accused navy commander Xiao Jinguang—who was not present—of having failed to distribute reading materials on the correct "military line."⁶¹

The effects of leftist politics on Chinese naval standards and capabilities during the 1960s and 1970s were devastating. Nine out of fourteen naval schools were shut down, and entrance standards were reduced as political qualifications were placed above technical ones. Most new students had only an elementary or some middle school-level education. Training time at the unit level was limited to one hour per day, as political education was given priority. Central maintenance and repair facilities were closed, and units were instructed to do their own maintenance work. The navy's prominence in national discussions also declined. According to a full-text search of the government newspaper, *Renmin Ribao* (People's daily), the percentage of military articles that addressed naval issues averaged 5 percent between 1953 and 1965 but fell to 2 percent during the Cultural Revolution. Naval officers complained openly that "over the last few years, our naval work has been one step forward, two steps back, with standards in each year falling short of the previous year. Presently, we have fast attack craft that are no longer fast and submarines that cannot submerge. Soon, we will have aircraft that cannot go airborne."⁶²

THE NAVY UNDER "REFORM AND OPENING," 1978–2002. The Chinese navy was instrumental in bringing liberal leaders back into power and keeping them there. Comdr. Xiao Jinguang was, according to Chinese sources, the most committed and outspoken member of the reformist political military group under Ye Jianying (vice chairman of the CMC) during the showdown with, and arrest of, the radical leftist Gang of Four in October 1976.⁶³ Xiao had come under attack for his capitalist sympathies three times between 1962 and 1976, had been

61. "Baiguojing Jiang Qing Cuandao Haijun Jianting de Yici Chou'e Biaoyan" [A hideous performance by the white-boned she-devil Jiang Qing as she stormed to a naval vessel], *Jiefangjun Bao*, March 13, 1977, p. 2. Harlan W. Jencks also observes that the navy remained the most rank-conscious branch of the PLA. Jencks, *From Muskets to Missiles: Politics and Professionalism in the Chinese Army, 1945–1981* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1982), p. 162.

62. *Haijunshi*, p. 77.

63. Fan Shuo, *Ye Jianying Zai 1976* [Ye Jianying in 1976] (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang Dangxiao Chubanshe, 1995), pp. 360–362.

removed from his post once (in 1967), and was restored to command only after Mao intervened on his behalf (in 1971).⁶⁴ He was under no illusions about the precariousness of his position after Mao's death in September 1976. But the arrest of the Gang of Four, which came as both sides were mobilizing their forces for a confrontation, not only cleared the path for Deng Xiaoping's return to power but also protected Xiao from once more being purged (or worse) by the radicals.

The army was deeply divided after Deng's restoration and throughout the 1980s. Officers from the general staff and the science and technology community, whose organizations stood to benefit from Deng's organizational reforms, were broadly supportive of his economic and political programs, while line officers, especially in the military regions, stood largely in opposition. Army conservatives (i.e., leftists) balked on questions of military reform, applied steady pressure on the "counterrevolutionary" social effects of economic reform, and of greatest long-term concern, acted to block liberal candidates from being recognized as Deng's potential successor.

Several regional commanders, who had amassed considerable authority during the Cultural Revolution, refused to comply with Deng's new military doctrine (which called for smaller, more compact forces that would combine guerrilla with conventional operations) and even direct orders. From 1977 to 1993, Deng was engaged in an exhausting struggle with much of his own army leadership. A 1977 speech reflects his frustration with regional commanders who refused orders: "They think that with the power behind them, no one will touch them—they think no one will dare rub the tiger's ass!"⁶⁵ Deng was unable to remove Li Desheng, one of his greatest army nemeses from his position as commander of the Shenyang Military District, until 1985.

Against this backdrop, Deng brought the navy's Liu Huaqing into the CMC as a personal adviser in 1979. Liu and the navy's leadership provided consistent and unequivocal moral support for all aspects of reform and opening, including the subordination of military strengthening to the larger task of economic reconstruction. In a 1984 article, Liu, then commander of the Chinese navy, listed the navy's top three priorities as (1) eliminating the "pernicious lingering effects of leftism," (2) assisting in "national economic strengthening" to create future conditions for a powerful navy, and (3) improving the educa-

64. *Zhongguo Haijun Baike Quanshu*, p. 1777; and Liu Tienhe, *Xiao Jinguang* (Beijing: Zuoja Chubanshe, 1997), pp. 402–412.

65. Deng Xiaoping, *Wenxuan* [Selected writings of Deng Xiaoping] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), p. 82.

tion and training of naval personnel.⁶⁶ In contrast, the rhetoric of many army critics continued to suggest that liberal economic policies were betraying the legacy of the revolution and Mao Zedong.

The importance of this battle for the moral high ground—in which the navy and its leaders provided critical support—is difficult to overstate. In 1986 army critics in the military's General Political Department launched a series of ideological campaigns critical of the "capitalist" tilt in Chinese national policy.⁶⁷ Conservative military critics then used those ideological campaigns to block Deng's liberal candidates in line to succeed him as CMC chairman on two different occasions (against Hu Yaobang in 1986 and against Zhao Ziyang in 1987).⁶⁸ Because the CMC was run by collective decisionmaking and Deng himself was only first among equals in that forum, he could not overrule its decisions by fiat. By refusing to sign off on Deng's candidates for the CMC chairmanship, conservative army elements effectively blocked any of them from becoming head of the party, hence threatening the future of the entire reform effort.

With Deng facing this worst of tests within the CMC, Liu Huaqing, who was made a full member of the CMC in 1987, worked to contain the damage and shore up the position of reformers both inside and outside the commission. During the October 1987 party plenum, Liu was the highest-ranking military officer to deliver a speech supporting Zhao Ziyang's call for deepening reform, declaring: "Socialist society should pursue unrelenting reform and cannot be static. . . . As reform and opening faces its most serious test, the navy stands in the forefront of its defense. The navy, with its high technical knowledge and personnel skill requirements, is fully qualified and capable of supporting local reform."⁶⁹

After conservative reactions in 1989 again threatened the viability of the reform effort, Liu and other naval officers were reenlisted to protect the reform agenda. Later that year the Tiananmen Square demonstrations and the ensuing

66. Du Zhongwei et al., "Haiyang, Haijun, Xinjishu Geming—Fang Haijun Silingyuan Liu Huaqing" [The ocean, the navy, and the new technological revolution—an interview with navy commander Liu Huaqing], *Liaowang*, August 13, 1984, p. 8.

67. The "socialist spiritual civilization" questioned the "economics before politics" approach of Hu Yaobang and other liberal associates of Deng. The "theory of soldiers' gains and losses" and the "sounds of Maoerdong" campaigns were similarly used to decry the moral decline of China's nonmilitary youth—all blamed on liberalization.

68. Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 187, 217.

69. Speeches delivered on this occasion appear in Li Xuanhua et al., "Gaige Shi Jianshe You Zhongguo Tese de Shehuizhuyi de Biyou Zhi Lu" [Reform is the necessary path for creating socialism with Chinese characteristics], *Jiefangjun Bao*, October 31, 1987, p. 1.

military crackdown gave the political initiative to the conservatives. Over the next three years, they continued to advance their position, edging liberals out of key positions. Deng, seeing his reform legacy in danger, struck back in 1992, coming out of retirement and exerting all of his leverage to stack the CMC with sympathetic figures. He promoted Liu (aged seventy-six) to the top uniformed position within the CMC, and, in what China political observer Willy Wo-Lap Lam described as a strategy “to bring in the navy as a counterpoise to the army,” Deng appointed six naval officers as full or alternate members of the party’s Central Committee—more than from any other branch of the military.⁷⁰

Since 1989 the political center has been at least as fearful of pressures for rapid political liberalization as it has been of pressures from conservative integral nationalist officers to abandon reform and opening. While the navy was useful in staving off a final surge by conservative revolutionary figures in 1992 and 1993, the death or retirement of those figures in the mid-1990s eliminated one political motivation for naval promotion. At the same time, the Tiananmen incident brought into question the loyalty of high-technology military forces—including the navy—when called on to suppress liberal dissent.⁷¹ While Jiang Zemin’s apparent strategy of buying the military’s collective loyalty with large increases in defense budgets has ensured that progress in naval modernization continues, the navy’s special political relationship with the center may be in abeyance—at least until the next big reform push.

INDONESIA

Throughout Suharto’s New Order (1967–98), the army remained in undisputed first place among the services. It held this position despite the suppression of all significant separatist movements by the late 1970s, the rise of other regional navies during the 1980s and 1990s, and concerns about China’s intentions toward the Natuna Islands. In contrast, Suharto’s successor, Abdurrahman Wahid, adopted an outwardly oriented maritime strategy despite the reemergence of domestic separatist movements, the slowing of regional naval

70. Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *China after Deng Xiaoping* (New York: Wiley, 1995), p. 221.

71. In the days prior to Tiananmen, naval officers were overrepresented among the progressive officers calling for the reformation of the Chinese military as a “national” rather than “party” force. Michael Swain, *The Military and Political Succession in China: Leadership, Institutions, and Beliefs* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1992), p. 166. During the crisis, officers from naval headquarters were similarly overrepresented among military officers who openly supported or even marched with student demonstrators. The navy’s political commissioner, Li Yaowen, reportedly used a variety of pretexts for blocking orders to mobilize the Chinese marine corps during the crisis. Zheng Yi, *Zhongguo Juntou Dianjiang Lu* [An account of Chinese military leaders] (Taipei: Kaijin Wenhua Shiye Youxian Gongsi, 1995), p. 106.

growth, and a political rapprochement with China. Wahid's successor, Sukarnoputri Megawati, has not deviated from this path. These facts, which do not accord well with realist predictions, are better explained by differences in service ideologies and the degree to which sitting presidents deemed each service to be politically reliable. Suharto, an ardent integral nationalist, judged the army to be more loyal. Indonesia's post-1999 leaders, on the other hand, have considered the navy to be a more reliable defender of liberal values.

THE SERVICES AND SUKARNO, 1949–67. Indonesia's army and navy shared similar domestic and military preferences from the end of World War II throughout the 1950s, after which their political and economic views began to diverge. Through the mid-1950s, Indonesia's preindependence (1949) Dutch-trained elite dominated both politics and the top ranks of all the military services. In the early 1950s, more than two-thirds of all members of parliament had served as officials under the Dutch before World War II, and the commanders of all three military services were former officers of the Dutch-created Royal Netherlands Indies Army.⁷² These individuals, civilian and military alike, had relatively cosmopolitan outlooks, and most agreed on the need for a modern, largely conventional military to defend the state.

But the army was internally divided. Although its top officers were Dutch trained, a majority of its junior and midlevel officers were drawn from the ranks of the Japanese-trained PETA (Pembela Tanah Air or Defenders of the Fatherland) forces or from militia units formed during the struggle for independence (1945–49). These officers came from less prestigious families and were less cosmopolitan than the army's Dutch-trained officers. Given their early training and revolutionary experience, Indonesia's junior and midlevel officers preferred military doctrines that stressed guerrilla warfare and solidarity between the army and the Indonesian people.⁷³ By comparison, the navy was more unified. Because the Japanese had never trained any Indonesian naval forces and the Dutch had, the navy drew its officers from the Dutch-trained elite.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the political preferences of the army and navy diverged. Revolts in Sumatra and Sulawesi in 1957 and 1958 strengthened the position of army officers who believed that the development of the

72. Ulf Sundhaussen, *The Road to Power: Indonesian Military Politics, 1945–1967* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 52, 69.

73. On the different social origins of Dutch- and Japanese-trained officers, see David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics, 1975–1983* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1984), pp. 239–240; and Kurasawa Aiko, *Nihon no Senryo-shita no Jawa Noson no Henyou* [Village change in Java under Japanese occupation] (Tokyo: Soshisha, 1992), p. 330.

countryside, especially on the outer (i.e., non-Javanese) islands, was critical for maintaining Indonesia's cohesion. In 1961 the army established a civic action program, under which army units assisted village leaders with education, hygiene, and infrastructure projects. Many army officers believed that Sukarno's increasingly warm relationship with the Communist Party after 1963 heightened instability and disrupted their efforts in the countryside. In addition, they opposed Sukarno's war with Malaysia (1963–66) and obstructed his plans to prosecute the war aggressively.⁷⁴ In contrast, although the naval leadership was firmly anticommunist, it expressed greater satisfaction with Sukarno's leadership. It was also much more supportive of the military's operations against Malaysia. Sukarno, in turn, increased naval budgets. By 1966 the Indonesian fleet included one cruiser, eight destroyers, ten frigates, twelve submarines, and a host of smaller craft.⁷⁵

On October 1, 1965, a group of communist civilian and military officers led air force elements and several battalions of army infantry in an attempt to preempt military anticommunist officers. They captured, tortured, and killed six senior army generals and called on other units to join the revolt. Ultimately, the rebellion failed. Surviving army and navy leaders agreed on the need to rid Indonesia of its communist organizations, and between 250,000 and 500,000 suspected leftists were killed. Having crushed the communist threat, the services differed on what to do next. The navy favored leaving Sukarno in power with some limitations on his authority. Some in the army, especially its Dutch-trained officers, agreed. But with the army's turn toward an integral nationalist ideology over the preceding half-decade, the initiative had passed into the hands of more hard-line PETA-trained officers. Many of these officers, including General Suharto (the commander of the strategic reserve in October 1965), pressed for Sukarno's removal.⁷⁶ As Suharto prepared to oust Sukarno in March 1967, the navy mobilized its forces in eastern Java and Jakarta and threatened military action to defend the president, backing down only when faced with superior military force and after receiving reassurances on a variety of political issues.⁷⁷

74. Sukarno had launched the war to unify the Malay people under Indonesian governance after Britain granted Malaysia its independence. The war brought higher army budgets and delayed manpower cuts, but it meant less money for the civic action program. Sundhaussen, *The Road to Power*, p. 173. On army stonewalling, see also Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 69–75.

75. In 1984, after years of neglect under Suharto, the navy's arsenal included no cruisers or destroyers, and its nine frigates and three submarines were old and in disrepair.

76. Sundhaussen, *The Road to Power*, pp. 227–228.

77. Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, p. 217.

THE DECLINE OF THE NAVY UNDER THE NEW ORDER, 1967–98. Under Suharto's New Order, the army adopted explicitly integral nationalist policies, adjusting its command structure and force deployment to achieve the president's goals of economic and social development. The navy, on the other hand, refused to embrace Suharto's developmental priorities and found itself starved for funds.

In 1958 army leaders articulated the *dwifungsi* (dual function) doctrine, under which the army would perform social and political functions in addition to its military one. Under Suharto, *dwifungsi* became military doctrine. When most of the army's remaining Dutch-trained officers resigned shortly after Suharto's accession to power, the army's leadership abandoned the idea (long-cherished by those officers) of building a conventional force.⁷⁸ Instead the army adopted a guerrilla strategy known as "total people's defense," which called for maximizing cooperation between local populations and the military. The doctrine dictated that one sergeant and one assistant be posted in every Indonesian village, an ideal that was never fully achieved in practice because of manpower limitations but that nevertheless indicated an extraordinary commitment to fostering a local presence. The civic action program was expanded to include village-level activities by nearly all army units. The army, however, never had sufficient resources to achieve its objective of a total people's army.⁷⁹

Unlike the army, the navy never embraced Suharto's integral nationalist ideology. It was less involved in civic action programs, and it continued to stress technical qualifications over balanced ethnic representation in its officer recruitment: In the 1990s, only 10–15 percent of the navy's senior officers were non-Javanese (compared with 45–50 percent of the army's elite or 55 percent of Indonesia's total population).⁸⁰ The navy periodically proposed modifications to the total people's defense doctrine, seeking to broaden the scope for conventional missions.

The navy fared poorly under the New Order. In 1968 and 1969, Suharto purged it of officers who had opposed him on the issue of Sukarno's ouster. In

78. In the late 1970s, for example, naval and marine officers were overrepresented among the retired military general officers involved in the dissident Foundation for the Institute of Constitutional Awareness, a group that called for less military involvement in politics and other restrictions on the military's dual function. The institute included four naval and marine officers, representing 33 percent of the total group of twelve military figures. At that time, naval officers made up about 8 percent of the military's officer corps. Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, pp. 102–112, 237.

79. Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, p. 167.

80. These figures are based on semiannual compilations of biographical data on Indonesian military elites conducted by the editors of *Indonesia* (a semiannual journal covering Indonesian history and politics published by Cornell University).

1969 he subordinated all of the services to a central military command structure that became dominated by army officers. Service commanders (renamed “service chiefs of staff”) lost their command authority, which was reassigned to the armed forces general staff and territorial commanders, as well as their ministerial status. Naval funding also suffered, and by 1979 Indonesian warship tonnage was less than a third of what it had been in the mid-1960s. Although the navy was permitted to buy sixteen Parchim-class corvettes in the 1990s, these ships—incorporating 1960s’ technology and less than a third the weight of Dutch frigates already in the inventory—left it with a fleet of small, aging, undergunned warships that it had not sought.⁸¹ Nor were military priorities changing at the time of Suharto’s fall: The government’s plans called for a staggering 56 percent increase in army manpower by 2019 and little if any expansion of naval forces.⁸²

THE NAVY CHAMPIONS DEMOCRACY, 1998–PRESENT. In 1998 and 1999, the navy supported the restoration of democracy in Indonesia. After the parliament—stacked with Suharto appointees—reelected the president to a seventh five-year term in March 1998, protests erupted in Jakarta and other cities in the archipelago. Suharto resigned in May 1998, and Vice President B.J. Habibie was sworn in as president. Opposition parties in parliament announced that they would call for Habibie’s resignation and new parliamentary elections during the upcoming November session. In October, with a showdown between Habibie and the opposition drawing near, naval and marine parliamentarians defected en masse from Habibie’s ruling Golkar Party to join Sukarnoputri Megawati, leader of the liberal Democratic Party.⁸³ The army’s representatives remained united behind Habibie, and paramilitary groups under army control began moving into the capital.

In November 1998, student protestors demanded Habibie’s resignation and backed Megawati’s call for new parliamentary elections. Early on the morning of November 13, Indonesia’s minister of defense and security, army General Wiranto, warned: “Soldiers assisted by civilians will face and take stern action against anyone or any group which blatantly violates laws or the constitu-

81. The navy had originally sought to purchase twenty-three new frigates. When it agreed instead to take the East German corvettes, Vice President B.J. Habibie promised sufficient refurbishment funds to update onboard equipment. That promise was not kept. See John McBeth, “Techno-Battles: Habibie’s Sway Over Weapons Purchases Irks Military,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 7, 1994, pp. 26–28; and Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, pp. 19, 86, 98–99.

82. Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, pp. 86, 94.

83. John McBeth, “Secular Soldiers: Old Generals Face Off against Habibie’s Islamic Allies,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 29, 1998, p. 21.

tion."⁸⁴ Hours later, army and paramilitary groups began firing on the protesters, killing 14 and wounding 448. The navy, which had reinforced its presence in the capital with additional marine units, moved to intervene. On November 14, marines were dispatched to march with and protect the students.⁸⁵ According to reporters, "Uniformed marines crouched in the streets to plot marching routes with student leaders wearing bandanas."⁸⁶ The marines continued to cooperate with and shield the protesters until Habibie agreed to schedule new elections for June 1999.

President Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president by the new parliament in October 1999. His first major policy address emphasized the need to strengthen Indonesia's maritime defenses. Wahid selected the country's first civilian defense minister, Juwono Sudarsono, and appointed the navy's chief of staff, Adm. Widodo Adisutjipto, to serve as the Indonesian military's first non-army commander. Widodo and Juwono then engineered the appointment of naval officers to four of the military's thirteen top posts, all of which had been held by army officers under Suharto.⁸⁷ Wahid also chose several naval officers as personal aides, including one intelligence officer whose primary task appeared to be monitoring the Indonesian military's political activities.⁸⁸

Under Wahid, the army stonewalled structural reforms such as reducing the number of military representatives in parliament and eliminating the military's territorial commands. Many Indonesian officials believed that the army (in particular its special forces and territorial units) incited violence in the outer islands to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of democratic government. And some, including the president, believed that army officers were plotting

84. "Megawati's Sister Rejects MPR Session," Rajawali Televisi Indonesia, November 13, 1998, FBIS-FTS-1998-1112.

85. "Students with 60 Marines Allowed to Reach Parliament," Hong Kong, Agence France-Presse (AFP), November 14, 1998, FBIS-FTS-1998-1114. See also "Marine Shot in Firing, Students Return to Jakarta Streets," Hong Kong AFP, November 14, 1998, FBIS-FTS-1998-1113.

86. Ron Moreau and Dorinda Elliott, "They Are Cruel, Cruel," *Newsweek*, November 23, 1998, p. 34. See also Michael Vatikiotis and John McBeth, "Tell It to the Marines: Unit Befriends Demonstrators, Holds Key to Law and Order," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, November 26, 1998, p. 20.

87. "Changes in Civil-Military Relations since the Fall of Suharto," *Indonesia*, No. 70 (October 2000), p. 126. Author given as "the editors."

88. In January 2000 President Wahid took Lieutenant Colonel Luanda, a naval intelligence officer, with him on a tour of European and Asian capitals. During the trip Wahid announced the removal of the military's top commander, General Wiranto. He also made it clear that he was tracking Wiranto's movements and activities in minute detail—information that was probably provided by Luanda's sources. "Indonesia: Wiranto Suspension Poses Questions," *Surabaya Jawa Pos*, February 16, 2000, FBIS-SEP-2000-0216; and "The Men and Women behind the President," *Jakarta Post*, February 29, 2000, in Lexis/Nexis.

coups d'état against the government.⁸⁹ In contrast, Widodo and his naval colleagues supported both military and political reform, and naval and marine forces proved more disciplined and less bloody-minded in the provinces.⁹⁰

Wahid promised additional resources to strengthen Indonesia's naval capabilities. In February 2000 the navy announced plans to expand its personnel from 47,000 to 70,000 within five years.⁹¹ The following month, Juwono declared that the marine corps would increase in size from 13,000 to 23,000 men, and Kopassus (the army's special forces) would be cut from 6,000 to 5,000.⁹² Wahid also gave the navy considerable latitude in determining its doctrine and organization. In February 2000 the navy's chief of staff, Adm. Achmad Sutjipto, announced that the navy would abolish its old basing system, under which Indonesia's two fleets were headquartered in east and west Java (i.e., the heart of the archipelago), and organize new bases in three strategic regions along Indonesia's maritime borders.⁹³ The new, outwardly oriented naval profile provides the rationale for the rebuilding of an oceangoing fleet.

Since Megawati's assumption of power in June 2001, the prospects for naval growth in Indonesia have remained strong, though the president is taking a more balanced approach to the services than did her predecessor. She appears less committed to military reform and more committed to the use of military force to hold the country together. Nevertheless, she has been a prime beneficiary of the navy's activism on behalf of liberal restoration, and she is unlikely to forget its potential value in future domestic crises. Her 2002 military budget included an 18 percent increase in military spending, most of which went toward updating naval and air force systems.⁹⁴

SUMMARY OF NINE CASES

The above cases support the civil-military coalition theory's predictions. First, in eight and possibly all nine cases, the navies of China, Thailand, and Indonesia were significantly more sympathetic to liberal political and economic posi-

89. On all of these points, see "Changes in Civil-Military Relations since the Fall of Suharto," pp. 125-138. See also Theodore Friend, "Indonesia: Confronting the Political and Economic Crisis," Foreign Policy Research Institute, February 16, 2000.

90. On the marine role in the provinces, see "Send in the Marines," *Jakarta Post*, September 13, 2000, in Lexis/Nexis.

91. "TNI Plans to Add Personnel, Weapons," *Jakarta Post*, February 11, 2000, in Lexis/Nexis.

92. "Changes in Civil-Military Relations since the Fall of Suharto," p. 134.

93. "Indonesian Navy to Restructure Primary Naval Bases," *Suara Pembaruan* (internet), February 9, 2000, FBIS-FTS-1999-0210.

94. "Megawati Under Fire over Policy on Defense Budget," *Jakarta Post*, September 8, 2001, in Lexis/Nexis.

tions than were the armies of these three countries. They also almost invariably aligned themselves with the middle class, especially the upper-middle class. The one possible exception is the early Indonesian period, when all of the primary political actors were arguably integral nationalists, making the theory-testing results inconclusive.⁹⁵ There was also one episode in which the navy explicitly rejected electoral democracy (i.e., the Thai navy's support for the overthrow of democracy in 1976). But in that case, the navy's actions were taken in defense of liberal economic values and with the support of Thailand's middle class. Moreover, naval leaders did promise—and deliver—a quick return to democratic rule.

Second, the armies of China, Thailand, and Indonesia were less unified in their domestic preferences than the navies. The armies' line officers were shown to be more attached to integral nationalist political and economic positions than officers from its general staff, technical branches, and science and technology communities. Regardless of which group held the key army decisionmaking positions, important dissident elements inevitably were present. The Chinese, Thai, and Indonesian navies, on the other hand, showed a remarkable degree of unity in their support for liberal positions.

ESTABLISHED DEMOCRACIES AND DEVELOPING STATES

An important control test for the civil-military coalition theory is to examine whether developed states have undertaken strategic adjustments similar to those of developing states. If so, then a stronger case might be made that external variables (e.g., the level of foreign threat) better explain strategic change. In this regard, the record of Japan and Australia—the only two regional states that have been advanced industrial democracies for most or all of the post-World War II period—is important. The combined warship, tank, and combat aircraft inventories of these two states grew by 12 percent, 23 percent, and -7 percent (respectively) between 1980 and 2001; for the ten developing states of the region, the figures were 68 percent, 10 percent, and -30 percent. The patterns of strategic change in the developed and developing states differ dramatically, lending added weight to the conclusion that domestic factors have had a major impact on defense policymaking among developing states in East Asia.

95. The navy supported Sukarno in 1967, but Sukarno's economic policies during the 1960s were hardly liberal. As one economist wrote, "Socialism is basic to the political ideology of virtually all shades of the Indonesian political spectrum." Bruce Glassburner, "Economic Policy-Making in Indonesia, 1950-1957," in Glassburner, ed., *The Economy of Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 72.

Conclusions and Implications

The historical record in East Asia demonstrates consistent patterns across countries in the domestic preferences of the military services, the formation of civil-military coalitions, and the relationship between coalition politics and strategic outcomes. These conclusions have important implications for (1) how liberal reformers in states undergoing economic and/or political transitions in East Asia and elsewhere can mitigate the threat from reactionary military elements, (2) how U.S. policymakers can assist reform leaders in these states in consolidating their positions, and (3) how analysts can or should interpret military developments in the developing world—including the rise of naval forces and doctrines in East Asia over the last two decades.

For liberal leaders seeking to minimize military opposition during political transitions, these findings provide four lessons. First, reformers should generally be able to find support in the military if they look in the right places: that is, in organizations with officers who possess a high degree of technical education, including the general staffs and communications branches of the navy, air force, and army. Second, because reform-minded army officers would likely be subject to intense pressure from other members of their own military arm and may be neutralized as effective reform proponents, naval and air force leaders should constitute a critical part of reform coalitions. Third, the promotion of relatively liberal military officers offers only temporary protection to liberal leaders unless those officers are mobilized to promote structural military reforms giving civilian authorities legally sanctioned and/or broadly recognized authority over the details of defense budgeting and senior personnel appointments. Finally, in the long term, armies can be restructured in ways that make them more sympathetic to liberal values. Those with large high-technology components, officers with advanced schooling and technical education, long-service volunteer enlisted soldiers, strong general staffs, and conventional military doctrines are more likely to support liberal political and economic programs than are armies without such characteristics. In other words, making armies' more closely resemble the navies in key organizational features should make their politics more similar to those of navies.

How can the United States assist liberal leaders in developing states in consolidating their recent gains?⁹⁶ Although the U.S. capacity for influencing the

96. Throughout this article, I have argued that navies (and other high-technology military organizations) support liberal economic positions but not necessarily electoral democracy. Although lib-

domestic behavior of military forces in foreign states is limited, some measures deserve consideration. First, in the case of states where military elements represent a latent threat to liberal leadership, increasing the proportion of U.S. military aid allocated to the target state's navy and air force would, on balance, strengthen those organizations and provide increased protection against conservative military threats. Second, in U.S. dealings with foreign armies, focusing on work with their technical elements would, in the long term, change the dynamics of these organizations. Military reformers in Thailand emerged from the general staff and the communications branch; in the Chinese case, they came from the general staff and the military's science and technology community. Capable individuals from the army's communications, logistics, and general staff should be encouraged to apply for advanced training in the United States (e.g., for advanced technical courses), while funding for basic officer courses in the combat arms branches (especially the infantry) should be scrutinized. Training young infantry officers may create more professional officers, but it is also more likely to provide career advantages for officers who already hold deeply ingrained integral nationalist views.

The civil-military coalition theory also has implications for analysts seeking to interpret or predict military trends in East Asia or other developing regions. In those areas, military trends—often taken to reflect the level of conflict between states—may instead be driven more by domestic events. In East Asia, what appears to be a naval arms race (or at least a naval arms buildup) can be better understood as the military fallout of the liberal wave that has swept across the region over the last two decades. Domestic concerns have often trumped external strategic ones, and even when they have not, leaders have shaped their responses to their external environment in ways that also serve their domestic needs. If domestic forces are driving these naval buildups, naval growth should slow eventually, as new liberal regimes are consolidated and the domestic incentives for naval growth decline. But subregional and individual national patterns are likely to vary considerably, with the prospects for naval growth strongest in areas where liberal reformers are consolidating recent gains and pursuing military reform (e.g., Taiwan). In China and perhaps Indonesia, leaders face particularly complex challenges, and both domestic priorities and strategic direction may change frequently.

eral economics and electoral democracy have generally been positively correlated in postwar East Asia, this has been less true of other areas at other times (e.g., in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s when populists and socialists were voted into top political positions). Where liberalism and electoral democracy are likely to clash, the United States must decide which value it will favor.

To conclude that domestic drivers may decisively influence external security policies does not preclude the possibility of dynamic interactions (e.g., arms races) developing between states. In the case of East Asia, rapid naval growth in individual states can, and in some cases has, increased the insecurity of other states. As important as the rapid growth of naval material strength in East Asia has been the free hand that liberal leaders have given their navies in establishing research centers that often exaggerate the degree of conflict these countries face. Although many U.S. assessments of the East Asian security environment overstate the levels of mutual suspicion and insecurity in the region (especially those involving China), liberalization carries some new dangers even as it mitigates others. Ultimately, consolidating liberal gains will provide the best long-term solution to these problems, but until this is achieved, new dangers will demand thoughtful management by the United States and its partners.