

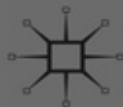
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# **THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE**

## **Regional Multilateralism**

**Edited by  
Takashi Inoguchi,  
G. John Ikenberry,  
and Yoichiro Sato**



## The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance



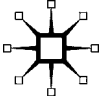
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# Alliance Constrained: Japan, the United States, and Regional Security

*Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry, and Yoichiro Sato*

Both President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton hailed Japan as “the cornerstone of United States global security.”<sup>1</sup> Both Prime Minister Taro Aso and Foreign Minister Hirofumi Nakasone reaffirmed the alliance with the United States as key to peace and prosperity in Japan and the region.<sup>2</sup> Even just judging from their words, it is crystal clear that the United States is intensely global, whereas Japan is intensely inward looking and essentially preoccupied with Japan and its vicinity. Besides the paraphernalia of the leaders about the alliance, subtle differences and divergences in their priorities seem to manifest themselves between the two governments. They should not be exaggerated. Rather, they should be overcome. Nevertheless these divergent priorities could grow as remedies are ignored.

Japan’s prime minister Yukio Hatoyama proclaimed that Japan should pursue an “equal partnership” with the United States and announced a series of initiatives that aimed at altering policies under the previous governments of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Such initiatives as investigating the secret U.S.-Japan agreement about the “transit” of nuclear weapons through the Japanese territorial space, revising the status of forces agreement (SOFA) and the host-nation support payment for the cost of U.S. troops in Japan, and the relocation plan for the Futenma Marines Corps Airbase were all part of Japan’s renewed assertion of equality.

These proposed Japanese initiatives were incremental and had mostly only tactical implications for the United States. Japan under the Hatoyama government continues to emphasize the U.S.-Japan alliance as the most important bilateral relationship Japan has. Japan has selectively continued its contributions to security cooperation with the United States in distant areas, such as the Sea of Aden and Nepal. Furthermore, there are signs that not all of the DPJ proposals

found in its preelection manifesto may be pursued. As revision of the Futenma relocation issue—Hatoyama’s pick of the fights—quickly deadlocked between the U.S. Department of Defense and Japan’s local politics, revision of SOFA became a nonstarter. Even on the Futenma issue, any negotiated settlement seems to fall within minor modifications to the original agreement.

The fact that Japan and the United States are quarrelling over mainly tactical issues is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the two countries are still emphasizing the importance of the alliance for their strategic objectives. On the other hand, discussions on the tactical issues are taking up all the time from the key officials and delaying badly needed discussions to iron out common strategic objectives for the two allies under the changing regional security environment. The current situation is similar to the state of the alliance following the fall of the LDP government in 1993, when a coalition of former opposition parties elected Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa. Hosokawa announced a “mature partnership” between Japan and the United States without discussions of Japan’s contributions to global and regional security. The next two years under the coalition government of the LDP and the Socialists barely had the Socialists accept the constitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF). The Japanese procrastination during the rapidly changing post-Cold War international security environment resulted in what Yoichi Funabashi called “Alliance Adrift.”<sup>3</sup>

The volume addresses the issue of subtle divergences between the allies of the two largest economies. To make divergences clear, let us focus on how Japan perceives the alliance from three predominant angles.

### **Isn’t Japan More Equal Than Others?**

Perhaps it is not far-fetched to say that no other alliance can claim the higher degree of utility, malleability, and longevity than the Japan-United States alliance.<sup>4</sup> It has survived all the vicissitudes since 1945: the Korean War, 1950–53, the Quemoy crisis, 1958, the Vietnam War, 1965–73, the Sino-Indian War, 1962, the Sino-Soviet War, 1969, the Indo-Pakistani War, 1971, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, 1978–91, the Sino-Vietnamese War, 1979, the fall of Berlin Wall, 1989, the Tiananmen crisis, 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union, 1991, the Cambodia War, 1979–90, the Gulf War, 1991, the Kosovo crisis, 1996–99, the Rwanda massacre, 1996, the 9/11 terrorism, 2001, the Afghan War of 2001–present, the Iraqi War of 2003–present, the Somali piracy, 2002–present. Rather, the scope and intensity of alliance-related action have grown by leaps and bounds. During the Korean War, the U.S. military bases in Japan were the key to the success of the United Nations forces to prevent North Korea from forcibly uniting both Koreas. During the Vietnam War, U.S. military bases in Okinawa then (and until 1972) under U.S. control were the key to the country’s military vigor. The robustness of the alliance between Japan and the United States led to the schism among communist alliance as manifested in their fraternal wars between China and the Soviet Union, between Vietnam and Cambodia, and between China and Vietnam, but also the de facto suspension of the alliances between China and

North Korea and between the Soviet Union and North Korea. Furthermore, the U.S.-Japan alliance survived the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union when the alliance was meant primarily against communism which ceased to exist as far as Europe was concerned.

Rather, the alliance was consolidated in terms of its scope and intensity throughout the immediate post-Cold War years. First of all, the alliance has expanded its scope to various trouble spots of the developing world, enabling Japan's peace keeping troops to Cambodia, East Timor, Mozambique, Iraq, and the Indian Ocean.<sup>5</sup> More importantly, during the 1990s, expectations on Japan within the bilateral alliance started to shift to extended naval and air force capabilities beyond Japan's territorial defense, substantially departing from the traditional force posture of conventional land force-focused anti-Soviet warfare on Hokkaido.<sup>6</sup> In the 2000s, the trend was accelerated by the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) in the U.S. Armed Forces. The spirit of RMA was to slim the armed forces and to minimize U.S. military bases abroad in size and cost, while at the same time enhancing mobility of the U.S. troops including those stationed abroad.<sup>7</sup> A most spectacular manifestation of the idea was the execution of the two wars, the Iraq War and the Afghan War, by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.<sup>8</sup> Riding on this renewed emphasis in the U.S. government on air and naval forces and jointness of operations with the allies, the Japanese emphasis on long-range air and naval forces capabilities was widely accepted and encouraged by the United States.

Yet as the first decade of the new century is nearing its end, it has become very clear that the alliance faces new serious challenges. First, the United States' number one priority, the global terrorism led by al Qaeda, needs to have a massive number of land forces and special forces globally deployed.<sup>9</sup> To end the Iraq War and to bring the Afghan War to a victory, a daunting level of endeavor is widely deemed necessary. The renewed emphasis on land and special forces since the "Surge" strategy in Iraq in 2007 under Defense Secretary Robert Gates is now being applied to the ongoing Afghan operation. The NATO Commander in Afghanistan General McKiernan was fired on May 11, 2009. Head of the Central Command, General David Petraeus found McKiernan not in harmony with the surge starting as applied in Afghanistan. The comeback of the U.S. Army is indicated by the cabinet-level appointment of a retired army general Shinseki, known as vocal opponent of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's downsizing of the Army as well as the Secretary of State Clinton's strong ties with the Senate Armed Service Committee during her years as New York Senator. Second, the United States needs to engage allies and friends as well as potential foes much more vigorously and persistently. President Obama's multilateralism means that allies and friends are not necessarily "more equal than others," as seen from their side, which after all used to see things by "leaning to one side," Bush's America. Third, the United States needs to militarily keep ever expanding China at bay. Without doing so, the United States might jeopardize its vaunted global military preeminence. The economic sufferance originating from subprime housing loans has been negatively affecting all the budget items, most seriously the federal government budget items on air and naval capability. The decision not

to deliver F-22s, super-powerful fighter aircrafts, to any outstanding purchase requests is one possible indicator of the budgetary erosion of the military expansion. The decision to scale down the missile defense program is another. The slow implementation of the pending plan to add one more aircraft carrier to the Pacific fleet at the expense of the Atlantic fleet is another possible indicator of the budgetary erosion of the military expansion. Fourth, President Obama's nuclear disarmament initiative may have negative implications to some allies and friends who rely on the United States in terms of defense since disarmament might mean lessening of the U.S. defense commitment and deterrence against potential threats. Most importantly, possible announcement by the United States of no first use of nuclear weapons is worrisome to security experts in Japan. Foreign Minister Okada of the new Hatoyama government in October 2009 called for such announcement by the United States. Both U.S. secretary of defense Robert Gates and chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen opposed Okada's proposal as it reduces flexibility in U.S. responses in the region where tension over the North Korean nuclear development is high.<sup>10</sup> Security experts in Japan share this American concern. Japan's small island territory and high population density will not survive the first strike, and hence preemptive capabilities of the American nuclear weapons are just as important as their deterrence capabilities. Furthermore, Japan faces a multitude of nonnuclear weapons of mass destruction (such as chemical and biological weapons) of its neighbors. Bilateral nuclear weapons reductions between the United States and Russia, China, and even possibly North Korea would reinforce Japan's apprehension because of the huge uncertainties of managing the disarmament process without upsetting strategic stability and of the likelihood that Japan as a nonnuclear weapons state will not be a direct participant of the process.

### **Isn't the Alliance Meant to Primarily Deal With Neighbors?**

The U.S.-Japan alliance has been intensely bilateral in its origins and operations. Yet Japan has long been trying to get more global in terms of its own self-appointed role as a supporter of the U.S. -led system. The United States has been looking forward to seeing Japan go global for years without being seen too pushy or too imposing. Curiously enough, the alliance has long been regarded as primarily bilateral and secondarily increasingly global. Its regional scope has been played down partly because of the constitutional and political self-restraint against the geographical scope of the alliance and contingency of alliance operations. Constitutionally, it is often interpreted that Japan forbids use of force for the settlement of international disputes. The SDF were justified for defensive defense only, and the bilateral alliance was permitted to the extent that it did not allow use of the SDF for operations other than defending the Japanese territorial spaces. Politically, Japan's use of its military forces has been gradually accepted as long as it is approved at the United Nations. Sending SDF troops has been steadily accepted provided that there are no battles being waged. Two major impeti that Japan rethink the scope and contingency of the alliance in action were the end

of the Cold War and the onset of the Global War on Terrorism. The former has led Japan to send peace keeping, building, and other operations abroad in a self-assigned role of a global civilian power.<sup>11</sup> The latter has led Japan to send SDF to problem areas as a member of the coalition of the willing against global terrorism in a self-assigned role of a global ordinary power.<sup>12</sup> Distinction between global civilian power and global ordinary power cannot be made in terms of who were dispatched and in what missions they engaged. SDF went to both and ran non-combat missions. The only difference is the availability of clear UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) mandate, which is a controversial subject as the United States sees that there is no need for such a mandate. Not surprisingly, Japan's SDFs have been sent mostly far abroad, but not near abroad, meaning those Japan-colonized or -occupied areas in the twentieth century except for Cambodia and East Timor as part of the United Nations peace building teams.

But of late attention has been shifting to near abroad, meaning Japan's immediate neighbors, most importantly China and Korea in the geographical sense.<sup>13</sup> First, China's economic rise has made it the factory of the world. China's military rise has made the United States to move to counterbalance with a planned addition of another aircraft carrier group to the Pacific fleet on top of the current two groups. China's rise attracted the largest number, 141, of presidents and prime ministers of the world to the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. Second, ascent of both North and South Korea into global actors (albeit in very different ways) resulted in a renewed Japanese focus on this historically important peninsula. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has gone nuclear whereas the Republic of Korea (ROK) has replaced Japan in terms of offering acute regional hubs (the Incheon airport and the Busan port). The DPRK has gone nuclear and is determined not to throw out nuclear weapons despite the agreed framework with the United States (1995) and agreements in the Six Party Talks (2003–8). The ROK has grown to a global trader and rule-maker although its somewhat exaggerated Korea-centered vision was put forth.

The key challenge for Japan is not that it has been overshadowed by its neighbors, but that the rise of its neighbors is testing Japan's alliance with the United States. The alliance, which initially focused on Japan's territorial defense and then started to be integrated into U.S. global strategy outside Japan's immediate vicinity, is now confronted to deal with Japan's neighbors. First, the oath of one China in the joint communiqués of Japan and the United States respectively complicates alliance contingency in an event of Chinese use of force or threat thereof vis-à-vis Taiwan.<sup>14</sup> Can Japan rely on the United States when China forcibly intervenes in Taiwan? Can Japan sit idly by when China invades Taiwan and violates Japan's maritime sovereignty in conjunction? Second, the nuclear armed but nearly failed DPRK can explode into resorting to violent external actions to secure regime survival or implode into ungoverned chaos and internal disorder exacerbated by famines and natural disasters.<sup>15</sup> Can Japan rely on the United States in its efforts to defend itself when the DPRK launches its missile attacks at Japan? Can Japan effectively deal with possible DPRK refugees reaching Japanese islands? Can Japan underwrite the recovery of North Korea after its collapse? These are the range of questions that must be answered by policyplanners and

placemakers. The Japanese perceptions of the alliance selectively shown above are simply meant to illustrate some of the subtle diverging priorities from those of the United States.

### **Has the Alliance Become Little More Than Hobson's Choice for the Rest including Japan?**

Former French foreign minister Hubert Vedrine coined a word, hyperpower, to characterize the United States. Indeed, as the only de facto "revisionist" superpower in the world (as symbolized by President Obama's phrase, "Yes, we can change the world"), the United States is often seen as having an impetuous temper and being impervious to other's sentiments. To most Japanese citizens, the U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage's call for "boots on the ground" sounded as such. The Gulf War (1991) shocked Japan by the tone of American urging that Japan take up arms shoulder to shoulder with the United States and the resultant frustration in the United States about Japan's nonaction. The same can be said about U.S. expectations of Japan's contributions to a possible maritime embargo against North Korea during the height of the first crisis over DPRK nuclear weapons development (1993–94), the Iraq War (2003–) and the Afghan War (2001–). When the Japanese Constitution is widely interpreted as prohibiting military troops from being deployed to battlefields abroad unless a set of conditions are met, why does the United States assume that these conditions are not difficult to change? Is the proclaimed U.S. lack of interest in meddling in internal affairs of Japan a mere diplomatic rhetoric when the Japanese government is given Hobson's choices about fully liberating its military from constraints of the postwar constitution? One illustrative episode to this theme is that Defense Secretary Rumsfeld was appalled and disappointed when he was briefed prior to his imminent visit to East Asia in 2005 that the issue of relocating a U.S. military base in Futenma, Okinawa, had not been made an inch ahead since the 1995 Japan-U.S. agreement on that issue. He bypassed Tokyo for Seoul and Beijing in 2005, presumably to communicate his frustration with the Japanese government.

Needless to say, as seen from the United States, pictures are entirely different. After all, alliance politics is the policy of different perspectives often shaped by different positions and circumstances placed in world politics. Since much has been conceptually analyzed elsewhere on balance of power and unipolarity or primacy,<sup>16</sup> this volume focuses primarily on empirical manifestations of alliance politics between Japan and the United States. After all, this alliance has dramatically shifted from "the most important bilateral relations—bar none" to a component of "the (ad hoc) coalition of the (temporarily) willing" in the past two decades. The newly elected government of Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) has reversed and revised most of Japan's military commitments to the United States and U.S.-led coalitions made under the incumbent government of the LDP. The maritime refueling operation in the Indian Ocean as part of the Operation Enduring Freedom against the Taliban

and al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan was let expire in January 2010. The DPJ government refrained from upgrading the country's Ship Inspection Law to enable its Coast Guard ships to conduct involuntary high-seas inspections of vessels suspected of transporting cargos related to weapons of mass destructions (WMD)—a move that would have enhanced Japan's responses to the North Korean nuclear proliferation contingencies. At the same time, the DPJ has made some new financial, civilian, and military commitments to UN-authorized security operations. The Anti-Piracy Special Measures Law was passed by bipartisan efforts to send the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) and the civilian Coast Guard vessels and planes to the Sea of Aden and neighboring Djibouti, though with a strict code on use of weapons by the MSDF. The DPJ government also agreed to a massive financial contribution to reconstruction of Afghanistan with a small group of diplomatic contingents. A small dispatch of GSDF personnel to a UN peace-keeping operation in Nepal was also carried out by the DPJ government. The DPJ effort to recast UN centrism into Japan's security policy is clearly visible, but the small scale of personnel dispatches brings back the Gulf War trauma to the minds of the proponents of SDF activism. The Obama government of the United States has so far kept itself to appreciative comments on Japan's contributions to these distant-area security operations. Instead, the expressed discord between the two governments has centered squarely on the issue of relocating the Futenma Marine Corps Airbase functions. Whether the ongoing discord in the alliance is the only sore spot of the otherwise solid post-Cold War alliance, or whether it is the beginning of more discords to follow is yet to be seen.

The aim of the volume is to examine to what extent these and other diverging priorities are real and whether they are not remedied with political and diplomatic leadership and other processes in regard to America's and Japan's relations with the latter's regional neighbors. To make empirical examinations comparative and fair to both sides of assessment of the alliance, we have asked two scholars, one Japanese and one American, to examine the alliance from bilateral and global perspectives (Chapters 2 and 3). Also, we have asked two contributors, one Japanese and one American, to assess the alliance's impacts on each regional country or a group of countries, including Korea, China, Russia, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Australia. It is our aim to collectively present a detached and detailed assessment of the alliance between Japan and the United States, as it unfolds toward its fiftieth anniversary since the treaty revision in 1960 in the direction of more symmetric nature in terms of alliance duties of both allies—enhancing both Japan's burden sharing and credibility of the U.S. commitment. We briefly anticipate what might follow.

In Chapter 2, Tomohito Shinoda outlines Japan's dilemma between abandonment by its ally (the United States) and entrapment into America's conflicts through Japan's overseas troop dispatches in the post-Cold War period. Shinoda argues that the balance in recent years has shifted more toward the fear of entrapment.

Sheila Smith in Chapter 3 concurs with Shinoda's view when she points out U.S. strategic flexibility as the new context of bilateral alliance management. The United States sees each of its bilateral alliances through its global strategy.



The global strategic posture review, which guides regional force presences, poses a challenge to the psychological aspect of the alliance management. Japan has dealt with the “entrapment” fear by confining its out-of-area troop dispatches into sunset legislations (special measures laws). Smith suggests that a broader definition of alliance be adopted to incorporate political and economic partnership between Japan and the United States.

As Akiko Fukushima in Chapter 4 points out, the border between bilateral defense cooperation (primarily for Japan’s territorial defense) and broader regional and global security cooperation has been a contested one. Japan’s reluctance to give precise geographical definitions to such phrases as “Far East” in the 1960 revised U.S.-Japan alliance treaty or the “adjacent areas” in the 1998 Regional Contingency Law illustrates a delicate balancing between the entrapment fear and the practical needs to cooperate with the United States on regional security matters.

The rise of China and its integration with the regional economy also provides a new context for evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance. Recognizing closer political, economic, and military cooperation during the past decade, Michael Mastanduno (Chapter 5) sees that the United States has overcome its fears of Japan challenging U.S. hegemony (1980s) and Japan enhancing economic ties with China (1990s). Strategic interests of the United States and Japan are more convergent as both seek a new economic model in the ongoing global economic downturn, Japan balances U.S. financial debt reliance on China, and Japan serves as a window of openness to Asian regionalism. A combination of U.S. forward deployment in Japan and their strategic ambiguity about China may alter China’s perception of this alliance into an alarmist one, however.

Yasuyo Sakata (Chapter 6) outlines Japan’s interests in building trilateral cooperation that includes South Korea. Three objectives of (1) maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula; (2) deterring and defending against the North Korean threat; and (3) maintaining a favorable strategic balance in Northeast Asia underlie Japan’s approach. As geostrategic temptation for South Korea to drift away from the alliance with the United States was demonstrated by the Roh Moo-Hyun-era flirtation with autonomous security policy in response to the U.S. strategic posture review, Japan saw that the U.S.-Japan alliance facilitates Japan’s approach to South Korea, according to Sakata.

South Korea has its own reasons to be cautious about closer security partnership that includes Japan, according to Scott Snyder (Chapter 7). South Korea’s deep-rooted mistrust of Japan leads to a desire to keep Japan out of the Korean Peninsula security issues, but to do so is not easy for South Korea. South Korea has to either match or overtake Japan as America’s most important regional and global security partner through its bilateral alliance, or accept increased Chinese influence on the peninsula, if Japan were to be excluded.

Chikako Ueki (Chapter 8) illustrates the alliance’s utility for Japan’s policy toward China. In addition to deterring military aggression by the latter, Japan identifies political benefits of the alliance in the form of moderating Sino-Japanese rivalry and engaging China as a “responsible stakeholder.” The latter

two are important as the Japanese economy increasingly depends on China's continued growth.

Victor Cha (Chapter 9) also counters the view that the bilateral alliances operate at odds with multilateralism. The presently evolving security architecture in Asia is inclusive of both the United States and China, he argues. The picture of the institutions that tie the United States, Japan, and China in the region is much more complex than "bilateral versus multilateral." This complexity is a useful tool in muting regional security dilemmas.

Reemergence of Russia as a significant actor in regional and global affairs introduces a complicating factor in the evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance. While Russia may serve as a possible counterbalance to the rising China, Akio Kawato (Chapter 10) lists Central and South Asia as areas of importance for Japan-Russia relations, Russian redevelopment of the Pacific fleet, and nuclear deterrence as three areas of possible conflicts between the U.S.-Japan alliance and Russia. On the other hand, economic development of the Russian Far East through resource and related service-sector development is of mutual benefits. Russia's skepticism against U.S.-Japan cohegemony can be eased by engaging Russia through multilateral security forums and summit meetings.

Joseph Ferguson (Chapter 11) sees that a weak Russia will lead to resource grab by China in Russia's peripheries and expose U.S. and Japanese interests to terrorism threats in Central Asia. While Japan missed an opportunity for closer cooperation with Russia during the first decade of the post-Cold War period, recent Russian assertion for more control in the Sakhalin resource development is turning foreign investors more cautious. As Russia seeks a more comprehensive development of Far Eastern provinces beyond oil and gas, a window of cooperation exists with the United States and Japan.

Takashi Terada (Chapter 12) sees strengthening of Japan-Australia security ties as catalyzed by their respective bilateral alliances with the United States. However, divergent perceptions about the rising China between Australia and Japan has prevented further upgrading of the emerging ties, and China's regional diplomacy to project a positive image has further reduced the need for such upgrading. The more likely arena of Australia-Japan-U.S. cooperation is outside Japan's neighborhood—like Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, Sheldon Simon (Chapter 13) sees comfortable match among the U.S.-Japan alliance, Australia's maritime security interests in Southeast Asia, and Southeast Asia's desire to balance outside security partners through inclusion. The United States will continue to be the preferred primary partner of Southeast Asia over China, and Japan and Australia increasingly supplementing the U.S. role through the trilateral security dialogue is a welcome trend for Southeast Asia.

In Chapter 14, Hitoshi Suzuki brings in a perspective of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). At the U.S. urging, Japan has increased its ties to the NATO and its global missions. In particular, numerous postconflict processes of democratization on the Eurasian continent are of common concerns of Japan and NATO. Japan views its out-of-area cooperation with NATO as

means to secure U.S. commitment to Japan's defense, and to that extent Japan's involvement poses no threats to the Europeans.

In Chapter 15, Inoguchi, Ikenberry, and Sato draw key insights from each chapter, assess divergent perspectives of Japan's regional bilateral relations between the Japanese and American authors, and discuss evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance and its limitations in the post-Cold War and post-Global War on Terrorism era.

### Notes

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# **Costs and Benefits of the U.S.-Japan Alliance from the Japanese Perspective**

*Tomohito Shinoda*

Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S.-Japan alliance has been transforming in its nature. Throughout the Cold War era, the Japanese government had basically maintained the foreign policy formula crafted by Shigeru Yoshida. The so-called Yoshida Doctrine enabled Japan to focus on economic recovery with minimal military rearmament: an equation made possible by depending on the alliance with the United States.

The basic framework continued even after Nobusuke Kishi successfully won a revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. This revised treaty reconfirmed an asymmetrical nature of the alliance, under which the United States pledged to defend Japan against an attack while Japan granted U.S. forces the use of bases on Japanese land to guard the security of the Far East. While Japan gradually upgraded its military equipment for the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to meet American requests for rearmament, it pursued a series of liberal national security policies.

Soon after the Cold War was over, however, Japan was forced to review its asymmetrical alliance with the United States in order to become a more active player for international peace and security. Slowly, but steadily, Japan stepped forward to improve its own national security and contribute to world peace with the 1992 Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) law, the 1999 Regional Contingency Law, the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law, the 2003 Emergency Legislation, and the 2003 Iraq Special Measures Law. Through these post-Cold War national security policies, the Japanese government has transformed the nature of the U.S.-Japan alliance into a less asymmetrical situation.

This chapter first explains the traditional costs and benefits of the alliance during the Cold War era. Next, it analyzes the changing nature of the alliance and the new costs and benefits for Japan.

### The Traditional Costs and Benefits during the Cold War

Any nation must choose between defending itself alone and forming an alliance with other nations. Many nations have difficulty providing for their national defense alone, and choose to form alliances in order to take advantage of military assistance from each other.

Under the American Occupation, General Douglas MacArthur had a mission to create a new utopia out of Japan. While MacArthur implemented a series of liberal social policies, he included the renouncement of war as one of the three principles he chose for Japan's Constitution. Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida was willing to introduce the peace Constitution, assuming that the collective security system under the United Nation would work in the near future, and that peace-loving nations would be obliged to defend Japan.<sup>1</sup> Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) officials originally pursued the policy of maintaining the minimum self-defense capability as an independent state, they changed to eventually share Yoshida's position to support the abolishment of Japan's military power and to encourage other nations to also renounce the right of belligerency.<sup>2</sup>

The first priority for Yoshida as well as many other Japanese political leaders and government officials, however, was to regain Japan's sovereignty as soon as possible. Despite his liberal view on the international regime, Yoshida was a pragmatic political leader, and well recognized that the only possible way for an early end of the Occupation was to conclude a security treaty with the United States. Knowing that the U.S. Department of Defense wanted to keep U.S. bases in Japan, Yoshida initiated a negotiation for a new security arrangement by offering U.S. bases even after the end of the Occupation.

#### *Traditional Costs and Benefits*

By offering bases to the U.S. Forces in Japan (USFJ), Japan could rely on them for its defense without the need to develop a military capability of its own. Based on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the United States stations its Army, Navy, Air Forces, and Marines to defend Japan in case of foreign attack. As an attacking force to Japan would have to confront the USFJ, its presence has functioned as an effective deterrent. Moreover, other U.S. forces would be sent as a reinforcement for the defense of Japan.

As a senior ally, the United States offered military assistance in arming the SDF. Under the framework of the 1954 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, Washington provided surplus defense equipment, and helped the development of both operational and industrial bases for Japanese defense efforts. After this arrangement ended, the Japanese government was not only offered U.S. equipment for purchase, but also the transfer of military technology through licensed production. This included aircraft such as the F-86, F-4, and F-15, missiles such as the Sparrow, Hawk, Patriot, and other systems. In the beginning, the United States even provided funding for the licensed production as it was an important

goal to build Japan as a bulwark of democracy in the Far East. This arrangement allowed Japan to improve its defense capabilities and interoperability with U.S. forces, to develop the defense industries, and to offer spin-off technologies to other domestic industries.

The alliance with the United States also provided a nuclear umbrella. In 1964 when China conducted its first nuclear test, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato requested nuclear protection. Diplomatic documents that were declassified in December 2008 revealed that Sato, at his meeting with President Lyndon Johnson, asked for a U.S. guarantee that it would protect Japan under its nuclear umbrella. Johnson responded, "You have my assurance." With this assurance, Japan could maintain its national security policy without developing its own nuclear weapons.

Reliance on U.S. forces in Japan for its own defense, at the same time, enabled Tokyo to concentrate its resources on economic recovery. Yoshida told Kiichi Miyazawa:

Rearmament is not possible for awhile. Japanese people are not willing to support it. It is not for the government to push it against their will. The time will come [for rearmament] when the national economy recovers. It may be sly, but it is best to have America [protect Japan]. The constitutional prohibition against rearmament is a fortune given by heaven. Our constitution will be a good reason against American complaints. Those politicians who want to revise the constitution are stupid.<sup>3</sup>

This statement reflects Yoshida's strong political realism with the combination of minimum armament and the concentration on economic recovery in order to restore Japan's great power status.

In his memoirs, Yoshida presented three reasons against rearmament. First, after listening to Japanese officials who had gone to see American armaments, Yoshida concluded that it was economically impossible for Japan to have comparable armaments. Second, the current feeling that Japanese people lacked a "psychological base" to support rearmaments prevailed. Third, there was much damage from the defeat of war that Japan had to deal with first.<sup>4</sup> In other words, Japan would need rearmament when (1) Japan could afford it economically; (2) the Japanese people could accept it psychologically; and (3) all the damage from the war had been dealt with. Until that time comes, Yoshida believed, Japan should maintain a minimal armament policy and stay under the protection of U.S. forces in Japan.

In response to increasing American pressure for defense buildup, Tokyo gradually increased its defense capability. However, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) governments used the pressure from the leftist opposition parties as excuses for limiting the level of upgrades to its defense capability.

Another major benefit from the alliance with the United States was Japan's participation in the U.S.-led international economic regime, the Breton Woods System. The stable and favorable exchange rate policy under the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which continued until 1971, enabled Japan to export a wide variety of industrial goods. With the long-term loans from the World Bank,



Japan could establish important social infrastructures such as the Shinkansen or bullet train. Japan was one of the countries that most benefited from the postwar international economic regime.

As the internal stability and the external alignment of Japan depended on economic recovery, the United States offered to buy Japan's capital goods in the American market. Japan's economic recovery also depended on its ability to sell its manufactured goods in the American market. While European and Japanese markets were very limited in the immediate postwar period, the size of the American market was vast for the Japanese corporations. The United States voluntarily granted market access to Japan and European allies, following the general nondiscriminatory trade rules of the newly established regime under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and allowed Japan to protect a wide range of its domestic industrial sectors from American imports.

Such one-sided concessions were possible because the American economy dominated the world. American corporations were competitive in virtually all major industrial sectors. The share of American GDP to the world economy was more than 40% until the 1960s. Prior to 1960, even granting market access to Japanese and European corporations, the merchandise imports counted for only about 3% of American GDP. Therefore, offering access to the domestic market to the allies was relatively painless to the American economy for years after the Second World War.

The minimum level of defense under the Yoshida Doctrine and the participation in the American-led international economic system contributed to Japan's growth as a trading state. Japanese GNP reached 15% of the world share in 1990, compared with less than 3% in 1950.

Japan's growth as an economic power in the late 1970s invited the "free ride" argument especially among conservative members of the U.S. Congress. Japanese people under the American military protection, without having to enter a battle themselves, were accused of getting a free ride. Tokyo only reluctantly responded to the American pressure to enhance SDF capability.

Instead, in the late 1970s, Japan began to contribute financially to the stationing of U.S. troops in the country in addition to the cost of leasing facilities that Japan is required to defray under the Status of Forces Agreement. In 1978, the appropriation was initially set for the amount of 6.2 billion yen for the cost of employing Japanese workers on U.S. bases. Japan's host nation support continued to expand to cover a range of other costs associated with the U.S. presence in Japan, including the construction of military and other facilities such as housing for U.S. military personnel, and utilities. As a result, Japan now offers the most generous host nation support of any U.S. ally.

In the 1980s, the Japanese government under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone responded differently. As an outspoken realist, Nakasone reversed the liberal trend of Japan's national security policy conducted by his predecessors in the 1960s and 1970s. Under the government of his immediate predecessor, Zenko Suzuki, Washington and Tokyo negotiated "the roles and missions" for a division of defense responsibilities between the two countries. As a result, Washington promised to provide Japan nuclear and offensive projection power protection,

and to protect Japan's lifeline to Middle East oil in the Southwest Pacific and Indian Oceans. In return, Japan was asked to protect not only its own territory and the seas and skies immediately surrounding Japan, but also the sea lanes of the Northwest Pacific, north of the Philippines, and west of Guam. During his visit to Washington in May 1981, Suzuki declared that Japan would defend the sea lanes of the Northwest Pacific to 1,000 miles.

Many experts doubt whether Suzuki fully understood the implication of his statement. But his successor Nakasone clearly understood its strategic importance. Upon assuming his office, he pledged Japan's assigned role to defend the sea lanes. In addition, Nakasone volunteered Japan to serve as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" against Soviet expansion, and approved a defense buildup spending that exceeded the 1% of GNP ceiling on military expenditures imposed under the Miki cabinet. During his administration, Japan significantly improved its antisubmarine warfare capability, which detected virtually every Soviet nuclear and conventional submarine that departed from Vladivostok for the Pacific. As the Soviets had to face every increasingly modern Japanese P3C, F15 aircraft, and missile destroyer, Japan contributed to deterrence in the Pacific, and eventually to the victory in the Cold War.

While the alliance with the United States provided Japan with these security and economic benefits, the dependence and subordination in its security policy negatively impacted Japan's national pride and international respect. Japanese scholar, Yonosuke Nagai, called it "the cost for peace." He portrayed that Yoshida and his successors put a higher priority on "utility value" of nation's safety than a "pride value" of total independence.<sup>5</sup> Yoshida personally hoped that Japan would be able to escape from that status by abandoning its "economy-first" policy that he pursued in the earlier stage of the postwar period.<sup>6</sup> As Yoshida found that his policy lasted into the 1960s, longer than he expected, he wrote to his colleague with regret, "the renewal of national strength and development of political independence requires that Japan possess a military force as a matter of national honor," and he felt "deep feelings of responsibility over the present situation on the national defense issue."<sup>7</sup>

Yasuhiro Nakasone, when he was the director general of the defense agency in 1970, strongly believed in "independent defense." According to him, USFJ needed to be significantly reduced and replaced by the SDF, and without independent defense, Japan could not develop independent diplomacy. Nakasone's independent defense idea, however, was not widely accepted, either domestically or internationally.

By allying with the United States, Japan's foreign relations also were more limited than Yoshida had hoped. Yoshida, who had spent his earlier years as a diplomat in China, strongly hoped that Japan would continue its diplomatic relations with mainland China. However, immediately after the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, U.S. Congress pressured Japan not to open diplomatic relations with Peking. Fifty-six senators warned that they might vote against the peace treaty unless the Japanese agreed to support Taipei. Urged by U.S. Special Representative John F. Dulles, Yoshida reluctantly signed a so-called Yoshida letter to state that Japan had no intention of concluding a bilateral treaty with Peking.<sup>8</sup>

Britain, which had a conflict with the United States over the China issue and desperately wanted to shift Japanese trade away from the British markets in Southeast Asia to mainland China, highly criticized the letter. Dulles told the British: given Japan's dependence on the United States, "it is inconceivable that... Japan should pursue foreign policies which cut across those of the United States."<sup>9</sup> As Yoshida's personal position was close to that of Britain, he felt such limitation on Japan's foreign policy was unfortunate. In his 1957 memoirs, Yoshida frankly stated that the British and Japanese understood China best, and because the American did not truly know China, the American postwar policy toward China had been "almost a total failure."<sup>10</sup> But it was the cost Japan had to pay for its independence and security.

While the sense of subordination to the United States in the area of foreign policy and national security among the Japanese people still existed during the Cold War era, Japan began more independent foreign policies. In the 1970s, Prime Minister Tanaka initiated more independent foreign policies. His political skills and leadership were at the forefront in normalizing relations with China, his top priority foreign policy issue as he advocated during the LDP presidential race. Within the first week of his prime ministership, Tanaka established the Conference on Normalization of Japan-China Relations within the LDP, and recruited 249 LDP Diet members to the Conference, well over half the total membership of 431. With overwhelming intraparty support, even pro-Taiwan right-wing members could no longer oppose the trend. During his visit to Peking in September 1972, Tanaka vigorously negotiated with Chinese premier, Chou Enlai. After the negotiation, Japan signed a joint statement with China to normalize the bilateral relationship, taking one step further than the United States, which did not normalize the bilateral relations until 1979, seven years after Japan. This removed much of the constraints of Japanese foreign policy formation toward Asia imposed under the Yoshida cabinet.

Tanaka exercised leadership in another foreign policy issue as well. In 1973, the Japanese government voted for the UN General Assembly Resolution 3236, which supported the self-determination of the Palestinians. Tanaka's position upset Washington, which opposed the resolution. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger challenged Japan's position when he met Tanaka. Tanaka told Kissinger that he would change the position if the U.S. government agreed to be responsible for supplying oil to Japan. When Kissinger replied that his government could not do that, Tanaka told him that his decision remained firm to vote in favor of the resolution.<sup>11</sup> Tanaka also pointed out that if the American policy toward the Middle East failed, "all the frustrations of the Arab world might fall on Japan."<sup>12</sup> Tanaka's emphasis on pro-Arab, economic national security was developed despite the American disagreement.

### *Fear of Abandonment and Entrapment in the Cold War Era*

With the conclusion of the security treaty, Japan became a junior partner of the bilateral alliance. A junior partner tends to have stronger fears than its senior

partner. Michael Mandelbaum calls them the fears of “abandonment” and “entrapment.”<sup>13</sup> The fear of abandonment for a junior partner is strong when the level of dependence on the alliance is asymmetrical between the two. A senior ally, which does not necessarily require the alliance for its survival, may not take actions to protect its junior ally, especially when the commitment is not clearly stated in the security treaty. On the other hand, tough international security situations would make the senior ally realize the importance of the bilateral treaty. Under such security environment, on the other hand, the junior ally would have a fear of entrapment, having to act in events out of their control or which they may not fully support. Clear and strong commitments would bring stronger fear of entrapment, while unclear and weak commitments would result in fear of abandonment.

As a junior partner, Japan had to accept unequal terms in the original 1951 security treaty. While Japan was to offer bases to American forces, the treaty gave Japan no say over the stationing of nuclear weapons on its soil and allowed the United States complete freedom to use bases and troops in Japan to intervene in other nations. Though the existence of American forces in Japan would invite foreign attacks on the Japanese territory, American Forces in Japan were not obliged to protect Japan. Thus, while many Japanese feared entrapment into America’s conflicts by allowing too much freedom to the U.S. forces, they also feared abandonment by the Americans if Japan were attacked by foreign nations. In addition, American forces were empowered to interfere in, and maintain internal security. These unequal arrangements were also the price to be paid for ending the Occupation, reflecting the power imbalance between the two countries. The inequality of the treaty amplified Japanese fears of entrapment and abandonment.

The 1960 revised treaty was signed in January. The new treaty obliged American forces to defend Japan from external attack, eliminated any American role in domestic affairs, and brought the status of forces terms in line with American arrangements in Europe. These changes covered many of the concerns expressed by Japanese officials. Particularly, the clear commitment by Americans to defend Japan lowered the fear of abandonment.

The continued tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the Korean and Vietnam wars made U.S. bases in Japan strategically highly valuable. With this, the Japanese people’s fear for being abandoned by the United States became significantly less. On the other hand, what the Japanese people began to fear was the entrapment in an American war especially after the escalation of American military involvement in the Vietnam War. In order to appease the opposition parties, the Japanese government introduced a series of liberal national security policies during the 1960s and 1970s. Prime Minister Eisaku Sato introduced the arms export control rules in 1967, effectively banning weapons exports to three specific groups of countries—countries in the communist bloc, countries to which weapons exports are banned by UN resolutions, and countries involved in or likely to be involved in international conflicts. Sato also initiated the three nonnuclear principles: Japan shall neither possess or manufacture nuclear weapons, nor shall it permit the introduction

of such weapons into Japanese territory. The Diet formally adopted these principles in 1971.

Under the government led by Kakuei Tanaka, Tokyo announced a written statement to prohibit the exercise of the collective self-defense right. It contended that the constitution limits Japan's right to the minimum necessary extent to defend its own nation, and therefore, prohibits Japan from exercising the right of collective self-defense to prevent armed attacks against any other nation. Tanaka's successor, Takeo Miki, further extended the existing ban on weapons exports to all countries and defined arms to include not only military equipment but also the parts used in it. Miki also made the 1% ceiling of defense expenditure in proportion to the GNP an official government policy. In addition, the National Defense Program Outline introduced under the Miki Cabinet stipulated that Japan's security policy was limited to an exclusively defensive defense. Troops and weapons do not and cannot have any offensive capacity. For example, Japan would not maintain offensive projection capabilities abroad. These liberal national security policies were in a good measure to lower the fear of Japan's entrapment in an American war.

### **The Post-Cold War Developments**

When the Cold War was over, Japan faced a challenge to go beyond the old framework of the asymmetric alliance. During the Cold War era, the arms race and ideological confrontation with the Soviet Union was justification enough for Americans to maintain such an arrangement with Japan. But the end of the Cold War virtually removed the Soviet military threat. The U.S. Congress began questioning the value of the asymmetric alliance with Japan. A Pentagon official lamented to the author, "We put too much emphasis on the Soviet nuclear threat to explain the importance of American bases in Japan to Congressmen. Now the threat of Soviet nuclear missile flying to the United States has gone. It is difficult for Congressmen to accept any new logic of those bases being important for regional security of East Asia."<sup>14</sup> Since security affairs in East Asia were no longer perceived as directly connected to the safety of the United States, the bases provided by Japan were not seen as significant as they had been. Japan faced a new phase in the fear of abandonment.

The 1990 Gulf Crisis happened during this political climate. The officials of the George H.W. Bush administration had high expectations: Japan would contribute significantly to show the Congress that it was a very reliable ally to the United States. Knowing Japan's constitutional restriction, they requested Tokyo to make a personnel contribution to the multinational forces in the region. The Toshiaki Kaifu government failed to pass the legislation that would send the SDF overseas, but provided 13 billion dollars of financial contribution. Although Japan was one of the two largest donors to the war along with Saudi Arabia, its effort was criticized as "checkbook diplomacy."

In order to overcome this criticism, the Kaifu cabinet first dispatched SDF minesweepers to the Persian Gulf in a show of manpower contribution after war. The SDF minesweepers successfully conducted operations and were greatly

appreciated by the international community. Because of their success, Japan's public support for sending SDF units for peacekeeping activities increased.<sup>15</sup>

Taking advantage of the momentum, the Kaifu cabinet submitted another bill to the Diet that would dispatch the SDF strictly for the peacekeeping operations under the UN command. This bill was resubmitted to the Diet under the Miyazawa cabinet and passed in June 1992, one and a half year after the Gulf War, and the Japanese government sent the SDF to Cambodia. Although the new law did not serve the original objective of making a personnel contribution to the international crisis, it provided Tokyo a new diplomatic tool to make personnel contributions to the international community by participating in peacekeeping activities.

In spring 1993, the North Korean nuclear crisis posed a serious concern to the officials in Tokyo and Washington. Washington quietly requested Tokyo to send minesweepers if the U.S. Navy would blockade North Korean ports in the case of a contingency. The 1992 legislation only authorizes the Japanese government to send the SDF for UN operations, and there still was no legal basis for Tokyo to act in a regional crisis near Japan. Luckily the June 1994 visit of former president Jimmy Carter saved the crisis, and Japan did not have to take any action.

The wave of the fear of abandonment in the post-Cold War era revisited Japan. Tokyo had been severely criticized in Washington for the lack of personnel contribution for the Gulf War. If Japan was not able to offer any more support than the provision of bases for U.S. forces in the case of contingency in the Korean Peninsula, U.S. Congress would strongly question the value of the U.S.-Japan alliance, and might demand the termination of the bilateral security arrangement.

Another serious challenge for the alliance took place in September 1995. Three servicemen stationed in Okinawa raped a 12-year-old Okinawan girl. This crime caused uproar in Japan, especially in Okinawa, making many Japanese question whether Okinawa should bear the high costs of maintaining U.S. bases in Japan after the Soviet military threat had gone away.

The strong sense of crisis for the alliance, shared by the officials on both sides of the Pacific, motivated the two governments to establish a new security arrangement. While the U.S. agreed to relocate the U.S. Marine Corps Air Station at Futenma, Japan agreed to offer an alternative site and share the transition cost, in addition to creating new defense cooperation guidelines for regional crises such as those on the Korean Peninsula. The initiative was announced by Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton at the April 1996 summit meeting, and Tokyo and Washington reached an agreement in September 1997. The growing public concern about the peninsula, reflecting North Korean provocations including the August 1998 Taepodong missile test and the March 1999 invasion by a spy vessel into Japanese territorial water, assured its smooth passage in the Diet.<sup>16</sup> In May 1999, the Japanese Diet finally enacted the Regional Contingency Law that authorizes the government to mobilize the SDF to provide rear echelon supports to U.S. forces in the event of a regional crisis.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, Japan's national security policymaking was very active, and three major pieces of legislation

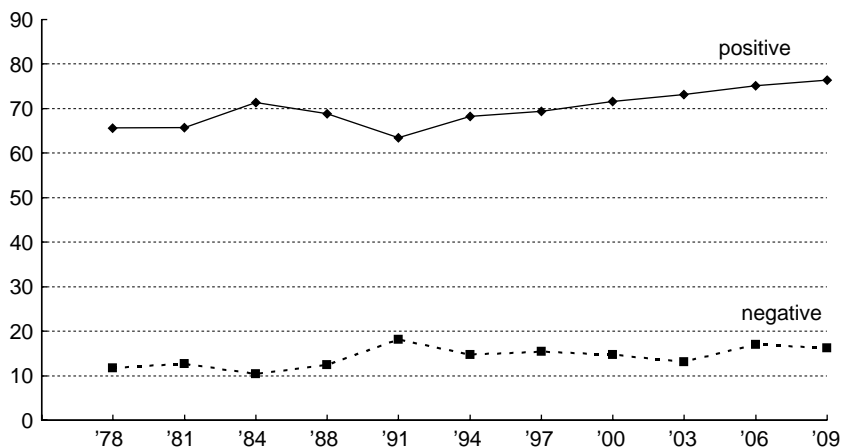
were initiated and enacted. The first major piece of such initiative was the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law that would enable provision of rear-echelon support for U.S. and coalition forces by the SDF to the Indian Ocean area. This law expanded legitimate activity areas of the SDF to territories and seas between the Indian Ocean and Japan, and allowed Tokyo to dispatch SDF units abroad in times of combat for the first time in the postwar era. The second one was a set of emergency legislation enacted in June 2003, which would provide a framework for dealing with a contingency in case of a direct military attack on Japan. The legislation covered clarifying the government's decision-making process, strengthening the authority of the prime minister, facilitating action by SDF, and limiting personal rights. The third was the Iraq Special Measures Law to allow the SDF to offer humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in postwar Iraq. The legislation passed the Diet in July 2003, and based on the legislation the Japanese government dispatched the ground SDF troops to Iraq in February 2004. These moves showed the Koizumi administration's determination to strengthen Japan's role in its alliance with the United States and to bolster Japan's security beyond the original asymmetrical framework of the bilateral alliance.

### *Current Costs and Benefits*

The U.S. military presence in and defense commitment to Japan remain vital to Japanese national security in the post-Cold War period. In an uncertain security environment, the presence of nearly 50,000 American troops offers psychological assurance to the Japanese people that their country is protected. Since 1978, the Cabinet Office opinion poll has asked whether the U.S.-Japan Security System is contributing to Japan's safety. The positive answer has stayed in the range of 65–75% throughout. In the most recent opinion poll taken in January 2009, the positive answer hit the record high of 76.4%<sup>17</sup> (figure 2.1). There is a general consensus that the bilateral security arrangement is important for Japan's national security.

With this consensus, Japan's defense planning has developed based on the assumption that the United States would assist Japan in case of conflict. During the Cold War period, for example, a major part of the Ground SDF was located in Hokkaido for possible Soviet invasions, but it had the capability to resist aggression only till the U.S. forces would come to help. Japan has developed very advanced military capabilities in the areas only to supplement U.S. forces in Japan, such as antisubmarine warfare and mine-sweeping in order to supplement the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

Japan's "exclusively defense-oriented posture" further contributed to uneven development of the defense capability. The Democratic Party of Japan, which gained the control of the government after the 2009 general election, had flirted with the concept of an "alliance without bases." Its former leader, Ichiro Ozawa, stated in February 2009: "The Seventh Fleet would be enough for the U.S. presence in the Far East from a strategic viewpoint... The Americans' role should become smaller if Japan has a decent strategy for dealing with global issues and



**Figure 2.1** Perception of Japan's Security Treaty.

Source: Cabinet Office.

shares greater burdens at least on matters associated with our country.” Under the bilateral defense cooperation, however, Japan has developed the role of a “shield,” and the U.S. forces would be “spears.” As a result, SDF are not oriented to form a comprehensive independent military unit to defend Japan by themselves. For effective defense of its own country, Japan needs military cooperation with the United States.

While the Japanese government still maintains the position that Japan's defense capability is at the minimum necessary level to defend itself, Japanese defense budget is among the top class, third to fifth in the world depending on the method of calculation. In addition, Japan offers the world's most generous host nation support for U.S. bases in Japan. Among other things, Tokyo now pays most salaries of the 25,000 Japanese employees at U.S. military installations, pays the rent on land provided to U.S. forces by private landowners, and supports base utility costs. This makes Japan the most economical place to station American troops in the world, including its own homeland. Still, Japan's defense spending is at a lower level than it would have to spend without relying on U.S. forces.

The economical benefits from the alliance for Japan have significantly changed. Though Japan benefits from the U.S.-led international trade and monetary regime, U.S.-Japan economic relations are no longer one-sided. After the continuing trade negotiations with Washington, Tokyo opened up the Japanese market to foreign imports, and Japan's tariff on manufactured goods has been among the lowest in the world. Japan grew from a beneficiary to a major benefactor of the IMF. For example, in the 2008 global financial crisis, Japan volunteered to offer up to \$100 billion to the IMF to help emerging economies buttressed by the crisis.

The alliance with the United States continues to provide Japan accesses to the most advanced military equipments through off-the-shelf purchase and licensed production, which offers another kind of economical benefits. Purchases of



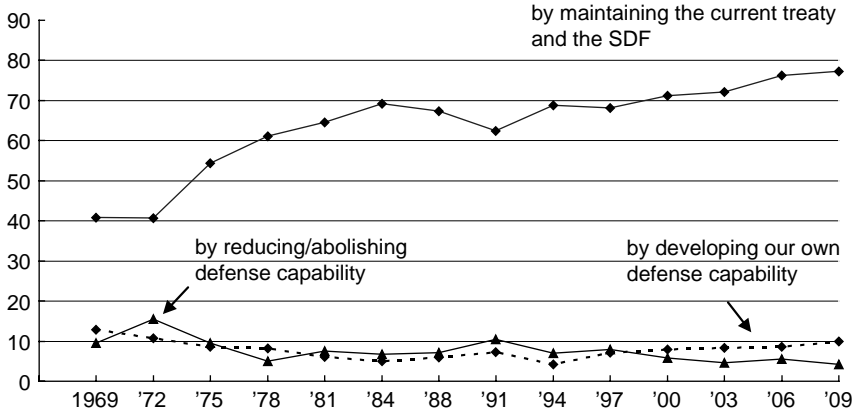
U.S. equipment have allowed Japan to field sophisticated weapons without the expense of developing technologies from scratch. Using licensed production to build its manufacturing base, Japan has developed significant inroads in commercial industries such as aircraft. Japan also has been able to develop dual-use technologies for both commercial and defense applications.

The alliance also has been offering Tokyo access to the global intelligence network of the United States. Japan was highly dependent on U.S. intelligence, and its own intelligence capabilities have been very limited. Former deputy prime minister Masaharu Gotoda said that Japan's reliance on U.S. intelligence made the country a subordinate nation.<sup>18</sup> After the 1998 Taepodong missile test by North Korea, the Japanese government realized the importance to possess its own intelligence capabilities. Now, Japan has four active information gathering satellites and the Cabinet Satellite Intelligence Center that analyze the images collected by them. Still, Japan relies on American intelligence sources as the resolution of the satellites is low (60–100cm). American intelligence sources were vital for Japan's prompt reaction in many cases, such as the missile and nuclear tests by North Korea and the violation of Japan's territorial sea by a Chinese submarine.

The nuclear umbrella provided by the United States is still very important for Japan's security in the post–Cold War period. North Korea conducted a series of nuclear tests, and China has been modernizing its nuclear capability, making the security environment in the Far East increasingly volatile. In July 2009, Tokyo requested to set up talks on the American nuclear umbrella. At the talks, the U.S. side would explain how nuclear arms would be used in the event of crisis. Unlike the U.S. allies in Europe that shared specific information on the use and procedures related to nuclear weapons in crisis situations, Tokyo had avoided concrete talks with the United States for fear of drawing a strong reaction from the opposition parties and the public. With the volatile situation in East Asia, some in the Japanese government asked for a reassurance of the nuclear umbrella by being fully briefed on the use and procedures.

Under the bilateral security framework, Japan serves as a major partner in missile defense system development. Both China and North Korea have substantial numbers of short-range missiles with increasing accuracy. North Korea now has more than 100 mobile Nodong missiles operational, capable of reaching any part of Japan. According to *The Military Balance 2009*, China has more than 725 short-range missiles targeted on Taiwan and the Kansai area of Japan and 35 intermediate-range ballistic missiles that can reach any Japanese location.<sup>19</sup> The SDF now has two Aegis vessels with antiballistic missiles capability, and four Air Defense Missile Groups equipped with PAC3. In March 2009, Japan set up its first joint operational command to prepare for the North Korean Taepodong missile launch. Prime Minister Taro Aso gave full authority to the Air SDF general in command to engage targets that threatened Japan for the first time since the Second World War. The SDF and U.S. forces jointly operated throughout the entire incident.

The alliance with the United States also secures Japan's sea lane. As Japan depends on most of its resources and energy from overseas, the maritime transportation route is vital for its survival. Since the 1980s, Japan has been active in



**Figure 2.2** How to Protect Japan's Security.

Source: Cabinet Office.

maritime security jointly with U.S. forces up to 1,000 nautical miles, and has developed a significant maritime defense capability, including helicopter carriers, P3C antisubmarine warfare aircrafts and minesweepers. Beyond the 1,000 miles of the maritime route, however, Japan still depends on U.S. forces for its security. Even within the areas in East Asia, China is increasingly showing its ambition to take stronger control over the sea. Maritime security cooperation with the U.S. forces is essential for Japan's national security.

Japan's reliance on the alliance with the United States can be perceived as a high cost by nationalists who believe in Japan's loss of autonomy on some political and strategic matters. According to them, the alliance sometimes denies the normal security attributes of a mature state, sometimes forces Tokyo to support U.S. positions, and risks entanglement in American military ventures. The alliance has shaped Japan's politics and decisions in foreign policies.

Japan's financial contribution to U.S. military bases on its territory has been increasing. After the 1995 rape incident, increased social and political costs of the U.S. military bases became more controversial, especially in Okinawa, which houses 75% of the U.S. bases in Japan. The Japanese and U.S. governments have sought to lessen the burden on Okinawa. In February 2009, Japan signed an agreement with the United States to pay \$26 billion to support the transformation of U.S. troops in Japan. It includes redeployment of 8,000 U.S. Marines to Guam, closing of the Futenma Air Station, redeployment of affected troops to Henoko in the northern part of Okinawa, and improvement of U.S.-Japan coordination for antiterrorism at Camp Zama and air defense at Yokota Air Force Base.

Despite these costs, the U.S.-Japan alliance has been widely accepted as the best security option among the Japanese. The Cabinet Office poll also asks what measures should be taken to protect Japan's security. Three answers are prepared for this question: (1) By maintaining the current U.S.-Japan Security system and the SDF; (2) By abolishing the current U.S.-Japan Security System and

strengthening our own self-defense capability to protect Japan independently; and (3) By abolishing the current U.S.-Japan Security System and reducing/abolishing our self-defense capability.

When this question was asked for the first time in 1969, the first realistic answer received only 40.9%. However, in the 1978 poll, it received more than 60% of support, and has exceeded 70% since 2000. The second, nationalistic option to build our own security capability originally received 12.9% in 1969, and stayed within 10% point. The third idealistic option to support the old Socialist policy of “neutrality without arm” peaked at 15.5% in 1972, but sank to 4.7 percent in 2003. The public perception has become significantly realistic during the past 30 years. In 2009 nearly 80% of the Japanese supported the alliance<sup>20</sup> (figure 2.2).

### *Fear of Abandonment and Entrapment*

In spite of increasing support for the U.S.-Japan security framework, the end of the Cold War forced Japan to redefine its role in the alliance. Offering bases to American forces alone could no longer satisfy American leaders after the Soviet threat had gone. Tokyo could not meet American expectation to contribute manpower beyond the framework of the alliance. The fear of abandonment motivated Tokyo to enact the PKO law to make personnel contribution to UN-led peace-keeping operations.

Tokyo soon realized that this arrangement was not enough to maintain the bilateral security relations. Japan was expected to cooperate with American forces for a possible contingency in the Korean Peninsula, but found no legal base to offer such assistance. Japan renewed its defense guidelines to offer rear-echelon support to American forces in a regional crisis. This newly assigned role would raise the possibility of entrapment, but Japan chose to take this step over the fear of abandonment in the face of an increasing threat from North Korea.

Prime Minister Koizumi took further steps to strengthen the security cooperation with the United States. He enabled provision of a rear-echelon support to United States and other forces by the SDF in the Indian Ocean area, set up a legal framework to defend Japan in the event of a direct armed attack against Japan, and opened a way to globally dispatch the SDF for humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. His successors also pledged to continue SDF support in the Indian Ocean. Tokyo has stretched the idea of defense geographically and has extended its roles and missions to rear areas to the Indian Oceans. Although these steps came with the fear of entrapment, the Japanese government chose to strengthen the alliance.

Japan’s attempt to step up the bilateral alliance to actively contribute to international security with manpower was well received by the international community. During the first Gulf War, Japanese contribution of 13 billion dollars was not appreciated. In contrast, Japan’s refueling activities in the Indian Oceans in 2001–8 only cost the country 800–900 million dollars during the eight-year period. These supports were much more appreciated by Washington than the large sum of the financial contribution because they involved Japan’s willingness to share risk with their ally.

Japan's involvement in the war against terrorism invoked political discussions that were closely associated with the fears of abandonment and entrapment, especially during the deliberation of the Iraq Special Measures Law. If Japan provided assistance to the Americans, it might become another target for al Qaeda's terrorist attacks. This fear was not totally groundless as a letter sent by al Qaeda said Tokyo would be targeted once Japanese troops set foot in Iraq. Japan did send some 600 ground troops to southern Iraq on a noncombat mission to carry out reconstruction work such as repairing buildings and providing medical assistance. Even after Japan's withdrawal from Iraq, Ayman al-Zawahri, second in command of al Qaeda, stated when he was asked by Kyodo News if Japan remains a target, "Japan provided the so-called assistance under the flag of the crusader coalition as part of the propaganda for the crusader forces invading the homelands of Islam."<sup>21</sup> During the time Japan maintained SDF troops in Iraq from February 2004 to July 2006, Japan intensified security measures at home against terrorism.

The Koizumi government was willing to take the risk of entrapment by sending SDF troops to Iraq as well. In order to gain political support, LDP leaders utilized the fear of abandonment in the alliance with the United States. They publicly emphasized that without helping the United States in Iraq, Japan could not expect a high level of support in a contingency in the Korean Peninsula with the heightening threat of nuclear missile development. This argument successfully received political support within the government parties and contributed to the successful enactment of the 2003 Iraq Special Measures Law.

The Japanese public is acutely aware of possible entrapment. In the 2009 Cabinet Office poll, 69% of the respondents said that Japan could be involved in a war in the near future. Among the respondents who saw the possible entrapment, 75% perceived the international tension and conflicts as causes. This explains why the Japanese media and political leaders are carefully watching how the Obama administration would react to the brinkmanship of North Korea. Only 17% chose the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the cause of entrapment. This suggests that most of the Japanese public strongly put weight on the benefits rather than the costs of the alliance.

### **Under the DPJ-Led Government**

As the result of the August 2009 general election, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) gained a majority in the lower house to control the government. This political change had a profound impact on Japan's alliance with the United States.

The DPJ leaders had stated their opinions demanding more equal status in the bilateral relations, and had taken different positions in major national security issues from the LDP government. First, the DPJ wanted to restrict the SDF dispatches overseas and do so only at the request of the UN Security Council. As the Constitution prohibits use of force as a sovereign right of the nation, the SDF participation should be limited to the activities under the auspices of the United Nations. Second, the DPJ opposed the SDF refueling activities in the Indian Ocean as it was not based on the clear request of a Security Council resolution.

The DPJ preferred to send the Ground SDF for cease fire monitoring and reconstruction of Afghanistan. Third, the DPJ demanded revision of the Status of Forces Agreement in regard to the treatment of U.S. servicemen who commit a crime in Japan. The party would like to equip Japan with the primary right of trial even for their on-duty acts, and preindictment custody of the accused service members.

Fourth and probably the most controversial, the party decided to pursue a revision of the 1996 U.S.-Japan agreement, which would move about half of the U.S. Marines from Okinawa to Guam and relocate the Futenma Airport to Henoko of Nago City. DPJ wanted to relocate the Futenma functions to overseas or, at least, another prefecture in order to reduce the burden of Okinawa.

The Futenma issue became the central issue especially after the January Nago City mayoral election in which Susumu Inamine, who campaigned against the base relocation to Henoko, won the race. The Hatoyama Cabinet sought an alternative plan, such as the relocation to Tokunoshima, Kagoshima. This plan was not acceptable either to the local community of Tokunoshima or the U.S. forces. During his first visit to Okinawa on May 4, Prime Minister Hatoyama apologized to the Okinawans, and announced that he was going to drop his own earlier idea of removing all U.S. Marine Corps air units off Okinawa.

At the time of writing, it is uncertain when the Futenma air base issue will be eventually solved. After the first half year of turmoil over this issue, however, many of the DPJ leaders recognized that the U.S.-Japan alliance was central to the credibility of a Japanese government. Continued, unstable relations with the United States would cause the Japanese public to perceive the DPJ as an irresponsible political party with no ability to run the government, as they strongly put weight on the benefits rather than the costs of the alliance.

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## Refining the U.S.-Japan Strategic Bargain

*Sheila A. Smith*

More than half a century ago, the United States and Japan concluded a bilateral security treaty that would bind the two countries in a relationship of military cooperation throughout the Cold War and into the less predictable currents of today's global politics. Much has changed since 1951, and yet the value of the U.S.-Japan security bargain has rarely been questioned. Japan's recent political change created dissonance in the bilateral relationship, and has raised some important questions about the premises of U.S.-Japan security cooperation. Diplomats had hoped that 2010, the fiftieth anniversary of the 1960 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, would be a year of celebration for the U.S.-Japan alliance, but it has instead proven to be a year of confusion for Tokyo and Washington.

Both President Barack Obama and Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama publicly praised the bilateral security alliance and articulated a central place for the U.S.-Japan relationship in their diplomacy.<sup>1</sup> The Obama administration has consistently and pointedly used the language of the alliance as "cornerstone" of U.S. policy in Asia to signal its continued commitment to bilateral relations. Likewise, Japan's newly elected government also emphasizes the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance although in the early months it seemed that Prime Minister Hatoyama's approach downplayed the alliance in favor of his Asian diplomacy.<sup>2</sup> The presence of U.S. military forces in Japan, while cause for criticism lately, continues to be seen as necessary to deter aggression against Japan as well as to contribute to regional stability.

But beyond Japan, the politics of the Northeast Asia are in flux. Countries of the region are more dedicated to regional dialogue on security issues, and stronger public interest in regional approaches to resolving conflicts and finding common cause in shared security concerns has supported recent efforts to enhance greater regionalism in Northeast Asia. Efforts to engage North Korea via the six-party talks produced a new venue for intensive regional security consultations, even



when Pyongyang refused to engage. In fact, as Pyongyang repeated its nuclear and missile tests in the spring of 2009, this forum that began as an effort to negotiate nuclear disarmament with Korea began to evolve into a forum for consultations on how to cope with North Korea's negative impact on the region.

More positive signs include the increasing institutionalization of regional consultations on common concerns. The trilateral summitry between China, Japan, and South Korea also began to suggest greater confidence in those relations that had long been troubled by historical animosities and territorial disputes.<sup>3</sup> Broader dialogues on security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional forum and the enhanced trilateral security cooperation between Japan, Australia, and the United States, suggest new opportunities for the United States and Japan to complement their bilateral defense cooperation with a greater emphasis on regional collaboration.

But trends in the region suggest new challenges for the United States and its allies. North Korea's pursuit and acquisition of limited nuclear weapons technology and its suspected role in proliferation activities suggest a new agenda for alliance cooperation, as well as a new cause for common diplomatic initiatives within the region and in the United Nations.<sup>4</sup> Related, but on a different order of concern, is the recent sinking by North Korea of a South Korean vessel, the *Cheonan*, and the deaths of 46 South Korean sailors on board. This produces an added dimension to the regional crisis management efforts that began in the spring of 2009 after the second North Korean nuclear test, and highlights yet again the central role the Korean peninsula plays in the stability of Northeast Asia. Finally, a shared concern over the developing capabilities and activities of the Chinese navy have many in the region concerned about the lack of shared mechanisms for ensuring maritime stability not only in Northeast Asia waters but throughout Southeast Asia as well.<sup>5</sup>

*The Core Strategic Bargain: Military Cooperation between  
the United States and Japan*

The United States and Japan have expanded their alliance agenda many times over the years, yet the core strategic bargain continues to be the terms crafted in the bilateral security treaty of 1960. Even then, the two governments were adjusting to new demands on their early Cold War relationship; a relationship forged in the final days of the U.S. postwar occupation of Japan in 1951, and ratified a year later alongside the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In the immediate aftermath of the peace, domestic criticism of the occupation origins of this first security pact led the Kishi cabinet to renegotiate the bargain. The new treaty that emerged in 1960 committed Washington for the first time to aid in Japan's defense, and reasserted Japan's willingness to offer facilities and bases for U.S. forward deployed forces in the Far East.

Tokyo and Washington have never touched that document, and yet the terms of the strategic bargain between the United States and Japan underwent considerable renegotiation. Today, the U.S. and Japanese militaries work together in

antipiracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, and in humanitarian relief activities in Haiti. The Japanese military regularly deploys in United Nations' peacekeeping activities around the globe, and has worked with international coalition forces in Iraq. The U.S. and Japanese navies and air forces operate a shared ballistic missile defense (BMD) system off the Japanese coast. Moreover, the United States and Japan, alongside their neighbor South Korea, work hand in hand in the UN and in other multilateral forums to develop diplomatic approaches to enhance their security against a nuclear-equipped North Korea. Indeed, the resilience of the alliance in large part is due to the ability of successive governments in Tokyo and Washington to address evolving security concerns, as well as to negotiate new means of fulfilling the basic commitments set forth in the treaty.

What was not written in the document was equally as important as what was, however. Much of the story of the evolution of the U.S.-Japan security relationship focuses on Japan's own military developments. Japan's Self-Defense Forces had been in service only for six years when the 1960 treaty was concluded, and indeed had just begun to be reorganized after a bare bones policy statement, the Basic Defense Policy, articulated the need for a new military in 1957.<sup>6</sup> Thus the explicit U.S. commitment to Japan's defense was in fact Japan's primary defense policy. Then, there was even less consultation between the two governments on what U.S. forces would be available to defend Japan. All that was discussed was that U.S. forces would be stationed in Japan to maintain the rather ambiguous goal of "peace and stability in the Far East."

Events rather than treaty text would shape the U.S.-Japan alliance profoundly in those early years. Like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the first U.S.-Japan security treaty was prompted by the Korean War, and thus it was the armistice signed in 1953 on the Korean peninsula that primarily gave definition to the early concept of the U.S. military force posture in East Asia. The outbreak of the Korean War also changed U.S. policy regarding the Taiwan Straits, and President Truman sent the U.S. 7th Fleet to deter Chinese action against Chiang Kai Shek. Two Taiwan Straits crises—the first in 1954–55 and the second in 1958—made it clear that substantial U.S. naval forces would also need to be kept forward deployed in the region. Thus, the U.S. forces stationed in Japan were determined in large part by conflicts beyond Japanese shores, and the presence of forward deployed forces on Japanese shores was deemed sufficient to deter any interest in an armed attack against Japan.

The United States expected the free use of bases and facilities on Japanese soil for regional crises, but Japan's political leaders sought to gain greater discretion over the use of these forces for purposes beyond the defense of Japan. A memorandum of understanding attached to the 1960 treaty laid out this Japanese request for "prior consultation" over the use of U.S. forces stationed on Japanese territory. Later, bilateral discussions about how to interpret this prior consultation mechanism would reportedly result in a shared understanding that on three types of U.S. decision making related to U.S. military forces in Japan would be discussed with the Japanese government: changes in major weapons systems, changes in major military units, and the decision to use U.S. forces stationed in Japan for combat activities. Decades later, controversy surrounding Japanese government

acquiescence on certain aspects of U.S. forces in Japan would continue to draw criticism within Japan. With the recent change of government in Japan, in fact, there have been new policy reviews of the archival record to determine whether allegations concerning “secret agreements” between the two governments did indeed exist, and who was responsible for making those agreements.<sup>7</sup>

Another core expectation in Washington that underpinned the security bargain was that Japan would rearm. The United States sought to help rebuild Japan’s military capabilities in the early Cold War years to support the broader military balance in Asia. Later in the Cold War, Washington hoped that Japan would assume an even greater share of the military burden for its own national defense. How fast and to what level of capabilities the Japanese military ought to aspire was, in fact, a constant theme in alliance discussions. The United States wanted to hurry the pace of Japanese rearmament while many in Japan did not. Furthermore, unlike South Korea and NATO, the U.S.-Japan alliance did not have a joint military command or a joint strategy that would organize the levels and capabilities of forces. The Japanese government clearly had no interest in a unified military command, as it sought to retain full control over the exclusively defensive goals of its postwar military.<sup>8</sup> Nor was there consensus within Japan over the ultimate design and scale required for Japan’s defenses. It was not until 1976 that the Japanese Defense Agency managed to persuade the cabinet to approve a policy statement that articulated Japan’s long-term national goals.

The one issue that offered a consensus was that Japan should not pursue the development of nuclear weapons. Japan, like West Germany and South Korea, relied on the extension of U.S. nuclear deterrence. Even American nuclear weapons were anathema to a large swathe of Japanese public opinion, however. Controversy over whether American military forces stored nuclear weapons on Japanese soil was a regular part of the postwar debate in Japan. In the late 1960s, as negotiations proceeded over the return of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty, this question of whether the United States maintained nuclear forces surfaced as a central element in bilateral negotiations. Whereas U.S. military leaders expected continued free use of their bases after Okinawa reverted to Japan, Japan’s prime minister promised his citizens that Okinawa would be returned to Japanese control “nuclear free.” In the final states of bilateral negotiations with the Nixon White House, however, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato agreed to allow the United States to bring nuclear weapons into Japan in case of an “emergency.”<sup>9</sup> With Okinawa now returned to Japanese sovereignty, and thus terms of the 1960 treaty with its “prior consultation” mechanism now fully applicable to all of Japanese territory, the questions regarding the accountability of U.S. forces in Japan receded significantly in Japanese politics.

Postwar Japan’s rejection of its Self-Defense Forces, and of the SDF’s military cooperation with the U.S. military, slowly gave way to reluctant acceptance as Japan’s economic power increased and as the conflicts associated with the Cold War in Asia receded into history.<sup>10</sup> Japan’s conservative leaders also became more willing to move out of Japan’s postwar hesitancy to assume a broader global role in the economic realm, but it took some time before they were willing to embrace the idea of an international role for their postwar military. Even as late as 1981,

the Japanese prime minister, Zenko Suzuki, caused a domestic uproar by using the word “alliance” to describe the U.S.-Japan relationship in a joint press statement with President Ronald Reagan. Yet this controversy finally stimulated a deeper conversation within Japan about the costs of its postwar avoidance of all things military. Five years later, at the Williamsburg Summit in 1986, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone took Japan a step further, as he embraced the notion that the “security of the West was indivisible.” Japan was unabashedly part of the Western Alliance and worked to ensure that the U.S.-led alliance would have the advantage at the end of the Cold War. Nakasone and his successors equally embraced (at least in concept if not in practice) the idea of a technological race with the Soviets that would produce an effective BMD by the end of the century. Japan’s considerable technological prowess was thus harnessed to the final burst of Western alliance competition in the Cold War.

### *The Alliance in Washington’s Calculations*

The relationship between the United States and Japan goes far beyond the core military aspects outlined in Article 5 and 6 of the treaty, and therefore, the value to Washington of a close diplomatic relationship with Japan has been of much broader diplomatic consequence. American dominance in global affairs in the postwar period was in large part due to the successful creation of political and economic institutions that could accommodate new powers. Japan was encouraged to join in the new U.S.-led liberal order. Japan joined the various postwar global governance institutions—the United Nations and the Bretton Woods complex of institutions designed to sustain a globalizing economy. The commitment to free trade and open commerce would prove to be a boon to Tokyo, but Tokyo’s subscription to this vision of the postwar was also of incredible value to America’s efforts to create norms and institutions that would sustain its hegemony in the latter half of the twentieth century.

During the Cold War, America’s allies shared a similar set of pressures from Washington. NATO was the focal point of burden-sharing demands in the 1960s as the costs of stationing large numbers of U.S. forces there became less palatable to an American public tired of paying the costs of a global military strategy. Successive U.S. administrations articulated the need for their allies to expand their responsibility in regional and global security initiatives, and Japan assumed a greater place in the U.S. effort to mobilize allied strengths in the final years of the Cold War. At the end of the Cold War, it was not just Japan but also West Germany that Washington encouraged to move beyond their postwar hesitancy to join in collective security efforts beyond their national borders.

In the 1980s, the U.S.-Japan alliance dialogue focused more and more on how the equities in the relationship might be recalibrated to suit the moment. In terms of defense policy, Democratic and Republic administrations alike urged Japan to do more, faster, during those Cold War decades to build its military capability. More recently, in the wake of the Cold War, Washington began to urge Japan to loosen the postwar constraints on deploying its military abroad alongside other

“coalitions of the willing.” From rearmament to putting “boots on the ground,” Washington policymakers have pushed Japan to move further out from its self-restraint on developing and using its postwar military.

The history of the U.S.-Japan alliance is replete with moments of tense politics, and the most obvious alliance management challenges came from the conflicts and tensions in the region itself. Two wars in Asia—the Korean War and the Vietnam War—resulted in a high death toll for U.S. servicemen, and by the Vietnam War, Americans were deeply ambivalent about fighting far from home on behalf of Asian allies. America’s early vision of a global struggle was complicated by the fluidity of Asian politics. The emergence of China as a nuclear power in the early 1960s also complicated the nuclear balance that was so central to the Cold War strategy. By the end of that decade, China’s relationship with the Soviet Union also began to erode, and Northeast Asia became a more complex region for U.S. strategic thinkers. Japan remained the cornerstone in U.S. policy, but even in Tokyo, the Japanese public feared that Japan’s alliance with the United States would result in war rather than prevent one. In 1960, Japanese antagonism against the government for its policy of alliance with Washington was so intense, President Dwight Eisenhower had to cancel his visit for fear for his safety. Washington’s deep ambivalence about its Asia policy also worried many in the Japanese government. In the 1970s, a series of economic decisions (collectively referred to as the Nixon “shocks”) virtually derailed the bilateral relationship, as did the idea put forward but never executed by President Jimmy Carter to withdraw ground troops from South Korea.

Perhaps the most striking impact on the transformation of this rather volatile alliance was Japan’s economic recovery. Japan’s remarkable postwar economic growth coincided with an American recognition that it needed to rethink the costs of its global military strategy and to curb its strategic ambitions, particularly in Asia. In 1968, with the Vietnam War tearing domestic politics asunder in the United States, President Richard Nixon campaigned on the idea that the United States would no longer fight ground wars in that part of the world. Thus began several decades of effort on the part of Washington to encourage its Asian allies to beef up their own military capabilities to provide for their own defenses. The language of “burden-sharing” pervaded the U.S.-Japan alliance dialogue, spurred on in the 1980s by the U.S. Congress that argued that Japanese trade surpluses ought to result in greater spending on their own defense needs. Heated critiques of Japan—by now celebrated as the world’s first “economic superpower”—made for nasty alliance politics, and the theatrics of American legislators bashing Toshiba TVs on the step of Congress notwithstanding, the bilateral trade frictions had many worried that the underlying security relationship would be weakened.

The idea that Japan could use its economic strength to offset its military weakness became a central tenet of U.S.-Japan cooperation from the 1980s onward. Washington’s growing desire for Japan to be part of a larger global coalition was first evident at the Williamsburg Summit when for the first time the G-7 sought to articulate shared policy goals beyond economic policy coordination. Moreover, domestic pressures on U.S. administrations from Congress focused

on Japan's "free ride" on U.S. defense spending. Japan refused to raise its defense spending or to overstep the political commitment to spending no more than 1% of its GNP on its military. The introduction of Japanese host nation support for U.S. troops came as a way of easing bilateral frictions during efforts to enhance allied contributions to the Middle East as the Iran-Iraq War continued. Beyond the defense realm, Tokyo was called upon to increase its economic assistance to regions of the world beyond its immediate neighbors in Asia. Strategic aid, as it was called, was a means for Tokyo to respond to U.S. calls for greater contributions to global security.<sup>11</sup>

For Washington, it was the end of the Cold War that ushered in the greatest concerns about the equities of the U.S.-Japan strategic bargain. But the depth of Japanese reluctance to bringing its military into international coalitions became abundantly clear with the First Gulf War. The call for a multilateral response to the Iraq invasion of Kuwait put tremendous pressure on the U.S.-Japan relationship, as Washington called for Japan to step beyond the self-imposed confines of keeping its military at home solely for the purpose of self-defense. Despite repeated U.S. efforts to encourage Japan to send troops to Kuwait and the Indian Ocean, Tokyo refused, and instead committed \$13.5 billion in assistance to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to assist those closer to the conflict. Minesweepers were sent to help with the aftermath, but the lack of a ready response by Japan to the U.S.-led combat response took a toll on the bilateral relationship. In 1992, Japan's diet passed a new law—the Peacekeeping Operations Law—that would allow the SDF to operate beyond the narrow mission of self-defense, but only under the auspices of UN-mandated peacekeeping in regions where a ceasefire had been concluded and there would be no need for combat.<sup>12</sup> But the U.S. media dubbed Japan the "checkbook power" because of its inability to send forces, and created some concern in Washington.

Likewise, several years later, North Korea's announcement that it would withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) brought home the real possibility that Japan's postwar limitations on its military might undermine support in the United States for alliance cooperation. During the 1993–94 nuclear crisis with Pyongyang, the United States considered the possibility of military action, but Japan's response in such a contingency gave planners in Washington pause. This scenario did not come to pass, but it did alert U.S. planners of the need for a more thorough discussion with their counterparts in Tokyo of how the two countries might work jointly in case of a contingency on the Korean peninsula. This new aspect to thinking about alliance cooperation gave birth to a review of the existing guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation, which then produced a revised set of guidelines that allowed for Japanese-American military cooperation in "areas surrounding Japan." This bilateral policy review became the basis for significant legislative action on Japan's Self-Defense Force Law, as well as prompting an overhaul of Japan's legal framework for mobilizing its national defense preparations in time of crisis or conflict. By the end of the 1990s, many of the questions surrounding how the Japanese state might act in the case of conflict were clarified, reviewed by Japan's legislature and answered in a series of new laws that set out terms of civil-military responsibilities.

A decade later, the alliance performed differently. Japan became one of the first to respond when the World Trade Center was attacked by terrorists, erasing the impression that Japan would forever be the reluctant ally.<sup>13</sup> Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and his administration also sought to reframe Japan's own domestic debate over its relationship with the United States, advocating that while Japanese believed in the idea of a United Nations that provided for collective security, it was really Washington that would provide for Japan's defense.<sup>14</sup> His embrace of the alliance as the primary mechanism for Japan's security led him to send the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) abroad to work in international coalition activities in Iraq. Like other U.S. allies, many in Japan took issue with the idea that Japan's military should support America's war in Iraq. The decision in 2004 to send forces to Samawah to engage in reconstruction efforts—not combat—deeply divided the Japanese, but in the end, the GSDF earned considerable domestic praise for their capacity to work with Iraqis in a humanitarian context.

The rearmament of Japan, and the expansion of the roles and missions of the SDF in a collective design for Japan's defense, has bolstered Japan's confidence in its ability to defend itself. But rising U.S. expectations of the military cooperation implied by the half-century-long alliance relationship have encouraged capabilities that now extend far beyond the limits of Japan's territorial defense. Japan's military is one of the most technologically advanced in Asia. Moreover, the Japanese military now operates in missions beyond the framework of U.S.-Japan bilateral military cooperation. Japan's Self-Defense Force has served alongside many other nations in UN peacekeeping operations as well as in multilateral military coalitions in Iraq and the Indian Ocean.

### *Japan's New Politics and the U.S.-Japan Alliance*

Political change in Japan has raised new questions about the U.S.-Japan strategic bargain, and the evolving expectations of the alliance's security agenda developed after more than half a century of political leadership by Japan's conservatives, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In August 2009 the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) won 308 of the 480 seats in Japan's Lower House, winning a four-year stint as Japan's ruling party. Although the main thrust of the DPJ's electoral manifesto was domestic policy reform, Japan's new governing party had long suggested it wanted a different approach to managing the U.S. military in Japan.

Suggesting the need to create a more equal relationship with the United States, DPJ politicians argued the need to review many aspects of alliance policy, including the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), the Host Nation Support (HNS) agreements, and the broad realignment plan that was negotiated in 2004–6. The DPJ had significant support in Okinawa, home to the bulk of U.S. forces, and prior to their electoral victory in August 2010, the DPJ leader, Yukio Hatoyama, argued that he would abide by the will of the Okinawan people when it came to making decisions about the relocation of a major U.S. Marine Corps airfield there. In addition to DPJ concern about how the LDP managed the relationship

with Washington, Japan's new ruling party wanted to implement significant reform on the way policy was made in Japan. Thus, in addition to their critique of the substance of the U.S.-Japan alliance agenda, there was also considerable interest in changing the policymaking process that had guided alliance management in the past.

One of the earliest initiatives undertaken by Japan's new government was the investigation into the so-called secret agreements between Tokyo and Washington over sensitive issues regarding the U.S. military. This included an archival search for documents that would reveal that the Japanese government had approved the transit of U.S. nuclear armed ships through Japanese territorial waters and ports, as well as the appointment of a commission of scholars that would evaluate the results of the search.<sup>15</sup> In 1981, former U.S. ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer in an interview with the *Mainichi Shimbun* basically admitted that there was an understanding that Japan relied on the U.S. nuclear umbrella and, therefore, needed the protection afforded by nuclear armed ships. Retired Japanese senior officials—like Kei Wakaizumi who was a secret emissary of Prime Minister Sato during the Okinawa reversion negotiations—and senior Ministry of Foreign Affairs bureaucrats with knowledge of the U.S.-Japan discussion on U.S. forces in Japan had already confirmed that these types of understandings were reached with their American counterparts. Thus, Foreign Minister Okada began his investigation of his ministry's archives soon after arriving in Kasumigaseki.

A second set of documents involved in the government archival survey of past decisions on U.S.-Japan alliance management pertained to the terms of Okinawa reversion and the payment of a large sum by the Japanese government into the U.S. treasury. These documents have not been found, even though some scholars had successfully found their counterparts in the U.S. archives. Again bureaucrats involved in the negotiations in the late 1960s have already openly acknowledged the agreement Tokyo made with Washington, but both the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs claim that no such documents exist. This has led to a court case organized by scholars and other nongovernmental organizations in Okinawa under the terms of the Japanese government's Information Disclosure Act of 1999. The court found in favor of the plaintiffs and ordered the two ministries to account for their lack of transparency. The absence of documents that many argue existed in the past has led to allegations that bureaucrats deliberately destroyed memos or "agreed minutes" that had long guided Japanese decision making on U.S. military policy.

Beyond these transparency issues regarding past policy choices, perhaps the greatest impact for alliance management will be the extent to which the DPJ and other political parties are able to redesign the policymaking process itself. The Liberal Democrats' control over the two houses was not absolute but it was sustained over a long period of time. Thus the idea that the legislature has oversight over the executive branch remains somewhat weak in postwar Japanese politics. In fact, it was the civil servants—the bureaucrats—who had the institutional resources to develop the capacity to gather information and to conduct policy analysis. Few resources in the legislature were dedicated to this task. The LDP's



Policy Research Council was instead tasked with policy analysis and debate. Thus, while Japanese diplomats and others had to navigate the choppy waters of the U.S. policymaking process—and at times the even more tumultuous relations between the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government, U.S. policymakers instead relied on a relatively well-known group of LDP party leaders and the internal party apparatus designed to develop policy priorities.

The first year of political transition proved difficult for the U.S. and Japanese governments. For the first time in the postwar period, Japan has a government that is committed to changing the alliance management patterns of the past. Issues surrounding the U.S. military presence, including the current effort to realign bases and forces, HNS, the potential roles of U.S. nuclear forces, and the SOFA, have been targeted by the DPJ and its coalition partners. Yet, the new government's access to information about past decision making, and about the rationale for existing alliance agreements and practices, has been limited. To make matters more complex, the bureaucrats tasked with policy analysis and policy recommendations in the past are no longer seen as the only actors in the policy discussions. This opened up new channels of information flow between the U.S. and Japanese governments, but rather than improving communications, the initial effect was to create uncertainty as to who had ultimate decision making authority. On the politically sensitive issue of the U.S. bases, the new DPJ government wanted to review past decisions. U.S. ambassador John Roos in Tokyo became the key channel for conveying the various proposals emanating from the Japanese government, and for offering to provide background briefings on U.S. policy histories on the decision making surrounding the base realignment plan.

Two issues illustrate the difficulties for managing alliance relations at this moment of political change. The first relates yet again to the difficulties involved in hosting U.S. military forces in Japanese communities. Okinawa had become recipient of the bulk of U.S. military forces as bases and facilities in the Kanto region near Tokyo had closed in the 1970s. U.S. forces were consolidated in Japan's southernmost prefecture, far from the gaze of metropolitan Japan and free of many of the strictures imposed on military bases on the main Japanese islands. The long dormant issue in the U.S.-Japan alliance of antibase protests in Japan resurfaced suddenly and dramatically in 1995 when a rape of a schoolgirl in Okinawa brought back the fury of that region against the presence of U.S. forces there.

The U.S. and Japanese governments began the effort to reduce U.S. Marine facilities in Okinawa in the face of intense Okinawa protest in the aftermath of the rape.<sup>16</sup> Although one of the bases long seen as a hazard to local residents, U.S. Marine Air Station Futenma was slotted for closure, the relocation of that base within the prefecture has yet to be successfully implemented. By 2005, the United States and Japan were ready to engage in a broader conversation about transforming and realigning U.S. forces to contend with new challenges in the region, and in this context, devised a new approach to removing one-third of the U.S. Marines on Okinawa. The deal depended on finding a community in Okinawa willing to host the runway needed for the Marine helicopters. Main island communities were also affected by the 2005 plan, and its implementation agreement

of 2006, which included changes to U.S. forces that were also politically difficult, including the construction of a new runway for the Marines in Iwakuni and the introduction of U.S. Army Special Forces command alongside the GSDF at Camp Zama.

Citizen concerns about the realignment plan, especially on Okinawa, focused the DPJ's attention on the equities of the existing plan, and the need to review the premises of the conclusions reached about Futenma relocation to Nago City. Successive LDP governments have sought to negotiate this relocation deal.

Nago City, a large municipality in the northeastern quadrant of Okinawa, was identified as the appropriate site, and economic subsidies and other incentives (including construction contracts) were offered to local residents and businesses to persuade Nago City to accept the Marines, and to allow their helicopters to be based on a new runway built along the coast. A new land reclamation project that would provide lucrative contracts to stimulate local employment was deemed the best approach by the U.S. and Japanese governments, but last fall with the change in government, the Hatoyama Cabinet began a review of this choice and advocating a more significant effort to move U.S. Marine operations off the island of Okinawa. After eight months of difficult communications over Futenma, the two governments finally agreed to a framework for discussions that would allow them to modify the original plan and to explore other means of reducing the burden on Okinawa prefecture.<sup>17</sup>

This episode of bilateral tension speaks to broader challenges for the U.S. military in Japan. The U.S. and Japanese governments have sought to implement the promise to relocate Futenma, and for 10 or more years, this effort has run aground locally. Today, however, there is a greater commitment at the national government level to finding a way to relieve Okinawa prefecture of the bulk of U.S. military forces stationed in Japan. The question of equity for Okinawa is certainly part of the political challenge to the existing bilateral agreement on the realignment of U.S. military forces in Japan. But the broader question is how much tolerance the Japanese people have for hosting U.S. forces. Complaints in local communities about oversight of U.S. military activities, including the prosecution of those suspected of crimes and the management of the environment, continue to percolate beyond Okinawa. Oversight of the U.S. military presence in Japan, and the administrative agreement designed to guide that oversight, has not been the subject of policy review in the U.S.-Japan alliance. Other allies, such as Germany and South Korea, have asked for revisions in terms of the U.S. military presence, and their SOFAs have been reviewed by both governments to reflect the changing interests of publics in both countries. Political change in Japan may mean that the United States and Japan will need to revamp some of their basic policy mechanisms for managing the U.S. military presence if they are to sustain public support in Japan.

A second issue is less dramatic in terms of the media headlines, but equally important to the alliance, is the question of how to manage the nuclear dimension of the U.S. security commitment to Japan. Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada's review of the ministry's handling of reputed "secret agreements" with the U.S. government on the introduction to Japanese territory of nuclear weapons raised

new questions about what exactly Japan should ask the United States to do with regard to maintaining nuclear forces needed to extend deterrence in Northeast Asia. In December 2009, Foreign Minister Okada sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton denying the veracity of reports of a specific Japanese government request for the United States to maintain nuclear armed cruise missiles for the explicit purpose of defending Japan. Subsequently, Minister Okada explained his position in the Japanese Diet. He argued that Japan's policy of keeping nuclear weapons far from Japan was to protect Japanese citizens from the possibility of suffering from the use of these weapons, but he also acknowledged that should Japan call on the United States to assist in defending Japan, the government at that time would have to make the difficult decision of how best to protect their country.

Today's nuclear agenda, of course, extends beyond the traditional task of providing extended deterrence to allies. The fear that fissile material will fall into the hands of terrorists has been high on the U.S. security agenda in the wake of 9/11. Japan confronted its own case of domestic terrorism in 1995 with the *Aum Shinrikyo* gas attacks on Tokyo's subways, and while Japanese citizens remain as yet untouched by the al Qaeda and other extremist groups working in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, the United States and Japan have coordinated their approaches to stabilizing the southern Philippines in an effort to coordinate antiterrorism efforts in Southeast Asia. Japan was and continues to be a willing partner in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) initiated by Washington to provide better oversight of maritime traffic in the search for illicit fissile materials. And Tokyo has also continued to be a strong global presence in the postconflict reconstruction activities, including in Iraq and Afghanistan, which are important to addressing the longer term problems that confront fragile societies.

At the Global Nuclear Security summit convened by President Obama, Japan outlined its national approach to securing fissile material within Japan and to playing a more active role in regional nuclear security efforts in Asia. Japan has strengthened its own nuclear facilities and the protection of nuclear material. In May 2007, Japan's new legislation, the Law on Punishing Acts that Endanger Human Lives by Generating Radiation, allowed Japan to ratify the Nuclear Terrorism Convention. And later that year, Japan began to develop new technology that would help detect nuclear and radioactive material in airport baggage. Internationally, Japan has also embraced the effort to devise global rules for nuclear security, and in support of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1540, Japan has sponsored the Asian Senior-level Talks on Nonproliferation and the Asian Export Control Seminar. The Japanese government is also working to strengthen capacity-building in the Asian region for strengthening nuclear security.<sup>18</sup>

But the more difficult task of preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons has created some challenges for the United States and Japan. Non proliferation has long been a shared goal for the two allies. Japan continues to eschew the pursuit of its own nuclear option, and remains a key supporter of the NPT regime. Globally, Japan's technological prowess in the nuclear realm—although somewhat tarnished by a spate of accidents in recent years—continues to attract

scientists and engineers from a variety of countries interested in developing civilian nuclear capability. With the global competition in access to oil and other energy resources intensifying, Japan continues to be a strong advocate for safe nuclear energy, but a robust global effort to control nuclear technology remains a key Japanese security interest. It is not the goal of nonproliferation per se, but the means of negotiation that suggest some serious differences in this alliance. Ongoing efforts to negotiate with North Korea and the growing frustration in Washington regarding the lack of progress in negotiations with Iran have revealed divergent priorities in the U.S.-Japan alliance.

The diplomatic effort to engage North Korea in a negotiation to rid itself of nuclear facilities began a difficult process for Tokyo and Washington. Pyongyang's demonstrated hostility to Tokyo makes it a difficult neighbor, and the proliferation of missile technology by the North Koreans offered new capabilities with which Pyongyang could intimidate Tokyo. The development of the Taepodong, and the first test fire in 1998 shocked a Japanese public unaware of this growing arsenal of North Korean missiles. Moreover, the confirmation that the North Korean regime had in fact abducted Japanese citizens in the 1970s created outrage among the Japanese public, and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's efforts to negotiate with Pyongyang in 2002, while successfully returning some of these missing Japanese, created a wave of public hostility in Japan that continues today to shape Japan's diplomacy. Nonetheless, Koizumi negotiated a moratorium on the testing of missiles that lasted until July 2006, thereby temporarily at least slowing the pace of North Korean deployments.<sup>19</sup>

For the United States and Japan, however, the interim years of diplomacy to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear ambitions revealed different preferences as to how to proceed within the region. China's agreement to host a six-party regional conversation with North Korea at the table began a process of comprehensive negotiations that included consideration not only of the path to denuclearization but also of a new peace regime on the Korean peninsula. The Bush administration, which began its first term in office by identifying the North Koreans as part of an "axis of evil," shifted gears in the second term by embracing the six-party talks and as significantly for Tokyo, encouraging China to take the lead in the diplomatic effort. These multilateral negotiations, accompanied the far less transparent bilateral talks between Washington and Pyongyang, and while gaining Pyongyang's acquiescence on a roadmap to dismantling its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon was high on Washington's priority list, officials in Tokyo found themselves increasingly criticized at home for ignoring the human plight of the abducted Japanese. Within Japanese policy circles, Washington's commitment to the U.S.-Japan alliance was openly questioned, and editorial columns across the partisan spectrum criticized Washington's lack of consultations in its diplomacy with North Korea. In a stunning effort to halt the U.S. negotiator's diplomatic efforts with Pyongyang, the U.S. ambassador in Tokyo sent a cable to the president urging him not to undermine the U.S.-Japan alliance for the sake of a deal with North Korea. The fact that this cable found its way into the *Washington Post* revealed just how sensitive the Bush administration's diplomacy with Pyongyang had become.

Pyongyang effectively ended this strain on the U.S.-Japan alliance when it detonated a second nuclear device on February 9, 2009. Just months into the new Obama administration, the U.S. response was quick, and the coordination with Tokyo and Seoul was intense. A key remedy for U.S. policy was to restore the trilateral consultative process with Tokyo and Seoul that had been set aside during the final year of the Bush administration's efforts to engage Pyongyang. Moreover, this demonstration of Pyongyang's willingness to pursue its nuclear ambitions at any cost made it easier for Washington to put its alliances back on the front burner in considering its policy response. North Korean preparations for another missile launch also provided a key opportunity for testing the newly developing BMD capabilities of Japan. Tokyo and Washington intensified their BMD cooperation, deployed Aegis destroyers in the Sea of Japan—a South Korean Aegis was also in the waters—and Tokyo announced quite clearly the terms of its response should a ballistic missile threaten to fall on Japanese soil.

In addition to consultations among the five regional members of the Six-Party Talks, the United States and Japan responded in the United Nations. In consultation with Seoul, Tokyo and Washington pushed hard for a tougher set of sanctions against North Korean proliferation activities that emerged as UN Security Council Resolution 1874. Japan's leadership in the council was a key factor in the success of the resolution, but so too was the close diplomatic cooperation between Washington, Tokyo, and Seoul. China, too, joined the international effort to restrain Pyongyang's ability to create instability in the region, and beyond.

A more difficult UN Security Council discussion followed. The head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Ambassador Yukiya Amano, issued a Board of Governor's report citing Iran's existing violations of its international commitments to keep the agency informed of its nuclear activities, and to allow inspections of new research sites.<sup>20</sup> Historically, Japan's relationship with Iran has been strong. Japan's economic interests in Iran, including its access to oil and other energy resources, have made for some friction in the bilateral U.S.-Japan relationship. But there have also been moments when Japan's access to leaders in Iran, particularly prior to the arrival of president Mahmoud Ahamadinejad, has allowed for some behind-the-scenes diplomacy. As international pressure to move toward UN sanctions against Iran grew in the fall of 2009, Japan's new foreign minister sought to reach out to others in the international community seeking to find an alternative diplomatic solution. Visits to Tokyo by Iran's nuclear negotiator, Saeed Jalili, to discuss potential avenues for removing highly enriched uranium (HEU) from Iran proved to be unsuccessful, and by the spring of 2010, Foreign Minister Okada told Washington that Japan would support sanctions if alternative diplomatic routes failed.

Policymakers in Tokyo and Washington have slowly embraced the need to review some of the fundamental understandings of the postwar era: what is the role of U.S. nuclear weapons? How can maritime security be secured? And what kinds of U.S. forces should be maintained in Japan and for what purpose? The alliance's success will also be tested by its ability to shape the security environment, and close to home for most Japanese, the challenge of the moment emanates from North Korea's nuclear capability. China's growing maritime capabilities, and its

demonstration of those capabilities, suggests the need for greater U.S.-Japan discussion on the maritime dimensions of their security. Yet, the opportunities today for greater regional cooperation on a broad array of issues also suggest a need for closer attention to the ways in which the United States and Japan can work effectively with China in a more fluid Northeast Asia.

The new politics of Tokyo suggest that established patterns of alliance management also require some revision. At the very least, political change in Tokyo suggests an even greater need for the U.S. and Japanese governments to reaffirm their understanding of how the U.S. and Japanese militaries will work together to ensure their mutual security. Long debated issues such as Japan's willingness to work alongside U.S. forces in evolving missions, such as BMD or in confronting those suspected of proliferating weapons of mass destruction, will continue to inform shape alliance discussions. But the second part of the U.S.-Japan alliance's challenge will be to consider how Tokyo and Washington can reduce risks in today's global and regional security environments. Japan's new government has advocated forcefully a commitment to support global nonproliferation efforts, but the politics of persuading states that seem determined to develop nuclear capabilities to abandon their efforts may prove to be challenging for the U.S.-Japan relationship.

*The U.S.-Japan Alliance in Northeast Asia:  
Ensuring Security, Reducing Risk*

The context today that will have most profound impact on the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance is regional. In a sense, the United States and Japan must return to the alliance's "Far Eastern" roots. But Northeast Asia today is a much different environment, and the balancing of diplomatic and military policies in coping with this dynamic region will require greater strategic thinking in both Tokyo and Washington. Two challenges come most readily to mind. The first is the need to respond to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by North Korea; and the second is the more difficult but nonetheless important challenge of coping with the diffuse effects of the rise of Chinese power.

Furthermore, political relations in Northeast Asia today will test the ability of governments in Tokyo and Washington to synchronize their bilateral security goals with the growing interest in building new frameworks and partnerships across the region. Today's China is a different influence on regional relations, and Beijing's global reach cannot be ignored as Washington and Tokyo make decisions about their military goals. Likewise, the acquisition of nuclear weapons technology by North Korea changes the threat environment for Japan, and thus brings new scrutiny to the idea that Japan can rely on United States' extended deterrence to cope with nuclear threats. The growing interest among Northeast Asian countries in finding new avenues of cooperating on common interests suggests that regionalism will be a real possibility in this region where antagonisms seemed so intense.

It was in Northeast Asia that the United States worried about Japan's approach to military cooperation in the wake of the Cold War, but today it is Tokyo that worries about a United States that seems hesitant in the face of rising Chinese influence. In the early 1990s, when Pyongyang declared it was evicting IAEA inspectors, and pursuing its own nuclear weapons program, the prospect for conflict on the Korean peninsula seemed real. U.S. security planners were unsure of Japan's ability to respond should a military crisis emerge. In addition, the rattling of sabres across the Taiwan Straits in 1996 in response to the independence movement on that island brought U.S. attention back to the underdeveloped mechanisms for joint military action in the U.S.-Japan alliance. Crisis management, and the question of whether and how Japan would engage with the United States on planning for regional contingencies, became the focal point of the effort to "redefine" the bilateral strategic bargain for a new era. President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto issued a joint statement on how to redefine their alliance that reflected their government's review of how to close the gaps on military coordination in the post-Cold War era.

An alliance review of the U.S.-Japan common strategic objectives in 2011 will produce greater clarity on the policy agenda ahead.<sup>21</sup> Yet the events in the region are more likely to propel the core alliance agenda than a broader effort at policy review. In the spring of 2009, the United States and Japan for the first time responded together to the North Korean missile launch in early April. Japan's new Aegis destroyers were deployed alongside the U.S. 7th Fleet destroyers, while the Japanese assumed independent command of their ballistic missile defenses that were mobilized to cope with the potential for any impact on Japanese territory. Also on the water for the first time was a South Korean destroyer. Each navy tracked the North Korean missile, and analysis of the event was shared in real time by the U.S. and Japanese navies, and the first test of the alliance's ability to engage in BMD efforts was deemed a success.

Another potential challenge from North Korea has emerged, but this time it will require a different response. Regional crisis management now is on the agenda for the United States, South Korea, and Japan. The sinking of the South Korean navy's corvette, the *Cheonan*, on March 26, 2010, has opened a new chapter of tensions on the peninsula. The death of 46 of the South Korean sailors on board prompted deep outrage within South Korea, and while President Lee Myung-bak exercised a calm and collective international response to the incident, this incident raised some serious questions about the capacity of the United States and its allies, South Korea and Japan, to coordinate on the use of force questions in and around the Korean peninsula. On May 21–24, secretary of state Hillary Clinton visited the region to discuss with Lee Myung-bak and with Japan's leaders on how best to develop a collective response to what is now understood to have been a North Korean torpedo attack on a South Korean naval vessel. Seoul opted for the international and diplomatic response this time, and U.S. efforts to stand by South Korea in responding to the attack went a long way to demonstrating to the South Korean people that their president made the correct decision when he chose not to retaliate unilaterally. Japan too was asked to

join closely in this regional effort to respond to North Korea's provocation, and there is plenty of opportunity here to develop a common approach to regional crisis management should North Korea continue to use force.

A second challenge for the U.S.-Japan alliance will be in devising a common understanding of how to cope with Chinese maritime activities in and around the Asia-Pacific region. Asia's maritime boundaries remain disputed, and in Northeast Asia, Japan and China have territorial disputes over the Senkaku/Daiyutai islands as well as over the demarcation of the maritime boundary in the East China Sea. As Chinese naval capability grows and its blue water naval capability becomes more assured, it is likely that the navies of Japan and China are considerate of their contacts with each other. The U.S. Navy's interactions with China have produced considerable concern, not only for U.S. officials but for others in the region as well. The April 2001 Hainan island incident, where a Chinese fighter collided with a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, froze U.S.-Chinese military exchanges. The interaction between Chinese naval vessels and the *USS Impeccable* survey ship in March 2009 suggested that Beijing was becoming much less tolerant of U.S. naval activities in and around Chinese waters.

Chinese maritime activity in and around Japanese territorial waters is also cause for concern. In 2004, a Chinese *Han*-class submarine surfaced well within Japanese waters as it attempted to transit the straits in the Ryukyu Island chain. Several years later, Chinese subs were found close to joint exercises being conducted by the U.S. and Japanese navies, causing considerable alarm about their ability to sneak up on the allied navies. More recently, the Chinese sent a group of 10 ships through the waters between the Okinawan islands, and then doubled back to circle around Okinotorishima, a small island administered by Tokyo. A helicopter from one of the Chinese destroyers also approached a Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force ship, and suggested that there was a greater willingness to operate in close proximity to Japan's navy. Finally, another interaction signalled a new phase of Chinese interest in engaging with Japan on the seas occurred as Chinese ships challenged a Japanese research vessel in the East China Sea. Foreign Minister Okada promptly protested the incident, but it was particularly contentious in light of expectations that the two countries would be able to conclude their longstanding negotiations on joint development in the East China Sea. China has yet to move forward with the technical agreement that would signal the beginning of the project.

The expansion of Chinese maritime capability is not in and of itself indicative of a threatening intent, but it does suggest the need for greater dialogue with Beijing on how to maintain stability in the Asian maritime region. An Incidents-at-Sea Agreement has yet to be concluded among Asian powers. Antipiracy operations have been an area of collective responsibility in the ASEAN forum, and beyond the Asian region, both Japan and China have agreed to participate in antipiracy efforts in the Gulf of Aden. But in the immediate waters shared by China and Japan, there is no guidance as yet developed to cope with accidents or mishaps that might alarm either country's navies. The United States has sought to develop with China a common understanding of what constitutes acceptable behavior on the open seas, but the time has come for a region-wide code of conduct. The ASEAN



Regional Forum's maritime affairs committee offers one venue for discussions, but this might also be a topic for the 2011 East Asia Summit as well.

At the very least, the United States and Japan, perhaps in concert with other maritime allies such as Australia, South Korea, and India, should begin consultations on their analysis of Chinese maritime activities, as well as on their respective approaches to developing a regime of maritime stability that could be the basis for engaging China in dialogue. Chinese-Japanese military exchanges have resumed, albeit on an ad hoc basis. The ASEAN Regional Forum might also offer opportunities for others in the maritime Asia region to consider how to construct appropriate initiatives that would reduce the risk of inadvertent incidents at sea escalating into crises.

The United States and Japan must reach out beyond the bilateral confines of their alliance relationship and ultimately engage Beijing in a more constructive effort to develop confidence building and transparency in regional military activities. This is a different frame for thinking of the alliance agenda. The region is on the verge of some difficult choices. As the succession of Kim Jong-il looms on the horizon, North Korean behavior has become more unpredictable and the *Cheonan* sinking as well as the shelling of Yongpyong island suggest that Pyongyang could resort to more of these kinds of hostile acts as internal politics become less predictable. The longer-term challenge for Washington and Tokyo, however, is how to accommodate the growth in Chinese military capability while engaging Beijing in a regional effort to foster stability in the maritime realm. Beyond Northeast Asia, there are other opportunities ahead for the United States and Japan to refine their alliance goals and expand their menu of security cooperation.

### Concluding Thoughts

U.S. and Japanese policymakers have adapted their agenda of security cooperation across decades of an ever-evolving security environment, but it is in the realm of domestic politics where the true test of the relationship's value resides. Time and time again—in Tokyo as well as in Washington—the two governments have been asked to adjust the mechanisms of cooperation to meet changing expectations, expectations informed by international circumstance but created for the most part by a domestic calculus of costs and benefits. More often than not, it has been Washington that has led the effort to reevaluate the terms of the bargain. Today, it is Japan's politicians who are suggesting a new approach.

The strategic bargain struck by Tokyo and Washington over half a century ago was based on two assumptions about Japan. The first was that Japan was unable to defend itself without Washington's help, and the second was that the Japanese people tolerate the presence of U.S. military forces on their soil. These assumptions are increasingly being questioned in Japan, and thus the U.S.-Japan alliance may face some key tests ahead as the alliance and its impact on a region undergoing sensitive geopolitical changes.

Yet, through all of the strains, internally and externally produced, on the alliance, the treaty between Japan and the United States remains intact. But this has

also been accompanied by the development of new policy guidelines that serve to clarify and refine U.S.-Japan understandings on how to continue to implement their strategic bargain. Within Japan, the LDP-led governments sought to avoid deliberation of bilateral alliance concerns within the Diet for fear that vociferous opposition parties would undermine their capacity to support alliance cooperation, but over the years, Tokyo and Washington sought to devise new ways to demonstrate the utility of their security alliance. In the years ahead, there may be a greater appetite in Japan for reconsidering the SOFA, or in developing new policies for the improvement of Japanese oversight of the U.S. military bases in Japan.

Thus, with a new government in power, the United States and Japan are reviewing some of the outstanding issues of the Cold War. The strategic bargain of providing bases for the U.S. military is under review in Japan, and while the policy debate today focuses on one particular U.S. military base in Okinawa, the underlying questions surfacing in the context of Japan's political change imply a deeper set of questions about the utility of U.S. forces stationed in Japan. Likewise, the nuclear dimension of the U.S.-Japan security bargain has always sat uneasily upon the Japanese public's sensitivities regarding the potential for revisiting the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Extended deterrence seems both more necessary and more distressing in the face of a nuclear North Korea and a considerably stronger nuclear-armed Chinese neighbor. Finally, there is the question of how to shape the international environment. The potential for instability on the Korean peninsula remains, and the succession that will ultimately come to pass in North Korea suggests a time of greater concern for peace on the peninsula among Northeast Asian countries.

Shaping the emerging security environment in Northeast Asia will be perhaps the most complex and challenging agenda for the U.S.-Japan alliance. Navigating the power transitions underway in the region, and indeed across the globe, will require greater thought as to how the bilateral alliance can complement regional efforts to build greater confidence and predictability in the Asia-Pacific. Moreover, the most challenging effort—the reduction of the risk of nonproliferation—must also engage the global nonproliferation regime as well as support the emerging global conversation on nuclear security.

### Notes

1. The most complete statement by President Barack Obama on the importance of the U.S.-Japan relationship was made on November 14, 2009, at Suntory Hall in Tokyo during his first visit there, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-suntory-hall> (Accessed May, 19, 2010). Prime Minister Hatoyama outlined his thoughts on the relationship on January 19, 2010 in his statement on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security of Japan and the United States, [http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/hatoyama/statement/20101/19/19danwa\\_e.html](http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/hatoyama/statement/20101/19/19danwa_e.html) (Accessed May 19, 2010).
2. In the Democratic Party of Japan's electoral Manifesto, there was a sense of duality between the desire for a more equal relationship with Washington and the promotion

of Japan's role as a member of the East Asian Community. Early statements by Prime Minister Hatoyama in his visit to Beijing to the effect that Japan had relied on Washington for too long helped create the sense that he cared more about improving relations with his neighbors than maintaining a close partnership with the United States.

3. Summit meetings between the leaders of China, South Korea, and Japan began in December 2008 with the first meeting in Fukuoka, Japan. Since then, the leaders of the three Northeast Asian countries have met in Korea and China. Their fourth meeting was held in May 2010 in Cheju Island, South Korea, in the midst of a deepening crisis in North-South Korean relations.
4. Japan, South Korea, and the United States teamed up to push for the UN sanctions included in Resolution 1874 after North Korea's second nuclear test in 2009.
5. See IISS Strategic Comments, May 2010, *Chinese Navy's New Strategy in Action*, <http://www.iiss.org/publications/strategic-comments/past-issues/volume-16-2010/may/chinese-navy> (Accessed May 19, 2010).
6. The Basic Policy for National Defense, adopted by the National Defense Council and approved by the Cabinet on May 20, 1957, reads as follows:

The aim of national defense is to prevent direct and indirect aggression and to repel any such aggression with the aim of protecting Japan's independence and peace, which are founded on democracy. In order to achieve this, the Basic Policy states as follows:

- To support the UN activities and promote international cooperation to achieve world peace;
- To stabilize the livelihood of the people, promote their patriotism, and establish the foundations required for national security;
- Within the limits required for self-defense, to progressively establish efficient defense capabilities in accordance with the nation's strength and situation;
- To deal with external acts of aggression based on the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements, until the United Nations can provide sufficient functions to effectively prevent such acts in the future.

*Defense of Japan 2009* (English translation) (Tokyo: Erklaren, 2009), p. 400.

7. A flurry of Japanese newspaper articles on the "secret agreement" controversy appeared in June 2009 in the run-up to Japan's historic Lower House election. In each paper, retired bureaucrats who claimed such agreements did indeed exist were interviewed, as were leading members of the Democratic Party of Japan on how their government might address this issue. The media's attention to this issue heightened anticipation that the new government would review the archives and set the record straight.
8. Indeed, the postwar Japanese Constitution's proscription on the use of force to settle international disputes offered a clear rationale for avoiding any integration of forces, a position that is referred to in the Japanese political debate as not recognizing the right to "collective self-defense."
9. See Kei Wakaizumi, *The Best Course Available: A Personal Account of the Secret U.S.-Japan Okinawa Reversion Negotiations*, trans. John Swenson-Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).
10. For the classic statement of Japan's slow shift to a more "realist" foreign policy, see Michael J. Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
11. See Dennis Yasutomo, *The Manner of Giving: Strategic Aid and Japan's Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

12. The first deployment for that purpose was to the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. For greater detail on Japanese policies, see *UN Peacekeeping Operations: A Guide to Japanese Policies*, L. William Heinrich, Akiho Shibata, and Yoshihide Soeya (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1999).
13. For a broader discussion of the factors that led to Japan's more assertive foreign policy approach, see Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). For the argument that Japan was undergoing a fundamental transformation away from its self-imposed postwar restraint, see Kenneth Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose* (Seattle: Century Foundation, 2008).
14. See Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy: Japan's Kantei Approach to Foreign Policy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).
15. For the results of the archival survey and the Commission's findings, see the webpage entitled, *Iwayuru "mitsuyaku" mondai no chosa nit suite*, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/mitsuyaku.html> (in Japanese).
16. The long dormant issue of citizen protest against U.S. military bases in Japan resurfaced suddenly in 1995 when the rape of an Okinawan school girl by U.S. military personnel ignited island-wide protest. 85,000 Okinawans gathered to protest the U.S. military presence on their island, and the governor at the time, Masahide Ota, refused to participate in leasing arrangements for land expropriated from Okinawa residents for use by the U.S. military. Ota challenged his national government on the equity of concentrating 75% of the U.S. military stationed in Japan on his island prefecture, and the court case went to Japan's Supreme Court. The national legislature in 1997 later passed a law that removed the role of local politicians in approving land expropriation procedures, and this aspect of protest politics against the bases in Okinawa ended. For analysis of this period of the base protest in Okinawa, see Sheila A. Smith, "Challenging National Interests: Okinawa Prefecture and the U.S. Military Bases," in *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policy Making*, ed. Sheila A. Smith (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2000).
17. The agreed upon framework for Futenma relocation discussions was announced by the U.S. and Japanese governments on May 27/28, 2010. See *Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee*, Washington, DC, May 27, 2010, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/05/142318.htm> (Accessed June 9, 2010).
18. For the full statement of Japan's national policy for nuclear security, see Japan's National Statement at the Washington Nuclear Security Summit, April 12, 2010, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/un/disarmament/arms/nuclear\\_security/2010](http://www.mofa.go.jp/un/disarmament/arms/nuclear_security/2010) (Accessed May 19, 2010).
19. An agreement on a moratorium on North Korean missile testing had been concluded first with the United States in 1999, after the 1998 *Taepodong* launch. However, the Bush administration did not pursue these discussions with Pyongyang, although it did state that it viewed the 1999 understanding to hold. North Korea rescinded its own commitment to a moratorium in June 2006 as it prepared for yet another *Taepodong* launch that summer. See "North Korea Disavows Its Moratorium on Testing of Long-Range Missiles," *New York Times*, June 21, 2006, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A03E0DF1F31F932A15755C0A9609C8B63> (Accessed June 9, 2010). For a provisional English translation of the Japan-DPRK agreement announced at the conclusion of Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang in 2002 that included the Japan-DPRK understanding on the DPRK's willingness to stop testing missiles, see *Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration*, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n\\_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.pdf](http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.pdf) (Accessed June 9, 2010).

20. See February 2010 IAEA Board of Governor's report entitled *Implementation of NPT Safeguards Agreement and Relevant Provisions of the Security Council Resolutions 1737 (2006), 1747 (2007), 1803 (2008), and 1835 (2008) in the Islamic Republic of Iran*.
21. See The U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee Marking the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Signing of the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, January 19, 2010, issued by Secretary of State Clinton, Secretary of Defense Gates, Minister of Foreign Affairs Okada, and Minister of Defense Kitazawa, issued on January 19, 2010, simultaneously in Washington, DC, and Tokyo, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135312.html> (Accessed May 19, 2010). The revised common strategic objectives are expected to be announced in June 2011 at a U.S.-Japan 2+2 meeting of the Japanese ministers of foreign affairs and defense and the U.S. secretaries of state and defense.

## **The Merits of Alliance: A Japanese Perspective—Logic Underpins Japan’s Global and Regional Security Role**

*Akiko Fukushima*

**F**or the past six decades, relations between Japan and the United States of America have been conducted in the shadow of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (Japan-U.S. Security Treaty) signed on January 19, 1960. According to the bilateral alliance, the United States plays a role in the defense of Japan, while Japan allows the United States to maintain military bases on Japanese soil to facilitate the forward deployment of U.S. forces in the Asia-Pacific.

Over the years and particularly during the past two decades, in addition to providing an umbrella for Japan’s defense, treaty relations have enabled—and at times compelled—Japan to play a proactive security-related role beyond its territory and territorial waters. However, at such times Tokyo’s activities have been reined in by constitutional constraints that limit the dispatch of its Self-Defense Forces (SDF) overseas.

Japan emerged from the ashes of the Second World War to pursue an economic recovery that, in turn, led to massive growth that has allowed it to become the world’s second-largest economy. This achievement heightened global expectations that Japan would play a politicosecurity role commensurate with its economic power. Moreover, because globalization has blurred the line between national and global security, Japan has sought a role in the arena of international peace and security as “a good global citizen,” contributing to the international public good—but always within the limitations of its constitution. To this end, Japan made financial contributions to countries in crisis or needing to undertake postconflict reconstruction. But Japan soon learned that financial contributions alone were not enough to meet the political expectations of either its ally or the international community. It thus had to find a constitutionally acceptable way to dispatch SDF personnel overseas.

In the wake of the Cold War, subsequent civil wars, the spread of terrorism, and the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the international security situation was such that the United States became involved in military actions on a number of fronts. Washington requested support in its war efforts from its allies, including Japan. During the 1990–91 Gulf War, the pressure on Tokyo intensified; its contribution to the coalition forces was said to have been inadequate because it had not sent personnel. Since then, both alliance logic and good global-citizen logic have enabled and compelled Japan to play a proactive role in conflict and postconflict areas as peacekeepers or peacebuilders under the UN mandate.

As a result, Japan has dispatched SDF personnel to UN peacekeeping operations, U.S.-led coalition forces' rear support, and most recently to work with other forces in the waters off Somalia to combat piracy. Its role in curbing piracy aside, Japan buckled under U.S. pressure when it decided to dispatch SDF personnel overseas, struggling all the while with constitutional constraints. To give its SDF-related decision domestic legitimacy, Tokyo applied UN-centered logic rather than alliance logic.

In the second half of the 1990s, after the Cold War and given both the situation on the Korean Peninsula and China's growing defense spending, Tokyo and Washington negotiated a revision of the Guidelines for U.S.–Japan Defense Cooperation (the Defense Guidelines) and the legal framework for cooperation in areas surrounding Japan, which specified the role of Japan in the event of a crisis. The debate threw into the limelight Japan's role vis-à-vis its nearby neighbors. Under the aegis of alliance logic, Japan came to play a role in regional security, particularly in northeastern Asia.

Alliance logic, often combined with good global-citizen logic, has induced Japan to play a part beyond that spelled out in the bilateral alliance. Nevertheless, Japan has often failed to receive what it believes would be appropriate credit for its contribution to international security. The United States appears to consider insufficient Japan's contributions as an ally, although this was less so while Junichiro Koizumi was prime minister (2001–6). Meanwhile, both Tokyo's discussions with Washington and its dispatch overseas of SDF personnel have invited expressions of concern on the part of Japan's neighbors who fear this may lead to remilitarization of Japan.

This chapter examines how alliance logic has led Japan to play a proactive role in meeting global and regional security challenges; how these efforts have been perceived in Japan and by the United States and its allies; the merits and demerits of regional and global security; and some alliance-logic options for Japan in its international security role.

### **Alliance Logic Pushes Japan beyond Bilateral Alliance**

When it came to international security issues, Japan took a backseat in the post-Second World War atmosphere of pacifism. But there has been a sea change in terms of its engagement in international security activities during the past two

decades, particularly since the Cold War ended. While this can be seen in its dispatch of SDF personnel overseas, Japan remains constrained by the strictures of the constitution's Article 9, Tokyo's alliance logic, and its global good-citizen logic. Paragraph 1 of the constitution's Article 9 stipulates that the "Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes." This provision has prevented Japan from sending SDF personnel overseas, even for purposes other than settling international disputes, and the question of constitutionality is always raised in connection with whether members of the SDF should be sent overseas in response to explicit and implicit requests by the United States and the international community.

This section examines changes Japan has undergone as a result of engaging in international security, particularly since the Cold War, and what kind of logic is employed to legitimize such dispatches for domestic constituencies and for Japan's neighbors who are concerned that Japan may remilitarize.

Most notably, in the 1990s Japan took three new security steps. First, it participated in UN peacekeeping operations triggered by the 1990–91 Gulf War, after which Japan had been able to send only minesweepers to the area, not rear-support personnel. It was not until later that legislation permitted the dispatch of SDF personnel to take part in UN peacekeeping efforts. Second, prompted by the 1994 North Korean nuclear crisis and the Taiwan Strait crisis, Tokyo reaffirmed the Japan-U.S. alliance and issued a joint declaration on Japan-U.S. security relations. However, Tokyo's ties with Washington came under intensive popular scrutiny following the rape by U.S. Marines of a schoolgirl in Okinawa. Third, the new Defense Guideline was issued, and subsequent legislation required that Tokyo be ready to provide rear support should there be a crisis in "the area surrounding Japan," a concept that was fiercely debated.

Also helping to alter Japan's security response were the 9/11 attacks on the United States, which prompted the Koizumi government to send members of the SDF as rear support for Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, and for the reconstruction of Iraq after the war.

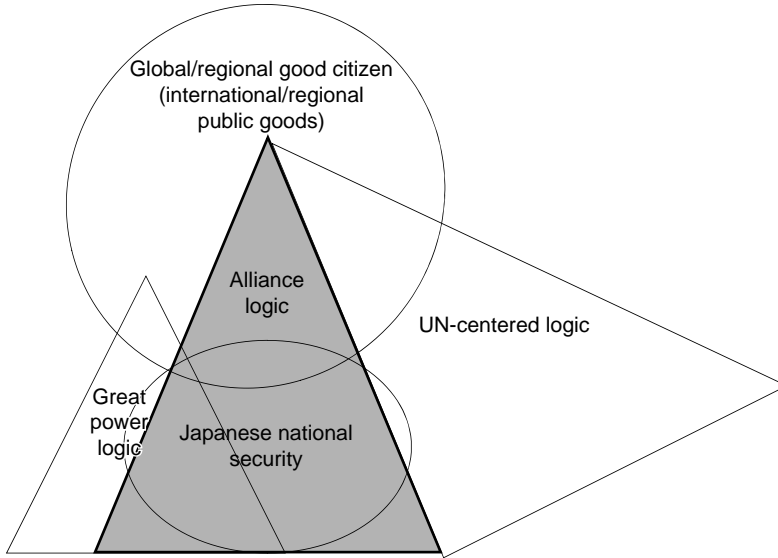
In 2009, under the UN mandate, Japan dispatched SDF personnel to the waters off Somalia to combat and control piracy together with the navies of EU members and other nations. Thus Japan was seen as providing protection for commercial vessels by its use of the Japan Maritime SDF (MSDF) while also clarifying conditions for the use of force against pirates.

Tokyo's changed approach ignited heated debate in the Diet and among experts, at home and abroad, revealing how hard it was for Japan to be proactive in supporting international peace and security by sending SDF personnel overseas.

### **Regional Security Logic in the Treaty**

As perceived by the Japanese people, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was crafted primarily with the interests of Japan's national security in mind. Yet, it has





**Figure 4.1** Alliance Logic versus Global Logic.

resulted in Japan being active in the areas of regional and global security. As explained in this chapter, constitutional constraints prevented alliance logic alone from enabling Japan to play a role in global security. Thus, as figure 4.1 shows, by playing a more proactive role in security issues, Japan has suffered the brunt of, as well as used, a combination of alliance logic, UN-centered diplomacy logic and regional/global good-citizenship logic.

From the time of the accord's conception in 1951, Washington saw the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as providing for more than just the defense of Japan, and wanted to use its Japanese bases to defend a wide swath of the Asia-Pacific. It was Tokyo that opposed expanding the geographical scope of the revised treaty beyond the pact's original geographical scope, namely, the Far East. So, while the area covered by the revised security treaty remained the Far East, both governments understood that the terms governing the use of the U.S. bases in Japan would have no geographical limitations, provided that the bases are used to maintain peace and stability in the Far East. Thus, the United States can use its Japan bases for operations in the Pacific and beyond.<sup>1</sup> This geographical flexibility was later to play a part in the alliance debate.

#### *Alliance Logic Extends to Regional Good-Citizen Logic*

Although initially treaty relations did not focus on the Far East clause, it has slowly come to the fore, particularly since the Cold War and, notably, during negotiations on the revised Defense Guidelines and Diet debate on the Surrounding Situation Law in the 1990s.

With the collapse after the Cold War of the Soviet Union, the hypothetical threat to Japan's national security, the *raison d'être* of the Japan-U.S. alliance was questioned at home and abroad. Some in the United States argued that Japan, given its great economic power, does not need the protection of the U.S. alliance, while in Japan it was argued that U.S. bases are no longer required to protect Japan's national security. The latter argument garnered further support when a Japanese primary school girl was raped in Okinawa in September 1995 by an American seaman and two marines stationed there. This led Okinawans to accuse Japan's central government of forcing Okinawa to host the majority of the U.S. bases in Japan: as of 1994, Okinawa had 40 U.S. bases, while the rest of the country had 54.

However, two major predicaments gave momentum to a changed perspective on the alliance, which called for its dismantling replaced by appeals for its strengthening. The first was the 1993–94 North Korean nuclear crisis, which caused Japan to believe it might be a target of attack. The second was the March 1996 missile crisis over the Taiwan Strait, which led Japan to question whether the Far East clause of the Japan-U.S. treaty would apply to such a contingency, and whether U.S. bases in Japan could be used during such a crisis. Meanwhile, China's sensitivities had to be taken into account.

The crises in Japan's neighborhood during the 1990s led Tokyo to reaffirm—and strengthen—the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, in the form of the Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security (Joint Declaration), announced in April 1996 by then prime minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and then president Bill Clinton. The declaration stated that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty relationship was the cornerstone of the common security of the Asia-Pacific, a region geographically broader than what was implied by the term Far East. In reaction to the changed security climate in the area, the regional logic of the alliance was clearly expressed in the Joint Declaration, which included a review of the 1978 Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation (Defense Guidelines).<sup>2</sup>

In the spring of 1999, heated debate took place in the Diet over the new Defense Guidelines, and an enabling law was passed called the Law Concerning Measures to Ensure Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan (commonly abbreviated as the Surrounding Area Emergency Measures Law or the Regional Contingency Law, the latter is used in this chapter hereafter). Parliamentary debate focused on the notion of situations in the surrounding area, in which cooperation based on the new Defense Guidelines was expected to take place. Cognizant of Beijing's concerns over whether such situations would include matters related to the Taiwan Strait, the Japanese government explained that the nuance was not geographical but, rather, situational. Tokyo thus avoided potential criticism regarding whether any particular country was covered by either the Defense Guidelines or the Regional Contingency Law.

Opposition parties in Japan focused on the explanation of the term "situations in areas surrounding Japan," criticizing the notion as being so vague as to enable the Japanese government to expand the activities of the SDF outside the scope of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. In this context, the debate was directed to situations related to Article 6, the Far Eastern clause. The notion of Far East, in the

context of the treaty's Article 6, was extensively debated, as it was when the treaty underwent revision in 1960. Discussion had then been directed to Article 6 situations, in which U.S. activities had contributed to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East. At the time, the Far East was defined by Tokyo as the region north of the Philippines and its surrounding areas, including those controlled by the two Koreas and Taiwan. Opposition parties were later to argue that, if the purpose of the 1997 Defense Guidelines were exclusively to further cooperation under the bilateral security treaty, more straightforward references should have been made to Article 6 situations. Opposition parties criticized the vagueness of the new concept of "situations in areas surrounding Japan" as explained by Tokyo. In fact, one of the focal points of the parliamentary debates was whether the new Defense Guidelines could be geographically applied to North Korea and Taiwan.

In reaction to claims by opposition parties that the Japanese government planned to use the new Defense Guidelines to expand the scope of the security treaty, the government specified in the bill that the reach of the Regional Contingency Law was confined to the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty's ambit, which was not clearly defined in the new Defense Guidelines. Among Japan's neighbors, China was particularly concerned about, and critical of, how the term "situations in areas surrounding Japan" might be interpreted, and repeatedly inquired whether it covered Taiwan and China. Well aware that political sensitivities could be aroused were the term geographically nuanced, the Japanese government insisted, even as it was fiercely criticized by opposition parties, that the term was a situational notion. While this is a case of alliance logic extending to regional good-citizen logic, it has yet to be tested in this context.

Public opinion was divided on the Regional Contingency Law. According to an opinion poll conducted by the *Asahi Shimbun*, 37% of those polled said they were in favor of the law, while 43% voiced opposition. Of the law's supporters, 45% saw it as good for Japan's national security, 23% as conducive to peace in Asia, and 23% as supporting the Japan-U.S. alliance. Of those who said they opposed the law, 51% saw it as possibly leading Japan to become entangled in conflicts, while 22% said they considered it in violation of the constitution.<sup>3</sup>

### *Alliance Logic Extends to Global Good-Citizen Logic*

After the Second World War and Japan's 1956 accession to the United Nations, Tokyo based its foreign policy on three pillars, namely, foreign policy centered on the United Nations; cooperation with the free, democratic nations of the Western Alliance; and close identification with Asian nations. These pillars were enunciated by then prime minister Nobusuke Kishi in a February 4, 1957, speech to the Japanese Diet, in which he said that the basis of Japan's postwar diplomacy would be an attempt to further world peace and prosperity.<sup>4</sup>

The first pillar represents UN-centered diplomacy, that is, Tokyo's alignment of its foreign policy with the United Nations. Tokyo has used this diplomacy to explain to the Diet the need to revise the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty by

asserting that the alliance is needed until the United Nations emerges from its Cold War paralysis and functions in such a way to enable Japan to fully apply its UN-centered logic.

Although the United Nations has not fulfilled the security role envisioned by the drafters of its charter, Japan to this day continues to use UN-centered logic to explain its security-related activities—even those not directly related to the United Nations. This global good-citizen logic—which predates regional logic—often has been legitimized by UN Security Council resolutions.

This is best illustrated by the passage of the Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (referred to as the PKO Law hereafter) in 1992, and Japan's subsequent dispatch of peacekeepers. This action was not motivated by global logic, but by alliance logic. At the time of the 1990–91 Gulf War, following Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait, the administration of George H.W. Bush deployed U.S. forces to and around the Persian Gulf to protect Kuwait from further incursions and to preempt an Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia. The United States headed a multinational force that would retaliate should Iraq not withdraw from Kuwait, while the government of Toshiki Kaifu, aware of Japan's dependence on Middle Eastern oil, provided financial support for the coalition force. But it took a while for the support to come through, even though the political expectations of the international community rode on Japan's contribution. On August 29, Japan's Ministry of Finance issued a general statement that Japan would make a financial contribution, but mentioned no specific amount, inviting disappointment from the international community that was mirrored in press reports. Sensing this disenchantment, the Japanese government announced a \$1 billion contribution, but the media reported that Japan had done so unwillingly and under U.S. pressure.<sup>5</sup>

The United States was frustrated by the slow pace of decision making and the size of Japan's financial contribution. Despite subsequent donations, Japan was accused of giving too little, too late—despite its dependence on oil imports from the Middle East.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the United States and the international community had asked that Japan contribute personnel; Bush, aware of Japan's constitutional constraints on sending SDF personnel overseas, had specified rear support. Kaifu initially explored the possibility of dispatching civilians to assist with transportation and medical services, because such assistance was not restricted by the constitution. The plan was to send hundreds of medics to provide medical care for refugees, as well as civilian vessels to transport materials for the coalition forces. Although some of the proposals were realized, albeit on a small scale, the bulk of the plan did not materialize because civilians resisted going to a potential battle zone. Public opinion was critical of the government for attempting to transfer the burden to civilians.<sup>7</sup>

The Kaifu government also explored the possibility of sending SDF personnel to provide logistical support to the multinational forces responding to Bush's call for support personnel. On September 19, 1991, a new bill concerning cooperation with UN peacekeeping operations and other operations was presented to the Diet. The measure included a provision for the creation of a United Nations Peace Cooperation Force, independent of the SDF, which would cooperate with

the UN and do nothing that might be construed as the use of force in order to avoid any possible violation of the Japanese constitution. Diet, media, and popular debate was fierce. However, this was overshadowed by the Gulf War and Operation Desert Storm. The Diet thus debated the bill as if the measure's goal were to dispatch SDF personnel for combat. The government withdrew the bill after some three weeks of heated deliberation in the Special Committee of the House of Representatives.

With Japan consequently not able to send SDF personnel to the Gulf War, it was criticized for conducting checkbook diplomacy. Altogether, Japan contributed \$14 billion to the Gulf War effort, but this was not appreciated by the international community or by Kuwait. On March 11, 1991, when the Embassy of Kuwait in the United States issued a one-page announcement to major newspapers—including the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*—to express its gratitude to Washington and other members of the international community for having helped liberate Kuwait after the Iraq invasion, there was no mention of Japan.<sup>8</sup> Journalist Ryuichi Teshima believes Tokyo was defeated in the arena of international opinion by the absence of Japanese troops in the coalition war effort. Despite significant financial contributions, there was no erasing the perception during the war's initial phase that too little effort had been made by Tokyo and that even this had come too late. Thus, although Tokyo responded positively to U.S. requests and sent a fleet of MSDF minesweepers—comprising four minesweepers, one minesweeper support ship and one fleet support ship—to the Kuwaiti coast and the mouth of the Shat al-Arab river, from June 5 to September 23, 1991, that removed 34 mines and reopened safe sea lanes, this did not garner international recognition for Tokyo.

This bitter lesson made Japan realize that financial contributions alone were not sufficient, and led Tokyo to enact a new law in 1992 enabling it to dispatch SDF personnel and civilians to postconflict areas. Although the Japanese government had had to withdraw its September 1991 bill, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Komeito Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party agreed to cooperate in the preparation of a new measure. This three-party agreement stated that a new bill should be submitted to the Diet to prepare Japan to contribute to global security. Having learned a lesson from the failed 1991 bill, the three parties agreed to limit the scope of the new one to Japan's cooperation in UN peacekeeping and humanitarian-relief operations within the bounds of the nation's constitutional constraints.

Japan's constitutional constraints were at the heart of preparations for the new bill. According to Shunji Yanai, then director general of the Foreign Policy Bureau, during the course of drafting the new measure the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Defense Agency, the Cabinet Councilor's Office on External Affairs, and the National Legislation Bureau of the Prime Minister's Cabinet agreed on an interpretation of the legitimate use of force, namely, that the use of weapons for self-defense by Japanese peacekeepers when their lives are threatened should not be considered the same as the use of force that is prohibited under Article 9 of the Japanese constitution. However, what was then called into question was the constitutionality of Japanese peacekeepers using weapons to prevent the

possible obstruction of their mission by an aggressive party—which is the agreed rule in UN peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, the use of force when belligerent parties do not observe their ceasefire accord and resume armed conflict was thought to exceed the self-defense permitted under Article 9 of the Japanese constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Compared with the failed 1991 bill, which implied the possibility of cooperation with the multinational forces, the new bill focused on Japanese participation only in UN peacekeeping operations. Moreover, in order to eliminate concern over the constitutionality of such a dispatch, this PKO Bill stipulated five principles that had to be met when Japan was to participate in UN peacekeeping operations.

1. Agreement on a ceasefire shall have been reached among the parties to the conflict.
2. Parties to the conflict, including the territorial state(s), shall have given their consent to both the deployment of peacekeeping forces and Japan's participation therein.
3. The peacekeeping forces shall maintain strict impartiality, not favoring any party to the conflict.
4. Should any of the above requirements cease to be satisfied, the government of Japan may withdraw its contingent.
5. Use of weapons shall be limited to the minimum necessary to protect the lives of the dispatched personnel.

Of these five principles, the first three are traditional principles of UN peacekeeping operations, while the fourth and fifth were unique to Japanese law. It is established UN practice that if certain components of peacekeeping operations, such as the peacekeeping forces, are allowed to carry small arms, they are authorized to use them only in accordance with strictly defined procedures, and only when the lives of peacekeepers are threatened or an aggressive party obstructs their mission by force. The fifth principle differed from UN practice in that the Japanese bill did not recognize the use of weapons even if an aggressive party obstructs a mission by force; their use was strictly limited to times when the lives of peacekeepers were threatened.

There were several other controversial issues when the bill was drafted. One was civilian control of the dispatch of troops. The Democratic Socialist Party of Japan insisted on civilian control and, thus, on prior Diet approval of SDF troop dispatches to UN peacekeeping operations. The bill met strong opposition since, during parliamentary debate, opposition parties, the Japan Socialist Party, and the Japan Communist Party were concerned that the bill might be a means of allowing the dispatch of SDF personnel overseas under the pretext of making a contribution to the international force. The ruling coalition garnered a majority Diet vote by agreeing to prior Diet approval and by limiting the SDF's core peacekeeping activities to monitoring the observance of the cessation of armed conflict and the implementation of relocation orders; supervising the withdrawal or demobilization of armed forces; patrolling in buffer zones;

inspecting and identifying of weapons carried in or out of specified areas; collecting, storing, and disposing of abandoned weapons; assisting in the designation of ceasefire lines and other boundaries; and helping in the exchange of prisoners of war among parties to armed conflicts. The bill became the PKO Law in June 1992, despite the opposition of the Social Democratic Party of Japan (formerly the Japan Socialist Party), which had filibustered the voting process during the plenary session of the upper house.

In December 2001, nine years after its enactment, the restrictions were removed from the SDF's core activities. As a result of the law's revision, provisions governing the use of weapons were also revised, enabling SDF personnel to use weapons not only for self-defense, but also to protect the lives of those with whom they are fighting, those with whom they are involved on the ground, and those who are under their control as part of the mission. The revision reflected needs based on the experiences of the SDF personnel who worked with other peacekeepers, UN staff, and NGOs. The PKO Law also underwent revision to allow SDF personnel to use their weapons to protect their arms against theft or destruction.

Under the 1992 PKO Law, Japan has sent civilians and SDF personnel to numerous postconflict areas on peacekeeping, election-monitoring, and humanitarian-relief operations. The first dispatch under the law was in September 1992 and involved sending three observers to monitor the presidential and legislative election in Angola.

The second—and the first substantive—dispatch under the law was in the same month, and involved sending to the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) SDF ceasefire monitors; 41 election observers; 75 civilian police officers; and two 600-member units of SDF engineers to rebuild roads and bridges damaged during the conflict. In addition, the MSDF was dispatched to Cambodia with two transport ships and supply ships to provide food, lodgings, and sea transport for the SDF engineers. Meanwhile, Air SDF (ASDF) personnel provided transport for the engineers, vehicles, and other supplies. Since then, Japan has sent personnel to Mozambique, El Salvador, Nepal, and other destinations. Between February 1996 and the end of 2009, Japan dispatched SDF personnel to the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights, and to southwest Syria to support peace negotiations between Israel and Syria.

The largest dispatch so far has been to East Timor. Initially two civilian police officers were sent (from July to September 1999) to help the UN mission in East Timor (UNAMET) collect information on incidents that had occurred there during popular consultations concerning independence. Following the postconsultation turmoil, the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was established on the basis of Security Council Resolution 1272 to help the administration of East Timor. Starting in February 2002, Japan dispatched a total of 2,399 staff officers and personnel from engineers units—initially to UNTAET and subsequently to the military component of the UN Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET). Japan also dispatched two civilian police officers and three liaison and coordination personnel to the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) in April 2006, at a time when the local situation had deteriorated

in the wake of the election, resulting in soldiers who had left the East Timorese Armed Forces and other citizens holding mass demonstrations.<sup>10</sup>

Under the framework of the PKO Law, Japan has sent military personnel to participate in international humanitarian-relief operations in Rwanda, East Timor, and Afghanistan. As of January 2009, Japan—with a total of 38 missions—is in eighty-first place among UN member countries in terms of the number of personnel it has dispatched to UN peacekeeping operations. The top contributor is Pakistan with 10,985 individuals; Bangladesh is in second place with 9,424; India is third with 8,640; Nigeria is fourth with 6,001; and Nepal is fifth with 3,924. Meanwhile, China is in fourteenth place with 2146 individuals; South Korea is thirty-third with 477; Germany is fortieth with 310; and the United States is sixty-seventh with 90.<sup>11</sup>

In terms of assessed contributions to the UN peacekeeping budget for the period 2008–9, Japan was the second-largest provider after the United States. In third place is Germany.<sup>12</sup> Japan also contributes to UN peacebuilding efforts and to the Trust Fund for Human Security. Thus, its financial contribution to the UN's security-related activities is significant. Nevertheless, its current contribution of personnel is not considered sufficient according to its global good-citizen logic. This has led to the compiling of a report on how to improve Japan's role in helping safeguard international security.

In May 2002, then prime minister Junichiro Koizumi delivered a speech in Sydney, Australia, in which he stated that “in response to countries suffering from conflicts, Japan would consider increasing its international role by focusing on the consolidation of peacebuilding and nation building.” Subsequently, the Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace—chaired by Yasushi Akashi—was convened and submitted a report in December 2002.

Recognizing the considerable gap in deployment scale and capabilities compared to other developed countries, and the numerous system constraints with which the law was shackled, the report observed that Japanese international cooperation was insufficient. In order to enhance Japan's contribution to international security, the report recommended that Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) be used for conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as postconflict emergency humanitarian aid and reconstruction.

In terms of Japan's contribution of personnel to conflict areas, the report emphasized the important role of civilian police officers, the need to introduce legal foundations for dispatching civilian police officers—who had not been sent as a unit since UNTAC in 1992—although a few had already been sent to East Timor and other places. Since the National Police Agency (NPA) lost one officer who had been sent to Cambodia, it has not been willing to dispatch officers in units. Although the question of constitutionality still casts a shadow over the sending of SDF personnel overseas, dispatching NPA members overseas is free of legal issues, making the agency a potential source of future personnel contributions by Japan. Further, the report recommended that a special police unit be created for international peace cooperation. However, in order to make it possible to send more civilian police overseas, the report proposed amending the PKO Law, as well as the National Police Law in such a way as to explicitly assign additional



responsibilities to Japanese police officers and enable them to conduct international peacekeeping-related operations overseas in addition to discharging their traditional domestic responsibilities.

The report also recommended flexible interpretation of the PKO Law's five principles. Civilian specialists could thus be dispatched to monitor elections, and police officers for security sector monitoring. The five principles on which the cooperation law is couched are becoming increasingly less relevant in the context of present-day conflicts, since those involved in and party to conflicts are complex groupings, making it hard to identify them, much less receive their consent for the deployment of Japanese personnel. In the meantime, the situation on the ground requires international assistance if peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts are to proceed.

In addition, the advisory group's report suggests that the International Peace Cooperation Law be revised so that peacekeepers can use weapons in the event that there are attempts to prevent them from discharging their peacekeeping duties. Thus regulations governing the conduct of Japan's peacekeepers would conform with the laws of other countries and traditional self-defense.

Cognizant of the growing role of civilians in international peacekeeping efforts, the report emphasizes the importance of human resource development. The matter was subsequently taken up by the Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace and placed under the purview of the International Peace Cooperation Program Advisers of the Secretariat of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters, Cabinet Office.<sup>13</sup> The report concludes with the recommendation that general legislation be drafted to cover Japan's participation in multinational peace-related operations conducted according to UN resolutions, such as when it takes part as a member of multilateral force deployments that provide logistical support, including medical care and assistance with communications and transportation.<sup>14</sup>

### *SDF Personnel Dispatched to Afghanistan, Iraq*

Reflecting the Koizumi government's alliance logic following the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, Japan took actions that were in sharp contrast to those it had taken at the time of the 1990–91 Gulf War. Koizumi announced his support for the United States immediately after President George W. Bush labeled the attacks on the United States the work of terrorists and declared a retaliatory war on terror—as part of which he said troops would be sent to apprehend Osama bin Laden, who he declared to be the chief instigator of terrorists' activities against the United States. On September 26, 2001, Koizumi visited Bush in Washington DC and pledged Japan's full support in fighting terrorism. At the ensuing joint press conference, Koizumi said "Japan will fight terrorism with the U.S. with determination, calling its elimination a global objective."<sup>15</sup>

This is an illustration of alliance logic combined with global good-citizen logic, in which alliance logic predominates, leading Tokyo to lend Washington political support and send SDF personnel to provide logistical support for U.S.-led

multinational operations. Koizumi decided to send to the Indian Ocean an Aegis destroyer for patrol duty, in addition to MSDF vessels to refuel U.S. and UK fleets, as well as vessels of coalition forces that were taking part in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

In order for the MSDF dispatch to be legal, Tokyo introduced the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law (ATSML) in October 2001. This was considered necessary because it was found difficult to apply the Regional Contingency Law to an operation in Afghanistan. Yet, it was precisely because the Regional Contingency Law existed that the new law was enacted so speedily, within two months. Although the two laws are similar, Tokyo decided to dispatch SDF personnel under the ATSML, which is based on the Tokyo-Washington alliance and refers to UN Security Council Resolutions 1267, 1269, and 1333 as legitimizing its military dispatches. It was explained that the special measures contribute to international efforts to prevent and eradicate international terrorism.<sup>16</sup> Although the government initially used UN logic to explain its SDF dispatch to the Indian Ocean, the explanation gradually changed to alliance logic, revealing the true motivation for the dispatch.

However, the ATSML was terminated in January 2010. This law, which expired and was extended several times, was opposed by the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) during the Liberal Democratic Party administration. When the DPJ formed the government, it decided to stop refueling operations in the Indian Ocean at the expiration of the law. In September 2007, DPJ leader Ichiro Ozawa was against the extension of the ATSML, arguing that “operations by the coalition forces in Afghanistan led by the United States were not approved by the United Nations.” Ozawa believed there was no UN mandate for coalition force operations in Afghanistan, arguing that such authorization was not provided by UN Security Council Resolution 1746, although it both reconfirmed the need for continued International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) assistance in Afghanistan and recognized the refueling operations Japan had adopted in March 2007.<sup>17</sup> Ozawa suggested that, instead of sending MSDF personnel to the Indian Ocean for refueling operations, Ground SDF (GSDF) personnel should be sent to assist the U.S.-led coalition forces in Afghanistan, after receiving a proper UN mandate.

Meanwhile, during its administration, in addition to dispatching SDF personnel to the Indian Ocean, the Koizumi government tried to contribute humanitarian assistance and help in the economic reconstruction of Afghanistan. To this end, Tokyo appointed Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, as Japan’s special envoy to Afghanistan; hosted a conference under the UN framework in Tokyo in January 2002; dispatched Japanese personnel to Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs); and assisted NGO activities on the ground.

When Washington decided to attack Iraq and requested “boots on the ground,” alliance logic led Koizumi to send SDF personnel to Iraq for postwar reconstruction. After the U.S. announcement that the major combat was over, GSDF personnel were sent to the southern Iraqi city of Samawah and ASDF personnel to Kuwait to conduct airlifts. However, before dispatching SDF personnel

to Iraq, the Japanese government had to introduce a special measures law, the Law Concerning Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq (Iraq Reconstruction Law, passed on July 26, 2003, and valid for four years). The new law referred to UN Security Council Resolutions 678, 687, 1441, and 1438, and stipulated that the dispatch of troops was for the purpose of reconstructing Iraq and in the interests of international peace and security.<sup>18</sup>

It is through the Iraq Reconstruction Law that Tokyo sought to legitimize the SDF dispatch under the mantle of a UN resolution calling on member states to contribute to the multinational force that was providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to ensure the security and stability of Iraq. The GSDF could not participate in the security and stability aspect due to constitutional constraints, but was able to take part in the humanitarian and reconstruction effort. Interestingly, while the dispatch of military personnel to Iraq followed alliance logic, the move was legitimized by UN logic based on the UN mandate.

The Koizumi government, determined to support the U.S. decision ultimately to attack Iraq, urged Washington to obtain a UN mandate for the attack by presenting evidence, particularly that concerning Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Washington went through UN procedures from the summer of 2002 but, from February to March 2003, it failed to receive UN Security Council support. The United States and United Kingdom sought a resolution supporting action in Iraq, but France, Russia, China, and Germany strongly opposed such support. Despite the Security Council rift, which peaked with French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin's speech calling for the council to continue searching for evidence of WMDs in Iraq—a move supported by other council members—Bush sent an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein. Within a few days, war broke out with no UN mandate for the attack. This was despite Tokyo's discreet efforts to secure a UN resolution, the lack of which cast a pall over Japan's domestic procedures to legitimize the dispatching of SDF personnel for postconflict humanitarian assistance and reconstruction.

When the United States attacked Iraq in March 2003, Koizumi quickly declared his support for Bush's decision and revealed plans to dispatch SDF personnel to Iraq for reconstruction. Then, within a few days after the breakout of war, Japan announced a humanitarian aid commitment of \$5.03 million through the UNHCR, UN World Food Programme (WFP) and UNICEF, as well as an additional \$3.3 million through NGOs.<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that financial assistance was given neither to the United States nor the war effort, but to international organizations for humanitarian assistance and NGOs.

Based on the Iraq Reconstruction Law, from January 2004 to July 2006, the GSDF was stationed in Samawah to assist the reconstruction effort by providing water, rebuilding roads, and repairing schools. Meanwhile, the ASDF was sent to Kuwait to provide transport from December 2003 to September 2008. The SDF units came back intact. However, on November 29, 2003, two Japanese diplomats were killed by terrorists in Iraq while traveling to attend a meeting on reconstruction.

In sharp contrast to the tenor of public opinion when MSDF personnel had been sent to the Indian Ocean during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, popular sentiment in Japan was sharply divided over the SDF's presence in Iraq. Those supporting the troop dispatch argued that it was important to make a visible contribution, rather than just to give financial aid; dispatching troops strengthened the Japan-U.S. alliance; and the troop presence helped Japan fulfill its international responsibilities.<sup>20</sup>

The presence of Japanese forces in Iraq boosted coalition moral and was appreciated by the United States, while Asian countries did not voice opposition. Moreover, although the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty did not stipulate Japan's obligation to dispatch SDF personnel under any given contingency, Tokyo's refusal to send SDF personnel could have had a domino effect, triggering the withdrawal of the coalition force members.<sup>21</sup> Those who opposed the dispatch of Japanese military personnel questioned the constitutionality of such a step, voiced concern regarding Japan's future role in global security, and feared that Japan's security might be undermined.<sup>22</sup>

Missing, moreover, was the global logic that might have legitimized a Japanese troop presence in Iraq. It was absent because so, too, was its prop: a UN Security Council resolution supporting the U.S.-led coalition incursion into Iraq. Thus, to provide legitimacy in the eyes of the electorate, Tokyo had no option but to use UN Security Council Resolution 1483 of May 22, 2003, calling for member states to contribute to the stability and security in Iraq.<sup>23</sup>

When the Iraq Reconstruction Law was due to expire in 2007, opinions again varied. The op-ed page of the *Asahi Shimbun* stated that no further troops should be sent to Iraq until circumstances on the ground improved; the dispatch of troops constituted a major shift in Japan's security policy and could be dangerous; if Japan did not send troops, relations with Washington would be complicated; and Japan should be aware that the reason for the Iraq War, namely, Iraqi WMD development, had not been substantiated. The *Mainichi Shimbun* argued that the SDF personnel dispatched should be limited to reconstruction work and their activities should remain strictly within the scope of the constitution. It criticized Koizumi's decision to send SDF personnel to Iraq for the sake of the Japan-U.S. alliance, saying that were Japan to follow blindly U.S. demands, it would not be a genuine partner of the United States.

The *Yomiuri Shimbun*, meanwhile, was more positive about the troop dispatch, arguing that sending SDF personnel to Iraq to perform reconstruction-related duties is part of the war on terror. Although the security situation in Iraq was worsening, Japan should continue to dispatch SDF personnel and civilians, and maintain its financial cooperation. Since the international community had worked hard to bring peace and safety back to Iraq, it was incumbent upon Japan to play its role as a responsible member of the international community, which included sending SDF personnel. The *Sankei Shimbun* also argued that the dispatch was a decision based on national interest and pride. If Japan did not send SDF personnel to Iraq, it would lose its position of trust and respect in the international community and be labeled a country that yields to terrorism; such inaction could undermine the Japan-U.S. alliance. The *Nihon Keizai*

*Shimbun* asserted that, were the international community to ignore the situation, Iraq could become a terrorist base, and this threat was the reason countries sent troops for reconstruction, as did Japan.<sup>24</sup>

In April 2008, in response to a request by a citizens' group that the sending of ASDF troops to Iraq be stopped, the Nagoya High Court handed down the decision that the dispatch constituted a violation of Article 9 of the Japanese constitution. Similar petitions hinging on the issue of the constitutionality of sending Japanese troops to Iraq were brought before courts in Japan, but the Nagoya court was the only one to rule the troop movements unconstitutional. The court's reason was that combat continued in Iraq and in Baghdad, where ASDF personnel were flying, and that this represented use of force by the coalition forces. The decision was based on the Iraq Reconstruction Law, which stipulated that SDF personnel could be sent only to noncombat areas where there was no need to use force. Although the Nagoya court determined that the dispatch violates the law, the plaintiff did not win the case—because it was deemed that his individual peace had not been undermined—or receive compensation.

President of the National Defense Academy Makoto Iokibe, while a professor at Kobe University, observed that the two special measures laws had been criticized as violating the Japanese constitution. But he argued that, while the constitution did not permit Japan to invade a country, it did not have a provision covering international security. Further, he reasoned, when a case was not stipulated in the constitution, it was proper for the Diet to introduce legislation to deal with the case until such time as the constitution is revised to cover the case. In this context Iokibe observed that, since the PKO Law and the special measures laws were designed to rectify legal deficiencies in actions related to international security, they did not constitute violations of the constitution.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, Iokibe observed problems in relation with the dispatch of SDF personnel to Iraq. First was the matter of the legitimacy and appropriateness of the Iraq War itself. Second, because the ATSMML specified that reconstruction assistance might be extended in noncombat areas, the fact that troops were dispatched while Iraq was still experiencing combat raised the question whether Japan could participate in the multinational force. Iokibe argued that Japan must not forget its pacifist tradition; must be cautious in use of force; should give non-military action priority; and in future crises, rather than follow U.S. decisions, should itself determine its mode of involvement.<sup>26</sup>

### *Combating Pirates off Somalia*

In 2008, there were 111 reported pirate attacks off Somalia, a significant increase from the 44 incidents recorded in 2007. Japanese vessels were included among those attacked and had to rely on the navies of other countries for protection. Japan dispatched MSDF vessels to the area, but again was accused of dragging its feet. U.S. Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Asia and Pacific Security Affairs Richard Lawless criticized Japan in February 2009 for its tardy reaction, which he contrasted with China's swift dispatch of vessels.<sup>27</sup>

It took some time to pass the enabling bill for MSDF personnel to be dispatched because of opposition voiced even within the ruling coalition, which forced Prime Minister Taro Aso's government to send MSDF and Coast Guard personnel to the coast of Somalia on the strength of the police-action provision of the SDF law. Two MSDF destroyers were dispatched with Japanese Coast Guard personnel on board. Albeit an interim measure, it enabled MSDF destroyers to escort Japanese vessels, Japan-registered vessels, and foreign vessels carrying Japanese nationals or cargo. However, the measure did not allow the MSDF to escort foreign vessels with no Japan connection.

This changed after the Diet passed the Law on the Penalization of Acts of Piracy and Measures against Acts of Piracy (Antipiracy Law), and enacted the law on June 19, 2009. The question of constitutionality did arise, but debate was not contentious and the law allowed Japanese vessels to protect Japan-related and other vessels passing through the pirate-infested seas off Somalia. Further, Tokyo interpreted piracy as a crime, and thus authorized use of force by personnel on MSDF vessels controlling piracy. Under the Antipiracy Law, MSDF vessels are allowed to fire on pirate boats that, despite warning shots, close in on commercial shipping. Nevertheless, MSDF personnel can injure pirates only under limited circumstances, including self-defense. The Antipiracy Law has brought Japan's global good-citizen logic to a new level, despite constitutional constraints.

The Antipiracy Law has been criticized roundly by opposition parties. Mizuho Fukushima, leader of the Socialist Democratic Party of Japan, asserted that the government took undue advantage of an opportunity when it widened the scope of SDF dispatches overseas. The Japan Communist Party was against the bill, claiming that it paved the way for the more general use of Japan's armed forces abroad, which was prohibited by Article 9 of the constitution. Meanwhile the then ruling LDP took a position that this law did not violate the constitution because it permitted the use of force against piracy, which was a crime.

Global good-citizen logic now prevails and is the legitimating factor behind Japan's dispatch overseas of SDF personnel, although one should not forget that these personnel were initially sent abroad at Washington's behest.

### **Between Alliance Logic and Global Good-Citizen Logic**

After the Second World War, Japan was careful not to stray from its pacifist path and to protect its role in maintaining global and regional peace and security. When Japan joined the United Nations, it prioritized UN-centered policies but, given the UN's paralysis in the area of collective security, Japan turned to the second pillar of its foreign policy, which was alliance with Western democracies and, most notably, with the United States that represented the cornerstone of its security policy.

Over the past two decades, Japan has made an about face in terms of its involvement in crises overseas. By sending SDF personnel to take part in UN peacekeeping operations and in the logistical support of U.S.-led coalition forces,

Japan has used alliance logic and UN-centered logic; and lately, in combating piracy, it has applied global good-citizen logic.

The preceding section shows how Japan often has been urged by the United States to make financial and personnel contributions. The alliance logic sometimes motivated, and at other times compelled, Japan to take particular steps. Yet when it came to actually dispatching military personnel, Japan always employed UN-centered logic to legitimize its actions in the face of the constitutional constraints to sending troops overseas. It was thus that Tokyo made up what Takashi Inoguchi has called the legitimacy deficit.<sup>28</sup> In the past, policy choice had been described as lying between the interests of the Japan-U.S. alliance and international cooperation.<sup>29</sup>

In stark contrast to the Cold War era, when international cooperation among members of the Western Alliance was vital, these days the interests of the alliance and international cooperation sometimes are contradictory.<sup>30</sup> As figure 4.1 illustrates, it is no longer a choice between alliance logic and global good-citizen logic. Not only are these forces occasionally contradictory, but they are intertwined in the minds of Japanese policymakers and supported by both the legitimacy deficit and Tokyo's aspiration to play an appropriate role in international society that, in turn, is motivated by great-power logic and UN-centered logic. Global good-citizen logic appears in the regional context, as in the case of Six-Party Talks and possible actions under the Defense Guidelines and the Regional Contingency Law.

From the 1992 PKO Law and dispatch of SDF personnel to Cambodia as peacekeepers, to the Antipiracy Law, Japan has made a significant change in terms of its engagement in international security, albeit the constitutional constraints and legitimacy deficit. Tokyo's dispatch of military personnel to waters off Somalia, although done at Washington's instigation, was certainly more a case of applying global good-citizen logic than just alliance logic.

In Japan's recent engagement in international crises, alliance logic and global/regional logic have caused Japan to contribute more proactively to global peace and security. This change has benefitted the international community, which needs more players to share the burden of helping restructure conflict areas around the world. Japan's numerous financial contributions to postconflict and conflict areas have helped the international community defray costs. Nevertheless, because Japan's engagement in international security is motivated mainly by alliance logic if not pressure, some countries perceived Japan as a blind follower of U.S. positions rather than a country that makes its own decisions as a global/regional good citizen.

Alliance logic has had a negative influence on Japan when it comes to the new Defense Guidelines and the Regional Contingency Law, since they have made Japan's neighbors nervous about the possibility that Tokyo might be remilitarizing under the pretext of fulfilling its role in the Japan-U.S. alliance.

Yet Washington's perception has been that Tokyo reluctantly plays its part, waits until pressured to take action, makes smaller contributions than expected, and gives these late. The cessation of war-effort-connected refueling operations in the Indian Ocean has further enhanced this sense of Japan's less-than-expected role as an ally and may undermine its credibility as an ally.

In the years ahead, Japan has to go beyond reconciling the alliance and global good-citizen logic. Scholar Akio Watanabe projects that national defense will yield to international security in future conflict resolutions.<sup>31</sup> Bearing the growing importance of international security for national security of Japan, the logic shown in figure 4.1 must be realigned for Japan to be a credible and predictable player in global peace and security. Perhaps global/regional good-citizen logic will come to lead the way, with alliance logic taking the backseat.

While Japan needs to sort out how it wants to combine different logics in discharging its international responsibilities, if it wishes to be seen as a good global citizen and ally, it must enhance its public diplomacy and give an adequate accounting of itself. Japan has extended enormous financial assistance to Afghanistan and provincial reconstruction teams there, but these efforts have been overshadowed in the international arena, where debate over the dispatch of SDF personnel has stolen the limelight.

### Afterword

Despite constraints and deficiencies, Japan has explored ways whereby it might play a more proactive, rather than a simply passive, role as a good global/regional citizen. Thus, since the late 1990s, as part of its perceived duty to contribute to international security, Tokyo's policy framework has included a human security dimension. This has enabled the government to provide ODA to postconflict areas around the world and create the Trust Fund for Human Security at the United Nations. Through its human security endeavors, Japan has found a way to discharge its responsibilities as a global/regional good citizen without unleashing feelings of trepidation overseas, particularly among neighboring countries.<sup>32</sup>

However, given the current security climate, the human security policy component does not suffice. Japan certainly regards its alliance with the United States as the cornerstone of Tokyo's foreign and security policies, even though the DPJ government is pursuing relations that it perceives to be more equal. And, aware of China's widening role on the global stage, Japan is striving to remain a relevant player in the arena of international politics and security. Yet, rather than be perceived as a player that acts too late and contributes too little, Japan should be more proactive in discharging its global responsibility and, in order to do so, must come to terms with its constitutional constraints.

While domestic political considerations may weigh heavily against revising the Japanese constitution, a permanent law would eliminate not only the current legitimacy deficit, but also the need to pass special-measure laws each time a proactive response is required of Tokyo. Moreover, if Japan's role as defined by a permanent law is framed not as an endorsement of U.S. security policy but as a collaborative effort with the international community, Japan would be better appreciated. Further, as such a move eases the concerns of Tokyo's neighbors, Japan's regional and global security role would be seen in a positive light.



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# **Global Costs and Benefits of the U.S.-Japan Alliance: An American View**

*Michael Mastanduno*

The longest serving U.S. ambassador to Japan, Mike Mansfield, liked to say during the 1980s that the relationship with Japan was America's "most important bilateral relationship in the world, bar none."<sup>1</sup> That may be a bit of an exaggeration today because the United States has an array of highly important bilateral relationships. But that with Japan surely remains among the most important, as vital in the critical region of East Asia as the U.S. relationship with Great Britain is in Europe.

January 2010 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, and the fact that the bilateral alliance with Japan remains so important to the United States politically, economically, and strategically is, in historical terms, remarkable. Throughout most of its history, the United States was wary of entangling and enduring alliances with foreign powers. The U.S.-Japan alliance, one between formerly bitter adversaries and forged under the special circumstances of the Cold War, has not only survived the demise of the common external threat, the Soviet Union, but has also been expanded and at least in some ways strengthened in the almost two decades since the end of the Cold War. The alliance remains asymmetrical, and both American and Japanese officials might plausibly claim that it does not fully satisfy their respective national expectations.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the endurance of this alliance and its prominence in the foreign policies of Japan and the United States are striking.

This book seeks to ascertain the costs and benefits of the bilateral alliance from the perspective of each side. For the United States, the overall benefits significantly outweigh the drawbacks. The U.S.-Japan alliance continues to serve U.S. interests in three major ways. First, in terms of regional strategy, Japan is America's closest friend in an important yet dangerous neighborhood. Japan's

regional value has increased as the United States has been distracted by its commitments in the broader Middle East and Persian Gulf. Second, in terms of global strategy, Japan has proven to be a loyal supporter of American policy even at times (e.g., during the George W. Bush administration) when American policy has been perceived as provocative, controversial, and unpopular. Third, and of growing significance, in terms of international economic policy Japan has moved over time from an economic challenger to a key economic partner, reinforcing U.S. values, supporting U.S. initiatives and interests, and helping to provide a safety net for U.S. overextension economically. Japan, in short, is America's regional friend, global supporter, and international economic partner.

From the U.S. perspective, the principal drawback of the alliance stems from the fact that, over time, American policy officials have asked for more and more of Japan. Japanese governments, despite expressing all good intentions, have proven either unable or unwilling to follow through decisively. Among other things, the United States has asked Japan to do more in its own defense, work more closely bilaterally in the planning and operation of military activities, play a greater role in regional security, and support the U.S. war on terrorism. Japan's responses tend to be halting and incremental. This leads U.S. officials to express frustration and disappointment that Japan does not do enough, while Japanese officials in turn resent that the United States always seems to want too much, too soon.

This ongoing dynamic is exacerbated by three shifts in the political landscape upon which the alliance is situated. First, the rise of China regionally and geopolitically is a major complicating factor. Both the United States and Japan have strong economic links to China, and the possibility that either partner might ultimately find merit in a grand accommodation with China, at the expense of the bilateral alliance, heightens uncertainty and anxiety as the alliance moves forward. Second, shifts in Japanese domestic politics, in particular the rise of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) at the expense of the more predictably supportive Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), have called into question particular alliance understandings as well as long-established patterns of alliance politics. Third, over the past decade, the war on terrorism has led U.S. foreign policy to focus on new threats and new missions, with priority attention on the broader Middle East rather than East Asia. Even as the United States asks Japan to do more and more, Japanese policy planners naturally worry about the extent to which the United States will remain fully committed to the defense and security of Japan.

The United States and Japan deserve to celebrate the durability of their 50-year alliance, but cannot afford to assume that the alliance remains on a smooth path to future success. Alliance management will remain a crucial task for both sides in the years ahead.

### **Japan: Closest Friend in a Dangerous Neighborhood**

East Asia is a critical region in the international political system. It is home to several of the system's most important emerging powers, including China,

India, and perhaps eventually Indonesia. A significant proportion of the global population resides in East Asia, and its economic dynamism has made it a key engine of growth for the world economy. East Asia is home to the world's second- and third-largest national economies, Japan and China, although the two might swap spots within the near future.<sup>3</sup> As U.S. defense secretary Robert Gates noted recently, "By any measure—financial, technological, industrial, trade, educational, or cultural— Asia has become the center of gravity in a rapidly globalizing world."<sup>4</sup>

East Asia may be the center of gravity, but it is a potentially unstable one. One need not subscribe fully to Aaron Freidberg's longstanding "ripe for rivalry" thesis to appreciate the strategic uncertainty that characterizes this region since the end of the Cold War.<sup>5</sup> East Asia is populated by mixed regime types. Democracies in Japan and South Korea share the neighborhood with authoritarian China and North Korea. Australia is democratic, Vietnam is a socialist one-party state, and Indonesia flips between military rule and nascent democracy. The stabilizing effect of "like-minded" democratic regimes is absent in East Asia. East Asia as a whole also enjoys the benefit of rapid and dynamic economic growth. But rapid growth also tends to exacerbate social divisions and to expose economies to shocks and disruptions, as was evident in the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98.

National sentiment remains a powerful force in East Asia. Despite proclamations of "Asian values," an "Asian way," or "Asian century," Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans, among others, do not typically think of themselves as "Asians" sharing some type of common political project. In this way Asia's postwar political trajectory differs significantly from that of Europe, which has developed robust supranational institutions and at least to some degree a sense of common identity, beyond national identity, among its populations. Among Asians, historical resentments still linger even after some 60 plus years following the end of World War II, and states in the region still face unresolved conflicts, like that between North and South Korea, and longstanding border disputes, as between Japan and Russia, Russia and China, China and India, Japan and China, and Japan and South Korea. Opportunistic politicians in the region at times exploit or stir up nationalist sentiment to deflect attention from domestic problems or bolster their popularity at home.<sup>6</sup>

The most significant regional uncertainty concerns the rise of China. China has worked hard to cultivate the image of a peaceful emerging power,<sup>7</sup> but the combination of its size, economic growth, military spending, and determination to assume its rightful place as a great power cannot help but create anxiety among its smaller Southeast Asian neighbors as well as among larger regional players. China's national pride has been very much on display recently, with its hosting of the 2008 Beijing Olympics and its 2009 celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of communism in China. Both events signal the Chinese leadership's particular pride in sustaining its unlikely combination of authoritarian political rule and successful capitalist economics. The long rise of China is especially alarming for Japan since China's remarkable economic rise has been matched by Japan's almost two-decade-long economic stagnation.

The regional stakes in East Asia are very high for the United States. Economic disruption or significant political and security conflicts would greatly complicate U.S. efforts to promote a U.S.-centered international order based on openness, prosperity, and relative peace. During the 1990s the United States fashioned itself as the regional stabilizer of last resort, taking the lead in managing the North Korean nuclear crisis and working to dampen tensions between China and Taiwan and between India and Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> After September 11, 2001, however, U.S. regional strategy became more complicated. The United States found itself bogged down by protracted wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and by its ambitious plan to transform the Middle East through democracy promotion. The United States may be a unipolar power, but even unipolar powers have finite resources and can devote priority attention only to selected problems. The almost obsessive focus at the highest levels on the Middle East and Persian Gulf over the past decade has necessarily constrained the ability of the United States to participate in and manage the complex politics of East Asia.<sup>9</sup> Although the United States continues to proclaim its enduring priority interest in East Asia, it has been perceived in the region as a distracted power. For example, one Asian observer complained in 2007 that U.S. policymakers “are focused on the wrong geopolitical chessboard, they are making the wrong moves, and they are wasting or losing valuable political capital accumulated over decades.”<sup>10</sup> The speech by Defense Secretary Gates cited above is revealing in this regard. Gates opened by saying that “for those who worry that Iraq and Afghanistan has distracted the United States from Asia and developments in the region, I would counter that we have never been more engaged with more countries.”<sup>11</sup> The fact that the defense secretary felt compelled to offer these assurances reflected an official U.S. awareness of the political significance of the distraction problem.

With U.S. attention diverted elsewhere, the U.S.-Japan relationship has taken on increased regional significance. This is not to imply that the United States has simply delegated its regional strategy to Japan, or that Japan has somehow taken on the role of America’s “regional policeman,” a concept from an earlier era of U.S. foreign policy. However, the United States has come to rely more fully on Japan’s supporting role in crafting U.S. strategy toward a rising China and nuclear North Korea. Japan’s support is also increasingly valuable as U.S. officials seek to modify the perception of the United States as less than fully engaged in issues of importance to East Asia. And, to the extent that the United States remains fully engaged strategically in East Asia, it will continue to rely on the basing and logistical support that Japan provides to facilitate a significant U.S. military presence in the region.

### *Dealing with China*

U.S. strategy toward rising China has evolved over two decades, and can be accurately characterized as “hedging.” On the one hand, the United States has sought to engage China economically, in the theory or at least the hope that the more China becomes integrated into the world economy, the more likely its politics

will democratize and its foreign policy will remain supportive of the status quo rather than become revisionist. Through economic interdependence, China can be transformed from a potential challenger to a like-minded supporter of U.S. foreign policy. This is the liberal side of U.S.-China strategy. On the other hand, in security policy, the United States is slowly preparing for the regional and global containment of China if that becomes necessary. Elements of this “pre-containment” strategy include continued efforts to develop missile defense and maintain or even increase nuclear dominance,<sup>12</sup> along with the cultivation and strengthening of bilateral security relationships on China’s periphery such as the recent security partnership with India and the reaffirmation of close ties with longstanding U.S. ally Australia.<sup>13</sup> The logic of U.S. hedging strategy is to hold out the carrot of economic cooperation and integration as a reward for what the U.S. considers “responsible stakeholder” behavior, but also to make China aware that revisionist behavior could result in a costly security competition with the United States and its partners.

Japan plays a pivotal role on both sides of the hedging equation. Japan and China have complementary economies and bilateral trade, and technology transfer has grown significantly since the end of the Cold War.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, U.S.-Japan security cooperation has expanded. Japan is obviously not only America’s closest ally but also its most technologically sophisticated defense partner in the region. Japan is also the regional player that concerns China most in terms of current and long-term capabilities and intentions.

From China’s perspective, is the U.S. defense relationship with Japan the “cork in the bottle” that keeps Japan from breaking out militarily, or the “protective eggshell” that is nurturing Japan’s eventual breakout? It is in the interest of the United States that there remains some ambiguity about that in the minds of Chinese policymakers. Ambiguity reinforces the U.S. message that cooperation will be rewarded, but misbehavior will be punished in ways that will complicate China’s long-term strategy of economic development and “peaceful rise.” Initiatives such as U.S.-Japan missile defense cooperation and Japan’s recent declaration, in tandem with the United States, that it considered Taiwan a security concern necessarily play into the strategic calculations of Chinese officials.

The triangular game is a delicate one. The United States uses its bilateral alliance with Japan to reassure China about Japan’s capabilities and intentions, and to warn China that, if things go badly, it could face Japan as an even more formidable regional adversary as well as the United States as a global adversary. At the same time, the United States must be attentive to how its relationship with China affects the political climate of its alliance with Japan. If the U.S.-China “strategic partnership” becomes too close, then Japan fears abandonment, as the Clinton administration learned in 1998 when the U.S. president bypassed Tokyo in favor of a long visit to Beijing. But if the U.S.-China relationship becomes too confrontational, Japan may fear entrapment, or the danger of having its economic interdependence with China disrupted or being pulled into a U.S.-China conflict in the Taiwan Straits or elsewhere.

The current diplomatic game resembles the 1970s strategic triangle that Kissinger crafted among the United States, China, and the Soviet Union. That



analogy suggests a further complication the current triangular game poses for the United States. Kissinger sought to use the “China card” as a lever against the Soviet Union. As China became more powerful, Chinese leaders made clear that China was a player *at* the table rather than a card *on* the table. They had their own interests in the triangular game and their own resources with which to play it.

The United States today faces a similar predicament with Japan—Japan is an important player in East Asia, not merely an instrument of U.S. diplomacy. There are limits to how precisely the United States can calibrate the U.S.-Japan relationship as a tool to influence China, because the Japan-China relationship has a dynamic all its own. For example, after September 11, 2001, the Bush administration promoted a more accommodating stance toward China while it engaged heavily in the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. However, Japanese diplomacy moved in a different direction. Koizumi’s insistence on annual visits to the Yasukuni Shrine, and Japan’s unwillingness to revise its textbooks at the insistence of China and South Korea increased tensions and helped to freeze high-level relations between Japan and China for several years.<sup>15</sup>

Japan’s approach to China was driven more by domestic political considerations than by any calculated U.S.-Japan strategy for how to deal with China in what the United States considered a new strategic environment. Similarly, one can easily imagine a future scenario in which the United States pushes a more confrontational security policy toward China, but Japan holds back in deference to its regional economic interests. Since the end of the Cold War, Japan has a hedging strategy of its own—it maintains security dependence on the United States while seeking to pursue regional economic security at least somewhat independently of the United States.<sup>16</sup> In short, the U.S.-Japan alliance is the most important external tool the United States has in dealing with China, but it is a tool the United States does not fully control.

### *Dealing with North Korea*

Relations with a nuclear North Korea illustrate this dynamic as well. From the perspective of the United States, regime change is the preferred outcome. The Bush administration designated North Korea part of the “axis of evil” in light of its dictatorial regime, nuclear ambitions, and willingness to transfer weapons of mass destruction to other rogue states and possibly to terrorist groups. Short of regime change, the U.S. preference is for denuclearization because eliminating or severely constraining North Korea’s nuclear capabilities addresses the most immediate security threat to the United States and its allies even if a distasteful regime remains in power. The attacks of September 11, 2001, brought on an increased sense of urgency. The Clinton administration had been content to strike a long-term deal with North Korea in the belief that time was on the side of the United States. The Bush administration hoped for a quicker and less ambiguous solution. President Obama’s initial tactics were more conciliatory, extending the proverbial outstretched hand in the hope of persuading North Korea’s leaders that it was in their interest to abandon their nuclear efforts. Obama, however,

was forced fairly quickly to revert to tough talk in the face of North Korean provocations, including continued testing of long-range ballistic missiles, a second nuclear weapons test, and a pledge not to return to the Six Party Talks.<sup>17</sup>

The problem that has plagued successive administrations is that there are no easy options for denuclearizing North Korea. Military intervention risks a large and costly war on the Korean peninsula. Effective economic sanctions depend on the cooperation of North Korea's immediate neighbors and would force deprivation on an already desperate population. The Bush administration was forced to adopt multilateral diplomacy, eventually in the form of the Six Party Talks, and the Obama administration has been left with the effort to revive those talks.

In this context the importance of Japan to the United States emerges clearly. First, in terms of diplomacy Japan is America's closest and most reliable partner at the table. Chinese and American cooperation over North Korea is driven by mutual interests, but the two countries are still competing with each other for influence and prestige regionally and globally. U.S.-Russian relations have deteriorated significantly over the past several years. South Korea is an ally of the United States, but relatively speaking it has the largest stake in the outcome of the North Korean dilemma, and fears that the preferred U.S. solution of regime change risks instability, a humanitarian crisis, and war on the peninsula. Japan and the United States, for different reasons and from different vantage points, each view North Korea as a threat and share a strong interest in curtailing its nuclear ambitions.

Japan's importance is enhanced by its economic resources. Any arrangement to denuclearize North Korea is likely to be comprehensive, including the provision of aid to North Korea's desperate economy. Japan is well positioned to provide that aid, and in exchange for its nuclear program North Korea has made clear that it expects not only Japanese economic assistance, but also the normalization of relations with Japan including, possibly, reparations for Japanese wrongdoings during the colonial and wartime eras.

It is clear that, as in the case of relations with China, Japan is crucial to U.S. diplomacy but not a passive instrument of U.S. diplomacy. Japan has its own agenda in relations with North Korea. North Korea's abduction of Japanese citizens during the 1970s is at the top of that agenda, and for domestic political and emotional reasons that issue is even more important than North Korean denuclearization. As long as the abducted citizen issue is unresolved, Japanese interests might be better served by the status quo than by a nuclear agreement. From Japan's perspective, a nuclear agreement that overshadows the abducted citizen issue is worse than no agreement at all, especially since, given China's prominent role in the Six Party Talks, a nuclear agreement will enhance China's relative prestige in the region at the expense of Japan's.

Japan and the United States worked most closely together when negotiating progress with North Korea was limited. After North Korean missile tests over Japanese territory and as the abducted citizen issue came to light, Japanese negotiators moved closer to the hardline U.S. position in the Six Party Talks. But subsequent progress in the talks pushed the allies further apart. U.S. negotiators proved willing to strike a deal with North Korea, agreeing to remove it from the

list of states sponsoring terrorism, in exchange for some progress in the direction of denuclearization. That deal was especially disappointing to Japan; it left the abducted citizen issue unresolved and it meant that the United States was willing to go back on its commitment to Japan to treat progress on the nuclear issue and the abducted citizen issue as part of a single package. For Japan, the U.S. decision raises the difficult issue of whether to be a spoiler at the negotiating table or to manage its frustration quietly and fall into line behind the United States. This issue will become all the more difficult for Japan if North Korea manages to entice the Obama administration into a grand bargain that includes toleration of its de facto status as a member of the nuclear club.<sup>18</sup> For the United States, the North Korea negotiations demonstrate both the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance and the possible divergence in U.S. and Japanese positions as a result of Japan's domestic politics and increased diplomatic autonomy.

*Reassuring Asia and Maintaining U.S. Military Presence*

The perception of the United States as a distracted power whose attention is focused elsewhere has worked to the detriment of U.S. influence and prestige in East Asia. This distraction problem has been exacerbated by the tendency of the United States to channel much of the regional attention that it does offer through the prism of the war on terrorism. This leaves governments in the region with the unfortunate belief that the United States is either less interested in East Asia, or interested in it only to the extent that East Asian countries can help the United States solve its own problems. A number of recent commentaries have noted that U.S. diplomacy would do well to downplay the war on terrorism and focus instead on issues East Asians believe to be important.<sup>19</sup> Southeast Asian nations, for example, have a variety of concerns—poverty, drug trafficking, education, the environment, and natural disaster prevention and relief—that do not fit easily into the triple threat paradigm of terrorism, rogue states, and weapons of mass destruction that has preoccupied U.S. policymakers since September 11.

The Obama administration came into office determined to alter the perception that has developed of the United States as unengaged and singularly focused. President Obama has natural advantages in this effort first, simply because his new administration can claim to make a break with the foreign policy of the past administration and second, because in Southeast Asia at least he is perceived almost as a “native son” because he lived in Indonesia as a child.<sup>20</sup>

As the principal U.S. ally in the region, Japan is a key partner in America's diplomatic makeover. The array of issues of importance to East Asian countries involves greater emphasis on instruments of soft power, and the new Obama administration and especially the State Department are eager to expand and utilize U.S. soft power in the region. The exercise of soft power on environmental and humanitarian issues, for example, offers a useful means for Japan to play a more prominent regional role, in tandem with the United States, without raising the anxieties that typically accompany Japanese efforts to expand its regional influence.

The United States, of course, needs to do more than merely display diplomatic interest in East Asia. A major element of U.S. regional engagement involves the maintenance of a muscular military presence. The so-called Nye Report of 1995 promised that, even in the aftermath of the Cold War, the U.S. strategy of “deep engagement,” including a robust U.S. military presence in East Asia, would continue indefinitely.<sup>21</sup> China’s rise, and in particular its increased naval commitment in East Asia, has increased anxiety particularly among smaller states in the region and has only reinforced the U.S. belief that it must maintain a prominent military presence in order to maintain regional stability and secure U.S. economic and strategic interests.

Japanese support is critical to the continued ability of the United States to play its regional military role. The tacit bilateral deal that emerged early in the Cold War—the United States provides for the defense of Japan, and Japan in exchange serves as a base for U.S. regional operations—is alive and well today. Regional threats and challenges have changed over 50 years, but the U.S. need for an “unsinkable aircraft carrier,” in the famous words of former Japanese prime minister Nakasone, has remained. The U.S. military continues to base roughly 50,000 troops in Japan and to control directly over 100 square miles of Japanese territory for military purposes.

U.S. basing arrangements in Japan have come under increasing political strain as some Japanese politicians and analysts, reflecting in part popular sentiment in Okinawa, the province in which the majority of U.S. forces reside, have characterized U.S. bases as a remnant of the occupation and an infringement on Japanese sovereignty. U.S. and Japanese officials reacted to this pressure with a plan in 2005 to relocate U.S. forces away from the densely populated area of the Futenma Air station to a less visible location in Japan. Japan’s implementation of the agreement, however, was placed in jeopardy after the election of a government controlled by DPJ in 2009. The resolution of the basing dilemma has become the high priority issue for the bilateral alliance, reflecting the great significance the United States places on its access to bases in the region and on Japan’s maintenance of its side of the longstanding alliance bargain.

### **Japan: Loyal Supporter of U.S. Global Strategy**

U.S. foreign policy became increasingly controversial in the eyes of the world during the Bush years. The widespread global solidarity generated by September 11 attacks quickly dissipated as the Bush administration, driven by a combination of fear and opportunity, initiated wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq and launched what it hoped might become the democratic transformation of the Middle East. The seemingly single-minded pursuit of its own homeland security, reliance on coalitions of the willing, unilateral initiatives, and the adoption of a preventive war doctrine led to the perception of the world’s most powerful state as a rogue actor rather than a source of stability. Domestically, the United States no longer seemed to set an example for others to follow as it curtailed freedoms at home and engaged in questionable human rights practices abroad. Reflecting

on these developments, one Japanese diplomat observed that the United States suffered from “9/11 post-traumatic stress syndrome.”<sup>22</sup>

It is not surprising that the Obama administration has placed high priority on restoring America’s international reputation. In its first year the administration announced immediate symbolic steps, such as the closing of the prison at Guantanamo Bay, along with a flurry of diplomatic initiatives in the Middle East and elsewhere. But the new administration cannot simply walk away from the war on terrorism—in fact, as of January 20, 2009, it was in the unenviable position of owning that war. It became apparent quickly that Obama will need time to extricate U.S. forces from Iraq and will continue to confront regional challenge from Iran and North Korea. He has committed to escalating the war in Afghanistan and if necessary taking the war to neighboring Pakistan. The rhetoric of U.S. foreign policy has softened but in key areas the substance of policy is unlikely to change decisively or quickly.

In this context, loyal global supporters have been and will continue to be critical to the United States. Diplomatically, it needs countries willing to stand with it and cooperate in the war on terrorism. This is no easy task since some of the most loyal U.S. supporters (e.g., Prime Ministers Blair in Britain, Howard in Australia, and Anzar in Spain) paid a significant price in domestic politics for taking that stand. In addition, the United States increasingly requires burden-sharing resources. U.S. military forces, particularly ground forces, are stretched thin by the protracted struggle in Iraq, the need to increase the effort in Afghanistan, and the obligation to be prepared adequately for contingencies elsewhere around the world. The situation in Afghanistan calls for substantive, not only symbolic, coalition warfare efforts. The United States cannot do it alone.

Over the past two decades Japan has made a determined effort to establish itself as a loyal global supporter. The United States and Japan cooperated far more effectively during the second Persian Gulf War than during the earlier one of 1990–91. The 1990–91 experience left both alliance partners dissatisfied. To Japan, the United States appeared rather ungrateful for Japan’s significant financial contribution, while in the United States, Japan’s contribution was denigrated as “checkbook diplomacy” or the provision of cash while the United States risked lives. In the more recent war Japan reacted more quickly and sought, within constitutional limits and occasionally even stretching those limits, to stand “side by side” with the United States in Operation Enduring Freedom.<sup>23</sup> Japan’s support was all the more significant because the global coalition of the willing was considerably smaller the second time around. The United States responded with appropriate gratitude and under Bush and Koizumi, the U.S.-Japan alliance experienced a golden era of cooperation. The cooperation was felt at the public level as well. Unlike some other supportive leaders, Koizumi did not appear to suffer significantly in domestic politics for his support of controversial U.S. policies in the war on terrorism.

Japan’s importance to the United States as a global supporter has been evident in other ways as well. For example, the U.S.-India agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation raised concerns in many capitals due to its potential to undermine global nonproliferation efforts. Despite sharing these concerns, Japanese

officials supported the U.S. agreement in the Nuclear Suppliers' Group.<sup>24</sup> The Bush administration signed the agreement into law in October 2008 and Japan reinforced the U.S. position several weeks later when Prime Minister Aso signed a cooperative security declaration with his Indian counterpart.

Foreign assistance has been an important part of Japan's foreign policy and offers an additional opportunity for coordinating U.S. and Japanese global efforts. The Bush administration made development assistance to Africa a priority, and in May 2008 Japan hosted an international conference on African development aid in which Prime Minister Fukuda pledged to double Japan's Official Development Assistance to Africa by 2012. The United States and Japan similarly have an opportunity to expand foreign assistance as part of a joint effort to stabilize Pakistan, an important player in the war on terrorism and in the Muslim world more generally. The United States has significantly increased aid to Pakistan after September 11, for the most part without conditions. Japan is a significant donor to Pakistan as well, and could take on a constructive role as coordinator of donor efforts, perhaps bringing together the contributions of China, Saudi Arabia, and other donors in an attempt to maximize the positive effect on Pakistan's political stability and economic prosperity.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps the biggest challenge facing the United States and Japan in the global context involves coordination over Afghanistan. I noted earlier that the United States requires more substantive alliance contributions alongside the important diplomatic strategy of "showing the flag." For Afghanistan, the specific needs are boots on the ground and helicopters in both combat and noncombat roles. The United States, while not intending to denigrate Japan's ongoing efforts, will be tempted to continue pressuring Japan to contribute more substantively. The shift to a DPJ ruling coalition in Japan, however, places future alliance cooperation in Afghanistan under considerable uncertainty. As of 2010, Japan's leaders were debating whether even to continue the refueling mission; the prospects for Japanese boots on the ground appear as unlikely as ever.

The alliance politics of Afghanistan point to the broader problem of mismatched expectations discussed earlier in this chapter. The United States wants more from Japan at a time when Japan for domestic reasons is likely to be willing to do even less. In this context, efforts by U.S. officials to push Japan to its limits are likely to fail and lead to frustration on both sides. The more pragmatic course may be for U.S. officials to recognize this political reality and pick the most important areas for alliance cooperation. Focusing Japan on the task of doing more for its own defense, for example, may be more sensible in the short term than pressuring Japan to stand side by side in out-of-area conflicts like Afghanistan.<sup>26</sup> From the U.S. perspective, Japan's substantive contributions in the global context are desirable but not essential; Japan's continued commitment to its own defense and to regional security in East Asia remains far more important.

During the 1990s, many observers urged the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance to go "out of area or out of business." This advice reflected the post-Cold War reality in central Europe—the core security problem of NATO had been solved, and thus the alliance needed to find a new rationale for its continued existence. The U.S.-Japan alliance, even some 20 years after the

end of the Cold War, faces a different reality. With the rise of China and instability on the Korean peninsula, the core or in-area defense tasks remain essential, while out-of-area activities are more a luxury than a necessity. For the United States to force the alliance to go out of area more aggressively, particularly in light of Japan's domestic politics, risks distracting the alliance partners from the more central and still unfinished business of East Asian security.

### **From Economic Challenger to Economic Partner**

Through the 1980s and into the 1990s, bilateral economic relations worked to the detriment of the U.S.-Japan alliance. U.S. merchandise trade deficits with Japan were a divisive issue that helped to mobilize protectionist and anti-Japanese sentiment in the U.S. Congress and public opinion. Some in the United States feared more broadly that Japan's economic success could undermine U.S. hegemony, while others worried that the spread of Japan's economic model of developmental capitalism would dampen the global appeal of America's more liberal variant.<sup>27</sup> For Japanese officials, relentless U.S. pressure to open markets and reform the domestic economy proved both irritating and exhausting, increasing Japan's temptation to say "no" to its most important alliance partner. Supporters of the alliance sought to limit the damage, urging the two governments to focus on security cooperation and relegate economic conflicts to lower priority.

During the past decade, bilateral economic relations have been transformed and now can be considered a strong net positive in the overall alliance context. From the U.S. perspective, the most troubling aspects of bilateral economic competition have diminished. The feared Japanese challenge to U.S. economic primacy did not materialize as Japan experienced a protracted stagnation during the 1990s while the U.S. economy grew steadily. Japan still runs trade surpluses and the United States runs deficits, but U.S. attention has shifted to the even larger imbalances and more egregious trade practices of the newest challenger, China.

The United States and Japan have also experienced the gradual convergence of their seemingly disparate economic models of capitalism. During the 1980s it appeared that the Japanese model was dominant, and during the 1990s the more *laissez faire* American model seemed triumphant, especially to American policymakers.<sup>28</sup> Yet by now it is painfully apparent that each country must adjust to sobering economic difficulties. Japanese companies have emerged from the great stagnation with a more hybrid model of capitalism that moves closer to the American variant.<sup>29</sup> For its part, the United States has responded to its current economic crises with a far more prominent role for government intervention, a role considered unthinkable a decade earlier in the heyday of the "Washington Consensus."

As the negative aspects of bilateral economic conflict have been mitigated, the positive aspects of bilateral economic cooperation have been enhanced. The current and rather questionable U.S. economic strategy depends heavily on sustained borrowing from abroad. Through its continued willingness to hold

massive amounts of U.S. dollars, Japan helps to soften the process of painful economic adjustment that the United States is already experiencing. China necessarily has massive dollar holdings as well, and from the perspective of the United States, it is important to have a reliable ally, and not just a potential adversary, in the position of key lender. Japan has also assisted the United States in coordinating G-20 responses to the current crisis. Japanese banks have taken on significant stakes with the struggling U.S. financial entities; Mitsubishi has acquired 21% of Morgan Stanley, and Nomura has purchased a large portion of Lehman's Asian portfolios.<sup>30</sup>

Japan remains a pivotal player in reinforcing the U.S. preference for openness in the Asia-Pacific. In Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and elsewhere Japan has worked to assure that open regionalism rather than the more exclusionary schemes advanced by some parties define the regional economy. This joint U.S.-Japan effort takes on greater significance in light of the uncertainty of multilateral trade initiatives after the collapse of the Doha Development Round.

U.S. policymakers used to worry obsessively about Japan's economic strength. Today, the far greater concern is possible Japanese economic weakness. The United States needs a stronger Japan to serve as a regional and global engine of growth in a stalled international economy. It needs Japan as a source of capital for an underfunded International Monetary Fund (IMF) struggling to assist troubled emerging economies, and as a source of development aid in unstable parts of the world. Finally, an economically robust Japan can help to balance the growing economic power of China. Economic relations have earned their place at the forefront of alliance cooperation.

### **Conclusion: Challenging Terrain Ahead**

The United States and Japan may take justifiable pride while celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of their enduring alliance. From the perspective of the United States, the gradual transformation of a wartime enemy into a most loyal, democratic and prosperous ally represents a model of postwar reconciliation and is nothing short of remarkable. Japan is America's regional ally, global supporter, and international economic partner. But this alliance can hardly afford to rest on its laurels. The first half of the 2000s was celebrated as a golden age of U.S.-Japan cooperation. The first five years of the current decade are likely to be more turbulent, due to the shifting geopolitical and domestic terrain at the foundation of the alliance.

The rise of China poses an alliance challenge unlike that of the former Soviet Union. The Soviets were an unambiguous common enemy and the United States and Japan, despite tactical variations, could reasonably count upon each other to remain focused on meeting the threat. Relations with China are more ambiguous. Both Japan and the United States have reasons to worry about China's rise, yet each is deeply interdependent with the rising power. It is not surprising that both countries are hedging between cooperation and confrontation. The problem arises to the extent that one or the other alliance partner sees fit to move in



a more accommodating direction while the other continues to hedge or moves toward confrontation. The U.S. concern must be that Japan will accede to China's growing regional dominance with a de facto recognition of its hegemonic role in East Asia. For Japan, the concern is that the United States for its own global reasons will strike a special deal with China without consulting with or accommodating the regional interests of Japan—a twenty-first-century Nixon shock, leaving Japan to fend for itself regionally while the United States takes care of business elsewhere.

Geopolitical uncertainty is compounded by domestic uncertainty in Japan. As of early 2010, it was safe to say that the intentions of the ruling DPJ coalition with regard to the U.S.-Japan alliance remained unclear. On the one hand, the DPJ seems more concerned with domestic politics and reform, seeking, for example, to wrest policy control from the formidable permanent bureaucracy of the Japanese government. On the other hand, the new coalition has politicized foreign policy and the alliance as a way both to signal a break from the past and possibly to point toward an alternative future in which Japanese foreign policy takes on a more regional rather than transpacific focus. On the eve of taking power, the new prime minister, Yukio Hatoyama, published a startling editorial in the United States.<sup>31</sup> He stated that the U.S.-led era of globalism was coming to an end and asked how Japan could protect its national interest when *caught between* a United States struggling to maintain its dominance and a China seeking to attain dominance. His answer was that Japan needed to help forge an East Asian political and economic community. East Asia “must be recognized as Japan’s basic sphere of being,” and “we must not forget our identity as a nation located in Asia.” Whether these comments simply reflected domestic political positioning rather than a new foreign policy direction remains to be seen. Alliance supporters might take comfort in the fact that a joint Yomiuri-Gallop poll taken in November 2009 showed that a strong majority of Japanese respondents (75%) believe the U.S.-Japan alliance is needed for stability in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>32</sup> The broader point is that for the first time in nearly 50 years Japan may be experiencing a genuine two-party system, and the party in power is expressing doubts about alliance commitments and agreements that both the U.S. and Japanese governments seemed to take for granted during the long era of LDP rule.

The same Yomiuri-Gallop poll found that 70% of Americans agreed that the alliance was important to East Asian stability. Within the United States the bilateral alliance maintains broad support at the elite level and arguably at the public level as well. The challenge on the U.S. side is not support but expectations, and reliance on a pattern of alliance dynamics that has worked in the past yet may not in the future. The preferred U.S. pattern has been to ask Japan to do more and more in support of U.S. foreign policy initiatives, while reserving the right to act unilaterally if and when it suits U.S. interests. This pattern will be harder to sustain in the years to come. Japan may not be in a position domestically to do all the United States would like, and, as its regional ties continue to deepen, it may be less willing to follow the United States faithfully particularly if it has minimal input into the collective decisions taken.

In short, the alliance has much to celebrate and much to achieve. The alliance remains the best overall foreign policy option for both countries; the challenge is to navigate across the shifting terrain so that it emerges intact both domestically and geopolitically.

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## Korea and the Japan-U.S. Alliance: A Japanese Perspective

*Yasuyo Sakata*

Due to the geographical proximity and history, the Korean peninsula has traditionally been and continues to be one of the primary security interests for Japan. The Korean peninsula has been the strategic pivot in Northeast Asia and would directly affect the course of Japan's own security. The memoirs of Munemitsu Mutsu (late nineteenth-century Meiji-era diplomat) *Kenkenroku*, a realist classic in understanding Japanese diplomacy toward Korea, depicted how Japan struggled in dealing with Korea during the Sino-Japanese War over the Korean peninsula in the transition to the modern era.<sup>1</sup> As one Korea security expert and former military intelligence officer noted, the relationship between Japan and the Korean peninsula has traditionally been described as “*shinshi-ho-sha*” in Japanese, “lips and teeth, cheekbone and jawbone” in English, taken from an ancient Chinese phrase—which meant a relationship so mutually dependent that if one falls the other falls with it.<sup>2</sup> Since the defeat of Japan in the Second World War and the end of the colonial period, Japan has allied with the United States to deal with security on the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia.

The Japan-U.S. alliance remains an indispensable pillar in Japanese security policy in the post-Second World War era, especially in dealing with the Korean peninsula. It was during the Korean War that the Japan-U.S. alliance was forged to protect and defend Japan and to maintain peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. Even after the Cold War, the Japan-U.S. alliance still serves Japan's security needs and has not lost its relevance. Rather its relevance has increased since the end of the Cold War where threats have diversified, and tensions emanating from North Korea remain at the top of the list. Although the alliance has survived two decades after the end of the Cold War, it faces new challenges, which if unresolved, may deeply constrain its future.

This chapter assesses the performance of the Japan-U.S. alliance vis-à-vis the Korean peninsula from the end of the Cold War to the present (as of 2009) from a Japanese perspective. First, Japan's security interests on the Korean peninsula

and the role of the Japan-U.S. alliance is defined. Then, achievements made through consolidation of the alliance in the post-Cold War era of the 1990s, and how the alliance became constrained in its relations with the Korean peninsula in what can be called the “lost decade” of 1998–2008 is examined. In conclusion, tasks and recommendations for the alliance are discussed.

### **Japan’s Security Interests toward the Korean Peninsula and the Role of the Japan-U.S. Alliance**

For the security of Japan, security on the Korean peninsula, a neighboring area, remains high on the agenda. To refer to the Defense White Paper of Japan, the 1990 edition states: “the Korean peninsula is inseparably related with Japan geographically and hence the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula is of vital importance to the peace and stability of East Asian areas[sic] as a whole, including Japan.”<sup>3</sup>

Japan’s basic security interests regarding the Korean peninsula since the Cold War years are: (1) to maintain peace and stability on the Korean peninsula; (2) to deter and defend against the North Korean threat; (3) to maintain a favorable strategic balance in Northeast Asia. In order to achieve these objectives, fostering and maintaining cooperative relations with Korea, namely South Korea, a U.S. ally and a like-minded country sharing democratic values and market economy is a key component. In conjunction with Japan’s own efforts, the Japan-U.S. alliance serves to protect and promote Japanese security interests regarding Korea. Japan’s policy of restraint on the use of military force based on the present interpretation of Article IX in the Japanese Constitution, and the nonnuclear principles also make the alliance with the United States, including the nuclear umbrella, critical. In terms of security on the Korean peninsula, the role of the Japan-U.S. alliance has not fundamentally changed since the Cold War years, but has had to adapt to the changing circumstances in the post-Cold War period.

#### *Maintaining Peace and Stability on the Korean Peninsula*

After liberation from Japan in 1945, Korea was divided and experienced the bloody Korean War of 1950–53. The division of Korea based on the Korean Armistice signed on July 27, 1953, still continues today. Thus, to “maintain peace and stability” would mean to maintain the armistice and prevent another war from recurring on the Korean peninsula, while promoting tension reduction and peaceful inter-Korea relations, which would include, for example, replacing the armistice with some form of a peace agreement, and eventual unification of Korea.

The Japan-U.S. alliance works in tandem with the ROK-U.S. alliance to maintain peace and stability on the Korean peninsula by maintaining the capability to swiftly respond to a Korea contingency, that is, a North Korean attack on South Korea. Coordination with the United Nations Command (UNC) is also an important factor for both alliances in case of a Korea contingency, because a North Korean invasion of South Korea would constitute a violation of the

armistice. Within this structure, the legal basis for Japan's security commitment to the defense of South Korea is Article VI (i.e., the "Far Eastern clause") of the Japan-U.S. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (signed January 9, 1960; hereafter, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty) and the Japan-United Nations Status of Forces Agreement (UN SOFA) of 1954. As the United States provides a dual security commitment to South Korea through the ROK-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty of 1953 and the UNC,<sup>4</sup> Japan also maintains a dual security commitment to ROK through the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the UNC. The UNC (Rear) is located in Japan and the UN SOFA obligates Japan to support military forces operating under UNC and provide access to designated U.S. bases and facilities in Japan in the event of hostilities on the Korean peninsula.<sup>5</sup> Despite the fact that the UNC component is part of contingency planning for Korea, it is mentioned neither in the *Diplomatic Bluebook* nor the *Defense of Japan*.<sup>6</sup>

In the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Article VI provides for the use of facilities and areas in Japan by the U.S. forces for the purpose of "maintaining the security of Japan" and "maintaining the international peace and security in the Far East." The Korean peninsula is included in the "Far East,"<sup>7</sup> and thus Article V provides the basis for support in a Korea contingency. However, bilateral joint planning for a Korea contingency based on Article VI was not formulated due to political sensitivities in Japan. The 1978 Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, the first guidelines for bilateral military cooperation provided for study on Article VI (Far East contingency), focused only on Article V that stipulates bilateral action in the event of an armed attack against Japan, a Japan contingency.<sup>8</sup> Although the U.S. side was frustrated with Japan's passiveness in a Far East contingency planning, this asymmetrical arrangement was possible because the focus was on the Soviet threat, and the North Korean threat was essentially contained on the Korean peninsula during the Cold War. The North Korean military threat did not reach the Sea of Japan nor the Japanese islands so Japan was not compelled to prepare in detail what it could do for a Korea contingency. The end of the Cold War, namely the 1993–94 North Korean nuclear crisis, however, changed those circumstances, and led to the first Japan-U.S. bilateral planning for Korea contingency, which began with the 1997 revision of the Guidelines.<sup>9</sup>

### *Deterrence and Defense against the North Korean Threat*

Deterrence and defense against the North Korean threat is another important component to protecting Japan's security interests. It is critical to "maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula" as discussed above, as well as for the defense of Japan. Especially in the post-Cold War years, the latter aspect, the defense of Japan, has become a more prominent concern for Japan.

The North Korean threat has diversified since the end of the Cold War. Losing military support from former Communist patrons, Russia and China, has made it practically impossible for North Korea to conduct a full-scale invasion of South Korea.<sup>10</sup> The overall national and military balance of power has shifted in favor

of South Korea, and this has also made full-scale war difficult. Thus, while maintaining the war option, North Korea has increasingly resorted to infiltration, limited armed conflict, and development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) for its own survival.<sup>11</sup> In particular, North Korea's development of nuclear and ballistic missile programs has changed the North Korean threat from a local threat on the peninsula to a regional and global threat in WMD proliferation.

For Japan, this meant that the North Korean threat came closer to home. The 1993 Nodong and 1998 Taepodong missile tests were catalytic events for changing Japan's perception of North Korean threat not only among security experts but also among the Japanese public.<sup>12</sup> The Defense White Paper of 1994 stated: "if North Korea actually developed this missile (Nodongs), a greater part of Japan would come within its range, depending on the location of the deployment. Therefore, Japan is greatly concerned about the development trend of this missile. North Korea is also said to be trying to develop a missile with a range longer than the Nodong 1's. Moreover, if the development of nuclear weapons were combined with missile development, it could create an extremely dangerous situation."<sup>13</sup> The potential threat of "nuclear missiles" from North Korea loomed in the minds security specialists and the Japanese public. Intrusions by North Korean spy vessels into Japanese territorial waters in 1999–2000, and the possibility of intrusion by North Korean special warfare units also added to the fear. The Japanese abductees issue that emerged in the late 1990s further hardened Japanese threat perceptions regarding North Korea.

From the standpoint of Japan's defense, the meaning of deterrence and defense against North Korea had substantially changed as North Korea became a direct and immediate security threat to Japan. In the Cold War years, North Korean missiles did not reach the Japanese homeland, but in the 1990s, Japanese territory came within the range of North Korean missiles. North Korea was no longer a threat localized to the Korean peninsula (a Korea contingency), but an immediate threat to the Japanese homeland (Japan contingency). This was a new factor in the calculations of Japanese security vis-à-vis North Korea and became the catalyst for closer Japan-U.S. defense cooperation such as contingency plans and missile defense.

### *Maintaining the Strategic Balance in Northeast Asia*

Third, maintaining cooperative relations with Korea, and eventually a unified Korea, is important to Japan for the broader objective of maintaining a favorable strategic balance in Northeast Asia. The Korean peninsula is one of the primary gateways to the Asian continent and maintaining constructive relations with Korea is the optimal choice for Japan's security.

The Korean peninsula has been the "strategic pivot" in Northeast Asia surrounded by China, Japan, Soviet Union/Russia, and the United States. Although Japan endeavored to normalize relations with both Koreas, the realistic choice was to develop cooperative relations with South Korea as a strategic partner. Since

the Cold War years, the Japan-U.S. alliance contributed to fostering friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and South Korea, despite the antagonisms over the history issue.<sup>14</sup> Common security and economic interests pushed Japan and South Korea to normalize relations in 1965, with behind-the-scenes prodding by the United States.<sup>15</sup> The Japan-U.S.-ROK triangle contributed to maintaining a favorable strategic balance in Northeast Asia.

With the end of the Cold War, however, maintaining the strategic balance in Northeast Asia became more complex. The North Korea factor became more independent and approaches to North Korea were diversified. The United States not only deterred but also began to engage North Korea with its allies, Japan and South Korea. The South Korea factor also began to change. After democratization in 1987, compared to the more conservative administrations of the 1990s, such as Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sam, a more progressive and liberal Korea emerged from the late 1990s under Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun. The China factor began to affect not only the economic balance but also the security balance, as South Korea sought its place between China, the rising power, and the United States, the traditional ally.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, over the Takeshima-Dokdo issue, a mix of history and territorial problems, Japan and South Korea relations were at its worst in 2005–6.<sup>17</sup>

The shaky relationship with South Korea was a new and troublesome development for Japan and the Japan-U.S. alliance that affected the strategic balance in Northeast Asia. Japan and the United States would want to avoid a zero-sum situation where Japan and the United States are countering China and Korea. This would also be problematic for South Korea. In the post-Cold War years, South Korea has nurtured a new relationship with China, and now plays a more influential role as a “middle power” in East Asia, as manifested in the ASEAN Plus-Three and the East Asia community process. Thus, striking the right balance and creating a “positive-sum” relationship vis-à-vis South Korea and China will be a bigger challenge for Japan and the Japan-U.S. alliance in the years to come.

### **Alliance Consolidation in the “Post-Cold War” Years, the 1990s**

Although experts warned that the Japan-U.S. alliance was going “adrift” in the immediate years after the end of the Cold War, the North Korean nuclear crisis of 1993–94 shifted attention back to Korea and regional security.<sup>18</sup> It was the North Korean factor that became the catalyst for enhanced security cooperation in the 1990s. There was strategic convergence between the two Northeast Asian alliances, the Japan-U.S. and ROK-U.S. alliances on the North Korean threat, and priorities were aligned to focus primarily on the nuclear issue, while other issues, such as missiles and local incursions were dealt with separately. As a result, the Japan-U.S. alliance was further consolidated, by the end of the 1990s, in the following areas: defense cooperation, nonproliferation diplomacy, and trilateral cooperation with South Korea.



*Strengthening Defense Cooperation:  
The 1997 Defense Guidelines and BMD Research*

The North Korean nuclear crisis of 1993–94 prompted the formulation of the new Japan-U.S. Guidelines for defense cooperation. In the spring of 1994, as the United Nations Security Council began to consider sanctions toward North Korea, it became clear that Japan simply was not ready to respond to a Korean contingency. The bilateral alliance was, as one Japanese journalist described, “an empty ‘alliance’ paper devoid of any ‘joint operations’ content.”<sup>19</sup> Japanese and American officials took this seriously and after the nuclear crisis passed, took pains to strengthen the alliance.

As a result of the Japan Defense Agency’s 1995 National Defense Program Outline and the U.S. Defense Department’s “Nye initiative” (*East Asia Strategic Report*) in 1995, Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton “reaffirmed” the alliance with the Japan-U.S. Joint Security Declaration of April 1996, and agreed to promote joint cooperation between the United States and Japan on contingencies in the vicinity of Japan.<sup>20</sup> This became the basis for formulating the new Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation in September 1997 and domestic legislation that followed, which focused on joint operations in “surrounding areas,” including a potential contingency on the Korean peninsula. Based on the Guidelines and subsequent domestic legislation, Japan would support the U.S. forces to respond to a Korea contingency and the JSDF would enhance its capability in bilateral cooperation in “situations in areas surrounding Japan” (SIASJ).<sup>21</sup> It included cooperation in areas such as intelligence gathering, surveillance, minesweeping, relief activities, refugee assistance, search and rescue, noncombatant evacuation, international sanctions, including UN-endorsed ship inspections, as well as rear-area support to the U.S. forces to provide access to airfields, ports, transportation, logistics, and medical support.<sup>22</sup>

The revised Defense Guidelines also addressed the interrelationship between SIASJ and Japan’s homeland defense—the case of a direct attack against Japan.<sup>23</sup> The Guidelines stated that “recognizing that a situation in areas surrounding Japan may develop into an armed attack against Japan, the two Governments will be mindful that bilateral defense planning and mutual cooperation planning must be consistent so that appropriate responses will be ensured when a Situation in Areas Surrounding Japan or when such a situation and an Armed Attack against Japan occur simultaneously.”<sup>24</sup> To secure the legal basis for the defense of Japan, the GOJ submitted three bills on response to armed attack, the so-called Emergency Laws in April 2002, which were passed in the Diet in June 2003.

Furthermore, with regard to defense of Japan, two new emerging threats were addressed: missiles and unconventional attacks such as those by terrorists and commando-type enemies, both of which were North Korea-related. First, in response to the Nodong missile test in May 1993 off the coast of the Noto Peninsula, joint research on missile defense began. In December 1993 the Japan-U.S. Working Group on Theater Missile Defense (TMD) was established, and joint research on ballistic missile defense was launched in September 1994 to

continue until fiscal year 1998.<sup>25</sup> The Taepodong incident in August 1998 further pushed BMD research. Upon approval from the Japan Security Council in 1998, Japan and the United States began joint technical research in 1999 on elements of a Navy Theater Wide Defense (NTWD) Program system. GOJ, however, kept its flexibility, stating in the Cabinet Secretary Statement of December 1998 that whether Japan would progress from a development to deployment stage would be considered in the future.<sup>26</sup> Second, in response to the North Korean spy boat incident off the Noto peninsula in March 1999, the GOJ, for the first time in SDF history, ordered the Maritime Self-Defense Forces (MSDF) to conduct Maritime Security Operations to pursue the spyships in territorial waters.<sup>27</sup>

The role of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) was limited, however, within the confines of the postwar interpretation of the Japanese “Peace” Constitution, Article IX—which restrains Japan from the threat or use of force and the exercise of the right to collective self-defense. Regarding the 1997 Defense Guidelines revision and related laws, former vice minister for defense Masahiro Akiyama stated that “what Japan can do and what Japan cannot do under the Constitution was made clear,” and “the laws enabled Japan to offer as much cooperation as possible for the United States under the conditions that did not allow the exercise of the right of collective self defense.”<sup>28</sup> In other words, as a former JSDF official noted, “the maximum scope of [what the JSDF can do under] the constitutional limitation” was clarified.<sup>29</sup> These restrictions, however, would become problematic as BMD systems and other types of bilateral defense cooperation progressed.

*Nuclear Non-proliferation and Engaging North Korea:  
The Agreed Framework and KEDO*

To respond to the North Korean nuclear threat, Japan-U.S. alliance cooperation expanded to include not only defense, but also nonproliferation diplomacy. The U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework of October 1994 and the Korea Energy Development Organization (KEDO, established in March 1995) became the foundation for bilateral (Japan-U.S.) and trilateral cooperation with the ROK on denuclearization of North Korea throughout the 1990s.

The Agreed Framework was a nonproliferation initiative in which the Clinton administration agreed to provide energy assistance and improve U.S.-DPRK bilateral relations in return for North Korea’s adherence to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and its nonnuclear status. In order to provide energy assistance, Washington asked Seoul and Tokyo to share the burden, and the result was that under KEDO, Washington would provide heavy fuel oil (500,000 tons annually as an interim measure), and Seoul and Tokyo would provide funds for the light water reactor (LWR) project to be completed by the target year of 2003.

Japan and the ROK cooperated with the United States, but were frustrated for several reasons regarding the U.S.-DPRK agreement. First, Japan and ROK were very reluctant at first, since the Agreed Framework did not address North Korea’s “past” nuclear activities before 1994. “Special inspections” for undeclared sites were not included in the Framework. Second, Japan was concerned because

the Framework did not address the issue of ballistic missiles. Third, in addition to strategic concerns, Japanese diplomats were frustrated with how Washington handled negotiations with North Korea in the beginning where Japan and ROK were often kept on the sidelines, only to be briefed after U.S.-DPRK talks, especially on the issue of providing the light water reactors.<sup>30</sup> Japan and ROK, in the end, decided to cooperate with the Clinton administration and focused on capping the North Korean nuclear program for the present and future, and decided to tackle the “past” at a later stage,<sup>31</sup> while promoting tension reduction on the Korean peninsula. The Agreed Framework succeeded in averting a crisis to which Japan was not prepared to respond to, and paved the way for a peaceful denuclearization process. Although the KEDO LWR project was delayed due to North Korea’s actions, as well as domestic processes within the United States, Japan and ROK, the Agreed Framework did successfully freeze part of North Korea’s nuclear programs for about seven years until the Agreed Framework collapsed in the second North Korea nuclear crisis of 2002–3.

*Promoting Japan-U.S.-ROK Trilateral Cooperation, the “Virtual Alliance”*

Frictions between Japan and South Korea emerged in the immediate years after the end of the Cold War,<sup>32</sup> but the emergence of the North Korean nuclear issue pushed Japan and ROK to cooperate with the United States to form what came to be called the “virtual alliance.”<sup>33</sup> Trilateral security cooperation was promoted through defense dialogues and diplomatic policy coordination, the latter of which developed into the mechanism called the Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) in 1999.

From the mid-1990s, after the nuclear crisis had passed, Japan and the United States consciously engaged South Korea in the context of trilateral security cooperation to promote defense cooperation in line with the alliance review. In the April 1996 Japan-U.S. Joint Security Declaration, the Hashimoto-Clinton summit noted the importance of cooperation with South Korea on the Korean peninsula as follows: “stability on the Korean Peninsula is vitally important to Japan and the United States” and “reaffirmed that both countries will continue to make every effort in this regard, in close cooperation with the Republic of Korea.”<sup>34</sup> Trilateral defense dialogues were held in 1994–95 on nonofficial initiative, but were made official since 1996.<sup>35</sup> Discussions with ROK were conducted on the 1997 Japan-U.S. Guidelines and the process became a catalyst for further defense exchanges between Japan and ROK, though ambivalence remained on the South Korean side due to history issues.<sup>36</sup> During the Kim Young-sam administration, the Takeshima-Dokdo islands dispute flared in February 1996 and could have undermined security cooperation, but PM Hashimoto focused on “continuing talks calmly” and the two countries managed to continue dialogue on security issues.<sup>37</sup>

Japan and ROK cooperation reached a high mark at the summit of Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and President Kim Dae-jung in October 1998. In the “Japan-ROK Joint Declaration: A New Japan-Republic of Korea Partnership for

the 21st Century,” the alliance with the United States was affirmed and promotion of security dialogues and defense exchanges were supported:

The two leaders welcomed the security dialogue as well as the defense exchanges at various levels between the two countries and decided to further strengthen them. The leaders also shared the view on the importance of both countries to steadfastly maintain their security arrangements with the United States while at the same time further strengthen efforts on multilateral dialogue for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>38</sup>

The paragraph above reflected the security cooperation that had deepened among the three allies throughout the 1990s. “Security dialogue” including defense exchanges at various levels between Japan and ROK were actively promoted by the Japan Defense Agency since the mid-1990s<sup>39</sup> and eventually led to the first joint Japan-ROK naval exercise held in August 1999.<sup>40</sup> There were, however, areas where South Korea preferred to keep autonomy such as the decision not to participate in the U.S. theater missile defense including the Japan-U.S. missile defense study.<sup>41</sup>

### **Alliance Constraints in the “Lost Decade,” 1998–2008**

The post-Cold War years of the 1990s saw the consolidation of the Japan-U.S. alliance and deepening of security ties with South Korea, the so-called “virtual alliance.” However, in the years from 1998 to 2008, the consensus of the 1990s began to unravel and the Japan-U.S. alliance increasingly became constrained in its management of relations with the Korean peninsula. This was a period that coincided with what can be called the “lost decade” after the 1997 Asian financial crisis—the relative decline of Japan’s power, the rise of China, and the emergence of a liberal-progressive South Korea. In addition to regional power change, the U.S. factor began to change. The 2001 September 11 terrorist attack on the United States and the 2003 Iraq War shifted Washington’s strategic focus from regional threats to the “global war on terrorism” and led to alliance transformation under the Bush administration’s Global Posture Review. These global and regional challenges made alliance management more difficult and constrained its position on the Korean peninsula. The following sections highlight three areas where the Japan-U.S. alliance faced difficulties: policy coordination on North Korea policy, namely, the missile and abductees issue, managing relations with South Korea, and bilateral defense and security cooperation in the post-1997 Guidelines era.

#### *Diverging Priorities over North Korea: Nukes, Missiles, and Abductees*

Japan and the United States, with South Korea continued cooperation in nuclear nonproliferation on the Korean peninsula, but since the late 1990s, the allies could no longer focus solely on nuclear nonproliferation.

The first challenge was the Taepodong incident in August 1998. As Japan was about to sign the light water reactor funding agreement, North Korea launched the Taepodong rocket, calling it a satellite launch, which flew over Japanese territory. This was a “shock” not only for the Japanese government but also for the public and led GOJ to protest for the first time by linking the nuclear issue with the missile issue. Facing severe criticism domestically, especially from the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) policy council on defense and foreign affairs, Prime Minister Obuchi and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) decided to freeze the KEDO/LWR funds that needed Diet approval. At a Two-Plus-Two meeting in September, Secretary Madeline Albright urged Japan to separate the missile launch issue from KEDO/LWR funds, but Minister of Foreign Affairs Masahiko Koumura defended Japan’s decision on the grounds that inaction would give North Korea the wrong message, but also kept flexibility noting that Japan did not intend to freeze funds forever because he thought KEDO was still the best means to prevent North Korea’s nuclear development.<sup>42</sup> The Perry Process provided face-saving measures for Japan to authorize US\$1 billion for KEDO/LWR funds four days after the Perry Report was made public.<sup>43</sup> The Perry team secured North Korea’s missile test moratorium to include both Nodong and Taepodong missiles (May 1999), established the Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) (March 1999) for senior-level policy consultation, and resumed U.S.-DPRK missile talks.<sup>44</sup>

In the end, Japan and the United States managed the “Taepodong Shock” and addressed both the nuclear and the missile issue through the Perry Process, but concerns remained. Japan’s insecurity increased due to the growing missile threat, and as a result, GOJ decided to formally participate in joint BMD research with the United States in October 1998, but at the same time, decided to launch independent surveillance satellites. The handling of the Taepodong incident triggered Japan to take some autonomous defense measures. In light of these movements, experts such as Mike Green, then Council on Foreign Relations fellow, noted gaps in the Japan-U.S. perception of military threats, especially on the missile issue and warned that while Japan may have overreacted in some respects, problems will emerge in Japan-U.S. security relations if U.S. policymakers do not understand Japanese opinion.<sup>45</sup>

The Japanese abductees issue, however, was a much more complicated issue. It emerged in February 1997 when the Japanese government officially acknowledged for the first time that Megumi Yokota, the 13-year-old schoolgirl, and other Japanese nationals were kidnapped by North Korean agents in the 1970s.<sup>46</sup> While North Korea denied Japanese claims and the abductees issue was treated as a “missing persons” issue, the Clinton administration supported Japan through quiet diplomacy.<sup>47</sup> In September 2002, however, the situation changed. When Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi made the historic visit to Pyongyang, North Korean leader, Kim Jong-il, for the first time admitted to North Korean involvement and noted in the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration that regarding “outstanding issues of concern related to the lives and security of Japanese nationals,” the DPRK promised to “take appropriate measures so that these regrettable incidents... would never happen in the future.”<sup>48</sup> Koizumi returned

with five Japanese nationals, but others were claimed by North Korean authorities as “deceased” or “unconfirmed.”<sup>49</sup> The Koizumi trip intended to make a breakthrough in normalization talks with North Korea, but on the contrary, the results caused an uproar in Japan and hardened Japanese public opinion toward North Korea.<sup>50</sup>

Ever since, handling the abductees issue became a major diplomatic challenge for Japan and the United States. It required a careful balancing of priorities in North Korea policy between the nuclear talks and the abductees. During 2002–6, Koizumi and Bush managed to keep priorities aligned, and maintained close cooperation in both the nuclear talks and abductees issue, managing the two issues separately. In the wake of the second North Korea nuclear crisis from October 2002, Japan collaborated with South Korea to avert an Iraqi-like crisis on the Korean peninsula and prodded the United States toward establishment of the Six-Party Talks that included China and Russia to work out a new nuclear deal with North Korea from 2003.<sup>51</sup> On the abductees issue, Koizumi consciously avoided domestic pressure for sanctions and maintained the “dialogue” approach with North Korea.<sup>52</sup> The Bush administration supported Koizumi behind the scenes<sup>53</sup> and conducted its own human rights campaign on North Korea.<sup>54</sup> The Bush team took another move that was to seriously complicate policy coordination later: the inclusion of the abductees issue in the State Department’s annual report on terrorism from 2004.<sup>55</sup> This measure encouraged the “pressure” faction in Japanese politics over the abductees issue, such as the *Kazokukai* (Association of Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea), *Sukuukai* (National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea), and conservative politicians in the LDP (such as Cabinet Secretary Shinzo Abe), but would eventually limit negotiating flexibility for the United States in the nuclear talks.<sup>56</sup>

Japan-U.S. cooperation began to falter as the abductees issue became entangled with the nuclear issue in the Six-Party Talks and ended up in a “collision” course in 2007–8. How did the abductees issue become entangled with the nuclear issue? First, it should be noted that the abductees issue became structurally linked to the nuclear talks in the Six-Party Talks since 2005. The second Bush administration under the Rice-Hill team took initiative and the Joint Statement of Principles was announced at the Six-Party Talks in September 2005.<sup>57</sup> Japan and the United States decided to embed their respective normalization talks with North Korea within the Six-Party Talks process to push forward denuclearization of North Korea together, and for Japan, to make progress on the abductees issue. Japan-DPRK bilateral talks had stalemated by the end of 2004 over the remains of Megumi Yokota and other victims, so MOFA changed tactics and linked the talks to the Six-Party process. The real test came when the Six-Party Talks entered the implementation stage in 2007–8. Japan and the United States had to synchronize bilateral talks with denuclearization processes on a limited time schedule. This made policy coordination extremely difficult and tricky, especially because U.S.-DPRK talks included removal of North Korea from the terrorist sponsors list, which was linked to the Japanese abductees issue.

Second, what added to the difficulty was that the leadership in Japan and United States could not manage their differences well due to changing domestic

priorities. The Bush administration was running out of time as the presidential elections came near and became much more flexible in talks with North Korea, placing top priority on forging a nuclear deal. The most symbolic act was when Washington linked North Korea's removal from the terrorism list, which meant lifting of economic sanctions, to progress on the nuclear issue in the Initial Actions for the Implementation of the Joint Statement in February 2007: "the U.S. will begin the process of removing the designation of the DPRK as a state-sponsor of terrorism and advance the process of terminating the application of the Trading with the Enemy Act with respect to the DPRK."<sup>58</sup> In contrast, Japan, by this time, was more hardline on North Korea policy than the Bush administration led by LDP politician, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (from September 2006) who was from the "pressure" faction and placed top priority on the abductees issue.<sup>59</sup> The Abe cabinet cautioned Washington on the removal of North Korea from the terrorism list and also inserted a clause that addressed "humanitarian concerns" that implied support for the abductees issue in the UN Security Resolution 1718 to curbe North Korea's WMD activities.<sup>60</sup> In the Six-Party Talks, GOJ directly linked the abductees issue to the nuclear talks by stating the position that the GOJ would not provide energy and economic assistance to North Korea unless progress was made on the abductees issue.<sup>61</sup>

But as the nuclear talks began to move, Washington prodded Abe to show some flexibility on the abductees issue.<sup>62</sup> This was heeded and GOJ showed flexibility in negotiations with DPRK, such as partial lifting of economic sanctions in return for progress on the abductees issues. Since 2007, Japan, under Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda who was more moderate and supported "dialogue," managed to keep apace with its ally and made some progress. In June 2008, as Japan and DPRK made progress on the abductees talks (i.e., North Korea agreed to Japan's demands to resume investigations of abductees), President Bush declared to Congress the intent to remove North Korea from the terrorism list. The removal, due on August 11, was delayed due to disagreements on nuclear verification plans. But in the end, North Korea was able to put a wedge between Japan and the United States. Despite agreement on the abductees talks in August, North Korea stopped talks with Japan in September noting the change of political leadership to the conservative LDP politician PM Taro Aso, but continued talks with the United States, putting President Bush in a position to choose between a nuclear deal and the abductees issue. President Bush chose the nuclear deal. Upon agreement on a verification framework for nuclear sites, the Bush administration finalized the removal of North Korea from the state sponsors of terrorism list on October 11, 2008.

Despite the diplomatic efforts made, synchronizing the talks in a satisfactory manner for all parties was almost an impossible feat unless North Korea cooperated. And despite the debacle over the abductees, the Bush administration failed to get a satisfactory nuclear deal. What resulted was a souring of Japan-U.S. relations as favorable opinions among the Japanese public toward the U.S. plummeted in 2007-8.<sup>63</sup> President Bush's personal commitment made the abductees a symbolic issue in Japan-U.S. relations where the United States stood by as a "friend" and expectations became high. Thus a feeling of "betrayal" lingered in

Japan after the incident. Although a collision course was foreseen, one Japanese expert said: “most Japanese were disappointed when . . . the Bush administration removed North Korea from its list of terrorist-supporting states. Japan’s position was that North Korea should be removed only after it had released Japanese abductees and demonstrated willingness to disable its nuclear programs. Indeed, the Tokyo government based its participation in the U.S.-led security building operations in Iraq partly on the belief that the U.S. would reciprocate by joining Japan in trying to resolve some of these issues in Northeast Asia.”<sup>64</sup> In the end, the incident taught both Japan and the United States a lesson that there will be different approaches taken on the abductees issue and careful management will be necessary.

*The South Korean Challenge: Strategic Rift, Ambivalent Coalition*

Another challenge to the Japan-U.S. alliance was managing relations with South Korea, that is, a liberal and progressive South Korea under the Kim Dae-jung (KDJ) (1998–2003) and Roh Moo-hyun (2003–8) administrations. The fundamental challenge here was the strategic rift that began to emerge during this period between Japan-United States and South Korea. Differences could be discerned from the KDJ era, but became more profound in the more progressive Roh era. The historical disputes and nationalism politics over the Takeshima-Dokdo issue (2005–6) exacerbated the rift.<sup>65</sup>

The South Korean challenge emerged in the following areas: North Korea policy, alliance with the United States, and relations with China and with Japan. On North Korea policy, the challenge came from KDJ’s Sunshine Policy. The years from 1998 to 2002 were still the “good old days” for Japan and Korea from the Joint Declaration to the cohosting of the 2002 World Cup. Yet in the aftermath of the Korea summit in June 2000, as one expert observed, “excessive optimism in Japan and among some in South Korea obscured the widening gap evident in how the two states were dealing with the missile launch and Kim’s proposed Sunshine Policy. If on the Japanese side the effect on public opinion proved more substantial than policy, as many distorted the strategic impact of the summit, South Koreans were slow to shed skepticism even as policy toward the region was quickly building on this foundation.”<sup>66</sup> Indeed a public opinion poll in 2000 showed optimistic views on the future of Korean unification and a decrease in the threat perception of North Korea among not only Korean but also the Japanese public.<sup>67</sup> The Sunshine policy was DJ’s version of engagement with North Korea, that is, as one expert explained, “engaging and assisting North Korea without quid pro . . . [which] was not a result of close consultations with the United States or the other major powers in Northeast Asia. It was more an outcome of his strategic thinking on unification.”<sup>68</sup> The United States and Japan supported the Sunshine policy but with caution. The Clinton administration reciprocated with high-level U.S.-DPRK visits in October 2000 and Japan followed through belatedly with Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang in 2002. By this time, however, the Bush administration had come in with a more skeptical approach to North Korea. The second North Korean nuclear



crisis and the stalemate in Japan-DPRK talks in the fall of 2002 “brought to an end Kim Dae-jung’s engagement with North Korea. As U.S. and Japanese policies came into rough alignment, the South’s engagement efforts were the odd man out.”<sup>69</sup>

The Roh Moo-hyun government continued the Sunshine policy as Peace and Prosperity Policy, but faced a much more adverse strategic environment. In the eyes of President Roh and the progressive 386 generation (those in their thirties, attended college in the 1980s, born in the 1960s) advisers who influenced Roh’s policy, Bush’s war on Iraq (the “axis of evil” and “preemptive attack”) was tantamount to war on North Korea, and led the Roh administration to take a more independent stance vis-à-vis the traditional alliance with the United States. Here began the Roh Moo-hyun challenge to alliance relations with the United States. This was in stark contrast to Japan that stayed close to the alliance to respond to the growing North Korea threat. Like the Kim Dae-jung era, the Roh administration continued to recognize the importance of the United States as an ally to deter and defend against North Korea, but the push for self-reliant defense, under the rubric of “cooperative self-reliant defense,” brought about a shaky alliance management process and led to the agreement on the transfer of wartime operational control, a critical component of ROK-U.S. combined defense.<sup>70</sup>

Then came the South Korean challenge on relations with China. As China increased its importance as an economic and security partner, it was natural for South Korea to seek cooperative relations with China.<sup>71</sup> KDJ cultivated economic and security relations with China “to the point that China was becoming a crucial intervening variable for South Korea-U.S. relations,” but it was part of a strategy to strengthen relations with all the regional powers to promote inter-Korean cooperation.<sup>72</sup> However, Roh began to tread between China and the United States, and also position itself between Japan and China, envisioning itself as “Northeast Asia balancer.”<sup>73</sup> On March 22, 2005, at the Military Academy, President Roh introduced this concept by saying that “depending on South Korea’s choice, the Northeast Asian balance of power will be determined. Korea would play a balancer role to promote peace and prosperity of Northeast Asia as well as the Korean peninsula.”<sup>74</sup> Roh also made a statement at the Korea Air Force Academy on March 8 that South Korea “would not get embroiled in any conflict in Northeast Asia against our will.”<sup>75</sup> Roh was concerned about Washington’s call for “strategic flexibility” of U.S. forces in Korea, which, in theory, could involve South Korea in a conflict, for example, in the Taiwan Straits, and complicate relations with China.

It is difficult to grasp the real motives behind the Northeast Asia balancer concept, whether Roh meant to balance between United States and China and/or China and Japan, but it seems to have grown out of a fear among some of Roh’s advisers that a “new Cold War” in Asia was developing.<sup>76</sup> Within this context, the U.S.-Japan alliance and the U.S.-ROK-Japan alliance were viewed as a relic of the past that antagonized relations with North Korea and China. Roh advisers perceived Asia as divided between South Korea-U.S.-Japan “southern tripartite alliance” versus North Korea-China-Russia “northern tripartite alliance” and advocated that South Korea, while continuing the U.S.-ROK alliance, should not be confined to the “southern tripartite alliance.”<sup>77</sup> This was a major

challenge to the strategic position of Japan and the Japan-U.S. alliance vis-à-vis the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia. Although Japan and the United States carefully managed relations to both hedge and engage China,<sup>78</sup> moves in 2006–7 to strengthen strategic relationships with Australia and India were perceived as hedging strategy toward China and further isolated South Korea. In November 2006, Foreign Minister Taro Aso made a policy speech called the “arc of freedom and prosperity.” Aso emphasized value-oriented diplomacy and coalition of democracies: “Japan is second to none in holding dear the values of freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. I would be very pleased if Japan were to devote the first half of the 21st century to taking up appropriate issues together with other countries that share the same beliefs. This would of course include the United States, as well as Australia and most likely India to an increasing extent, as well as the member states of the EU, NATO, among others.”<sup>79</sup> South Korea’s position—whether it was “among others” in the coalition of democracies—was not clear in the Aso speech and exacerbated the gap with South Korea. As a result of the strategic rift in the “lost decade,” the “virtual alliance” of the 1990s turned into an “ambivalent coalition” and seriously constrained policy coordination on North Korea in the Six-Party Talks and defense cooperation, as well as strategic relations in Northeast Asia.

*Defense and Security Cooperation, Post-1997: Progress, but Constrained*

Amidst the difficulties, Japan and the United States maintained close cooperation in the defense and security vis-à-vis the North Korean military threat. However, even in these areas, there was ambivalence between the allies and limits to cooperation. The high point of Japan-U.S. defense cooperation was the 1997 revision of the Guidelines, but the strategic environment substantially changed since then, and new thinking was required.

During this period, Japan felt more vulnerable in local defense, that is, “defense of Japan,” due to heightened concerns about North Korea and China.<sup>80</sup> The “security surplus,” as one expert noted (that Japan enjoyed for so many decades with the alliance with the United States) was “slowly shifting toward a deficit.”<sup>81</sup> The anxieties created concerns about the reliability of the U.S. alliance, that is, America’s defense commitment and capability for the defense of Japan and regional stability, especially on the Korean peninsula. Despite these anxieties, North Korea’s first nuclear test in October 2006 did not result in Japan going nuclear, but it did shake confidence in the extended deterrence provided by the United States, including the nuclear umbrella, missile defense, and led to debate on strengthening enemy strike capabilities.<sup>82</sup> Washington, on the other hand, was also frustrated with Japan. It became increasingly clear that Japan was unable to fulfill its role as America’s partner not only in global and regional security operations, but also in Japan’s own defense due to constraints in the Japanese constitution on the use of force and collective-self defense. “Unmet expectations” on both sides, as expressed in an American report, was endangering the alliance.<sup>83</sup>

Amidst these tensions, the Bush administration's Global Posture Review (GPR) and the Japan-U.S. Defense Policy Review Initiative (DPRI) under the Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee (SCC) were conducted. The DPRI process not only focused on expanding alliance missions to global security in the post-9/11 era, but also refocused on bilateral cooperation related to the 1997 Guidelines, that is, Korea and Japan contingencies in response to North Korea. Three issues are highlighted here.

The first issue is contingency planning. The 1997 Defense Guidelines aimed to deepen bilateral cooperation in case of "an armed attack against Japan" (Japan contingency) and "situations in surrounding areas (SIASJ)," namely a contingency on the Korean peninsula (Korea contingency). But the process was long delayed because the Japanese government had to pass the necessary domestic legislation from 1999 to 2003, and special laws for global allied operations such as the JSDF deployment to the Indian Ocean and Iraq, 2001-3. After the interval, the alliance review updated the 1997 Guidelines and agreed to advance bilateral contingency planning for the defense of Japan and for SIASJ, that is, Korea contingency. One of the features was enhancement of the interrelationship or overlap of the two contingencies noted in the 1997 Guidelines to be reflected in operational planning.<sup>84</sup> The 2005 SCC document noted that appropriate responses be ensured when a SIASJ threatens to develop into an armed attack against Japan or when such a SIASJ and an armed attack against Japan occur "simultaneously."<sup>85</sup> This reflected the changing strategic environment after the Taepodong incident. As American experts noted, the "1998 North Korean missile test was not just an escalation of regional hostilities but the announcement of a new threat that the bilateral guidelines did not entirely anticipate: that the next Korean war might not occur on the Korean peninsula but on Japanese soil."<sup>86</sup>

The second issue is missile defense cooperation. BMD cooperation showed steady progress from the 1990s. After the 1998 Taepodong incident, GOJ proceeded to joint research from 1999 and following the Bush administration's decision to deploy BMD in 2002, the Koizumi cabinet decided to deploy BMD in December 2003. The alliance review boosted the process and the bilateral joint operations coordination center (BJOCC) at Yokota Air Base was established in October 2005. Thereafter, the USFJ deployed BMD-related assets in Japan and surrounding areas from June 2006,<sup>87</sup> and Japan began deployment of a multitier missile defense system with sea-based upper tier interception by Aegis destroyers equipped with SM-3 coordinated with land-based lower tier-interception by Patriot PAC-3 units from 2007.

Despite the technological advancements, Japan's legal and constitutional constraints on collective self-defense pose fundamental problems to effective implementation. In June-July 2006, during North Korean missile provocations, Japan and the United States cooperated through intelligence sharing, but when the question arose as to whether or not JMSDF ships could escort U.S. antimissile destroyers that were patrolling the Sea of Japan, the JMSDF informed the U.S. Navy that it could not defend U.S. ships in the event of attacks by North Korean ships or submarines due to the ban on collective self-defense.<sup>88</sup> Another question was whether Japan could intercept a North Korean missile that flew over

Japanese territory to U.S. territory such as Hawaii or Guam. Legally speaking, Japan could not do so due to the ban on collective self-defense. This problem was posed in the spring of 2009 when North Korea launched the Taepodong II rocket (“satellite”). GOJ stated on March 27 that it would intercept missiles that fall on Japanese territory, but it would not intercept missiles flying over to U.S. territory. In response, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates stated that if the rocket does not fall on U.S. territory, the United States would not intercept. One Japanese expert warned that this was a denial of U.S. collective defense commitment to the defense of Japan stipulated in Article V of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, but also noted that Japan’s continued ban on collective self-defense is weakening the function of the alliance, noting, for example, that intercepting missiles flying to Guam serves Japan’s security since the U.S. base in Guam is a base for response to a Japan contingency.<sup>89</sup>

The third issue is ship and cargo inspections. Japan and the United States have cooperated closely in the area of sanctions and counterproliferation measures to curb North Korea WMD proliferation. It was the first North Korean nuclear crisis in 1993–94 that called to attention the need to enforce sanctions including ship inspections, and the 1997 Defense Guidelines addressed that issue.<sup>90</sup> The 1997 Defense Guidelines and the 1999 SIASJ Law stipulated that Japan cooperate in ship inspections to enforce economic sanctions based on UNSC resolutions. The Ship Inspections Activities Law was adopted in the Diet in December 2000 to allow JMSDF to conduct ship inspections not only in territorial waters but also in the high seas and Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) in the surrounding areas. But even here, JMSDF ships could not participate in joint operations with other countries for maritime interdiction because it infringed on the ban on collective self-defense.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, when the UNSC adopted Resolutions 1718 (October 2006) and 1874 (June 2009) for economic sanctions on North Korea, Japan was not ready to fully participate in cargo inspections due to legal restrictions. The Ship Inspections Law was not applicable for cargo inspections called for in UNSC Resolution 1874, since ship inspections are allowed only when the GOJ declares a “situation” (e.g., a Korea contingency) based on the 1999 SIASJ Law.<sup>92</sup> Thus Japan had to devise another special law on “Cargo Inspection” in order to implement Resolution 1874. The LDP Aso cabinet attempted to pass the law in June–July 2009, but ran out of time due to elections.<sup>93</sup>

Cargo inspections are also part of WMD counterproliferation measures such as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). While China and South Korea opted out of PSI so as not to antagonize North Korea, Japan and the United States cooperated closely since 2003.<sup>94</sup> Japan has actively participated in PSI exercises with Australia, France, and other countries, and has hosted exercises in Tokyo Bay. But due to legal constraints, Japan cannot fully enforce inspections in these activities. So Japan’s participation in the PSI, as American experts noted, “lacks credibility.”<sup>95</sup>

In order to overcome these obstacles, Prime Minister Abe took the initiative to reexamine Japan’s security policy infrastructure and legal issues, and convened the Council on Reconstruction of a Legal Basis for Security, known as the Yanai

Commission (headed by Shunji Yanai, former ambassador to the United States) in May 2007. The Council recommended that Japan revise its ban on collective self-defense and restrictions on the use of force to allow for the SDF to participate effectively, by highlighting the following four cases: protection of U.S. vessels on the high seas such as threats from anti-ship missiles, intercepting ballistic missiles that might be headed to the United States, using weapons in international peace operations including UN PKO and other operations, providing logistical support for other nations conducting peace operations.<sup>96</sup> The first two cases, protection of U.S. vessels and intercepting missiles, would enhance Japan-U.S. ballistic missile cooperation and the third case would enhance SDF participation in cargo inspections. The final report of the Yanai Commission was submitted to PM Abe's successor, Yasuo Fukuda, in June 2008, but was not fully considered. Frequent changes in Japanese political leadership hindered the overhaul of security laws and policy, and Japan continues to muddle through.

### Conclusion

The Japan-U.S. alliance continues to serve Japanese security interests regarding the Korean Peninsula: maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, deterring and defending against the North Korean threat, and maintaining a favorable strategic balance in Northeast Asia. Despite the "drift" in the initial years after the end of the Cold War, the Japan-U.S. alliance adapted well to the new security threat posed from North Korea in the 1990s. The alliance was consolidated through stronger cooperation in defense and diplomacy, not only bilaterally but also trilaterally with South Korea. There was strategic convergence on the North Korean threat, and despite some frustration, priorities were aligned among the U.S.-Japan-ROK "virtual alliance." With strong U.S. initiative, the allies focused on nuclear nonproliferation based on the Agreed Framework and KEDO, and paved the way for defense cooperation. However, in what can be called the "lost decade" of 1998–2008, the basic consensus that continued from the Cold War years into the 1990s was challenged, and the Japan-U.S. alliance became constrained in managing issues on the Korean peninsula. Strategic changes such as the rise of China, the comparative decline of Japan and the weakening of American hegemony affected the Japan-U.S. alliance relations on the Korean peninsula. North Korea policy went into disarray, a liberal and progressive South Korea challenged the status quo, and furthermore, Japan-U.S. defense cooperation became increasingly constrained by Japan's security policy restrictions.

Thus, the Japan-U.S. alliance, despite its achievements in the 1990s, stands challenged by the strategic changes that occurred throughout the past decade, and remains constrained. What are the tasks that lie ahead for the Japan-U.S. alliance vis-à-vis the Korean peninsula? Three issues are highlighted.

First, Japan-U.S. defense cooperation is the core function of the alliance to deter and defend against the North Korean threat. Despite some delays, Japan and the United States have made steady progress in this area, ranging from

contingency planning to missile defense cooperation since the 1997 Guidelines Revision. If the alliance is to be more effective, however, Japan must overhaul its security policy addressing the legal issues that constrain Japan from effectively cooperating with allies and partners for the defense of Japan and international security operations, as the Yanai Commission proposed. If Japan cannot participate effectively in missile defense and cargo inspections, it will weaken alliance capabilities to deter and defend against North Korea. Japan needs to take more responsibility at home and abroad to curb and deter the North Korean nuclear and missile programs. The assumptions of the 1990s will no longer suffice.

Second, Japan and the United States need to reexamine its strategy on how to coordinate North Korea policy bilaterally and multilaterally at the Six-Party Talks. The Six-Party Talks framework still exists despite North Korea's defiance since 2009 because the other five parties, including the Obama administration, sees its utility as a policy coordination mechanism to deal with North Korea collectively. Japan also continues to see the Six-Party Talks as a useful framework, complimentary to the Japan-DPRK normalization talks. But allies and partners need to consider how the Six-Party Talks framework can be utilized more effectively. If the Six-Party Talks resume, upholding the September 2005 Joint Statement of Principles on denuclearization and peace on the Korean peninsula is a good starting point, but should the implementation mechanism be restructured? A tightly linked and synchronized process may succeed in putting pressure on North Korea, or may fail and bring about disarray among allies, as demonstrated in the nuclear-abductees debacle of 2008. Japan and the United States must avoid the recurrence of such a situation as it damages the interests of both countries and the Six-Party Talks process. The allies along with other partners in the Six-Party Talks need to devise an approach where the nuclear issue does not become hostage to the abductees issue, and the abductees issue not become hostage to the nuclear issue. The key lies in how Japan, with the understanding and support of other parties, handles the abductees issue within the comprehensive resolution based on the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration.

Third, rebuilding trilateral security cooperation with South Korea is another task the Japan-U.S. alliance must engage in. Security cooperation with South Korea is a force multiplier for the alliance in the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, deterrence and defense against North Korea, and strategic balance in Northeast Asia. But it must be rebuilt within a new context. The Roh Moo Hyun challenge was a wake-up call for Japan and the United States that South Korea could go strategically adrift, and the history issue could be seriously mismanaged spilling over into security relations. The advent of the Lee Myung-bak (LMB) administration since February 2008 provides a new opportunity for rebuilding cooperation since there is more strategic convergence with Japan and the United States on the role of alliances and security threats.<sup>97</sup>

However, even as trilateral security cooperation is promoted, Japan and the United States should be mindful of South Korea's ambivalence and concerns. Three issues are mentioned here: North Korea, China, and the history issue. On North Korea, there is more room for policy coordination and defense cooperation though the former would depend on how much maneuverability Japan has

on the abductees issue, and the latter on Japan's legal restrictions. In addition, as Japan-U.S. bilateral defense cooperation vis-à-vis North Korea progresses, dialogue with South Korea will be essential. Japan-U.S. discussions, for example, on strengthening strike capabilities on North Korea missile sites also affect South Korea's security and would cause anxiety if South Korea is isolated. Thus, as a Japanese expert advocated, these discussions would be more effective if done in a trilateral framework.<sup>98</sup> Trilateral and bilateral (Japan-ROK) strategic dialogue on North Korea would become more necessary since Japan and Korea contingencies now increasingly overlap. It would also help to promote mutual understanding of Japanese and South Korean insecurities regarding the North Korean threat. On China, South Korea will continue to be careful not to overtly antagonize it due to its geopolitical and economic position, but at the same time, it will seek to increase its position in regional and global security, as seen, for example, in the LMB government's decision to fully participate in PSI. Japan and the United States should seek to expand cooperation with South Korea, beyond North Korea issues, through the networking of alliance partnerships with Australia, for example. At the same time, promoting trilateral dialogue with China, that is, Japan-ROK-China and U.S.-China-ROK, would alleviate South Korea's dilemma of having to choose between United States-Japan and China, and in the end, contribute to promoting United States-Japan-ROK cooperation. History and territorial issues are managed more discreetly by the LMB administration, but continue to constrain Japan-Korea security cooperation.

The Japan-U.S. alliance, despite the improved environment, remains constrained. The Korean peninsula has been the primary and immediate area of concern since the birth of the alliance and continues to be today. In order to become more effective in dealing with the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, Japan and the Japan-U.S. alliance needs to evolve and adapt to new circumstances and develop new relations with South Korea.

### Notes

1. Munemitsu Mutsu, *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95*, ed. and trans. Gordon Mark Berger (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1982). For a historical overview, see Takashi Inoguchi, "Korea in Japanese Visions of Regional Order," in Charles K. Armstrong, Gilbert Rozman, Samuel S. Kim, and Stephen Kotkin, eds., *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006).
2. Katsuichi Tsukamoto, *Jieitai no Jouhousen: Rikubaku Daini buchou no kaisou* [The Japan Self-Defense Force's Intelligence War: Memoirs of Ground Force Staff Intelligence Bureau Chief] (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2008), p. 66.
3. Japan Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan 1990*, p. 60.
4. On the dual security commitment of United States, see John Barry Kotch, "The United States Security Policy toward Korea, 1945-1953: The Origins and evolution of American Involvement and the Emergence of a National Security Commitment," Ph.D. Dissertation (Columbia University, January 1976)
5. The UNC headquarters was established in July 1950 in Tokyo during the Korean War, but relocated to Seoul in 1957, and the UNC (Rear) was established in Camp

- Zama (U.S. Forces Japan base). Due to U.S. base realignment, the UNC (Rear) was relocated to Yokota Air Base (Command of the U.S. Forces in Japan) in November 2007 (MOFA press release). Yokota air base, Yokosuka naval base, Camp Zama, and Atsugi naval air station, Sasebo naval base, Kadena air base, Futenma Marine Corps air station, White Beach naval base on Okinawa are U.S. facilities designated as UNC bases. Charles M. Perry and Toshi Yoshihara, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Preparing for Korean Reconciliation and Beyond* (The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2003), pp. 4, 7–8. For historical analysis, see Hideya Kurata, “Nichibeikan Anpo Teikeino Kigen-’Kankoku joukou’ zensi no Kaishakuteki saikentou” [Origins of Japan-U.S.-ROK Linkage: Reinterpretation of pre-”Korea Clause” History], in Nikkan Rekishi Kyoudou kenkyuu Iinkai, ed., *Nikkan Rekisi Kyoudou Kenkyuu Houkousho Dai3 bunka hen* (Tokyo: Nikkan Bunka Kouryuu Kikin, 2005), pp. 201–231
6. This may have been influenced by the long-term controversy over a “secret pact” that the use of U.S. bases and facilities under UNC were *not* subject to “prior consultations” agreed to in the 1960 Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. On March 9, 2010, a Japanese government expert panel has confirmed that there was a “secret pact” but judged that it was nullified de facto by the South Korea clause of the Nixon-Sato communiqué (1969) and Prime Minister Eisaku Sato’s public statements that Japan would support U.S. forces in a Korea contingency. It has, however, never been formally nullified. For the report, see the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Yusikisha Iinkai Houkokusho*, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/mitsuyaku/kekka.html>.
  7. According to the official position of the Japanese government (dated February 26, 1970), the “Far East” is not precisely defined geographically, but generally means the area north of the Philippines and the Japanese islands and surrounding areas, including South Korea and Taiwan. MOFA, “Kyokutou no Han-i” [The Area of the Far East], [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/usa/hosho/qa/03\\_2.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/usa/hosho/qa/03_2.html).
  8. Sheila Smith, “The Evolution of Military Cooperation in the U.S.-Japan Alliance,” in Michael J. Green and Patrick M. Cronin, eds., *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future* (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999), pp. 79–84; Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, “Nichibeidoumei to Nikkan annzenhoshoukyouryoku,” in Hideki Ohata and Moon Chung-in, eds., *Nikkan Kokusai Seijigaku no Shin Chihei-Anzenhoshou to Kokusai kyouryoku* (Tokyo: Keio Gijukudai-gaku Shuppankai, 2005), pp. 142–144.
  9. The government expert panel report noted that the 1997 Guidelines and related laws made “prior consultations” a necessity and rendered the 1960 “secret pact” on Korea contingency a “thing of the past.” MOFA, *Yusikisha Iinkai Houkokusho*, 48, footnote 6.
  10. The Soviet-North Korea Treaty of 1961 became ineffective and a new Russia-North Korea Treaty on Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation was signed in February 2000 in which the military assistance clause was deleted. The Sino-North Korea Friendship Treaty of 1961 continues, but there has been debate among China policy circles on whether China should delete the automatic military involvement clause in the Treaty. Jae Ho Chung, “Strategic Thought toward China,” in Gilbert Rozman In-taek Hyun, and Shin-wha Lee, eds., *South Korean Strategic Thought toward Asia* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), p. 178.
  11. See Narushige Michishita, *North Korea’s Military and Diplomatic Campaigns, 1966–2008* (New York: Routledge, 2009).
  12. In a Japanese public poll during the first North Korean nuclear crisis (April 16–17, 1994), 71% felt insecure and 60% supported UN sanctions. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 21, 1994, 1.
  13. Japan Defense Agency, *The Defense of Japan 1994*, p. 41.



14. Victor Cha, *Alignment Despite Antagonism: The United States-Korea-Japan Security Triangle* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999)
15. Chong-sik Lee, *Japan and Korea: The Political Dimension* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).
16. Jae-ho Chung, *Between Ally and Partner: Korea-China Relations and the United States* (Columbia University Press, 2006); Scott Snyder, *China's Rise and the Two Koreas: Politics, Economics and Security* (Boulder, CO: Lynne-Rienner, 2009), Chapter 2.
17. Gilbert Rozman and Shin-wha Lee, "Unraveling the Japan-South Korea 'Virtual Alliance': Populism and Historical Revisionism in the Face of Conflicting Regional Strategies," *Asian Survey*, 26, no. 5 (September/October 2006): 761-784.
18. Yoichi Funabashi, *Alliance Adrift* (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999)
19. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
21. The Law Concerning Measures to Enhance the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan (1999), Ship Inspections Law (2000), amendments to the SDF Law were passed and the Japan-U.S. Acquisitions and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) (1999) was signed.
22. Noboru Yamaguchi, "Japanese Adjustments to the Security Alliance with the United States: Evolution of Policy on the Roles of the Self-Defense Force," in Michael H. Armacost and Daniel I. Okimoto, eds., *The Future of America's Alliances in Northeast Asia* (Stanford, CA: Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2004), p. 80.
23. Yamaguchi, "Japanese Adjustments," p. 84.
24. Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, September 23, 1997.
25. Hideaki Kaneda, Kazumasa Kobayashi, Hiroshi Tajima, and Hirofumi Tosaki, *Nihon no Misairu Bouei* [Japan's Missile Defense] (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyujo, 2006), p. 89.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
27. *The Defense of Japan*, 2000, pp. 150-151. Yamaguchi, "Japanese Adjustments," p. 84.
28. Masahiro Akiyama, *Nichibei no Senryaku Taiwaga Hajimatta* [The Japan-US Strategic Dialogue] (Tokyo: Aki Shobou, 2002), p. 270; Yamaguchi, "Japanese Adjustments," p. 81.
29. Yamaguchi, "Japanese Adjustments," p. 81.
30. Hitoshi Tanaka, then MOFA Director of the Policy Coordinating Division of the Foreign Policy Bureau, voiced this frustration in his memoirs. After the nuclear crisis, MOFA became more proactive in the establishment of KEDO, and the sharing of financial contributions. Hitoshi Tanaka, *Gaikou no Chikara* [The Power of Diplomacy] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 2009), p. 66.
31. According to Ambassador Robert Gallucci, North Korea was to accept "special inspections" in about five years, prior to provision of significant components of the LWR stipulated in an appendix agreement. *Asahi Shimbun*, October 22, 1994.
32. The ROK *Defense White Paper* of 1990 and 1991 noted concerns regarding Japan's military expansion and "offensive" military posture. The Japanese government strongly refuted the statement and after dialogue, the ROK *Defense White Paper* 1992 changed the tone and noted Japan's efforts toward peace and stability of the region and security cooperation. Kiyohiko Azuma, "Nikkan Anzenhoshou kankei no hensen: Kokkou Seijouka kara Reisen-go made" [Historical Survey of Japan-South Korea Security Relationship: From the 1965 Normalization to the Post-Cold War Era], *Kokusai Anzenhoshou* [The Journal of International Security], ed., Japan

- Association for International Security (Tokyo), 33, no. 4 (March 2006): 100–102; Narushige Michishita, “Nihon no Anzenhoshou to Chousen Hantou” [Japan’s Security and the Korean Peninsula], in Tatsuo Akaneya and Kotaro Ochiai, eds., *Nihon no Anzenhoshou* [Security of Japan] (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 2004), pp. 143–144.
33. Ralph Cossa, ed., *U.S.-Korea-Japan Relations: Building toward a “Virtual Alliance”* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999)
  34. MOFA, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/security.html>
  35. Japan Defense Agency, *The Defense of Japan 1998*, p. 176.
  36. When South Korea expressed concerns about the 1997 Guidelines, U.S. defense officials worked behind the scenes to promote defense cooperation between Japan and ROK. Funabashi, *Alliance Adrift*, p. 91. According to former vice minister for defense Masahiro Akiyama, JDA consciously promoted transparency of the Guidelines review process with neighboring countries. In June 1997, Japanese defense officials visited ROK and China to explain the interim report of the Guidelines. The ROK officials showed a “very positive” attitude, and it was after this process that trilateral cooperation progressed. Akiyama, *Nichibei Senryaku Taiwa ga Hajimatta*, pp. 253–254. It is reported, however, that while ROK defense officials welcomed the briefing on the Guidelines, they were still wary of Japanese influence, and informally told JDA officials that ROK will not allow Self-Defense Forces to enter Korean waters or airspace, even for NEO. *Asahi Shimbun*, April 17, 2007, 5.
  37. In February 1996, South Korea prepared to build a wharf and held military exercises in the vicinity of the disputed islands as countermeasures to Japan’s moves to declare EEZ in the area. Byung-chul Koh, *Between Discord and Cooperation: Japan and the Two Koreas* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2007), pp. 343–350.
  38. MOFA, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/joint9810.html>
  39. High-level exchanges of defense officials began in 1994. The JDA Director visited ROK in 1979 and 1990, but it was in 1994 that the ROK Minister of Defense made the first visit to Japan. Since 1994, defense ministers, heads of the Joint Staff, and military units have made mutual visits, and working level defense policy dialogue at the vice ministerial level began. The ROK Navy training fleet made its first visit to Japan in December 1994, and the JMSDF made a return visit for the first time in September 1995. *Defense of Japan 1995*, p. 150, *Defense of Japan 1998*, pp. 174–175. In 1996, an ROK defense attaché made a test flight of JASDF’s F-15, and Japan’s defense attaché made a test flight of ROK AF’s F-16. Michishita, “Nihon no Anzenhoshou to Chousen Hantou,” p. 144.
  40. This was a search and rescue exercise (SAREX) between the JMSDF and the ROK Navy. It reflected Japanese and ROK concerns regarding North Korean vessels penetrating territorial waters, such as the submarine incident in 1996 and another vessel in 1998 in ROK waters, and a spy vessel in Japanese waters off the coast of Noto Peninsula in March 1999. Japan Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan 1999*, p. 175. The exercise was featured in a column titled “Great Results in Japan-ROK Confidence Building—the first Maritime Joint Training” in the *Defense of Japan 2000*, p. 183. As a precursor, an ROK-Japan simulation game (naval exercise) was held in Masan and Chinhae by private organizations, the New Asia Research Institute (Korea team) and the Okazaki Institute (the Japan team) in October 1998. Tae-hyo Kim, “A Simulation: Possibilities and Limits of ROK-Japanese Naval Cooperation,” in Sang-woo Rhee and Tae-hyo Kim, eds., *Korea-Japan Security Relations: Prescriptive Studies* (Seoul: New Asia Research Institute, 2000), pp. 239–257.
  41. The Clinton administration not only asked Japan but also South Korea to join the theater-wide BMD plan called the Western Pacific Missile Defense Architecture

- Study (WESTPAC) in 1993. South Korea considered the option, but leaned toward developing its own missile defense in response to the North Korean SCUDs. After the Taepodong incident, the KDJ administration decided not to participate in BMD in March 1999, noting that the missile threat South Korea faced was limited to SCUD short-range missiles. Hideya Kurata, "Misairu Bouei to Kankoku" [Missile Defense and South Korea], Morimoto Satoshi, ed., *Misairu Bouei* (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyujo, 2002), pp. 132–138.
42. *The Daily Yomiuri*, September 22, 1998. On Japanese domestic processes, see Motofumi Suzuki, "Chousen Hantou Enerugi Kaihatsu Kikou (KEDO) Setsuritzu Kyoutei to Keisuiro Sien Kyoutei no Seiji Katei" [The Political Process of KEDO Establishment and LWR Funding Agreements], in Masaru Mabuchi and Toshiya Kitayama, eds., *Seikai Saihenji no Seisaku Katei* (Tokyo: Jigakusha Shuppan, 2008), pp. 28–35.
  43. In November 1998, President Clinton appointed former secretary of defense, Dr. William Perry as North Korea Policy Coordinator and conducted a major review of U.S. policy toward North Korea. The Perry team conferred with its allies, Japan and South Korea, and with Pyongyang, and submitted the "Perry Report" to Congress. "Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations, Unclassified Report by Dr. William J. Perry, U.S. North Korea Policy Coordinator and Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State," Washington, DC, October 12, 1999.
  44. It is reported that GOJ desired a seat at the missile talks in a trilateral format, but the Clinton administration declined. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, April 29, 1999.
  45. In a Yomiuri-Gallup opinion poll taken a year after the Taepodong incident, 87% of Japanese polled answered that they felt "very" or "somewhat" threatened by North Korean missiles while 57% in the United States felt threatened by the potential development of Taepodong II that could reach the Western coast. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 19, 1999, p. 24.
  46. For the Japanese government report see "More on the Abduction Issue/Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea," August 2009, Headquarters for the Abductions Issue, Government of Japan, <http://www.rachi.go.jp/en/ratimondai/syousai.html>
  47. For example, President Clinton placed the abductee issue on the agenda of Secretary Madeline Albright's visit to Pyongyang in October 2000. On the Clinton years, see Larry Niksch, "North Korea and Terrorism: The Yokota Megumi Factor," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 14, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 7–23.
  48. The Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration, September 17, 2002, MOFA, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n\\_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.html).
  49. GOJ demanded investigations of 13 individuals at the time, and North Korean authorities responded that 4 were alive, 8 deceased, 1 never entered North Korea. Among the five that returned to Japan was Ms. Hitomi Soga, whose husband was Charles Jenkins, the American soldier that defected to North Korea in 1965. Ms. Soga was not on the government list, but North Korea may have revealed the case to make way for talks with the Bush administration.
  50. Japanese public interest on the abductees issue remained high. Cabinet Office opinion polls in October 2002 showed that among Japanese concerns regarding North Korea, the abductees issue ranked first (83.4%), second was the nuclear issue (49.2%), third was the missile issue (43.7%). This trend continued in annual polls taken from 2003 to 2009. In the October 2009 poll, abductees (86.7%), nuclear issue (76.8%), missile issue (67.3%). "Zu 24 Kitachousen e no kansin jikou," "Sankou1:Kitachousen e no Kansin jikou" Naikakufu, Gaikou ni Kansuru Chousa <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h21/h21-gaiko/2-1.html>

51. On the Six-Party Talks and nuclear diplomacy during 2002–3, see Yoichi Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Nuclear Crisis* (Washington, DC:Brookings Institution, 2007).
52. On the domestic politics of “dialogue” versus “pressure,” see James Schoff, *Political Fences and Bad Neighbors: North Korea Policy Making in Japan and Implications for the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2006), pp. 5–15.
53. Koizumi made a second visit to Pyongyang in May 2004 and succeeded in securing the return of the families of former abductees to Japan in September 2002. Among them was Hitomi Soga’s family including her American husband, Charles Jenkins, a former U.S. Army soldier (see endnote 49). Jenkins served a 25-day sentence at a U.S. naval base in Japan and joined his family in November 2004. Without U.S. cooperation this family reunion would not have been realized.
54. The U.S. Congress passed the North Korea Human Rights Act in October 2004 and invited Megumi Yokota’s parents to testify in a Congressional hearing in April 2006. President Bush met with Megumi Yokota’s parents and other family members of abductees at the White House.
55. U.S. State Department, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003*, April 29, 2004, p. 92.
56. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 6, 2003, February 3, April 27, 2004. Schoff, *Political Fences and Bad Neighbors*, pp. 21–25.
57. MOFA, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n\\_korea/6party/joint0509.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/6party/joint0509.html)
58. *Ibid.*
59. Prime Minister Abe established the Cabinet Headquarters for the Abduction Issue in September 2006. At the end of the Koizumi cabinet, pushed by the conservatives, the North Korean Human Rights Violation Act (focused mainly on the abductees issue) was adopted in June 2006, and unilateral economic sanctions were implemented after the North Korean missile test in July 2006. Schoff, *Political Fences and Bad Neighbors*, p. 9.
60. “Underlining the Importance of the DPRK to Respond to Other Security and Humanitarian Concerns of the International Community,” S/RES/1718(2006), October 14, 2006.
61. “Dai 5 kai rokusha kaigou dai3 session no gaiyou” [Outline of the 3rd session of the 5th Round of Six Party Talks] (February 2007), [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/n\\_korea/6kaigo/6kaigo5\\_3g.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/n_korea/6kaigo/6kaigo5_3g.html)
62. In a visit to Japan in February, Vice President Cheney quietly asked Abe to clarify the conditions under which Japan would consider the abductees issue “resolved.” *The Japan Times*, April 15, 2007.
63. Yomiuri Shimbun-Gallup polls indicated a steep drop from 53% (2006) to 39% (2007) for those who answered that Japan-U.S. relations were “good.” The 2007 percentage was the lowest since 2000. Yomiuri analyzed that North Korea issues such as the delisting of North Korea from terrorist sponsor list and abductees were the main factors behind the results. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 14, 2007, p. 12. Cabinet Office opinion polls indicated the same trend. Favorable Japanese opinions toward United States dropped from 82.7% (October 2006) to 76.3% (October 2007) to an all time low of 8.9% (October 2008), but picked up to 81.8% the next year. “Zu 4 Genzai no Nihon to Amerika no Kankei” *Naikakufu, yoron chosa*, <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h21/h21-gaiko/images/z04.gif>
64. Masashi Nishihara, “Have Closer Consultations with Japan, Please” *AJISS (The Association of Japanese Institutes of Strategic Studies) Commentary*, no. 53 (January 9,

- 2009). Koizumi noted in a Diet session that the North Korean threat and the need to maintain the Japan-U.S. alliance as reasons for supporting the Bush administration on Iraq. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 20, 2003, p. 2
65. See Rozman and Lee, "Unraveling the Japan-South Korea 'Virtual Alliance'."
  66. Rozman, "South Korean Strategic Thought toward Japan," p. 189.
  67. Asahi Shimbun and Donga Ilbo conducted a joint poll: 87% in Japan and Korea had favorable views on the 2000 summit, 73% in Korea (increase from 61% in 1996) and 59% in Japan (increase from 29% in 1996) were optimistic about the prospect of unification of the two Koreas. 12% in Japan felt the North Korean threat "strongly" but this was a drastic drop from 33% in the 1999 poll after the Taepodong incident. *Asahi Shimbun*, December 5, 2000, p. 33.
  68. Jae-ho Chung, "Strategic Thought toward China," p. 165.
  69. Scott Snyder, "Strategic Thought toward Asia in the Kim Dae-jung Era," p. 88.
  70. The concept of "cooperative self-reliant defense" was formulated in the first ROK National Security Strategy report in March 2004. It reflected the delicate balance between "alliance" and "self-reliance" supporters in the Roh era. See also Yasuyo Sakata, "The U.S.-ROK Alliance in Transition: The Post-Cold War Redefinition and Beyond," *Asian Cultural Studies* (Tokyo: International Christian University), no. 13 (2004).
  71. China became South Korea's number one trading partner and investment destination by 2004-6. Snyder, *China and the Two Koreas.*, p. 47.
  72. Chung, "Strategic Thought toward China," p. 165. See also Chung, *Between Ally and Partner: Korea-China Relations and the United States*, Chapters 8-9.
  73. For discussion of "Northeast Asia balancer," see Seong-ho Sheen, "Strategic Thought toward Asia in the Roh Moo-hyun Era," pp. 110-113, Snyder, *China and the Two Koreas*, pp. 186-189, Takeshi Watanabe, "Chuugoku to Chousen hantou[China and the Korean Peninsula]," in Tomohide Murai, Junichi Abe, Ryo Asano, and Jun Yasuda, eds., *Chuugoku wo Meguru Anzenhoshou* (Tokyo: Mineruba Shobou, 2007), pp. 79-83.
  74. Sheen, "Strategic Thought toward Asia," p. 112.
  75. Snyder, *China and the Two Koreas*, p. 192.
  76. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190, 196.
  77. *Chosun Ilbo*, March 22, 2005.
  78. Chang-hee Nam, Yasuyo Sakata, and Robert Dujarric, "Restructring U.S. Alliances in Northeast Asia and Prospects for US-Japan-ROK Security Cooperation," in Hyung-Kook Kim, Myongsob Kim, and Amitav Acharya, eds., *Northeast Asia and the Two Koreas* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2008), pp. 124-126, 151-154.
  79. MOFA, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0611.html>
  80. The National Defense Program Guidelines FY2005 (December 2004) for the first time highlighted concerns regarding North Korea's WMD proliferation and China's military modernization. [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_policy/pdf/national\\_guideline.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_policy/pdf/national_guideline.pdf). Chinese *Han*-class nuclear submarine violated Japanese territorial waters near the East China sea in late 2004 and Chinese navy vessels were spotted in the disputed gas fields in the East China sea in late 2005.
  81. James Schoff, *Realigning Priorities: The U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Future of Extended Deterrence* (Cambridge, MA: The Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis, March 2009), p. x.
  82. After the North Korea's nuclear test, conservative politicians advocated developing Japan's own enemy base strike capability to supplement missile defense. This was deemed as unrealistic and the debate moved to developing combined strike capability in which Japan would directly support U.S. air strikes against enemy missile

- sites. Michael Auslin and Christopher Griffin, *Securing Freedom: The U.S.-Japanese Alliance in a New Era*, A Report of the American Enterprise Institute, December 2008, p. 28. On the “extended deterrence” debate, see Schoff, *Realigning Priorities*.
83. Michael Finnegan, *Managing Unmet Expectations in the U.S.-Japan Alliance*, The National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR Special Report #17, November 2009.
  84. According to news reports, Japan and U.S. defense officials started the process of formulating joint operation plans related to Korea, classified as OPLAN 5055 in December 2006. This is the first time for Japan and the United States to formulate official North Korea contingency plans, including planning for both Japan contingency (e.g., response to missile attacks) and contingency on the Korea peninsula. *Asahi Shimbun*, January 4, 2007, p. 1, April 17, 2007, p. 15.
  85. Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee Document, “The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future,” October 29, 2005.
  86. Michael Auslin and Christopher Griffin, *Securing Freedom: The U.S.-Japanese Alliance in a New Era*, A Report of the American Enterprise Institute, December 2008, p. 14
  87. USFJ deployed the X-band radar for BMD in Aomori Prefecture (ASDF), Patriot PAC-3 at Kadena Air Base, and Joint Tactical Ground Station (JTAGS) in Misawa AB. The U.S. Pacific Fleet’s BMD capability equipped Aegis destroyers were forward deployed in Japan and surrounding areas since December 2006. *Defense of Japan* 2009, p. 190.
  88. Auslin and Griffin, *Securing Freedom*, p. 17.
  89. Masashi Nishihara, “Nichibei no Kyoudou Taisho ga Tamesareta” [The Japan-U.S. Joint Response Was Tested], *Sankei Shimbun*, April 29, 2009, p. 7.
  90. In responses to SIASJs, “activities to ensure the effectiveness of economic sanctions for the maintenance of peace and stability” that included “information sharing, cooperation in inspection of ships based on UN Security Council resolutions” were identified as areas Japan and the United States needed to cooperate in the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, September 23, 1997.
  91. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 19, 2006.
  92. Auslin and Griffin, *Securing Freedom*, p. 27.
  93. The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)-Socialist Democratic Party (SDP) coalition cabinet submitted another bill in October 2009. The final version was adopted in the Diet in May 2010. Compared to the LDP bill, the DPJ-SDP bill restricted inspection missions to the Japan Maritime Coast Guard and did not allow the JMSDF to participate.
  94. Yasuyo Sakata, “Kitachousen” [North Korea], in Masahiko Asada, ed., *Heiki no Kakusan to Yushutsu Kanri: Seido to Jissen* [Export Control: A Strategy for Preventing Weapons Proliferation] (Tokyo: Yushindo Kobundo, 2004), pp. 248, 250–251.
  95. Auslin and Griffin, *Securing Freedom*, p. 27.
  96. Report of the Council on Reconstruction of a Legal Basis for Security, June 24, 2008, Kantei (Cabinet), <http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/anzenhosyou/houkokusho.pdf>; Ministry of Defense, *The Defense of Japan* 2009, p.120.
  97. *Global Korea: The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Korea*, Cheongwadae, March 2009.
  98. Akihisa Nagashima, a security expert, DPJ member and Diet representative, called for prudence on debates within the LDP defense policy council that advocated unilateral development of enemy strike capabilities by Japan. *Mainichi Shimbun*, June 25, 2009, p. 9.



# **Korea and the U.S.-Japan Alliance: An American Perspective**

*Scott Snyder*

The Korean peninsula has always occupied a high priority as an issue in the U.S.-Japan alliance. The relationship of Korea to the U.S.-Japan alliance has gradually shifted over time as changes have occurred in the circumstances on the Korean peninsula. In this process, South Korea has adopted multiple roles (theater for military operations supported from Japan, threat and catalyst for other forms of security cooperation, emergent common partner based on convergence of norms and values, competitor, parallel and converging component in America's framework of Asian alliances) over the years as the U.S.-Japan alliance and South Korea have simultaneously evolved through a series of structural changes. At each stage, South Korea and the Korean peninsula have assumed differing identities and roles in the context of the U.S.-Japan alliance. This evolution is useful to observe both as a means by which to more fully understand the role of the Korean peninsula in the context of the U.S.-Japan alliance and to illustrate that despite specific changes in the nature of the security challenge posed by the Korean peninsula, the peninsula has been an enduring concern, focal point, and catalyst in the evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

These multiple and evolving images of the Korean peninsula and its relationship to the U.S.-Japan alliance reflect both the security challenges symbolized by the continuing division of the peninsula and the emergence of South Korea as a common partner as it has evolved to adopt similar political and economic systems, norms and values with Japan and the United States. On the other hand, the North remains an existential threat and appears to reserve its most vitriolic epithets for Japan. Thus, the Korean peninsula remains both a serious source of potential threat that the U.S.-Japan alliance was created to protect against and a source of cooperation and even nascent "friendly" competition as the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK alliances develop parallel capacities to contribute to out-of-area missions. Since the ultimate disposition of the Korean peninsula remains uncertain (will Korean reunification occur and on what terms?), the peninsula



continues to occupy an ambiguous role in the context of the U.S.-Japan alliance: at once a major source of potential instability that could directly threaten the Japanese homeland and, therefore a high priority for alliance coordination and simultaneously a potential partner in a broader regionalized approach to security that might reinforce common values and norms against a rising China that does not share the same norms or system that is shared by the United States, South Korea, and Japan. As always, the legacy of Japan's historical role on the Korean peninsula casts a shadow over prospects for full-fledged cooperation; at the same time, unprecedented strides are being made in the direction of regionalized coordination today vis-à-vis North Korea and other nontraditional security threats that Japan and the region may face.

This chapter provides an American view of the role that the Korean peninsula has played in the development of the U.S.-Japan alliance. The chapter first provides a summary review of phases in the structural development of the U.S.-Japan alliance and an assessment of how the Korean peninsula has been viewed in the context of each phase. Then, consideration will be given to three main variables in the security dynamics of the Korean peninsula—the future of North Korea, South Korea's democratic transformation, and the rise of China—with special reference to the significance and possible impact of those variables on the U.S.-Japan alliance. Following this treatment of the North Korea, South Korean, and Chinese variables and their impact on the U.S.-Japan alliance, the chapter considers the impact of recent developments in U.S. policy toward Asian alliances with special consideration given to the impact of the Global Posture Review on the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK alliances, respectively. Finally, the chapter attempts to lay out several future scenarios and challenges that constitute the “homework” both for the U.S.-Japan alliance and U.S. strategy toward Northeast Asia as it relates to the future of the Korean peninsula.

### **Structural Changes in Korea's Relationship to the U.S.-Japan Alliance**

Takashi Inoguchi has enumerated five distinct phases in the development of Japanese foreign policy on the basis of the U.S.-Japan security alliance.<sup>1</sup> In each of these stages, the role and image of the Korean peninsula and more particularly South Korea has shifted based both on structural changes in the U.S.-Japan alliance and on changes internal to developments on the Korean peninsula. Although there may not be a direct correlation between views of the Korean peninsula and these phases characterizing the development of the U.S.-Japan alliance, it is useful to briefly consider the relationship of Korea to the U.S.-Japan alliance as the alliance has evolved through these structural changes.

According to Inoguchi, the first phase in the U.S.-Japan alliance extends from 1945 to 1960. During this phase, the American Occupation government dominated and defined the parameters of Japanese security policy, establishing Japan's peace constitution, including Article IX provisions making a Japanese war-fighting capacity unconstitutional while using Japan as a logistical support base for operations on the Korean peninsula during the Korean War.<sup>2</sup>

During this first phase, the United States established parallel bilateral alliances with Japan and South Korea, respectively, although it was clear that the United States envisioned the alliances with Japan and South Korea as playing dramatically different roles in U.S. overall strategy in Asia. There was also consideration of the possibility that the spokes of an emergent U.S.-centered system of bilateral alliances in Asia might be knit together in a multilateral security arrangement analogous to the development of NATO in Europe, but for a variety of reasons, the development of regional security architecture never took root in Northeast Asia.<sup>3</sup> The U.S.-Japan alliance, buttressed by the U.S. bases in Japan that flew a UN flag as a result of their role as a logistics base during the Korean War, took on the role of staging area and support base for combat operations in Korea and eventually in other parts of Asia, including Vietnam.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, a role of the U.S.-ROK alliance that was left implicit due to political sensitivities was to provide a security shield for Japan, while Koreans were reassured that the U.S. defense commitment to Japan prevented the possibility that Japan would return to military rule or again pursue imperialist aspirations.<sup>5</sup>

It became clear during this period that despite Japan's unique situation in the postwar context, the Korean peninsula remained critical to Japan's security. Thus, the United States would have to take defense of Korea into consideration as the provider of security to Japan. This interest was subsequently formalized in the 1969 U.S.-Japan communiqué that acknowledged the security of the Korean peninsula as "essential to Japan's own security."<sup>6</sup> Japan's political leaders tried to assuage Washington's fears about its political commitments to allow the U.S. military use of Japanese bases by stating that the security of South Korean and Taiwan had a direct relationship with Japan's security interests.<sup>7</sup>

Inoguchi characterizes the second phase in the development of the U.S.-Japan alliance (1960–75) as that of a "free rider." The Yoshida doctrine was settled upon as the basic course for Japan and the U.S.-Japan alliance, relieving Japan of the security concerns that might otherwise have preoccupied Japan's national leadership and allowing Japan to focus on economic development. Both Nixon and Henry Kissinger believed that Japan needed to be "shocked" out of its postwar habit of relying almost exclusively on the United States for security while pursuing a single-minded mercantilist policy.<sup>8</sup>

During this period there were significant developments in the Japan-ROK relationship driven primarily by Japan's "quasi-alliance" relationship with South Korea. The United States encouraged Japan-ROK normalization talks despite considerable residual mutual hostility from the prewar Japanese colonial period. When a treaty establishing basic relations was finally signed in 1965, Japan agreed to provide \$500 million in reparations. After normalization, Japan's trade with South Korea exploded from \$180 million in 1965 to an average of \$1,765 million per year between 1971 and 1975.<sup>9</sup> The success of Park Chunghee's industrialization drive relied to a considerable degree on investment and technology from Japan, which gained both economic and security benefits from improved ties with South Korea.<sup>10</sup> During this period, South Korea became an investment destination that also contributed to Japan's economic growth while contributing to South Korea's political stability. One might argue that the South Korean

transition from dependency on American development assistance to Japanese investment capital was one way the United States sought to reduce Japanese “free riding” while also promoting better relations between U.S. allies during this period.

The third phase Inoguchi identifies is Japan as a “systemic supporter” of the United States (1975–90). In the context of Japan-ROK normalization, Japan provided a great deal of capital and technology to emerging industries in South Korea that were attempting to pursue export-led industrialization, in many cases directly emulating the core factors that had enabled Japan’s economic takeoff. Despite periodic political tensions, Japan’s economic role as a provider of loans to the Korean government, a provider of capital and technology as the primary investor in Korea’s leading industrial sectors, and as a model for pursuing economic development under the umbrella of the alliance relationship with the United States characterized the main facets of the Korea-Japan relationship during this phase in U.S.-Japan relations. During this period, Japan provided important investment capital and technology that enabled the success of South Korea’s export-led industrialization. These economic ties bound South Korea and Japan to each other despite political differences and became a factor that mitigated dampened periodic emotional outbursts on the part of South Korea toward Japan.

The U.S. decision to normalize relations with China stimulated complicated reactions from both South Korea and Japan. For Japan, the “Nixon shock” resulting from Nixon’s secret initiative with China had a negative impact on Japanese trust in the United States as an alliance partner. In response to Nixon’s initiative, the U.S.-ROK alliance underwent one of its most severe crises in the 1970s as a result of Park Chunghee’s authoritarian practices, human rights abuses, and his decision to pursue a nuclear weapons program out of fear of abandonment by the United States. In this respect, the Nixon Doctrine stimulated similar reactions in both Japan and South Korea, although the responses were expressed in different ways. During the Reagan administration, security ties with Japan and South Korea were affirmed and strengthened. Both the U.S.-Japan “Ron-Yasu” relationship and Reagan’s efforts to strengthen ties with Chun Doo Hwan provided a framework for stability and enabled both allies to focus on rapid economic growth.

In the fourth phase of the U.S.-Japan alliance (1990–2005), Inoguchi describes Japan as taking on the role of a “global civilian power.” Japan’s broadened international contributions to international order occurred in the context of South Korea’s transition to democracy, a development that indirectly served to enhance the potential for structural cooperation between South Korea and Japan. At the same time, the post-Cold War period in Asia was initially marked by concerns about U.S. withdrawal from Asia—concerns that were quickly overshadowed, reinforced, and reversed by North Korea’s nuclear challenge.

As North Korea’s nuclear development came into focus, this factor catalyzed direct Japan-ROK security cooperation with the encouragement of the United States. In addition to its active contributions in support of the structures underlying a U.S.-led international order, Japan made active contributions on Korean peninsula issues as a directly concerned party and an essential financial

supporter of efforts to meet North Korean energy needs and to dissuade North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The promotion of U.S.-Japan-ROK political and security cooperation was perhaps best embodied by the establishment of the Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group, a contact group designed to enhance trilateral coordination in response to North Korea. In addition, the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization institutionalized trilateral cooperation under the umbrella of an international organization dedicated to addressing North Korea's energy needs while capping North Korea's nuclear weapons program through the construction of a proliferation-resistant light water reactor in North Korea.

During this period, increasingly, Japan and South Korea became involved in consultation and comanagement of security challenges related to North Korea, underscoring the prospect of South Korea as a more or less coequal partner in stabilizing Japan's security environment. Some even talked of a "virtual alliance" between South Korea and Japan, a way of promoting quasi-alliance cooperation while sidestepping remaining public volatility associated with the historical legacy of the Japan-ROK relationship.<sup>11</sup> This comanagement approach was further enabled by an historic effort by President Kim Dae Jung and Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo to develop a forward-oriented relationship. However, the fragile foundation for such ties cut short the potential for such cooperation as Japan's unresolved historical issues once again became a source of controversy between Japan and South Korea, triggered by textbook controversies and Prime Minister Koizumi's decision to visit Yasukuni Shrine.<sup>12</sup>

Nonetheless, the respective alliance frameworks with the United States worked to draw Japan and South Korea together, at least in the sense that both countries faced similar agendas and demands from the United States. Both South Korea and Japan were called upon by the United States to step up support for out-of-area threats to international stability in Afghanistan and Iraq. Increasingly, the United States framed both alliances as based on common values and alliances that were global in character. In addition, the changing nature of security in the post-Cold War era posed new security challenges in nontraditional areas, requiring a response to the changing nature of threats and the emergence of new forms of threat in the context of "human security." In the context of these changes, a U.S.-Japan-South Korea "network alliance" began to consider responses to a broadened range of traditional and nontraditional security challenges.<sup>13</sup>

### **Changing Security Dynamics on the Korean Peninsula**

Japan's perceptions of the Korean peninsula are increasingly ambivalent, reflecting the division on the Korean peninsula and its inherent potential for instability. On the one hand, North Korea's expanded missile capabilities in combination with its nuclear developments pose a direct threat to Japan from a seemingly unpredictable and emotional North Korean leadership. On the other hand, as a result of its economic modernization and political transition to democracy, South Korean values and interests overlap with those of Japan, and there is a clear

parallelism in the U.S. approach to alliance management with both partners. In the long term, the direction of South Korean diplomacy—and the likelihood by extension that the future of the Korean peninsula will be determined in Seoul and not in Pyongyang—raises complicated questions about the impact of China’s rise and whether South Korea will opt for a hedging strategy together with Japan or is likely to be drawn in by China’s centripetal pull. China’s rise has also had a direct effect on Japan’s perceptions of its own options and possible responses.

### *North Korea Factor*

North Korea has become the primary focal point for Japanese security concerns following the end of the Cold War. With North Korea’s launch of a Taep’odong missile in 1998 that overflowed Japan, North Korea’s growing missile capabilities enabled it to directly threaten Japanese territory for the first time. Compounding the public sense of threat in Japan, the political issue of Japanese abductees taken to North Korea in the 1970s has had a direct psychological effect on Japanese public views of North Korea, especially after Prime Minister Koizumi secured the release of five Japanese abductees in North Korea following his summit with Kim Jong Il in September 2002. Japanese insecurities vis-à-vis North Korea are compounded by growing anxieties about whether the U.S.-Japan alliance will provide the full protection that Japan seeks from North Korea. These insecurities derive in part from the fact that unlike the Cold War, during which the U.S.-Soviet global confrontation was likely to guarantee a U.S. response to Soviet aggression, North Korea’s threat is local or regional, raising questions about the circumstances and forms by which the United States might respond to North Korean provocations. Japan’s concerns that its security guarantor may pay insufficient attention to Japan’s own security needs was dramatized in 1998 by President Clinton’s decision to visit China without an accompanying visit to Japan that sparked accusations in Japan of “Japan passing” on the part of the United States. In recent times, North Korea’s potential threat to Japan and its high impact on Japanese public perceptions of their own security needs have cast doubts on the reliability of the U.S.-Japan alliance to respond to North Korean provocations.<sup>14</sup>

The differing U.S. and Japanese responses to the Taep’odong missile test in 1998 planted the seeds of doubt among some Japanese regarding whether the United States was really committed to providing the level of response to North Korea that Japan perceived to be necessary to assure Japan’s own security. These concerns were exacerbated by parliamentary accusations that the United States had not shared sensitive intelligence data regarding the launch with Japan. (These accusations were untrue, but had not been shared with Diet members for fear that the information would be leaked.) Perceptions on the part of the Japanese public that the United States was not paying adequate attention to Japanese security concerns raised significant public doubts about the security commitment of the United States for the first time. In addition, the Taep’odong test came at a sensitive time in the implementation of the light water reactor project, coinciding with

efforts to secure parliamentary approval in South Korea and Japan for financing commitments necessary to implement the project. The Government of Japan had committed approximately US\$1 billion to the project at the time of the Agreed Framework, but the Taep'odong test put parliamentary approval of those funds in doubt.<sup>15</sup> Following the test, the United States put great pressure on Japan to follow through with its commitment despite rising Japanese public concerns about North Korea as a source of security threat.

Perceptions that the United States and Japan were not on the same page persisted as a result of the fact that the Self-Defense Forces and the Pentagon arrived at divergent assessments of the Taep'odong test in the fall of 1998 despite working off essentially the same data. The Pentagon came to the conclusion that North Korea had conducted a failed satellite launch while the Self-Defense Forces categorized the launch as a missile test. On the other hand, the Taep'odong launch also had positive effects on U.S.-Japan security cooperation, catalyzing Japan to join in research to develop Theater Missile Defense (TMD) together with the United States.

Japanese concerns about a perception gap with the United States regarding North Korean missile capabilities were further exacerbated by Japanese perceptions that the United States, in negotiations with North Korea under the Perry process in 2000, did not sufficiently prioritize the need for North Korea to redeploy scores of mid-range Nodongs that had the capacity to hit Japan. This was the outstanding issue on the U.S.-DPRK agenda following Madeleine Albright's visit to Pyongyang in October of 2000. The United States and North Korea had negotiated a moratorium on missile tests for as long as they continued to negotiate with each other following the Taep'odong test in 1998, but this moratorium did not lead to talks on possible missile reductions until after the Albright visit. These talks with North Korea were short-lived, but the prospect of a deal raised questions about whether any potential U.S.-DPRK deal would have covered only long-range missiles or whether the United States would have been willing to press hard enough to include ranges of missiles with a capacity to strike Japan. Missile talks with North Korea dropped off the agenda of the Bush administration completely as the nuclear issue took center stage.

Some Japanese security analysts directly assess the "missile perception gap" to have a direct negative effect on the U.S.-Japan alliance: "The threat perception gap between the U.S. and Japan has a potential to deteriorate the U.S.-Japan alliance. DPRK nuclear and missile development poses a direct security challenge to Japan, yet probably because North Korean missiles cannot reach the U.S. mainland at this moment, many policy planners in Washington are focused on the proliferation of nuclear materials and delivery measures from DPRK."<sup>16</sup> The September 2002 one-day summit between Prime Minister Koizumi and Central Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong Il was successful in securing the release of five Japanese abductees who had been kidnapped by North Koreans from Japan in the 1970s. Despite the unusual move by Kim Jong Il to release the abductees, the overwhelming Japanese public response to their return to Japan created a deep structural obstacle to improved relations with North Korea, especially given that several North Korean abduction cases

remained unresolved and the information provided by the North Koreans regarding the whereabouts of some abductees was unsatisfactory or incomplete. The result was that the abductee issue became a structural political obstacle that has made progress or discussion between Japan and North Korea on any other issue—including the nuclear issue—politically impossible. Japan's focus on the abductee issue has been perceived as an obstacle to its effective participation in the Six-Party Talks focused on the task of denuclearizing the Korean peninsula.<sup>17</sup>

President Bush showed his personal sympathies to families of Japanese abductees in North Korea, even inviting them to the White House to hear their stories in 2006. But this political act also raised expectations regarding the priority with which the United States would address the abductee issue in the context of U.S. relations with North Korea, including the nuclear issue. When the United States not only reengaged bilaterally with North Korea following North Korea's October 2006 nuclear test but also forged a deal by which North Korea would be removed from the U.S. terrorist list in return for the provision of a limited and (as yet) unverified declaration of its nuclear activities was a huge disappointment to many Japanese. The psychology of the abductee issue has proven to further drive a wedge between the United States and Japan regarding respective dealings with North Korea, raising doubts about whether Washington can be trusted to secure Tokyo's political interest in the course of its diplomacy with North Korea going forward.

Subsequently, comments by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates in March of 2009 to the effect that the United States would not attempt to shoot down a North Korean multistage rocket launch unless it posed a direct threat to the United States further stimulated sensitivities in Japan regarding the adequacy of the U.S. commitment to Japan's defense.<sup>18</sup> This response illustrates the manner in which the North Korean threat is exposing Japanese doubts about the U.S. willingness to respond in a timely or sufficient manner to ensure Japan's defense. Ultimately, these doubts appear to revolve around a gap in perception of whether the North Korean threat is ultimately likely to be derived from North Korea's growing strength, which now threatens Japan directly, or its growing weakness, which is less likely to have a direct impact on Japan but might require resource investments for reconstruction and stabilization of the Korean peninsula from both Japan and the United States.

Perception differences and planning requirements differ depending on whether the North Korean threat is viewed as deriving from strength or weakness: Nuclear North Korea is a complicated issue for Japan since discussion of a nuclear option comes into contradiction with U.S. extended deterrence pledges AND would potentially catalyze South Korean nuclear weapons development. On the other hand, North Korean implosion would presumably reinforce Japan's past support/logistical roles in responding to a Korean contingency; much more coordination could conceivably be undertaken to manage the humanitarian/contingency response, including discussion of how instability in North Korea might affect Japan.

North Korean missiles pose a newly emerging threat to the U.S.-Japan alliance that changes Japan from a support base to a potential theater of conflict.

Likewise, U.S.-ROK and U.S.-Japan alliance planners must take into account North Korea's nuclear capacity. North Korea's expanded capabilities require a response from U.S.-Japan alliance planners and presumably would require and stimulate more effective coordination with the U.S.-ROK alliance, for which U.S. extended deterrence pledges would be handled in a parallel fashion in response to North Korean nuclear developments.

### *South Korea Factor*

A second factor that has influenced Japan's perceptions of its own security environment has been South Korea's democratization—and the political volatility and seeming inconsistency that it has introduced into South Korean policies toward North Korea and Japan, respectively. From Japan's perspective, South Korean democracy has, on the one hand, been a source of great assurance since it has strengthened common political systems and has underscored common values. However, the expression of Korean democracy has introduced a certain degree of volatility into South Korea-Japan relations. Of greater concern to Japanese analysts, however, has been the question of whether South Korea's emphasis on inter-Korean reconciliation is somehow changing South Korea's identity in ways that might ultimately complicate Japan's strategic environment and relationship with the Korean peninsula.<sup>19</sup>

Each South Korean president since Kim Dae Jung has started out his term with the intent of improving relations with Japan, only to be frustrated by the reemergence of intractable historical and territorial issues in the Japan-ROK relationship. Kim Dae-jung forged a historic communiqué with his counterpart Keizo Obuchi in September 1998 to develop future-oriented relations. But by the end of Kim Dae-jung's term, however, visits by Junichiro Koizumi to the Yasukuni shrine and disputes over Japanese history textbooks had sparked a strongly negative South Korean public opinion that unraveled most of the improvements that Kim Dae-jung had tried to achieve.<sup>20</sup> Roh Moo-hyun likewise started his term with a summit in Tokyo in June 2003 during which he tried to persuade Prime Minister Koizumi to cease his visits to the Yasukuni shrine. But within a few years, Roh resorted to populism, calling for a "diplomatic war" against Japan over the Yasukuni visits and textbook and territorial issues.<sup>21</sup> Lee Myung-bak started his term with a cordial visit to Prime Minister Fukuda in April 2008, where he set a very positive future-oriented tone, pledging to restart "shuttle diplomacy" and resume FTA negotiations to promote a more "mature" and "forward-looking" relationship.<sup>22</sup> But by July, a textbook dispute had broken out and South Koreans again became very upset because of historical issues and Japan's renewed territorial claims to Dokdo/Takeshima, creating another unwelcome obstacle to Lee's vision of closer relations with Japan.<sup>23</sup>

A more serious issue from a Japanese perspective has been the extent to which South Korea's "identity" might be influenced by its pursuit of inter-Korean reconciliation. The core issue here appears to be a judgment on the part of Japanese analysts regarding whether inter-Korean relations are taking priority *minjok*



*kongjo* (national cooperation) over international standards, as the North Koreans have emphasized, or whether the reconciliation process appears to have the effect of integrating North Korea into the international community. These concerns played on Japanese traditional historical perceptions of the Korean peninsula as critical to Japan's security and raised the nightmare scenario that Japan might face a nationalistic, unified, nuclear-armed Korea unfriendly to Japan. The possibility of a Chinese-dominated Korean peninsula is no less welcome to Japanese security planners. For these reasons, the direction and nature of inter-Korean reconciliation, although not widely discussed publicly in Japan, has been a source of potential concern that has inhibited prospects for effective trilateral policy discussions among the United States, South Korea, and Japan. With the advent Lee Myung-bak administration and its emphasis in reciprocity and denuclearization as a priority for South Korea, however, prospects for trilateral coordination have brightened considerably, leading to the return of active coordination among the United States under the Obama administration, Japan, and South Korea.

#### *China's Rise and America's Northeast Asian Alliances*

A third factor influencing regional security considerations in both Japan and South Korea is the question of the security implications of China's rising economic, political, and, to a certain extent, military power. To date, the differences in the respective South Korean and Japanese responses to China's rise have been more striking than the similarities; however, it may be possible that in the future South Korean and Japanese perceptions of China's growing role again converge with each other. One question that bears on the future of the U.S.-centered alliance framework is whether these differing responses reflect fundamental differences in perception between South Korea and Japan regarding various manifestations of China's rise or whether their responses to the challenges posed by China's rise may differ according to their differing size, geography, response capacity, and available resources in relationship to China.

The pace of China's economic rise and its impact on intra-Asian trade flows has been greater than anyone could have anticipated. Rising China-centered economic interdependence as a feature of Asian trade flows has given great visibility to China's deep integration into the global supply chain. One dramatic effect of China's rapidly rising trade flows is that China has replaced the United States as the number one trade partner of most Asian countries, including America's closest security allies, Japan and South Korea. This is particularly striking because the Cold War structure of alliance relations had security and economic benefits flowing together in the same directions to the exclusion of opponents to the alliance. Complex interdependence in U.S.-China relations may considerably ease prospects for Sino-U.S. confrontation associated with China's rise, but extensive U.S.-China economic ties have also become a source of anxiety in the U.S.-Japan alliance due to perceptions that China could replace Japan as the top priority of the United States.<sup>24</sup>

Developments thus far are in contrast to the predictions of many theorists who have expected that a power transition in Asia would inexorably lead to conflict

and instability in Asia. Although complex economic interdependence has thus far led China to seek regional stability as a condition for continued economic growth, there have been occasional spikes in political tensions between Japan and China, often driven by Chinese efforts to exclude or press its advantage with Japan in a regional context. Such efforts have been highlighted by China's opposition to Japan's bid for a seat on an expanded UN Security Council and an apparent competition between China and Japan to gain the regional political advantage at the expense of the other through the establishment of regional free trade arrangements or political groupings. China's efforts to favor the ASEAN Plus-Three dialogues over the establishment of an East Asia Summit with a wider scope of participation than China originally desired or Prime Minister Abe's efforts to build an alliance-focused, values-based multilateral security dialogue arrangements to include the United States, Australia, and India are examples of an emerging Sino-Japanese political competition for regional influence within Asia.

South Korea's response to the rise of China initially welcomed new economic opportunities represented by the China market, and there was little concern for political and security ramifications of China's rise until China's Northeast project drew South Korean public attention in 2004 for its claims to the historical Koguryo kingdom that overlapped with the northern part of the Korean peninsula. This incident alerted Koreans to the possible political dangers of China's rise, while rising Chinese economic competition with South Korean exports in third country markets forced Koreans to worry about China's centripetal economic pull.

Generally speaking, South Korea has been much more hesitant to involve itself in the regional competition between China and Japan. Roh Moo-hyun asserted South Korea's neutrality in describing South Korea's role as that of a "balancer" in the spring of 2005.<sup>25</sup> He sought to balance the level of South Korea's military contacts with China and Japan roughly equally while pursuing a more "equal" relationship with the United States. During this period, South Korea studiously avoided associations with Sino-Japanese competition. Despite South Korea's democratic credentials, Mr. Abe and Mr. Aso bypassed Korea (and South Korea wished to be bypassed) in their efforts to promote values-based regional cooperation.

Despite these efforts to disassociate itself with Sino-Japanese political competition and to take what appears to be a much more accommodating and even appeasement-oriented policy toward China compared with that of Japan during this period, South Korea did take certain defensive measures against rising Chinese influence, including negotiation of the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA). With the government of conservative Lee Myung Bak, South Korea reaffirmed the importance of the U.S.-ROK "comprehensive strategic alliance," placing clear priority on the United States as South Korea's number one partner and strengthening security cooperation with Japan. However, South Korea did not pursue this strategy at the expense of China, simultaneously upgrading Sino-ROK ties to a "comprehensive strategic partnership" and maintaining China as South Korea's primary destination for trade and investment. Increasingly, South

Korea appears to be aligning with the United States and Japan while also attempting to avoid issues that might place South Korea in direct opposition to China.

There are several differences in South Korea's response to China's rise versus that of Japan. Under the Roh Moo-hyun administration, South Korea positioned itself to prepare for a power transition, engaging with China economically while reinforcing comprehensive ties with Washington. Given South Korea's small size, a military response to China's rise was unthinkable, but the alliance with the United States has increasingly become a political platform upon which South Korea is able to stand so as not to be taken advantage of by China. Also, South Korea is not a peer competitor with China for regional leadership, and has promoted relations with China primarily on an economic basis. Finally, as a small player in Asia, South Korea's traditional *realpolitik* approach has been to bandwagon with the more dominant player. While China is becoming a challenger to U.S. power in some respects, China has not yet demonstrated a near-to-mid-term capacity to overtake America's regional military or political role. For this reason, Chinese efforts to woo South Korea continue to fall on deaf ears—at least until China actually surpasses the United States. Until then, more bandwagoning by South Korea with the United States and Japan can be expected.

### **The U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK Alliance: GPR and Structural Changes**

As one looks to a possible fifth phase in the U.S.-Japan alliance (based on the Inoguchi schema), Japan's bifurcated view of the peninsula—in the form of a direct and growing threat from North Korea as well as in the form of an increasingly overlapping relationship with South Korea—comes into clear focus. There is also the suggestion of a convergence of views on the changing nature of security and the priority needs among the United States, Japan, and South Korea that may provide the foundations for enhanced trilateral policy coordination. Inoguchi describes the next decade as likely to be characterized by a Japan that aspires to be a “global ordinary power,” while South Korea's president Lee Myung-bak talks of a “global Korea” and the United States challenges both Japan and South Korea to think of alliance cooperation in global terms.

The trends shaping Japan's own role as a “global ordinary power” have the following implications related to South Korea: (1) reduction in U.S. hegemony means that the United States will seek broader partnerships in the provision of public goods with like-minded nations; (2) partnership with Japan alone may not be sufficient to meet all U.S. security objectives in this context; (3) balancing behavior on the security front in the context of China's rise will be aimed at expanding the coalition of like-minded partners, including Korea.<sup>26</sup> So there will be greater pressure for U.S. approaches toward Japan and South Korea to converge and greater pressure to see Japan and South Korea work together collectively to promote regional security and stability. The parallelism inherent in the respective U.S. approaches to South Korea and Japan begs the question of whether it has finally become possible for Japan and South Korea to manage political differences over history while working together more closely on common global

and nontraditional security objectives. To the extent that Japan becomes a “middle power” in Asia, closer cooperation with South Korea as a close partner on a roughly equal basis seems natural and reasonable.<sup>27</sup>

U.S. strategy has increasingly framed the alliances in the similar terms and in a global/functional context, although management of the two alliances has proceeded on parallel tracks. The implementation of the Global Posture Review (GPR) during the Bush administration placed U.S. defense objectives into a universal, omnidirectional framework designed to respond to uncertainty rather than a fixed threat. The GPR defined security objectives in functional terms and was organized virtually without regard to region. It was also informed by a post-9/11 focus on defense against unknown, unspecified, or nonstate threats, with the objectives of enhancing capabilities, maintaining deterrence and defense commitments, and reducing the U.S. footprint abroad. This approach strongly emphasized the need for flexibility to respond to threats in multiple forms and was premised on the idea that allies are bound together by common values that transcend geopolitical or regional considerations that could lead to differences in priority or response among alliance partners.<sup>28</sup>

Transformation of U.S. forces in both Korea and Japan has also been aimed at reducing tensions at the local level deriving from frictions caused by U.S. troop presence. These tensions had been a flashpoint for local conflicts that had the potential to inflame public opinion, resulting in erosion of public support for the alliance in the host country. The 1995 Okinawa rape incident involving U.S. soldiers and a 2002 traffic accident in South Korea involving a U.S. military vehicle that struck and killed two Korean middle school girls on a public highway illustrated how local-level tensions inflamed perceptions that U.S. forces operated with impunity, resulting in intense negative public opinion toward the alliance.<sup>29</sup> The GPR provided momentum for pursuit of reconsolidation of U.S. presence and reduction of bases in an effort to reduce tensions with local communities in the respective host countries. Derek Mitchell observes that the GPR as a manifestation of U.S. defense transformation also had a transformational effect on U.S. military alliances by allowing for South Korea and Japan to take greater responsibility for their own defense.<sup>30</sup>

### **Rationalizing the Interrelationship Between the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK Security Alliances**

Although many of the same issues have been raised as part of GPR implementation in Korea and Japan—albeit in the context of managing two different alliance relationships—the GPR process was ultimately silent on the question of whether or not the two alliances are really going in the same direction. It is also striking that the GPR implementation in Japan and South Korea respectively have been implemented in parallel, with relatively little interaction or effort to link the alliances with each other. This raises a variety of questions, such as whether it might be possible for the United States to work together with South Korea and Japan to develop an integrated regional security approach or alternatively whether the United States

might be seeking to lower its exposure in South Korea while relying more heavily on Japan as an anchor in East Asia. Even despite the similarity of issue types and the promotion under the Bush administration with both South Korea and Japan of the concept of a global alliance deriving from shared values, it is not completely clear how the U.S.-ROK and U.S.-Japan alliances might evolve and interact with each other in the future. It is possible to consider five possible scenarios for the future development of the alliances in relationship to each other.

### *A Regionalized Alliance Network*

In this scenario, the United States would consider binding together Japan and South Korea as the core of a multilateral security alliance (with likely additional involvement and support from Australia) that would play a stabilizing and socializing role in Asia similar to that of NATO in Europe. Trilateral cooperation might form the anchor of security cooperation in Northeast Asia.

A variety of commentators have expressed support for moving in such a direction. Michael Auslin and Christopher Griffin have argued that trilateral coordination among the United States, Japan, and South Korea might be bolstered by the establishment of a Trilateral Security Committee that would “affirm and guide working-level negotiations among the three countries” based on a “common strategic vision” and focused on cooperation for humanitarian disasters, cooperative maritime security, and missile defense.<sup>31</sup> Mo Jongryn and Jo Hyeran argue that U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateralism would be more effective than a parallel bilateral alliance structure or a “virtual alliance,” which they regard as an insufficient platform from which to promote the level of cooperation needed to face common challenges. Mo and Jo also argue that as the “best anchor for Asian regionalism for the foreseeable future,” U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateralism provides a viable foundation for building regionalism in Asia, is a potentially effective tool for managing the foreign policy implications of domestic political changes in the three countries, and is particularly well suited to address specific functional issues, including management of the North Korean challenge.<sup>32</sup> Frank Umbach has argued that harmonization between the United States-Japan and United States-ROK “allow a greater bi- and trilateral security and defense co-operation towards the North Korean security challenges on the peninsula and significantly open a way for a much closer relationship between Japan and South Korea.”<sup>33</sup>

### *Maintenance of a “Virtual Alliance”*

In this approach, the United States would continue to manage alliances with Japan and South Korea bilaterally, but encourage greater cooperation and consultation between and among them so as to stimulate a greater mutual understanding of the core objectives of security cooperation in a regional context. Ralph Cossa advocated at what in retrospect appears to have been the high point of U.S.-Japan-Korea cooperation to date that “the US, Japan, and Korea should

work toward forming a ‘virtual alliance.’ This would not be a formal alliance, but a virtual one where the three countries would build on the two bilateral relations with the US.” Cossa advocated such an approach precisely because the challenges of effective political management of history and territory issues between Japan and South Korea have continuously been a source of friction in the Japan-ROK relationship that has prevented deeper cooperation as a practical possibility.<sup>34</sup>

*Status quo (Transformation) or “Passive Delinking”*

The GPR as it has been implemented conforms most closely to this path. In this scenario, the United States would continue to focus on its own needs in the context of global security trends and work with alliance partners in Asia as needed to maintain maximum flexibility to respond to both conventional and nonconventional threats, but would not “overcommit” to local defense or “overinvest” in alliance structures that may ultimately be rejected as a result of local political frictions stemming from the U.S. forward-deployed presence. Alliance cooperation would be based on the assets and support alliance partners can offer, but little concern would be given to the extent to which alliances work together and little coordination is necessary to promote cooperation among alliance partners.

*Focus on U.S.-Japan Alliance; Accept Inevitability of South Korean Alignment with China*

In this scenario, the U.S. alliance with Japan holds real strategic value for U.S. long-term interests, but the end of the Cold War has diminished the geostrategic value of the Korean Peninsula in Asia. In any event, realist theory suggests that a unified Korea will inevitably become part of China’s “continental” sphere of influence, especially in the context of China’s rising power. U.S. efforts should focus on ensuring that the U.S.-Japan security alliance remains the bulwark for ensuring Asian stability; little effort is given to maintain the alliance with Korea given the likelihood that pressure from China will decrease Korean incentives for strategic cooperation with the United States in the long term.<sup>35</sup>

*Independence/Autonomy*

In this scenario, technological advances have diminished the necessity of alliance cooperation and alliances are a drag on U.S. freedom of action to pursue its national interests. Instead, “coalitions of the willing,” in which countries join the United States based on their perceived self-interest rather than through preexisting alliance commitments, will assure support for the United States on critical issues. Likewise, autonomy for former alliance partners reduces security burdens on the United States and eliminates “free riding.”

*Replace the Alliances with a Multilateral Security Architecture*

This scenario envisions the evolution of an East Asian Community along the lines of the development of the European Union. In this scenario, the United States as an anchor for a regional approach to security would be overtaken by a mutually cooperative, presumably China-centric, approach in which alliances would no longer be viable or necessary. Although some Chinese scholars argue for such an outcome, most analysts regard continued Sino-Japanese rivalry as one among many reasons why such a vision is unlikely to be viable, at least in the near future.

### Conclusion

There are a number of reasons why pursuit of greater integration between U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Korea alliances as two parallel alliance structures may be worth considering. First, this chapter illustrates that historically, the Korean peninsula cannot be easily divorced from Japan's security concerns, so a strategy that integrates Korean peninsula security with that of Japan is essential. Second, the respective U.S. presences are designed to serve regional security objectives of providing for regional stability and enhancing peace and prosperity. There is not yet a firm guarantee that such an environment can be maintained in the absence of a U.S. forward-deployed presence in the region, especially in the context of China's rise. Third, South Korea and Japan, as fellow democracies, should for all intents and purposes be natural allies whose interests in preventing the spread of instability globally strongly coincide with each other. This has been most strikingly illustrated in recent years by the South Korean and Japanese military commitments to assist the United States in the effort to stabilize the situation in Iraq. Fourth, the respective alliances, if properly understood, should be a factor that would help to mitigate tensions between South Korea and Japan, thereby reassuring both countries against the respective threats they may perceive from the other. Fifth, both alliances are finding themselves drawn into global/out-of-area operations as the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK alliances "go global" as instruments that can be utilized to address common security interests outside of a specific regional context.

This chapter has shown that despite that South Korea's role and relationship to the U.S.-Japan alliance has evolved, mostly in positive ways, while North Korea continues to dramatize Japan's worst security nightmares regarding the future of the peninsula. Increasingly, there is a basis for cooperation underlying the parallel alliances that argues for greater integration of the two relationships as a fundamental component of U.S. policy in the region. As Nye and Armitage have argued, "It is worth remembering that whatever short-term differences exist among the United States, Japan, and South Korea on how best to deal with the threat posed by North Korea's nuclear ambitions, we are united by common values and shared economic and security interests."<sup>36</sup> Likewise, the need to anchor such values as the core principles upon which effective regional and multilateral cooperation can be built, the opportunity to use shared commitments to norms and values as a binding force for Korea and Japan, respectively, to work together

to overcome emotional and historical baggage in Korea-Japan relations, and the requirements of a broadening functional and nontraditional security agenda that motivate cooperation in the face of shared challenges suggest that there is a basis for deepening U.S.-Japan-Korea policy coordination. South Korea's role and relationship to the U.S.-Japan alliance is likely to deepen in the coming years only in the context of such a U.S.-Japan-ROK "network alliance" framework.

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# Liberal Deterrence of China: Challenges in Achieving Japan's China Policy

*Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki*

One of the biggest challenges facing Japan and the United States is to incorporate China into the global community as a responsible and constructive member. This has been a long-held policy objective for the two countries, especially Japan. Since the 1970s, Japan has sought to make China economically affluent, politically stable, friendly, and engaged with the outside world. The U.S.-Japan alliance was one of the two main methods of pursuing this objective; economically engaging China was the other. This policy, which I call *liberal deterrence*, combines elements of deterrence, economic interdependence, and security interdependence.<sup>1</sup> Liberal deterrence allowed Japan to realize its policy goals vis-à-vis China. In pursuing this goal, Japan expected the U.S.-Japan alliance to serve three functions: to deter China's aggressive behavior, alleviate the security dilemma, and induce good behavior from China.

The United States and Japan have been mostly successful in moving China toward a constructive path. China has become affluent, more stable, and more open. There has been no armed conflict between Japan and China, and the two countries have a "mutually beneficial relationship based on common strategic interests."<sup>2</sup> Today, Japan still expects liberal deterrence to work and the alliance to serve these functions.

The question asked here is: will it? In this chapter, I examine the ability of the United States and Japan to shape China's behavior. What underlying conditions and mechanisms allowed liberal deterrence to work? Do the conditions that made the U.S.-Japan alliance successful during the Cold War still exist today and will they in the future?

My argument is that the conditions that allowed the alliance to play a constructive role are eroding. The change comes primarily from the lack of common security threat from the Soviet Union. Without it, the alliance lost the ability to contribute to China's security and hence to induce cooperative behavior.

Pressuring China is difficult. Unlike the Soviet Union, China is an important economic and sometimes diplomatic partner of Japan and the United States. Neither isolation of China nor containment is a policy option. Deterrence alone will not suffice, as avoiding conflict is not the only policy objective. What is needed is a balance between hard and soft policies.<sup>3</sup>

In the sections that follow, I first review the logic behind Japan's liberal deterrence policy. I go on to examine the three functions of the alliance and the conditions that made them successful. I then examine whether those conditions are still in place. I conclude by drawing implications about the alliance's ability to achieve its policy objectives toward China in the future.

### **Making China a Constructive Power**

Japan and the United States articulated their strategic objectives toward China in 2005 in the Joint Statement of U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee. They stated one of the objectives as follows: "Develop a cooperative relationship with China, welcoming the country to play a responsible and constructive role regionally as well as globally."<sup>4</sup> Both countries had long held this objective.<sup>5</sup> Similar expressions are found in earlier documents. For example, in the 1996 Joint Declaration on Security, the two countries emphasized the importance of China's positive and constructive role.<sup>6</sup>

Japan has pursued a dual approach in promoting a constructive China. One element was to minimize the likelihood of conflict through deterrence. The U.S.-Japan alliance serves this end. The other element was to increase economic interdependence through economic assistance and trade. The Yoshida Doctrine, which is often understood to be a policy that prioritized economic development over military buildup, was envisioned as an important tool to engage China economically.<sup>7</sup>

### **Logic of Liberal Deterrence**

The logic of liberal deterrence is to induce better behavior by increasing the benefits of cooperation via economic and security interdependence while increasing the cost of misbehavior via deterrence. It assumes that states make rational choices based on cost-benefit calculations. Deterrence works on the will of the potential aggressor. It raises the cost of initiating attack by signaling capability and will for retaliation. The potential aggressor is deterred when she/he calculates that the cost of war outweighs the possible benefit of war.<sup>8</sup> Economic interdependence pacifies when the expected benefit from trade is greater than the expected gain from war minus the war's cost. This mechanism is reinforced when the expected gain from trade is expected to continue in the future.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, when states are dependent on other states for their own security, aggressive behavior is suppressed because it would decrease the chances of survival.

$$EGW < ECW + EBT$$

EGW = Expected gain from war

ECW = Expected cost of war (= war's cost + damage incurred by retaliation/defense)

EBT = Expected benefit of trade (= current benefit + future benefit of trade)

War is restrained when the cost of war (defection) is higher than the expected benefit gained from it. The cost of war includes: (1) the actual cost of war fighting; (2) the potential damage incurred by retaliation or defense; and (3) the opportunity cost of losing a benefit that could have been gained through trade and economic activities. It follows that by increasing the military capabilities for deterrence and strengthening trade ties, the likelihood of war will be reduced.

This mechanism follows the literature on the logic of cooperation. Axelrod and others have found that a combination of punishment and rewards induce cooperation. Incentives for cooperation work best when the signals for reward and punishment are clear and credible.<sup>10</sup>

Because the strategic objective of the United States and Japan is not just to avoid war but also to encourage a constructive China, the equation is a little more complicated. What is to be avoided is aggressive behavior by China. Also, what is missing from the above equation is the benefit of security cooperation. The greater the United States and Japan can make the value on the right side of the equation, the smaller the likelihood China will engage in aggressive behavior.

$EGAb < ECAB + EBT + EBSCo$

EGAb = Expected Gain from Aggressive behavior

ECAB = Expected Cost of Aggressive behavior

EBT = Expected Benefit of Trade

EBSCo = Expected Benefit of Security Cooperation

### **The Three Functions of the Alliance for Japan**

#### *Deterring China*

Japan's minimum security objective is to prevent a direct conventional or nuclear attack on its territory. The first function of the U.S.-Japan alliance is to deter against such an attack. Although the alliance is not designed to counter any specific country, China is one of the countries that have the capability to attack Japan and is an object of deterrence.

The objective of the U.S.-Japan alliance vis-à-vis China shifted over time. Formed in 1950, the alliance initially aimed at containing the communist spread in East Asia, including China. After the normalization the alliance worked with China to balance the Soviet threat.

The West had "lost" China in 1949. The Korean War of 1950 was widely seen as an attempt by the communists to change the regime in South Korea. Japan worried that it was the next target. In 1950, China suffered from the civil war and did not pose any military threat to Japan, but the communist threat was generally seen as monolithic.<sup>11</sup>

China demonstrated limited offensive capability against Japan when it tested its nuclear weapon in 1964.<sup>12</sup> By the 1970s, China had developed DF-3 (*Dongfeng 3* or CSS-2) that could target Japan. During this period, Japan relied on the United States for nuclear deterrence against China.<sup>13</sup> Aside from the nuclear threat, Japan saw China as a threat to the offshore islands in the East China Sea.<sup>14</sup> These worries disappeared after the two governments began a normalization process and put aside territorial disputes.

After the normalization in 1972, Japan and the United States saw China as a force to counter the Soviet threat. China also saw Japan and the United States as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. Consequently, the perceived need to deter Chinese aggression decreased. In fact, the United States and Japan sought to strengthen China. To this end, the United States sold arms to China in the 1980s, shared intelligence, and developed joint military facilities.<sup>15</sup> This relationship continued until the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Japanese discourse on China changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The two threats Japanese security specialists identified before the normalization of 1972—nuclear attack and hostilities against the offshore islands—reemerged as concerns after 1992.<sup>16</sup> Japan reacted acutely to two events that suggested China's increased assertiveness in these areas: the passing of China's Territorial Waters Law in 1992 and China's nuclear weapons test in 1996.

Although most security and foreign policy specialists in Japan agree that a likelihood of a Chinese attack is extremely low, China does have the capability to attack Japan with nuclear weapons. China possesses a relatively small but a growing nuclear arsenal. It has about 46 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and about 35 intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) that can target Japan.<sup>17</sup> Given the grave consequences of a nuclear attack, it is important for Japan to deter such an attack however remote the possibility.

China began rapid modernization of its conventional forces in the early 1990s. Two things provided the impetus. First in the Gulf War of 1991, the United States demonstrated a new way of war fighting with the use of precision-guided munitions (PGM). The Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) became acutely aware of its backwardness. Second, the end of the Cold War and the improvement of China-Russia relations opened the way for arms sales from Russia.

China has acquired Sukhoi-27 (Su-27) fighters and Sukhoi-30 fighters (Su-30) from Russia. China domestically produces J-10 fighters. In addition, China is deploying technologies that increase its airpower. China has 10 mid-air refueling tankers with 8 more on order, and is developing airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircrafts.<sup>18</sup> In 2009, China is reported to have some 300 Su-27 and Su-30 fighters. These fighter jets can reach Japan. From airbases such as Wuhu, for example, Okinawa, Kyushu, and mainland Japan up to Hiroshima are well within their range. Japan possesses 150 F-15 fighter jets that are comparable to Su-27/Su-30 in their capabilities. Japan also has 70 F-4 fighter jets of an older generation and 40 Mitsubishi F-2 fighters.<sup>19</sup>

Proximity to airbases and air defense system gives the defender an advantage. So even if the attacker has a numerical advantage, launching a successful

offensive is still quite difficult.<sup>20</sup> Most security analysts agree that China does not yet possess offensive capability to conquer even Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> Conquering Japan would be much more difficult given the geographical distance and the strength of Japan's defense. China is highly unlikely to launch an outright offensive without a chance of success.

As noted above, a possible conflict over the Senkaku (Diaoyu in Chinese) Islands reemerged as a security concern for Japan after the Cold War. Unlike the mainland, an attack against an offshore island might succeed and is, therefore, more conceivable. For example, the Senkaku islands are close to China and are too small to host a large air defense system, making them vulnerable to attack.

The Chinese navy became more active in the 1990s, and Japanese Defense White Paper reported that China's increased activities in its surrounding seas for the first time in 1992:

China is recently moving to expand the sphere of its maritime activity by reinforcing its activities on the Spratly and Paracel Islands and enhancing its presence in the region. China is reported to be considering the purchase of Soviet Su-27 fighters, a move that is being watched in connection with movements toward the expansion of naval operational theater. In February 1992, China promulgated and enforced the Territorial Waters Act. It is worth noting that the Act declares as part of the Chinese territory Senkaku Islands, which is an integral part of Japan, and the Spratly and Paracel Islands, which are claimed by other countries.<sup>22</sup>

In 2009, the Ministry of Defense identified the invasion against the islands as one of five contingencies to which the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) have to respond.<sup>23</sup>

The additional forces provided by the United States through the alliance would obviously make a Chinese attack on the Senkaku islands more difficult. The United States has fighter jets in Okinawa and one carrier battle group home ported in Japan. The possibility of escalation that involves the United States forces a more complicated war plan on China. The fear of an inadvertent escalation, including the possible use of nuclear weapons, deters even a limited use of force.

The U.S. government has often said that the U.S. defense commitments to Japan under the Article V of the Treaty of Mutual Security Cooperation extend to the Senkaku Islands.<sup>24</sup> However, U.S. officials have sometimes been ambiguous about the commitment. For example, U.S. ambassador to Japan Walter Mondale claimed in 1996 that the treaty did not apply to the Senkaku Islands.<sup>25</sup> In 2009, deputy assistant secretary of defense, David Sedney, made an ambivalent statement on the issue in Beijing after the Chinese government protested the Japanese prime minister's comments that the islands came under the U.S.-Japan security alliance.<sup>26</sup> Although each time the U.S. administration quickly corrected the error, these events planted seeds of concern in Japan.<sup>27</sup>

The Senkaku Islands issue creates a paradox for the alliance. The islands are mere rocks of little material value far away from the mainland. Given the island's low value and the likely cost to Japan-China relations, the probability of China

trying to take the islands is low. The likelihood of the United States and China fighting over the islands is even more remote. The *New York Times* once wrote: “It would be hard to imagine a more bizarre scenario for a war between the United States and China.”<sup>28</sup> For these reasons, U.S. officials have been puzzled by Japan’s insistence on U.S. defense commitment to the islands.<sup>29</sup> However, because the islands are far away from the SDF bases, an attack on the islands is one of the few scenarios China actually has the capability to carry out. And because the islands seem unimportant, the credibility of the alliance’s claim to defend them is sometimes questioned. This fact decreases the deterrent capability of the alliance against potential attacks on the islands.

There has not been a military conflict between Japan and China since 1945. It then seems the alliance has been successful in deterring Chinese aggression. However, there has not been a single crisis that required immediate deterrence.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, we cannot determine whether the deterrence succeeded or not simply did not matter. Nevertheless, the conditions that deterrence theory says cause successful deterrence were present in the U.S./Japan-China case. The U.S.-Japan alliance has preponderant military power, both conventional and nuclear. China had little chance of a successful aggression against Japan. In addition, the three countries were quasi-allies after the 1970s and China’s security was dependent on the U.S.-Japan alliance. The negative consequences of aggression against Japan were clear to China. China would have suffered retaliation from Japan and the United States and lost a counterweight against the Soviet Union.

### *Avoiding the Security Dilemma*

The U.S.-Japan alliance is expected to dampen the security dilemma between Japan and China. The security dilemma occurs when states, by striving to increase their own security, inadvertently make others feel less secure. The other responds in like fashion and resulting in a vicious cycle or spiral where states’ efforts to produce security heightens insecurity.<sup>31</sup> Scholars have argued that the two nation’s history makes them likely to experience the security dilemma.<sup>32</sup> The alliance allows Japan to maintain a relatively small defense budget and an exclusively defense-oriented posture—*senshu boei*—which mitigates the security dilemma.

China became concerned about Japan’s military power toward the end of the 1980s. Until then, China had seen Japan’s capability as helpful in its rivalry with the Soviet Union. For example, in 1980, Prime Minister Hua Guofeng stated that China welcomed Japan’s military alliance with the United States and said Japan should increase its defense spending to about 2% of its GNP.<sup>33</sup> Again in 1983, China expressed its support for Japan’s military buildup.<sup>34</sup> In 1987, however, China expressed its concern when the Japanese government decided to abolish the so-called 1% ceiling on its defense spending.<sup>35</sup> Two things may account for the change in China’s attitudes. One is the decrease in the perceived threat from the Soviet Union. China’s relations with the Soviet Union gradually improved in the 1980s. The other is the increased defense cooperation between Japan and

the United States and an increased U.S. military presence in the region. Chinese security specialists began to see the alliance as an impetus for Japan to become militarily more active rather than a restraint on its military activism.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, China has seemed to oscillate between these views of the alliance to this day.

After the end of the Cold War, Japan attempted to sustain the alliance by participating in overseas missions and being more active in supporting the U.S. forces outside of Japan.<sup>37</sup> China seems less concerned about this general trend than the capabilities Japan develops that might impact a military conflict over Taiwan. China has expressed relatively little concern about Japan's expansion of its overseas activities insofar as they occur under UN auspices or as part of anti-terrorism activities. China has also been relatively quiet in its criticisms of Japan's increased power projection capabilities. On the other hand, China reacted acutely to Japan's development of a ballistic missile defense system in the mid-1990s. China's concern was that the system might be used to defend Taiwan and that Taiwan will be integrated in the U.S.-Japan alliance.

The ability of the alliance to alleviate the security dilemma between China and Japan declined as China became concerned about the United States rather than the Soviet Union and began to see the military capability of the United States and Japan as aggregate. However, China's concerns center on capabilities that weaken China's position in a possible conflict over Taiwan.

### *Inducing Cooperative Chinese Behavior*

China had often been cooperative when it served its interests. For example, Deng Xiaoping was quick to shelve the territorial dispute with Japan when China needed Japan's cooperation after normalization. Deng said in October 1978: "These issues can be shelved for a while. They can be shelved for ten years. . . . the next generation will have more wisdom."<sup>38</sup> Mao Zedong showed similar flexibility on Taiwan when China sought to normalize relations with the United States. Mao said: "The issue [Taiwan] is not an important one. The issue of international situation is an important one."<sup>39</sup> In 1992, to encourage the emperor to visit, China accommodated Japan's position and did not pressure Japan for an apology from the emperor on past war aggression.<sup>40</sup> The Chinese government expected the visit to establish good relations with Japan and help end its international isolation after the Tiananmen Square incident of 1989.<sup>41</sup> As we have seen, China cooperated militarily with the United States in the 1980s. The two countries shared intelligence and the United States supplied arms to China.<sup>42</sup> China allowed the United States to place nine seismographic monitoring sites in China to monitor Soviet underground nuclear tests.<sup>43</sup>

More recently, China cooperated with the United States and Japan on the North Korean nuclear weapons problem. China supported the establishment of the Six-Party Talks in 2003. Three things likely contributed to China's behavior. First, China feared that the United States would reprise its preemptive attack on Iraq in North Korea.<sup>44</sup> War in China's vicinity would disrupt China's most important political objective: continued economic development. China stopped



oil pipeline flows to North Korea from February to March 2003 to pressure the North Koreans while organizing the talks.<sup>45</sup> Second, China feared that a nuclear North Korea would cause Japan to develop nuclear weapons. Third, China wanted recognition as a responsible power.<sup>46</sup>

The evidence supports the claim that China cooperates when the benefits of doing so exceed the costs. This indicates that, to cause China to behave cooperatively, the alliance must possess the capacity to offer inducements as well as punishment. In the 1970s and 1980s, the United States and Japan could offer benefits in security, economic, and political terms. With the disappearance of the Soviet threat, the security benefits the alliance can offer China have decreased. The United States also lost a valuable tool in influencing China when it stopped its arms sales to China as a part of the sanctions it imposed after the Tiananmen Square incident. China sought an alternative source of arms from Russia, and this resulted in the United States losing control of the PLA's military modernization process. China is very dependent on the economic benefits that the United States and Japan can offer. Although the relative importance of the official development assistance (ODA) has declined as China developed and gained alternative sources of foreign investments.

While Taiwan is a source of instability in the region, it provides the alliance with a tool to influence China's behavior. In periods of cross-Strait tension, China depended on the United States and Japan to restrain Taiwan's moves toward independence.

### **Prospects for Inducing China's Cooperation**

Inducing cooperation from China based on liberal deterrence policy requires threats of punishment, using military and economic means, and benefits provided by economic means. In addition, security benefits play an important role. In this section, I examine whether or not the alliance can induce China to be cooperative and responsible in its foreign policy.

#### *Deterrence*

The military gap between China and the U.S.-Japan alliance remains large. There is little chance that China would succeed in an outright aggression against Japan. The alliance has the capability to deny and retaliate against an invasion. Japan alone has a formidable defense plus the geographical advantage of being an island. In addition, there is little doubt about the U.S. commitment to defend Japan.<sup>47</sup> The alliance is likely to deter Chinese invasion for the foreseeable future.

The greater the scale of potential aggression, the better deterrence works. Not responding to outright aggression would have serious consequences to the security of Japan and the credibility of the United States as a global power. Hence, it is highly likely that China is deterred from outright invasion.<sup>48</sup>

The corollary to this logic is that skirmishes and threats to the offshore islands are harder to deter. If the potential aggressor doubts the defender's commitment,

aggression is more likely. The danger here is that the aggressor might be wrong about the defender's resolve, and what was contemplated as a limited attack on the islet might escalate to an outright war that involves two nuclear powers. Increased power projection capability heightens China's capability to take the Senkaku Islands. Because expending massive military resources to defend the islands seems irrational, and thus less credible, deterrence based solely on military means has its limits. Military means must be combined with other tools to deter skirmishes.

What are the prospects for the alliance to deter China's aggression in the region? Maintaining regional stability is an important policy goal for Japan and the United States, although it is not exactly within the scope of the alliance. The possibility of war over Taiwan causes instability in the region and thus it becomes important for the alliance to deter military conflicts. The prospect of military means deterring conflict over Taiwan, however, is uncertain. China does not yet have the capability to conquer Taiwan. However, China is increasing its military capability and the deterrent capability of the alliance may decline under certain future scenarios.

China is modernizing its forces to deter U.S.-Japan intervention in the Taiwan Strait and prevent Taiwanese independence. China is strengthening its antiaccess/area denial capabilities to increase the cost of U.S. (and Japanese) intervention.<sup>49</sup> China's objective is to give the United States and Japan second thoughts about intervention. China hopes to deter United States and Japan from intervening while the alliance hopes to deter China by communicating the negative consequences of China's use of force against Taiwan, albeit ambiguously.

As with mainland Japan, the alliance's deterrent threats are most effective in protecting Taiwan against outright attack. China knows that the United States will intervene militarily in these cases. Yet because the United States is ambiguous about what circumstances merit its intervention in a Taiwan contingency, deterrence is harder in a less clear-cut cases. China maintains that Taiwan is an internal affair and is unwilling to engage in a dialogue about Taiwan. This creates ambiguity about its possible action in a crisis. This ambiguity on both sides could lead to miscalculation about each other's intentions and deterrence failure.

### *Security Interdependence*

During the Cold War China depended on the United States and Japan as a counterweight to the Soviet threat. China also relied on the United States for modernization of its forces. This dependence on other states for security, which I call *strategic safety-net*, has contributed to China's willingness to cooperate.<sup>50</sup>

From the end of the Cold War until September 2001, the United States enjoyed a high level of security and did not need China's cooperation for its security. Japan, on the other hand, until the mid- to the late-1990s worried the United States might end the alliance, leaving it vulnerable. As a result, Japan took a series of steps to strengthen the alliance.<sup>51</sup> For example, new arrangements enabled the SDF to support the U.S. forces in rear areas outside of the Japanese territory.<sup>52</sup> As

a result of these steps, the effectiveness and geographical scope of the alliance increased, as did its capability to deter aggression.

During this period, China was ambivalent in its assessment of the utility of the alliance. As noted, China sometimes saw the alliance as restraining Japan's military rise and thus as a stabilizing factor for the region. China sometimes expected Japan to restrain U.S. actions in supporting Taiwan. After 1996, however, China began to see the U.S.-Japan alliance as an instrument to defend Taiwan and thus as damaging to Chinese interests. So while the alliance was effective in deterring China's use of force against Taiwan or Japan, its ability to induce Chinese cooperation had decreased with the disappearance of the common Soviet threat.

After 2001, the United States became somewhat dependent on China again as it sought cooperation in the fight against terror. China saw this as an opportunity to improve its relations with the United States. China cooperated with the United States, and indirectly with Japan, in sharing intelligence on terrorism.<sup>53</sup> As noted above, China was cooperative in initiating the Six-Party Talks. Both the United States and Japan reciprocated by supporting China in condemning Taiwan's position when it tried to hold a referendum in 2004.<sup>54</sup> One reason for their position was that with wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the North Korea situation, the United States could not afford a conflict in East Asia.

Although China benefits from the public goods provided by U.S. provision of global security, the United States seems more dependent on China for its security than vice versa. After Ma Ying-jeu became president of Taiwan in 2008, cross-strait relations improved markedly. Ma is not proindependence, and the Kuo Min Tang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) strengthened their ties during the eight years that the KMT was out of office. With the decreased possibility of Taiwan declaring independence, China needs less help from the United States to rein in Taiwan. On the other hand, the United States still needs to disperse a large amount of its forces and resources in Afghanistan, Pakistan and in the Middle East, and thus has fewer resources to spare for Asia-Pacific. As a result, United States depends on China to help solve problems like the North Korean missiles and nuclear weapons program. Japan is also dependent on China. Japan identifies North Korean missiles and nuclear weapons program as threats to its security and needs China to pressure North Korea to abandon these programs.<sup>55</sup>

### *Economic Sanctions*

In the early 1990s, some U.S. defense analysts suspicious of Chinese behavior promoted containment of China as a possible policy option. Sanctions were seen as part of a containment strategy. One reason that the United States rejected containment and chose instead to engage China was that the integration of the global economy limited the utility of sanctions. The United States and Japan had come to depend on trade with China and would injure themselves with sanctions. In addition, unilateral sanctions had limited value given alternative trade sources. Today, sanctions are less useful. The Chinese economy has become even more integrated with the global economy, and the United States and Japan's ability to use economic sanctions to influence Chinese behavior is more limited.

*Economic Interdependence*

The Chinese government's top priority is sustaining economic development. Economic development is seen as the solution to many domestic problems in China, such as income disparity and the lack of social cohesion in the absence of communism. China still depends on the United States and Japan for its economic growth. About 67% of its economy is dependent on overseas trade.<sup>56</sup> Comparable figures for developed economies such as the United States and Japan range from 10% to 20%.<sup>57</sup> China thus has little choice but to cooperate with the outside world to maintain its growth.<sup>58</sup>

Trade between Japan and China totaled \$266.4 billion (27.8 trillion) in 2008, exceeding Japan-U.S. trade. China is Japan's largest trading partner, and Japan is China's third largest trading partner,<sup>59</sup> and the United States is China's number one trading partner.<sup>60</sup> Trade with Japan and the United States make up about 23% of China's total trade. The three economies are deeply interdependent.

Economic interdependence is expected to deepen in the coming years. Today, China functions more as a production site than a consumer market, but this is expected to change and further increase interdependence. Overseas companies have invested in China with the expectation that the Chinese consumer market will grow and absorb their products.<sup>61</sup>

Deepening economic interdependence should positively influence Chinese behavior and choices. The influence cuts both ways, however. In September 2008, China surpassed Japan to become the U.S. government's largest foreign creditor.<sup>62</sup> By March 2009, China held \$1 trillion worth of U.S. treasury bonds.<sup>63</sup> Some argue these bonds can serve as leverage for China to shape U.S. behavior. During the heightened tension over the arrest of a Chinese skipper near the Senkaku islands in September 2010, some Chinese foreign policy specialists advocated to hurt the Japanese economy by buying Japanese yen.<sup>64</sup>

In addition, Japan lost a tool to influence China with when it decreased its ODA to China in 2003. Japan's cumulative ODA to China amounted to three trillion yen by 2008, and many of the projects before 2003 were big construction projects of roads, airports and energy plants. Since 2003, most of the projects have been directed at human resource development and environment protection.<sup>65</sup> Japan decided to review and decrease ODA because of public concern that China was building up its military and failed to appreciate Japan's aid. Also, by 2003 China was itself a donor of ODA to many countries such as North Korea and Laos. In addition, a large flow of foreign investment had depreciated the value of the ODA as a diplomatic card.<sup>66</sup>

*Prospects for Deterrence and Cooperation*

Out of the four sources of power to influence China, deterrence by military means remains the most powerful, while the alliance's ability to provide security goods to China diminished after the Cold War. This is the most consequential change in the relations. Economic sanctions will not be effective given the nature of the global economy. Economic interdependence will continue to provide the alliance

with influence over China, although China is acquiring similar influence over the United States and Japan.

The alliance's ability to deter outright aggression by military means will likely remain. It may become harder to deter limited aggression as China's military capability increases, however, raising the cost of intervention.

Prospects for cooperation remain uncertain. It is important for China to choose for itself policies that are in Japan and U.S. interests. The key is whether or not the United States and Japan can shape China's choices.

### Conclusion—Policy Recommendations

To induce cooperative behavior from China, it is important to make China dependent on the alliance for its security, as was the case during the Cold War. Recreating the *strategic safety-net* will encourage China to cooperate with the alliance to further its security. The absence of a large state threat makes this difficult. Yet as China's interests expand globally so too will the need to defend them. The provision of international public goods like safe sea-lanes can provide China with a reason to see the U.S.-Japan alliance as helpful to its security. Japan and the United States should try to engage China in cooperative security ventures. For example, Japan and China can collaborate in disaster-relief activities.

It is possible, of course, that the alliance may not have the ability to make a responsible and cooperative China. It is then important to combine the alliance's pressure with that created by other regional security architecture such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and other U.S. alliances in the region. Until recently, Japan and the United States have not been very enthusiastic in integrating the alliance activities with other regional frameworks.<sup>67</sup> More recently, however, there have been efforts to strengthen relations between Japan, South Korea, and Australia: the regional allies of the United States. Other countries, including China, have participated in U.S.-led military exercises as observers.<sup>68</sup> It is important to increase these efforts and use regional security frameworks to enmesh China in multiple regional security mechanisms.

In the meantime, it is important to maintain regular patrols of the offshore islands, to deter China from adventurism.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, measures have to be taken to alleviate the security dilemma. This could be done by increased communication between the United States-Japan and China. It is also important to establish codes of conduct in the disputed sea and to set up a maritime safety agreement so that low-intensity incidents do not spiral into military conflict.

### Notes

I would like to thank Benjamin H. Friedman, Narushige Michishita, and Takashi Inoguchi for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

1. "Liberal deterrence" is similar to Dale Copeland's "realistic engagement." Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and the Future of U.S.-China Relations," in

- G. John Ikenberry and Michaels Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Security interdependence, which is an important element in my “liberal deterrence,” is absent from his model.
2. “Joint Statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on Comprehensive Promotion of a ‘Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests (May 7, 2008).” Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/China/joint0805.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009)
  3. Richard Samuels describes Japan’s grand strategy as a Goldilocks strategy that seeks a middle ground between hard and soft power, as well as between Beijing and Washington. Richard Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). Here, I am arguing that the need for a combination of soft and hard approaches comes from China’s nature.
  4. “Joint Statement U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, Washington, DC, February 19, 2005.” Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/joint0502.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
  5. During the Cold War maintaining cooperative relations with China was an important strategic objective for the alliance. For example, in the Joint Communiqué of 1981, President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki agreed “to expand cooperative relations with the People’s Republic of China.” “Joint Communiqué Following Discussion with Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki of Japan, May 8, 1981,” *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1981/50881b.htm> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
  6. The Joint Declaration stated that the two leaders “emphasized that it is extremely important for the stability and prosperity of the region that China play a positive and constructive role, and, in this context, stressed the interest of both countries in furthering cooperation with China.” “Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security: Alliance for the 21st Century, 17 April 1996,” Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/security.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
  7. On the Yoshida doctrine as a basis for Japan’s constructive engagement policy toward China, see Michael Jonathan Green, “Managing Chinese Power: The View from Japan,” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 152, 158.
  8. It is also important for the potential aggressor and the deterrent to share an understanding of the situation. The threat should be credible and consequence of compliance and aggression should be clearly communicated and understood. On deterrence, see, for example, William W. Kaufmann, “The Requirements of Deterrence,” in William Kauffmann, ed., *Military Policy and National Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956); Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967); Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).
  9. On the increased pacifying effect of economic interdependence through guaranteed trade, see Dale C. Copeland, “Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations,” *International Security*, 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 5–41.
  10. Robert Axelrod, *Evolution of Cooperation* (Cambridge, MA: Basic Books, 2006); Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, “Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions,” *World Politics*, 38, no. 1 (October 1985): 226–254;

- Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics*, 38, no. 1 (October 1985): 1–24.
11. In Japan, a perception of monolithic threat of communist had changed by the mid-1970s. The 1976 Defense White Paper argues that "The People's Republic of China, long desiring to reinforce its military power has recently attempted a remarkable improvement and modernization of equipment. The immediate concern of the Chinese is with the Soviet Union; therefore their attempts at modernization are believed to be aimed at affecting an improved state of readiness against Soviet forces." Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*, 1976, p. 21. By 1977, the Defense Agency concluded "the restoration of a Sino-Soviet 'monolithic' threat is hardly conceivable." Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*, 1977, p. 33.
  12. China successfully tested its first atomic bomb in 1964, followed by a nuclear missile test in 1966 and a hydrogen bomb test in 1967.
  13. For example, the 1970 version of the Defense White Paper used the term "Communist China" and wrote that China was the only country in Asia developing nuclear weapons. Boeicho, *Nihon no Boei* [Defense Agency, Defense of Japan], October 1970, 29.
  14. Takuya Kubo, an official of the Japan Defense Agency (JDA), for example, wrote in February 1971 that possible threats to Japan included "conflicts over continental shelf and Okinawa." Takuya Kubo, "Boei Ryoku Seibi no Kangaekata (KB Kojin Ronbun)" [Concept for Defense Buildup (KB Personal Paper)], from the Sengo Nihon Seiji, Gaiko Database <http://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpn/documents/texts/JPSC/19710220.O1j.html/> (Accessed April 9, 2005). Threat to the offshore islands in the 1970s was not so much a threat of military operation against the islands but incursions by fishing boats. For details on this point, see Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki, "The Rise of 'China Threat' Arguments," Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006. For more details on the KB Paper, see Akihiko Tanaka, Anzen Hoshō—Sengo 50 Nen no Mosaku [Security—A 50 Year Search after the War] (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1997), pp. 244–248.
  15. For example, the United States and China had joint facilities in western China to monitor Soviet missile tests and China increased its exports of rare metals to the United States. Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1992), p. 120.
  16. For a detailed account of the threat debate in Japan, see Ueki, "The Rise of 'China Threat' Arguments," Chapter 6 "China Threat' Arguments in Japan."
  17. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2009* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2009), p. 382.
  18. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
  19. In addition, Japan has four E-767 AWACS aircrafts and two mid-air refueling tankers with two more on order. IISS, *The Military Balance 2009*, p. 393.
  20. If the attacker has twice as many fighter jets as the defender but must fly twice as far to reach the operating theater, then its numerical advantage essentially cancels out. If the attacker seeks air superiority, it has to defeat the enemy's fighters and then suppress the whole air defense system (short and longer range surface to air missiles or SAMs) to gain air superiority. This increases the force requirement on the offense.
  21. For example, United States Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009*, p. 44.
  22. Defense Agency, *Defense of Japan*, 1992, p. 48.
  23. Ministry of Defense, "Jieitai no Shorai Taisei ni tsuite (2)" [The Future Structure of the SDF (2)], document submitted to the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities,

- May 15, 2009, 3, <http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/ampobouei2/dai9/gjijisidai.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009)
24. Article V of the treaty states: "Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes." Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
  25. Nicholas D. Kristof, "An Asian Mini-Tempest over Mini Island Group," *The New York Times*, September 16, 1996, A8.
  26. Sedney's actual remark was this: "The United States' interest in this is very much to have the people involved work calmly and resolve the issues." "U.S., China Agree to Resume Regular Military Contact," *Japan Economic Newswire*, Kyodo News Service, February 28, 2009. LexisNexis Database (Accessed June 3, 2009). See also "Ryoyuken Mondai ni Tachiiranai," *Nikkei Shimbun*, March 1, 2009, 2.
  27. For example, after Sedney's 2009 remark, the U.S. government reassured the Japanese government of its defense commitments of the Senkaku Islands and Japan's Chief Cabinet Secretary, Takeo Kawamura disclosed the U.S. reassurance to the press. "Senkaku Shoto ni Anpo Joyaku Tekiyou, 'Bei Seifu no Kakunin Eta,' Kanbo Chokan" [Security Treaty Applies to Senkaku Islands, "Received Confirmation from the U.S. Government," Chief Cabinet Secretary] *Nikkei Shimbun*, March 6, 2009, 2. One source of the problem is the three-part official position of the United States: (1) The Senkaku Islands are under Japan's administrative control; (2) Article V of the Security Treaty applies to the Senkaku Islands; (3) The United States does not take a position on the question of the ultimate sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands. The U.S. position is sensible as a set of three, but U.S. officials have sometimes mixed up the parts or stated only one of the three, inviting confused reactions from Japan and China. On the official U.S. position, see "State Department Noon Briefing," March 24, 2004, <http://www.america.gov/st/washfile-english/2004/March/20040324170337xjsnommis0.4507105.html> (Accessed July 2, 2009); Larry A. Niksch, "Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands Dispute: The U.S. Legal Relationship and Obligations," *CRS Report for Congress*, Order Code 96-798, September 30, 1996.
  28. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Would You Fight for These Islands?" *The New York Times*, October 20, 1996, Section 4, 3.
  29. Green, "Managing Chinese Power," p. 162.
  30. Many studies have claimed that a mere absence of conflict cannot be identified as a success of deterrence. See, for example, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett, "General Deterrence between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models," *American Political Science Review*, 87, no. 1 (March 1993): 61-73.
  31. The security dilemma worsens under certain conditions, such as when it is difficult to differentiate between offensive and defensive weapons and when offense is dominant. Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-214.
  32. For example, Thomas Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 49-80.
  33. Hua Guofeng's remark during a press conference in Tokyo, May 1980. *Asahi Shimbun*, May 30, 1980.
  34. Hu Yaobang said during a meeting with Prime Minister Nakasone on November 23, 1983. "We can understand that Japan's military power is weak while its economy prospers. It is natural for Japan to possess a defense capability for self-defense. We trust



- Japan and I am confident that Japan will never again attack China however much Japan expands its defense capability. I understand the Prime Minister's explanation about Japan's defense policy. However, there may be countries in South East Asia that may be concerned about Japan's military buildup." *Asahi Shimbun*, November 24, 1983. Also in *Nicchu Kankei Kihon Shiryoshu* [Basic Documents on Japan-China Relations], 643–644.
35. Deng Xiaoping did not meet with Minister of State for Defense Kurihara during his visit to China in May–June 1987. Deng expressed his concerns about the abolition of the 1% ceiling during his meeting with Junya Yano of Komeito Party. On China's concerns about Japan's defense increase, see, for example, Hua Xin, "Defense Budget Stirs Controversy," *Beijing Review*, January 19, 1987, 11–12; Liu Jun, "Military Budget a Blow to Peace," *Beijing Review*, January 18–24, 1988, 14. Quoted in Wang Jianwei and Wu Xinbo, *Against Us or with Us?: The Chinese Perspectives of America's Alliance with Japan and Korea*, Asia-Pacific Research Center, May 1998, 27; Liu Xiaoguang, "Ping Riben Fangweiding 'Zhangguang Zhishi,'" *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* [Assessing the Directive of the Director General of the Japan Defense Agency, *World Economy and Politics*], no. 3 (1988): 48–49. The Japanese government abolished the 1% ceiling on December 30, 1986. Security Council of Japan and the Cabinet agreed on "Plans for dealing with the Immediate-term Defense Build-up Program authorized by the Cabinet on November 5, 1976 and included in the FY 1987 budget."
  36. For example, Wang Shuzhong, "Ribei Zouxian Hefang," *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* ["Where Is Japan Going?" *World Economy and Politics*], no. 1 (1988): 33; Liu Xiaoguang, "Ribei Kuajun zhong de Meiguo Yinsu," *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* ["U.S. Factor in Japan's Military Buildup," *World Economy and Politics*], no. 9 (1988): 45–46.
  37. Japan and the United States revised the U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines in 1997. The revised guidelines enabled Japan to provide rear area support for U.S. forces in some situations.
  38. Deng Xiaoping at a press conference during his visit to Japan, quoted in "Kisha Kaiken no Yoshi" [Summary of the Press Conference], *Asahi Shimbun*, October 26, 1978, 3.
  39. Mao Zedong, quoted in Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), p. 1062. Also cited in David Lampton, *Same Bed Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations 1989–2000* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), p. 67.
  40. At least this was the impression the Japanese side received.
  41. Qian Qichen, *Waijiao Shi Ji* [Ten Stories of a Diplomat Qian Qichen] (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi: 2003), p. 195.
  42. For example, the United States and China exchanged intelligence on the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. There was a significant cooperation between the United States and China in supplying mules and arms to the mujahideen in Afghanistan. The United States (CIA) paid the costs, and Chinese intelligence supplied the weapons. For more on the cooperation, see James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Knopf, 1999), pp. 136–137.
  43. Between 1984 and 1987, nine seismographic monitoring sites were set up to monitor Soviet underground tests. Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 635–636.
  44. Shi Yinhong, a professor of international studies at People's University in Beijing explains the impact of war on Iraq on China's behavior: "The Iraq war has brought

- a change. Before Iraq, there was a stalemate in the Chinese position, and fragmentation. Now there is some recognition of a possible time sequence in the U.S. approach to North Korea, and that has created a sense of urgency in China.” Robert Marquand, “Bush’s ‘Preemptive Strike’ Policy Spurs Beijing into Preemptive Diplomacy,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 8, 2003, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0408/p01s03-woap.html> (Accessed July 20, 2009)
45. On China’s halting of oil supply, see, for example, Murray Hiebert, Jay Solomon, and Charles Hutzler, “A Global Report: U.S. Plans to Sanction Pyongyang for Missile Sale—Washington Raises Pressure as China Works to Damp Potential Action in U.N.,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2003, A9.; Benjamin Kang Lim, “China Appears to Be Trying to Rein in North Korea,” *Reuters*, March 31, 2003. The Chinese government did not disclose the cut-off and told U.S. counterparts that it was due to “technical difficulties.” The U.S. government believed that the halt contributed to North Korea agreeing to the talks. “U.S. Senator Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) Holds Hearing on Relations with China,” Political Transcripts by Federal Document Clearing House, September 11, 2003.
  46. National Institute for Defense Studies, ed., “China—In Search of New Thinking,” *East Asian Strategic Review 2004* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 2004), [http://www.nids.go.jp/english/dissemination/east-asian/pdf/east-asian\\_e2004\\_04.pdf](http://www.nids.go.jp/english/dissemination/east-asian/pdf/east-asian_e2004_04.pdf) (Accessed July 20, 2009)
  47. The U.S. government has recently reaffirmed its commitment to defend Japan. For example, U.S. secretary of defense, Robert Gates, speech delivered at the Eighth IISS Asia Security Summit, The Shangri-la Dialogue Singapore, May 30, 2009, <http://www.iiss.org/conferences/the-shangri-la-dialogue/shangri-la-dialogue-2009/plenary-session-speeches-2009/first-plenary-session/dr-robert-gates/> (Accessed July 10, 2009)
  48. On deterrence that involves third-party intervention, see Suzanne Werner, “Deterring Intervention: The Stakes of War and Third-Party Involvement,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 44, no. 4: 720–732.
  49. Anti-access/ area-denial capabilities are intended to prevent U.S. forces from gaining access to the ports, airfields, bases, staging areas, and littoral sea areas that the United States depends on to mount operations in distant theaters. Systems for these capabilities include submarines, anti-ship cruise missiles and air-defense systems.
  50. A strategic safety-net emerges when the national security of state X is dependent on state Y. State X cannot act against the interests of state Y because doing so would weaken its own strategic position and endanger its survival. For details on strategic safety-net, see Ueki, “The Rise of ‘China Threat’ Arguments” and Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki, “Repairing the Strategic Safety-Net: Security and Interdependence in East Asia,” paper presented to the Annual Convention and Fiftieth Anniversary Conference of the Japan Association of International Relations, 2006.
  51. One of the ways Japan bound itself tighter to the United States was to increase host nation support. Starting in 1991, Japan began to bear the cost of base workers and utilities costs. In 1996 Japan began to pay training relocation costs as well. Other measures meant to strengthen the alliance include the redefinition of the alliance in April 1996 (U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security), and the revision of the U.S.-Japan Guidelines (the Review of the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation) in September 1997. Japan and the United States are also strengthening the interoperability of the two forces through training and the acquisition of comparable weapon systems.
  52. This change was enabled by the revision of the U.S.- Japan Guidelines and the Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan of 1999.

53. As the United States became more dependent on Japan and China, U.S.-Japan relations and U.S.-China relations improved. Japan-China relations were rockier, however, mainly as a result of Prime Minister Koizumi's repeated visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. Nevertheless, Japan and China maintained a working relationship on regional security issues, such as North Korea and Taiwan.
54. President Bush stated his disapproval of Taiwan's planned referendum at his meeting with Premier Wen Jiabao. Bush told the press: "We oppose any unilateral decision by either China or Taiwan to change the status quo. And the comments and actions made by the leader of Taiwan indicate that he may be willing to make decisions unilaterally to change the status quo, which we oppose." "President Bush and Premier Wen Jiabao Remarks to the Press," The Oval Office, December 9, 2003, <http://georgebush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031209-3.html> (Accessed July 20, 2009). For details on Japan's actions on this matter, see, for example, Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Press Conference 6 January 2004," <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/2004/1/0106.html> (Accessed July 15, 2009); Hirotsugu Tamura, "Chin Soto no Shin Kenpo Jumintohyo Gendo 'Yuryo' Nihon, Taiwan ni Moshiire" [Japan Tells 'Concern' of President Chen's Actions on New Constitution and Referendum], *Asahi Shimbun*, December 30, 2003, 3; Philip Yang, "Higashi Ajia no Kozo Hendo to Nittai Kankei no Saihen" [Structural Change in East Asia and Reorganization of Japan-Taiwan Relations], in Shin Kawashima, Urara Shimizu, Yasuhiro Matsuda, and Philip Yang, eds., *Nittai Kankei Shi 1945-2008* [Japan-Taiwan Relations 1945-2008] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2009).
55. The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report of 2009 identified North Korean missiles as a threat to Japan's national security. Council on Security and Defense Capabilities, "The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report," August 4, 2009, [http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/ampobouei2/090928houkoku\\_e.pdf](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/ampobouei2/090928houkoku_e.pdf) (Accessed June 23, 2011).
56. Guojia Tongjiju, ed., *Zhongguo Tongji Zhaiyao 2007* [China Statistical Abstract] (Beijing: Zhongguo Tongji, 2007). According to China's Ministry of Commerce, the figure was as high as about 80% in 2005. "Chugoku no Taigai Boeki Izondo, 80% he Sekai Saiko" [China's Trade Dependency Approaches 80%, World Highest], People's Daily Online, September 10, 2005. [http://j.peopledaily.com.cn/2005/09/10/jp20050910\\_53424.html](http://j.peopledaily.com.cn/2005/09/10/jp20050910_53424.html) (accessed July 10, 2009)
57. Of course, 67% is much higher than the trade dependency figure (10-20%) of developed economies, but is lower than the average for developing countries (80%).
58. In 2002, the CCP identified advanced relations with developed countries as its most important. Jiang Zemin's Report delivered to the Sixteenth Party Congress
59. "Japan and China 'Building a Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests,'" Pamphlet, Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/relation.pdf> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
60. China's trade with the United States was \$333.7 billion (PRC General Administration of Customs, U.S.-China Business Council), <http://www.uschina.org/statistics/tradetable.html> (Accessed July 1, 2009).
61. The growth of China's domestic market will decrease China's trade dependency. That could decrease the ability of the United States and Japan to influence Chinese behavior.
62. Anthony Faiola and Zachary A. Goldfarb, "China Tops Japan in U.S. Debt Holdings," *Washington Post*, November 19, 2008, D01, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/11/18/AR2008111803558.html> (Accessed July 20, 2009)

63. Anthony Faiola, "China Worried about U.S. Debt: Biggest Creditor Nation Demands a Guarantee," *Washington Post*, March 14, 2009, A01, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/13/AR2009031300703.html> (Accessed July 20, 2009)
64. For example, Feng Zhaokui advocated China buy Japanese yen to raise the price of yen as a form of sanction against Japan. "Liu Zhuanjia Tan Zhongguo Ruhe Jing Ibu Fanzhi Riben" [Six Specialists Discuss How China Increases Countermeasures against Japan], *Huanqiu Shibao*, September 20, 2010, <http://opinion.huanqiu.com/roll/2010-09/1113543.html> (Accessed September 22, 2010)
65. Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Nippon no ODA Purojekuto—Chukajinminkyowakoku" [Japan's ODA Projects—People's Republic of China], [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/data/gaiyou/odaproject/asia/china/index\\_01.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/data/gaiyou/odaproject/asia/china/index_01.html) (Accessed June 10, 2009)
66. On arguments behind the changes in Japan's ODA policy to China, see Shigeyuki Iwaki, "Taichu ODA Minaoshi Rongi" [Debates on Reviewing the ODA to China], Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan [National Diet Library], no. 468 (February 18, 2005)
67. One of the reasons for this disinterest is probably fear of weakening the bilateral alliances. The United States has long preferred an arrangement where the United States is like the hub and the allies are like the spokes.
68. For example, more than 20 countries took part in the Cobra Gold military exercise in 2009, either as active participants or observers. What began as a bilateral exercise between the U.S. and Thai forces expanded to include Japan, Singapore, and Indonesia. Nations observing included China, South Korea, Australia, India, Laos, Brunei, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Cambodia, and Nepal. Crista Yazzie, "Cobra Gold 09 Kicks Off in Thailand," U.S. Army, <http://www.army.mil/slideshows/2009/02/04/16415-cobra-gold-09-kicks-off-in-thailand/> (Accessed August 20, 2009)
69. For a similar recommendation, see "Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report," August 2009, 30.



# The Security Dilemma in Asian Architecture: United States, Japan, and China

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The general judgment of scholars and policy experts is that the U.S.-Japan alliance has been unsuccessful at thinking innovatively about architectural design and the role of China in Asia. On the one hand, the United States, unlike China, has eschewed any interest in the region's various indigenous architectural efforts. Japan, on the other hand, is fully interested in regional architecture, but this enthusiasm is rejected by a region still suspicious of Japan's past and future intentions. American and Japanese inactivity is compounded by an underwhelming record of regional architecture initiatives in Asia—evident in the lack of an overarching security structure like that of NATO in Europe. For these reasons, international relations and areas studies scholars have rushed to a judgment of failure in the U.S.-Japan alliance's ability to think creatively and innovatively about regional architecture and about integrating China's rise in Asia. In this chapter, I argue that the future may not be as dim as people surmise. There is a definitive architecture emerging and evolving in Asia that the United States and Japan both support. It is not one dominated by China. Nor is it one characterized by U.S. departure. On the contrary this evolving architecture is inclusive of both powers. But there is a clear security dilemma that needs to be overcome to realize this positive future for regional architecture. This is one in which U.S./Japan-initiated regional efforts are seen as latent efforts to contain China, while regional/China-initiated proposals are seen as attempts to exclude the U.S. non-zero-sum solutions are indeed possible. The picture of the institutions that tie the United States, Japan, and China in the region is much more complex than "bilateral versus multilateral." Instead, it is a combination of bilaterals, trilaterals, and other pluralateral configurations, and the complexity of this geometry is a useful tool in muting regional security dilemmas.

### The Rush to Judgment

The general judgment of scholars and policy experts is that the U.S.-Japan alliance has been unsuccessful at thinking innovatively about architectural design and the role of China in Asia. Until recently, the United States, unlike China, has shunned the region's various indigenous architectural efforts. U.S. disinterest particularly at the end of the Cold War stemmed from a combination of a "ain't broke, don't fix it" mentality and initial concerns that such regional initiatives were meant to undermine U.S. leadership. Whether these initiatives took the form of Mahathir's East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) or less radical alternatives (i.e., APEC proposals by Australia), the United States was decidedly ambivalent. In November 1990, Secretary of State James Baker criticized the notion of regional security dialogues replacing the American "hub and spokes" network of bilateral alliances in Asia that had been at the center of Asian security and prosperity for four decades.<sup>1</sup> Statements by the then assistant secretary for East Asia Richard Solomon in October 1990 typified the attitude:

the nature of the security challenges we anticipate in the years ahead—do not easily lend themselves to region-wide solutions. When we look at the key determinants of stability in Asia... it is difficult to see how a Helsinki-type institution would be an appropriate forum for enhancing security or promoting conflict resolution.<sup>2</sup>

This gave way (post-1991) to grudging acceptance that multilateral security dialogues could complement (but not replace) the U.S.-based bilateral architecture.<sup>3</sup> However, at the same time that American acceptance of a role for regional security grew, the rhetoric remained somewhat ambivalent for an alternative reason: If the United States were now *too* enthusiastic about multilateral security, this might be interpreted in the region as the pretext for American withdrawal. More recently, because of U.S. active discouragement of initiatives like the Asian monetary fund during the 1997–98 liquidity crisis, or U.S. lack of enthusiasm for joining the new East Asia Summit, Washington has been widely perceived as disinterested at best, and downright subversive at worst. Even when the United States has shown interest, recently, for example, with the Obama administration's signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce (TAC), paving the way for membership in the newly formed East Asia Summit, the region has disavowed interest in having the United States as a full member.

Japan's postwar interest in regional security was even less enthusiastic than that of the United States. In theory such an attitude derived directly from the Yoshida doctrine that emphasized an export-based recovery strategy with security dependent exclusively on the United States. In practice as well, the alliance provided all that Japan needed in private goods thereby obviating any pressing need for alternative multilateral or bilateral partners. The cost of this dependence was persistent Japanese fears of becoming entrapped in military contingencies or political situations in which Japan did not share or shared only partially American interests, but this was acceptable.<sup>4</sup>

Japanese disinterest in multilateral security also stemmed from an acute sensitivity to the region's lingering historical suspicions. Any multilateral security

architecture would by definition require a larger Japanese leadership role than would be deemed unacceptable by many in the region. For example, discussions of a Northeast Asian NATO equivalent (“PATO”) in the 1960s could not advance past popular opposition and suspicion that this might spark a renewal of Japanese dominance in the region. Such proposals fell on deaf ears at home as Japan experienced a postwar aversion to Asia and focus on the West (with the Second World War symbolizing Japan’s expulsion from Asia). Japanese attempts at a larger political and economic role in Southeast Asia in the 1970s and in the 1980s in the form of Prime Minister Ohira’s Pan-Pacific Cooperation Concept also met with fiercely negative reactions. Part of the problem in this regard stemmed from perceived zero-sum tradeoffs of U.S. and Japanese leadership roles in the region. In other words, from the perspective of potential participants in regional architecture, any enhancement of the Japanese role by definition meant a reduction in the American role and, therefore, looked like the United States was “handing off” the region to Japan.<sup>5</sup>

More recently, Japanese leadership has become more deeply interested in regional architecture. Regardless of whether the politics in Japan is center-left or center-right, there is a perceived imperative to support regional initiatives and for this reason, every recent Japanese cabinet has come up with a strategy for Asia and a proactive policy for dealing with China. The problem for Japan is that historical animosity still colors much of the region’s and China’s interaction with Japan. The United States historically bears partial responsibility for the gap between Japan’s enthusiasm for regional integration and the region’s trust of it. As already alluded to, because of the U.S. decision in the early postwar period to hold Japan closely and construct in minute detail its reconstruction into America’s image, Japan never had the imperative to fully reintegrate in the region.<sup>6</sup> The hub and spokes design for Japan and other Asian allies sought by John Foster Dulles and others in the Truman and Eisenhower administrations inhibited regional interaction, the result being that Japan, despite all its efforts, still remains an outcast, viewed with suspicion no less than the Chinese. And the alliance is seen as a Cold War entity—an anachronism in Chinese terms—that is ill suited and indeed remains an obstacle to full regional reintegration.

American and Japanese inactivity is compounded by an underwhelming record of regional architecture initiatives in Asia. Unlike Europe, the history of architectural design has been unimpressive. There are no comparable institutions like NATO and the Warsaw Pact. States instead chose paths of security self-reliance, neutralism, or bilateralism (largely with the United States, but also with China or the Soviet Union). Attempts at constructing institutions did exist but these were largely subregional rather than region-wide (e.g., SEATO [1954], ANZUS [1951], and FPDA [1971]) and met with limited success.<sup>7</sup> Efforts at a region-wide “PATO” equivalent to NATO failed miserably despite a compelling Cold War security environment and established venues for dialogue.<sup>8</sup> While more recent institutions at official and track-two levels have been more successful (e.g., ARF, APEC, CSCAP, NEACD, ASEM), they differ fundamentally from these predecessors, exhibiting a “softer” quality not extending beyond dialogue and transparency-building.<sup>9</sup> The most advanced of these at the region-wide level is the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), formed in July 1994, and meeting annually



with regard to cooperative security dialogue and preventive diplomacy.<sup>10</sup> The East Asia Summit is the newest regional innovation composed of 16 nations, first held in 2005 on an annual basis after the ASEAN leaders' meetings, yet aside from the symbolism of a meeting of Asian leaders to demonstrate regional coherence, the substance of this grouping still remains under question.<sup>11</sup>

For these reasons, international relations and area studies scholars have rushed to a judgment of failure in the U.S.-Japan alliance's ability to think creatively and innovatively about regional architecture and about integrating China's rise in Asia. Moreover, many experts see little hope for the future as the United States appears disinterested and distracted by wars in the Middle East and Central Asia and by domestic economic problems, while Japan remains in a state of political paralysis. To sum up the pessimist's view (which is the conventional wisdom), the United States and Japan are guilty of "old-think" in Asia: they conceive of regional relationships as exclusive and zero-sum. Their alliance operates within existing institutions in a form of pseudo-containment of China, and Washington and Tokyo prize the bilateral alliance architecture as something at odds with the region's multilateralism.

### **The Security Dilemma in Asian Architecture**

The situation, however, may not be as bad as many think. I believe there is a distinct architecture emerging and evolving in the region that is supported by the United States and Japan, and that is inclusive of China. Contrary to popular judgments of U.S. disinterest, the United States is neither leaving the region, nor ceding leadership to China; rather, it has every intention to remain an Asia-Pacific power. This continuing U.S. presence is grounded in a deepening and robust U.S.-Japan alliance, despite the dramatic change of government with the election of Yukio Hatoyama, and an active interest by both countries in building substantive and innovative regional groupings that include China as a critical player.

The conceptual problem nonetheless is that there is a security dilemma in the region when it comes to the United States, Japan, China, and regional architecture. While I believe the overall picture that is evolving is positive as described above, the conventional pessimism derives from a set of mutually reinforcing insecurity spirals surrounding any efforts at regional architecture put forward by the great powers. That is, any U.S./Japan initiated proposals for regional organizations are perceived as an attempt to latently "contain" or "encircle" China. For example, when Prime Minister Shinzo Abe proposed the "Quadrilateral Initiative" in his summit with Indian prime minister Singh in August 2007 involving the United States, Japan, India, and Australia, this was viewed as many as an attempt to contain China.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Hatoyama's proposals for an East Asia Community without the United States at the 2009 APEC summit in Singapore arguably could be seen as an effort to circumvent this security dilemma.<sup>13</sup> And any China-supported efforts at regional institution-building are seen as attempts to exclude the United States. For example, the 1990s saw American criticisms of regional security dialogues like the East Asian Economic Caucus—proposed

explicitly or implicitly by China—as inadequate efforts to replace the American hub and spokes network of bilateral alliances in Asia that had been at the center of security and prosperity for four decades.<sup>14</sup> Washington’s early resistance gave way to a grudging acceptance of regional institutions on the condition that it complement (but not replace) the U.S.-based bilateral architecture.<sup>15</sup>

Non-zero-sum solutions are clearly possible, in my opinion, and this security dilemma can be unwound if parties adhere to some core assumptions and beliefs about the architecture that works best in the region for the United States, Japan, and China.

*Assumption 1: No Single Institution Shall Define the Region*

The first assumption that countries need to internalize—particularly, Washington, Tokyo, and Beijing—in thinking about regional architecture is that no single umbrella institution best defines the region. The conventional comparison has always been made with Europe in which Asia is seen as lacking because there is no region-wide Asian equivalent of NATO. But every region has its own history and its own identity. What serves the political, security, and economic interests of one region may not be optimal in another.

Indeed there are many attributes about Asia that make it less suited to a region-wide grouping than Europe. Unlike Europe, East Asia did not consist of a contiguous ground theater opposed by 200 Soviet divisions with a clear dividing line between East and West. The Asian theater was both land and maritime; and there was no “goal line stand” in the heartland of the continent (e.g., in the Soviet Far East) for which to prepare.<sup>16</sup> Couple these geostrategic facts with the absence of true wartime allies in Asia, as had existed in Western Europe during the Pacific War, the conditions for the creation of a postwar multilateral coalition were far from ideal.

Asia’s bilateralism was also a function of the region’s deep distrust of Japan as part of their postwar, postcolonial, nationalist identities, which trumped any arguments for reintegrating the former adversary in a region-wide coalition.<sup>17</sup> Social historians also argue that American planners prioritized Europe over Asia after the Second World War, and believed that security multilateralism was a more complex form of organization requiring a level of sophistication and responsibility presumed of Europeans and assumed to be nonexistent among “inferior” Asians.<sup>18</sup> As Hemmer and Katzenstein conclude, “trust [was] absent, religion and democratic values were shared only in a few cases, and race was invoked as a powerful force separating the United States from Asia. The U.S. preference for multilateral or bilateral security arrangements followed from these different constellations.”<sup>19</sup>

In Asia, furthermore, the level of postwar intraregional trade was low, which would have been an important spur to greater multilateralism in the region when compared with Europe.<sup>20</sup> Low levels of economic development reduced the incentive for multilateralism because there was no incentive for states to venture outside the relationship with Washington to secure material needs. Unlike

in Europe, Asian politics ranged from authoritarian to democratic, making it more difficult to organize in a multilateral fashion based on common values.<sup>21</sup> Finally, Asia's threat matrix was not nearly as binary as that of Europe where a singular threat called for a collective response. In Asia, some viewed the Soviet threat as paramount (e.g., Japan), others viewed the Chinese threat as compelling (Taiwan), still others viewed the Japan threat as unnerving (Korea), and yet others were focused on internal threats.

The prescriptive point to be made here is not an opposition to region-wide groupings, but merely that the expectation that the "answer" to regional architecture equates with a single institution may be misplaced. Heaping such expectations on efforts, for example, like the East Asia Summit is unfair. It creates a standard that is impossible for the institution to meet given the history and diversity of the region. And it leads to false judgments regarding the failure of creating regional architecture in Asia.

*Assumption 2: Ad hoc Institutions Work Better Than Formal Ones*

The second assumption is that the history of institution-building in Asia generally shows formal institutions tend not to be very effective. Some organizational literature tells us that the creation of formal structures can lead to a self-reinforcing dynamic where institutional purpose and growth occur in a symbiotic manner. In Asia, however, the few attempts at formal institutions in Northeast Asia have been spectacularly unsuccessful (we define success as tangible and coordinated steps by multilateral partners that advances solutions to substantive problems). In the early 1950s, Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan, and Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines put forward the concept of a PATO that failed to gain support. John Foster Dulles attempted to create a Pacific Ocean Pact with Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, and Japan, which also failed.<sup>22</sup> During the Vietnam War, South Korea sought to create a multilateral grouping out of the Vietnam War allies, but this failed as well. In each case, the key similarity was the relative priority placed on the formality of the institution over the functional purpose or task at hand. And like many institution-building ventures that emphasize structure over purpose, a great deal of attention and energy becomes wasted on the criteria for membership, the rules of the organization (i.e., in what country should the secretariat be; how should the chairmanship rotate).

In Southeast Asia, there has been relatively greater success than in the northeast subregion in creating formal institutions with established secretariats, regular meetings, and packed agendas.<sup>23</sup> The primary criticism, however, of these institutions is that they end up being "talk shops" in which opinions are discussed, only to be rediscussed at the next meeting with no real substantive progress on resolutions. Harshest critics ridicule the "talent show" performances at ARF as an example of the substance-less nature of the meetings in which diplomats are reduced to amateurish performances that may build some goodwill (and lasting memories), but do not advance solutions to bilateral or multilateral

problems. Many criticize the newest regional initiative, the East Asia Summit, in this fashion. The first meeting of the EAS in December 2005, involving the ASEAN 10 members, the “Plus-Three” members (China, Japan, and South Korea), and Australia, New Zealand, and India, was accompanied with much fanfare. Kishore Mahbubani, the former Singaporean foreign ministry official and opinion leader, declared the meeting as marking the official start of the long-touted “Pacific Century.”<sup>24</sup> Yet, more energy was expended arguably on the criteria for membership than on substantive issues. Both the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations have been cautious about their support of this new institution in part because it has shown little value-added and might detract from what Americans perceive to be the more substantive work done in APEC.<sup>25</sup>

By contrast, the institutions that appear to have been more successful at taking tangible, coordinated steps to solve a substantive problem are ones formed on an ad hoc basis for a functional purpose. In December 2004, for example, when the worst tsunami in recent history killed over 300,000 people in South and Southeast Asia, there was no formal regional or multilateral institution available to conduct tsunami disaster response and relief operations. Once the scale of the disaster became apparent (initial reports from the most devastated areas in remote Banda Aceh, Indonesia, and other locations were delayed), international actors scrambled to find an appropriate response. None of the existing institutions, like the ARF or APEC, however, was capable of responding to the devastation in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and India.

Instead, a makeshift coalition of willing countries formed—that became known as the Tsunami Core Group—consisting of the United States, Japan, Australia, and India within the initial 48 hours of the crisis to set up disaster response infrastructure and to bring an unimaginable amount of relief supplies and assets to the area. The coalition countries together provided more than 40,000 troops and humanitarian first responders, helicopters, cargo ships, and transport planes within a nine-day period. The Core Group set up the basing arrangements, provided financial resources, military assets and personnel, and constituted the core of the global response to the problem until other international relief agencies could mobilize and get on the ground.<sup>26</sup> If institutions are defined by their capability to address a problem successfully, then the Core Group met that mark. However, if the success of Asian institutions is judged superficially by how long its extant structures remain in place, its procedures and rules, and how many joint statements it issues, then the Core Group was not successful. The consultation “procedures” of the Core Group were distinct from other multilateral institutions in its sparseness and functionality. Consultation consisted initially of phone calls between the U.S. president and the leaders in Tokyo, Canberra, and New Delhi, and then a daily conference call at 22:00 (EST) and e-mails at the deputy foreign minister levels. As one State Department official recounted, the calls were limited to 40 minutes in duration, and there were never more than 3 items on the agenda.<sup>27</sup> There were no grand meetings or “G-4” type formal gatherings. The only adjustment to this “procedure” was the eventual inclusion of Jan Egelund, UN undersecretary general for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, in the daily calls as the Core Group sought to coordinate its

efforts in preparation for the UN's arrival on the scene. Moreover, as soon as its mission was accomplished, the Tsunami Core Group disbanded itself deferring to international disaster response effort. U.S. undersecretary of state Marc Grossman put it best: "The Tsunami Core Group was an organization that never met in one of diplomacy's storied cities, never issued a communiqué, never created a secretariat, and took as one of its successes its own demise."<sup>28</sup>

The absence of a multilateral institution for Northeast Asia is perhaps the most striking aspect of its security architecture when compared with other regions of the world. While multilateral institutions of some form took root at the beginning of the Cold War in Southeast Asia, Europe, and even the South Pacific (ANZUS), nothing of a similar type formed in Northeast Asia.<sup>29</sup> The one institution that has evolved, however, was formed initially in an ad hoc fashion. In 2003, shortly after revelations surfaced that North Korea was in violation of a 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework denuclearization agreement with the United States, the five powers in the region agreed to come together in a multilateral negotiation with the North to solve the nuclear problem. The Six Party talks were never conceived as a formal security institution for Northeast Asia, but were an ad hoc reaction to the second North Korean nuclear crisis. The organization continued for some six years thereafter, albeit haltingly at times. The organization reached some interim agreements on denuclearization, and in the process created habits of consultation, greater familiarity, and interaction among the five parties (United States, Japan, ROK, Russia, and China). Moreover, putting China in the chair of the Six-Party Talks created greater Chinese stakes in solving the problem because it put Chinese face on the line. The 2005 Six-Party Joint Statement holds out the vision, if the talks ever lead to denuclearization of North Korea, for transforming the Six-Party Talks into a formal institution for Northeast Asian Peace and Security.<sup>30</sup>

The experiences of the Tsunami Core Group and the Six-Party Talks are significant for institution-building in Asia. One of the primary impediments to institution-building in Northeast Asia is a collective action problem. That is, states generally harbor relative stronger inclinations to secure private goods from any multilateral efforts rather than to provide public goods. Naturally, this makes it harder to incentivize states to invest in formal institutions without a specific near-term payoff. Ad hoc groupings in response to an immediate problem help to solve the collective action problem. First, those players with a proximate interest in the issue will step forward (thereby solving the membership problem). Second, the task-oriented nature of the grouping leaves no time for long drawn-out procedural discussions, rule making, and other material and opportunity costs associated with formal institution-building.<sup>31</sup> Function is more important than form and process. Parties are forced to work together, on the spur of the moment, yet the urgency of the task creates efficient coordination and effective solutions. As Undersecretary of State Marc Grossman, who was a critical player in the tsunami response, noted, "[the Core Group] was an ad hoc coalition that ignored traditional groupings. We pulled these specific countries together simply because they were the ones with the resources and the desire to act effectively and quickly."<sup>32</sup> Third, through this ad hoc coordination, the parties developed habits of consultation, greater transparency, and a degree of familiarity and trust.

Fourth, these ad hoc institutions can serve “institutional growth” purposes as well. In the case of the Tsunami Core Group, even though the institution disbanded after the crisis, the experience spawned the growth of other related institutions in Asia including the regional tsunami early warning system (United States-Japan); the trilateral strategic dialogue (TSD) involving the United States, Japan, and Australia; and the proposal for a quadrilateral (United States-Japan-Australia-India) based on the original Core Group concept.<sup>33</sup> In the case of Six-Party Talks, while the grouping has not solved the North Korean nuclear problem, the regularized sessions, sometimes lasting over two weeks at a time, provided the parties other opportunities to use the institution to accomplish other business. In the course of the talks, two parties might hold side discussions on preparing for an upcoming bilateral summit; or in the case of the United States during the Bush administration, the Six-Party venue became a useful place to hold additional discussions about creating a new grouping to address climate change (the Asia Pacific Partnership for Climate and Clean Development).<sup>34</sup> In addition, as part of the effort to explain Six-Party diplomacy to other countries in the region, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice created another ad hoc “add-on” institution of the “Five-Plus-Five”—that is, the five of the Six-Party countries (without North Korea) plus Indonesia, Australia, Canada, Malaysia, and New Zealand. These meetings took place at ARF or at UN General Assembly. Again, it was a purely functional group in nature with no larger grand designs, but an ad hoc and very effective institution.<sup>35</sup>

*Assumption 3: Bilateral and Multilateral Institutions  
Are Mutually Reinforcing*

The third concept critical to overcoming the security dilemma concerns the place of U.S. alliances in the region. The postwar hub and spokes system of bilateral alliances created by the United States in East Asia was, for some five decades, the only true “architecture” in the region that was successful. It provided private goods to alliance partners, and the aggregation of these individual alliances provided public goods to the region. The growth of other regional initiatives led many to view a potential contradiction. Americans viewed regional initiatives like Mahathir’s EAEC as deliberately intended to undermine the alliance network. Others blamed the inability to form effective “truly Asian” regional institutions directly on the American alliance system. Thus, a zero-sum algorithm was created. U.S. bilateral alliances operated at odds with multilateral institutions in Asia. China made this clear when it once referred to the bilateral alliance system as “Cold War anachronisms” that no longer fit with the region’s architectural needs.

Closer analysis of the region’s recent successes, however, suggest that the U.S.-based bilateral alliance structure (or other bilateral alliance relationships) in Asia and the emergent multilateral groupings are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the relationship is far from zero-sum. In fact, it is positive-sum in the sense that effective and successful multilateral efforts have often been built upon preexisting bilateral relationships. Conceptually, this would appear to make sense. Any collective effort to address a problem or advance a policy agenda among several

players may work best when the players already have preexisting patterns of cooperation, consultation, and a degree of trust. In the case of bilateral relationships, whether this is in the form of the U.S.-Japan alliance or ROK-China relations, the history of transparency, working together, and joint capabilities can become very useful, if not indispensable, assets for any collective effort.

Again, we are drawn back to the prominent cases of the 2004 tsunami and the Six-Party Talks, as well as recent multilateral counterproliferation initiatives. The tsunami case is already being remembered as a classic example of how multilateralism and bilateralism are tightly intertwined. The coalition countries, United States, Japan, India, and Australia together provided more than 40,000 personnel in a little over 9 days. Over 4,000 Indian first-responders arrived in Sri Lanka. The United States supplied over 12,600 personnel, 21 ships, the USS Mercy hospital ship (with 1000 beds), 14 cargo planes and more than 90 helicopters to bring relief supplies to the most inaccessible damaged areas in Indonesia. Australia and Japan provided over 1,000 personnel, medical teams, and other material and financial assistance.<sup>36</sup> By any stretch of the imagination, this was a herculean effort completed at unimaginable speed. A multilateral, regional effort of this magnitude could not have been conceivable if it had not been built upon the existing bilateral relationships shared among the Core Group members. Many of the U.S. ships diverted to the area to help were moved out of U.S. bases in Japan, for example. The need for logistics support from Singapore and Thailand in order to move relief supplies into hardest hit and inaccessible areas in northwest Indonesia could not have happened at the speed it did without preexisting channels of bilateral communication between Washington and these countries. Australia's immediate action and willingness to jump into the fray was in part due to the close bilateral relations between the Bush and Howard governments. The Core Group showed how a successful multilateral "institution" in Asia effectively grew out of the existing network of bilateral U.S. alliances and other bilateral relationships in the region. Though counterfactuals are difficult to prove, it would have been hard to imagine a similar level of cooperation among countries without such ties.

In the case of the Six-Party Talks, although built as an ad hoc coalition to deal with the North Korean nuclear crisis, Obama administration officials informally have already recognized it as the first and only multilateral institution comprising the five major powers of East Asia (United States, Japan, South Korea, China, and Russia). The success of the institution in terms of denuclearizing North Korea has been far from complete given Pyongyang's intransigence, but few observers would deny its utility as a negotiation process that has worked tirelessly over the past seven years and thus created new habits of consultation and transparency among the parties involved. The success of this institution derived from the strong bilateral relationships that constituted the multilateral body. The United States, in the initial thinking to form the group, relied on its alliances with Seoul and with Tokyo, as well as trilateral coordination to be an important spur for cooperation within the group. Both Seoul and Tokyo saw the Six-Party Talks as a way to improve and grow their bilateral relations with Beijing. And President Bush was fond of challenging his Chinese counterpart to view success in the Six-Party process as an important test of the strength of U.S.-China relations. Similarly, another

new grouping, the trilateral strategic dialogue or TSD, involving Japan, Australia, and the United States constitutes another useful new multilateral institution dedicated to dealing with a wide range of items including climate change, counterterrorism, counterproliferation, UN reform, and disaster relief.<sup>37</sup> As a participant in some of the first meetings of the TSD, I was personally impressed by the degree to which the bilateral agendas of the three countries truly comprised the multilateral tasks and action plan of the TSD. By way of comparison, other multilateral groupings that are not grounded in tight bilateral relationships such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization have been far less active or successful.

Recently, there have been several other noteworthy examples of multilateral institutions that are based on core bilateral relationships. The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and Container Security Initiative deserve mention. Created in May 2003, PSI is an international coalition of more than 90 countries dedicated to stop trafficking of weapons of mass destruction and related delivery systems and materials to terrorists and to countries of proliferation concern. PSI is a functionally based institution that relies on voluntary actions by member states to use their existing national and international authorities in joint cooperation to stop and interdict illicit movement of WMD by sea, air, or land. Member states endorse a set of principles to stop illicit WMD transfers.<sup>38</sup> By most accounts, this has been a successful multilateral effort.<sup>39</sup> There have been over 37 interdiction exercises involving PSI countries.<sup>40</sup> Although specifics have not been publicly released, U.S. officials have asserted that there have been about two dozen cases of successful PSI cooperation to prevent WMD transfer. And Ulrik Federspiel, Denmark's ambassador to the United States, asserted at a May 2005 event that "the shipment of missiles has fallen significantly in the lifetime of PSI."<sup>41</sup> President Obama in his April 2009 Prague speech declared his intention to strengthen and expand PSI.<sup>42</sup> The effectiveness of this multilateral institution, however, rested on strong bilateral relationships. Though the U.S.-led PSI eventually grew to 95 countries, its core and initial formation rested on 11 countries, all of whom had already close bilateral relations with the United States (Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom). This initial group, because of their preexisting ties and common nonproliferation agenda, speedily devised a set of core principles in September 2003. Some of the early flagship exercises that cemented PSI as a real entity were hosted by countries with which the United States already had strong bilateral security relationships: Poland, Singapore, and Australia. These countries also played key roles in PSI's growth, chairing subgroups like the Operational Experts Group and other PSI outreach activities.

In addition, bilateralism was critical to PSI's success through the countries it excluded. One of the chief architects of PSI, then undersecretary of state for Arms Control and International Security John Bolton, stated in November 2003 shortly after President Bush's announcement of PSI that the new multilateral grouping would not target the trade of India, Israel, or Pakistan. Again, such arrangements could not have been agreed upon with such alacrity absent preexisting bilateral ties among the core countries in the multilateral effort.



Finally, consistent with the principles of functionalism and informality, PSI is meant to be ad hoc and informal. There is no secretariat or formal organization that serves as a coordinating body. Information about potentially dangerous WMD transfers is to be shared on an ad hoc basis and with appropriate parties to ensure effective counterproliferation successes. U.S. officials in fact have discouraged talking about PSI as an organization but rather as a series of common practices among like minded states regardless of political orientations.

The Container Security Initiative (CSI) offers a similar example of the positive-sum relationship between multilateralism and bilateralism. The CSI was created in 2002, led by the U.S. Bureau of Customs and Inspection. Its purpose was to create mechanisms for screening container cargo from use by terrorists to clandestinely transport WMD.<sup>43</sup> Methods include use of tamper-proof devices to prevent container exploitation, sharing of intelligence, prescreening procedures, and the use of detection technologies (e.g., gamma ray imaging). CSI has become a widely successful multilateral cooperation initiative where 58 ports worldwide are part of the program. The initiative has created a new global standard for securing cargo with WMD and terrorist threats. This multilateral initiative, however, drew its strength from cooperation with about 20 core ports in countries, most of which already had a preexisting bilateral relationship with the United States, including Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Israel, Belgium, Germany, Canada, UK, and the Netherlands.

### *Feedback Effect*

The positive-sum relationships between bilateralism and multilateralism are not unidirectional. Just as bilateralism can fuel and facilitate multilateral efforts, these regional practices can feed back and reinforce existing bilateral relationships or create new ones. In the case of the Tsunami Core Group, not only were the preexisting bilateral ties critical to the success of the multilateral effort, but the Core Group's work fed back and contributed to an improvement, indeed rejuvenation, of key bilateral relationships between the United States and India, as well as the United States and Indonesia. In the case of the TSD, as noted above, the new multilateral grouping drew its strength from U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Australia bilateral ties, but the added feedback effect was a strengthening of bilateral ties between Australia and Japan. This process eventually led to the first bilateral security declaration between Tokyo and Canberra in March 2007.<sup>44</sup> Howard government and then later Rudd government officials also valued the TSD as a way of engaging the United States and reinforcing their bilateral ties, which some felt were being neglected by Washington.

### **The New Architecture of Asia**

If we accept the three assumptions laid out in this chapter—(1) no single institution defines the region's architecture; (2) effective regional institutions can be informal and ad hoc; and (3) positive-sum relationships exist between bilateralism

and multilateralism—then the vision of architecture in Asia is a more complex and fluid one than that of a single “PATO” or East Asia Summit. Instead, the emerging architecture is constituted of a series of bilateral and plurilateral groupings organized on a functional basis to solve a problem. Some of these groupings stay together and take on a more formal institutional structure, but others do not. Some last after the problem is solved as they may conduct additional business within the group, but others do not. The model for this sort of “regional community” is not civilizational, where a particular “Asia-ness” defines the group (e.g., Hatoyama’s East Asia Community concept), nor is it postwar Western Europe. Instead it is more akin to a business model—where coalitions form among entities with the most direct interests to solve a problem. Entities participate because they seek to secure private goods (i.e., either profits or avoidance of losses), but the aggregation of their atomistic efforts precipitate collective benefits for the region (market). The membership in these coalitions, moreover, is not defined by political ideology, but by functional need. And they are more often than not overlapping and interlinked in terms of the memberships. The United States, Japan, and Australia, for example, may discuss UN reform in the TSD, but Japan, China, and Korea will discuss currency swaps in the ASEAN Plus-Three forum. And the United States, Japan, and China will discuss counterproliferation in the context of the Six-Party Talks. What emerges is not a hub and spokes conception, nor an East Asian Community, but “networks and patchworks” of differently configured and overlapping bilaterals, trilaterals, quadrilaterals, and other multilateral groupings that stitched together define the regional architecture.

### *Complexity Mutes Security Dilemmas*

Some may argue that the geometry of regional groupings I describe for Asia is too complex a vision for regional architecture because it has no core, no metrics for coherence, and no single superstructure. The common view is that complexity is suboptimal for multilateral institutions because it increases the chances for misperception and miscommunication; it increases transaction costs; and it decreases efficiency.

But complexity is actually a critical component of architecture for Asia. Given the underlying historical animosities, the diversity of regime types, and the shifting balance of power, complexity offers distinct benefits. Conceptually, it creates opportunities, and it does not constrict space for formation of bilaterals and multilaterals. Materially, it helps to mute the core security dilemma of U.S.-Japan versus China visions of the region. Complexity allows the three great powers of Asia to operate in multiple groupings, sometimes with each other, and sometimes exclusively, which helps to circumvent zero-sum competition. A quadrilateral among the United States-Japan-Australia-India, as proposed by then Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe in 2006, for example, might incite insecurities in China, if it were the only regional grouping available, but Beijing would be engaged with Japan in the context of the ASEAN Plus-Three, with the United States and Japan in the context of a U.S.-Japan-China trilateral, and with India in

the context of the EAS. South Korean insecurities sparked by a U.S.-Japan-China trilateral might be ameliorated by its own participation in the Plus-Three with China and Japan, and the traditional U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral alliance consultations. The point here is not that insecurities disappear merely with membership in these various groupings, but the complexity and density of these many groupings greatly reduces anxieties associated with exclusion.<sup>45</sup>

In sum, complexity and functionality help to mute security dilemmas. If groupings do not include a given party form, the rationale for exclusion is functional rather than ideological. Moreover because the excluded party knows that the given grouping is not the only game in town, it knows there are many other opportunities for regional engagement. Finally, functionality as a criterion for the groupings well ensures that the major powers (i.e., United States, Japan, and China) will be included in most of the “heavy-lift” regional efforts, also helping to reduce security dilemmas.

### *U.S.-Japan-China and the Geometry of Asia*

The emerging “patchwork” architecture for Asia carries several important empirical implications. First, the American bilateral alliance system, while certainly not wholly constitutive of the architecture, still plays a very important role. Many of the plurilateral groupings in Asia “spin off” of the bilateral alliances (i.e., trilaterals constituted of two bilateral alliances) and some of the larger groupings (e.g., Core Group, Six-Party Talks) are grounded in key U.S. alliances. Far from being “Cold War dinosaurs,” U.S. alliances remain a critical component of Asia’s future architecture.

Second, good relations among the three major powers of East Asia are important conditions for the architecture to thrive. This may seem like an obvious point. But it is one that has often been missed in scholarly discussions of the region. The variable of U.S.-Japan-China relations was, for example, largely assumed to be a nonfactor in determining outcomes in post-Cold War East Asia in the sense that most scholars simply assumed conflict within this triangle. Realists assumed this for reasons of power imbalances and a rising China. Others assumed that for reasons of historical animosity, particularly between Japan and China, that the future of East Asia was “ripe for rivalry.”<sup>46</sup> Yet all of these predictions about East Asian conflict were proved wrong precisely because there has been much greater cooperation in the U.S.-Japan-China axis than any had thought possible.<sup>47</sup>

How stable a part of the regional architecture will this triangle remain? The U.S.-Japan axis still remains unusually stable. Despite all the naysayers, the alliance between Washington and Tokyo remained remarkably strong at the end of the Cold War. A series of self-evaluations in the form of the Armitage-Nye initiative of 1995 and then in the form of the Defense Policy Review Initiative (DPRI) reduced anxieties on both sides of the Pacific as to whether the alliance could function in a wartime contingency as well as served to reduce corrosive civil-military tensions stemming from the large U.S. military footprint.<sup>48</sup> The alliance also expanded in scope, particularly during the Koizumi years, to take

on broader global responsibilities including Self-Defense Forces in Iraq and in Afghanistan over recent years.

The election of the Hatoyama government in 2009, ending nearly five decades of almost uninterrupted conservative Liberal Democratic Party rule, potentially adds a new variable to the picture. Hatoyama has sought to remove Japan from its perceived overdependence on the United States, evident in the prime minister's delay of the DPRI agreement and the removal of MSDF naval vessels from support for the war in Afghanistan, among other actions. Furthermore, Hatoyama has offered proposals for an East Asian architecture without the United States (which arguably could be perceived as his own effort to mute security dilemmas in Asia—in the sense that a Japan-only proposal for an East Asian community inclusive of China might be interpreted by Beijing more favorably than a U.S.-Japan sponsored one). The meaning of Hatoyama's election for the alliance remains unclear. But it is unlikely to lead to dramatic changes in the U.S.-Japan alliance that would destabilize the triangle. Hatoyama's strategic ambitions appear aimed at enhancing Japan's regional and global role supplementary to, not in lieu of, his relations with the United States.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, his proposals for an East Asian community devoid of the United States has not been well received in Asia, including notably, the Chinese.<sup>50</sup>

Relations between the United States and China also appear relatively stable. Sino-American ties over recent years have been much better than predictions made at the end of the Cold War. Successive U.S. administrations have adopted, albeit in different packaging, the basic strategy associated with Robert Zoellick's concept of "strategic stakeholder." Put forward in 2005 when he was deputy secretary of state, the concept basically calls for China to contribute more to the public goods of the international system as it grows in power.<sup>51</sup> This strategic template, not one of containment (or other such tortured terms as "conengagement"—containment and engagement), has been the single most successful model for U.S.-China relations. The Chinese like it because it is the first American grand strategy for Asia that acknowledges China's place at the table as a great power. Moreover, the concept implicitly accepts that China's rise—even as a nondemocratic great power—is not necessarily a zero-sum game if China channels its expanded capabilities in the direction of supporting rather than overturning the existing system.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, Sino-Japanese relations have been remarkably stable, again contrary to predictions at the end of the Cold War. Despite power imbalances associated with a rising China and hotbed historical-emotional tensions, Tokyo and Beijing remain tied together through increasingly higher levels of trade, investment, and tourism. During Koizumi's premiership, for example, tensions mounted over his trips to Yasukuni shrine, which resulted in China's boycott of summit diplomacy with Japan for five years. However, even during this period, economic ties remained strong (bilateral trade in 2006 was over \$200 billion), and his successor Abe Shinzo—more conservative than Koizumi—repaired relations by avoiding such irritants in relations.<sup>53</sup> Beijing and Tokyo have become acutely aware of their need for one another. Japan needs the Chinese economy to grow out of its perennial recession. China needs Japan's technology and expertise to address its climate change and clean energy needs. Hatoyama's Democratic Party, which tends

to hold more progressive views on historical reconciliation than the conservative LDP, portends continued improvements of ties on the Sino-Japan axis.<sup>54</sup> The new government signaled this early in December 2009 when DPJ kingmaker Ichiro Ozawa took 140 politicians to Beijing for a goodwill tour, and Hu Jintao took individual portraits with every single one of them.

The geometry of Asia's architecture does not get constructed out of one umbrella institution like EAS, nor does it remain wedded solely to the hub and spokes alliance system of the United States. Instead it is a complex collection of different shapes—triangles, quadrilaterals, hexagons that are all functional in nature, ad hoc, and overlapping. While each of these shapes is important in its own right, the one triangle that is critical to a functioning architecture is the U.S.-Japan-China triangle. Whether this trilateral sits as part of larger groupings or different axes of the triangle participate in other regional groupings, the architecture benefits from stable relations within it.

### *Final Thoughts*

Future problems in the U.S.-Japan-China triangle could certainly throw a wrench into Asian architecture. But a more proximate concern these days is the global financial crisis. The crisis itself does not impede architecture. Indeed, it could spur the creation of other regional groupings. The agreement signed by the ASEAN Plus-Three members (China, Japan, and South Korea) in December 2009 to launch a \$120 billion multilateral currency swap arrangement is an illustration of this.<sup>55</sup> The broader concern, however, is growing trade protectionist sentiment. If states address financial recovery by turning inward, viewing free trade as the source of problems rather than for growth and recovery, this will have a deleterious effect. This is largely because one of the key collective goods for the region in free trade will not be provided for. It would be hard for any architecture to operate well in such an environment.

### **Notes**

1. See "Security, in Letter and Spirit," *Australian Financial Review*, May 2, 1991.
2. Cited in Paul Midford, "Japan's Leadership Role in East Asian Security Multilateralism," *Pacific Review*, 13, no. 3 (2000): 372.
3. See James Baker, "America in Asia: Emerging Architecture for a Pacific Community," *Foreign Affairs*, 70, no. 5 (1991/92): 1–18. See also remarks by Baker in Philip Shenon, "Baker Asks Asians to Move Warily on New Pacts," *New York Times*, July 25, 1991.
4. See John Welfield, *An Empire in Eclipse* (London: Athlone, 1988).
5. Japanese disinterest also traditionally stemmed from the implications multilateral participation would have on outstanding territorial issues. With its fair share of territorial disputes in the region, Japan was concerned that certain proposals for multilateralism entailed a de facto ratification of the territorial status quo that worked against Japanese interests. For this reason, Tokyo opposed Soviet proposals in 1986 for a region-wide CSCE-type grouping in Asia as this might would reinforce the status quo and Moscow's possession of the northern territories.

6. For the argument, see Victor Cha, "Powerplay: The Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia," *International Security* (Winter 2009/10): 158–196; and "Currents of Power: U.S. Alliances with Taiwan and Japan during the Cold War," in *The Uses of Institutions: U.S., Japan and Governance in East Asia*, eds., John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi (New York: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 103–129.
7. The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization was established at the Manila Conference of 1954 largely on the model of NATO, but failed because members found internal subversion rather than compelling external threats as their primary security concerns. The Australia-New Zealand-U.S. Pact formed in 1951 as an extension of the U.S.-Australia treaty (the U.S.-New Zealand axis dissolved in 1986). The Five Power Defense Arrangement was established in 1971 among Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore. Its function was consultative based on historical legacies of the Commonwealth rather than any overt security purpose (see Leszek Buszynski, *SEATO: The Failure of an Alliance Strategy* [Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983]); Chin Kin Wah, "The Five Power Defence Arrangement: Twenty Years After," *Pacific Review*, 4, no. 3 [1991]: 193–203; and Michael Yahuda, *International Politics in the Asia-Pacific* [London: Routledge, 1996]).
8. For example, the Vietnam War Allies Conference met regularly in Saigon in the late 1960s, early 1970s providing a ready venue for multilateral security discussions on larger Cold War issues and strategy beyond Indochina, but nothing came of this. The Asia and Pacific Council (ASPAC) was established in 1966 as a forum for cooperation among Asian states on cultural and economic issues. Members included Australia, Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, South Vietnam, and Japan. Proposals in the early 1970s were floated by various countries (e.g., South Korea in 1970) to devise a new ASPAC charter based on collective self-defense with region-wide membership (including Laos, Indonesia, and Singapore), but these failed in part because of lack of support for an active Japanese leadership role in the group. For other studies of Northeast Asian regionalism focused more on economics and the Russian Far East, see Gilbert Rozman, "Flawed Regionalism: Reconceptualizing Northeast Asia in the 1990s," *The Pacific Review*, 11, no. 1 (1998): 1–27.
9. Higher degrees of institutionalization exist among the original ASEAN nations including proposals for national defense manufacturer associations, C-130 flight training centers, F-16 joint training bases, and so on.
10. The ARF was formed pursuant to meetings of the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference (PMC) in 1993.
11. The EAS members consist of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Japan, China, South Korea, India, Australia, New Zealand. Russia and Timor Leste are candidate members.
12. Brahma Chellaney, "New Great Game: The U.S.-India-Japan-Australia Quadrilateral Initiative," *Asian Age*, June 2, 2007, <http://chellaney.spaces.live.com/blog/cns!4913C7C8A2EA4A30!351.entry> (Accessed December 18, 2009); Praful Bidwai, "India/Japan: Abe's Visit Underlines New Strategic Alliance," <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=39009>
13. Toru Higashioka, "Hatoyama Talks Up East Asia Community," *Asahi Shimbun*, November 16, 2009.
14. See "Security, in Letter and Spirit."
15. See Baker, "America in Asia: Emerging Architecture for a Pacific Community," and Baker in *New York Times* July 25, 1991; and *East Asian Strategy Review*.
16. Paul Bracken, *Fire in the East* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999), p. 26.

17. Gerrit Gong, ed., *Memory and History in East and Southeast Asia* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2001); Nicholas Kristof, "The Problem of Memory," *Foreign Affairs*, 77, no. 6 (November/December 1998): 37–49.
18. Memorandum by the Regional Planning Advisor (Ogburn), Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Allison), January 21, 1953. Secret, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1952–1954, East Asia and the Pacific*, vol. 12, part 1, pp. 260–262. As Bruce Cumings wrote, the idea of little yellow and brown people sharing a multilateral table as equals with ivy league-educated east coast intellectuals was beyond comprehension. See Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 93; MacArthur testified in 1951 that his rule of thumb was to treat the Japanese as 12-year-olds. See John Dower, *War without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), p. 303; also see David Capie, "Power, Identity, and Multilateralism: The United States and Regional Institutionalization in the Asia-Pacific," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Toronto University, May 2002; and Christopher Hemmer and Peter Katzenstein, "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *International Organization*, 56, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 588.
19. Hemmer and Katzenstein, "Why Is There no NATO in Asia?" 588 and Capie, "Power, Identity, and Multilateralism," 68.
20. Anthony McGrew and Christopher Brook, eds., *Asia-Pacific in the New World Order* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 57.
21. Aaron Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," *International Security*, 18, no. 3 (Winter, 1993–94): 13–14.
22. See Cha, "Powerplay."
23. Amitav Archarya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order* (London: Routledge, 2000), especially Chapter 6.
24. "Rising Unity in East Test for Global Trade," *New Zealand Herald*, November 19, 2005 cited in Bruce Vaughn, "East Asia Summit (EAS): Issues for Congress" (Congressional Research Service: January 11, 2006), 4.
25. Vaughn, "East Asia Summit (EAS): Issues for Congress," 4.
26. Daniel Twining, "America's Grand Design in Asia," *Washington Quarterly*, 30, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 79–94; and Ralph Cossa, "South Asian Tsunami: U.S. Military Provides Logistical Backbone for Relief Operation," *Ejournal USA: Foreign Policy Agenda*, March 4, 2005, <http://www.america.gov/st/washfile-english/2005/March/20050304112100dmslahrellek0.5331537.html#ixzz0a5F8S6oo> (Accessed December 18, 2009).
27. "Bush Announces Tsunami Aid Coalition," CNN.com <http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/12/29/bush.quake/index.html> (Accessed December 30, 2009).
28. Marc Grossman, "The Tsunami Core Group: A Step toward a Transformed Diplomacy in Asia and Beyond," *Security Challenges*, 1, no. 1 (2005): 11.
29. See Cha, "Powerplay."
30. For the Joint Statement, see <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/regional/c15455.htm> (Accessed August 31, 2009).
31. In the case of the Six-Party Talks, the costs associated with the grouping were eventually borne by China as the host, which at one point, Beijing disdained and requested, the such costs be more evenly divided among the six parties.
32. Grossman, "The Tsunami Core Group: A Step toward a Transformed Diplomacy," 12.
33. The TSD was not a direct result of the Core Group experience, but was a core element of the TSD agenda (to carry on the cooperation experienced among the three). See William Tow, "Assessing the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue," East Asia Forum,

- February 12, 2009 <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2009/02/12/assessing-the-trilateral-strategic-dialogue/> (Accessed August 30, 2009). The Quad concept was pushed by the Abe government in Japan. See Brahama Chellaney, "Quad Initiative: An Inharmonious Concert of Democracies," *Japan Times*, July 19, 2007 <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/eo20070719bc.html> (Accessed August 30, 2009).
34. The AP-6 (United States, Japan, South Korea, China, India, and Australia) was officially inaugurated in January 2006 in Sydney, Australia, but key discussions on concept and membership took place on the sidelines of the Six-Party Talks. See "US Agrees Climate Deal with Asia," BBC News, July 28, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4723305.stm> (Accessed August 30, 2009).
  35. "Asia, US hold talks without Defiant North Korea," Agence France Presse, July 28 2006, <http://www.aseanregionalforum.org/News/tabid/59/newsid399/36/Default.aspx> (Accessed August 31, 2009).
  36. Grossman, "The Tsunami Core Group: A Step toward a Transformed Diplomacy in Asia and Beyond," and Cossa, "South Asian Tsunami: U.S. Military Provides Logistical Backbone for Relief Operation."
  37. For a good study of the TSD, see "Assessing the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue," National Bureau of Asian Research, Special Report #16, December 2008, <http://www.nbr.org/publications/specialreport/pdf/SR16.pdf> (Accessed December 31, 2009).
  38. The principles call on PSI participants, as well as other countries, to not engage in WMD-related trade with countries of proliferation concern and to permit their own vessels and aircraft to be searched if suspected of transporting such goods. The principles further urge that information on suspicious activities be shared quickly to enable possible interdictions and that all vessels "reasonably suspected" of carrying dangerous cargo be inspected when passing through national airports, ports, and other transshipment points. <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/c10390.htm>
  39. China, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Iran oppose PSI, disputing the legality of its efforts.
  40. Opening Remarks by Acting, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Tony Foley at the PSI Regional Operational Experts Group Meeting, June 22, 2009, Sopot, Poland, p. 5, [http://dtirp.dtra.mil/TIC/treatyinfo/psi/psi\\_remarks.pdf](http://dtirp.dtra.mil/TIC/treatyinfo/psi/psi_remarks.pdf) (Accessed December 30, 2009).
  41. U.S. officials also point to an October 2003 operation to seize centrifuge components aboard the German-owned *BBC China* destined for Libya as a successful PSI operation. U.S. official cited was the then undersecretary of state Robert Joseph, cited in Arms Control Association Fact Sheet, "Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) at a Glance," <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/PSI> (Accessed December 30, 2009) and Wade Boese, "Interdiction Initiatives Successes Assessed," *Arms Control Today* (July/August 2008), [http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008\\_07-08/Interdiction](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008_07-08/Interdiction) (Accessed December 30, 2009). For other cited successes, see Opening Remarks by Acting, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Tony Foley at the PSI Regional Operational Experts Group Meeting, p. 7.
  42. "Remarks by President Barack Obama," Hradcany Square, Prague, Czech Republic, April 5, 2009, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/) (Accessed December 30, 2009).
  43. Container cargo accounts for almost 90% of world trade. In the United States, some 11 million containers are offloaded at U.S. ports annually, while U.S. Customs and Border Protection processed on average some 20 million containers entering the United States by sea, rail, and truck. See Container Security Initiative 2006–2001 Strategic Plan (U.S. Customs and Border Protection, n.d.), [http://www.cbp.gov/linkhandler/cgov/trade/cargo\\_security/csi/csi\\_strategic\\_plan.ctt/csi\\_strategic\\_plan.pdf](http://www.cbp.gov/linkhandler/cgov/trade/cargo_security/csi/csi_strategic_plan.ctt/csi_strategic_plan.pdf) (Accessed December 30, 2009).



44. For the text, see <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/australia/joint0703.html>
45. In this context, the most potentially troublesome groupings may be ones of larger than three members that excludes China. From a policy prescription perspective, it might be best to avoid these. Or, ensure that there are comparable groupings in which China can play in order to mute security dilemmas.
46. Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry," 5–33; Richard K. Betts, "Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War," *International Security*, 18, no. 3 (Winter 1993–94); Paul Bracken, *Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999); and Kent Calder, *Pacific Defense: Arms, Energy, and America's Future in Asia* (New York: Morrow, 1996)Book.
47. Victor Cha, "Winning Asia: Washington's Untold Success Story," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2007).
48. Joseph Nye, "Strategy for East Asia and the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance," *Defense Issues*, 10, no. 35 (1995); Institute for National Strategic Studies, "The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership," October 2000 (National Defense University), [http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/sr\\_01/sr\\_japan.htm](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/sr_01/sr_japan.htm); and Department of Defense, Office of the Spokesman, "United States-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation," May 1, 2006, <http://www.usfj.mil/Documents/UnitedStates-JapanRoadmapforRealignmentImplementation.pdf> (Accessed January 4, 2010).
49. During the campaign, his view of a more diversified foreign policy outlook for Japan had to be couched in more exclusionary tones vis-à-vis the United States as Hatoyama sought to portray the LDP as too U.S.-centered.
50. Michael Green, "Japan's Confused Revolution," *Washington Quarterly* (January 2010): 12.
51. Robert B. Zoellick, "Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility? Remarks to National Committee on U.S.-China Relations," September 21, 2005, [http://www.ncuscr.org/files/2005Gala\\_RobertZoellick\\_Whither\\_China1.pdf](http://www.ncuscr.org/files/2005Gala_RobertZoellick_Whither_China1.pdf) (Accessed January 4, 2010).
52. The turn in Taiwan domestic politics away from the DPP and to the KMT have undeniably contributed to the reduction in tensions as well.
53. Wenran Jiang, "New Dynamics of Sino-Japanese Relations," *Asian Perspective*, 31, no. 1 (2007): 15–41; Raviprasad Narayanan, "Sino-Japanese Relations and the 'Wen Jiabao effect'," Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, *ISDA Comment*, April 20, 2007, [http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/SinoJapaneseRelationsandtheWenJiabaoeffect\\_RNarayanan\\_200407](http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/SinoJapaneseRelationsandtheWenJiabaoeffect_RNarayanan_200407) (Accessed January 4, 2010); Rizwan Ghani, "Strategic Implications of Growing Sino-Japan Relations," *American Chronicle*, <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/view/45019> (Accessed December 06, 2007); Bruce Wallace and Mark Magnier, "China, Japan Patching Up Diplomacy Mutual Economic Ties Have Grown during Years of Tense Relations, So Leaders Decide to Put on a Better Face," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/feb/17/world/fg-chijapan17> (Accessed January 4, 2010).
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55. Kanga Kong, "Asia to Launch Currency Swap Facility in March," *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 2009.

## How Russia Matters in Japan-U.S. Alliance

*Akio Kawato*

The Soviet Union was the main *raison d'être* of the alliance<sup>1</sup> between Japan and the United States. Before Second World War, the Soviet Union was not the main issue between both countries, though President Theodore Roosevelt took the trouble to mediate warring Japan and Russia to sign the Portsmouth Peace Treaty in 1905, and Japan sent its troops to Siberia in 1918, urged by the United States.

At the advent of the Cold War, the notion of “the Soviet threat” coupled with the threat of Red China became the foremost rationale for American presence in Japan and Asia. In this milieu, Japan was accorded a privileged position as anchor of the U.S. policy in Asia and was provided with the vast export market in the United States.

At the end of the Cold War and with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world structure saw a cardinal change. The new Russia stopped antagonizing the West, aspiring to build a free and rich nation. Even though Russia under President Putin became more self-asserting, it does not and probably will not pose a serious threat to the United States, Europe, and Japan. Russia has ceased to be the main *raison d'être* of the Japan-U.S. alliance. In other words, a military alliance against Russia is not so much required today. What Japan and the United States need is a concerted policy in issues related to Russia.

In this chapter, I discuss the range and the depth of such concerted Japan-U.S. policy toward Russia. The main focus of my discussion is Asia, as both Japan and the United States are the largest contributors for the maintenance of the status quo and economic development of the region. Now that the Cold War is over, the Japan-U.S. alliance can be regarded as a common asset for peaceful development of Asia, including China.

### **What Russia Really Is and Will Be**

Russia has not built either real market economy or democracy. Its economy is overly dependent on oil export, its government exerts too much power on private

economy, and its elections are strongly rigged. Russia is a country where the leadership has failed in building a modern industrialized economy and where the only way to rally the support of the masses is the propaganda about “foreign enemies,” the United States *inter alia*. However, as long as oil continues to be the main source of energy, Russia’s economy will be able to sustain its large (at least on surface) size. As the oil prices keep rising, and as the value of the ruble goes up accordingly, Russia’s GDP may well reach the fifth to the sixth place in the world,<sup>2</sup> though the Russians’ standard of living will not substantially improve, marred by constant inflation and the lack of systematic reforms.

Russia should neither be disregarded nor be humiliated. Introduction of free market economy and democracy should be regarded as their own task, and the West should refrain from excessive interference. The most effective strategy to achieve these objectives will be stripping their leadership of a foreign adversary so that they will not be able to shift the blame of hardships to outside enemies.

The Russians’ concern for their own security and national pride should be given a due consideration. However, any Russian move to resort to use of military power should be contained beforehand. In one word, a policy of cautious engagement *vis-à-vis* Russia is needed.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, Russia will even be able to perform a beneficial role, though limited, for the maintenance of the status quo and economic development in the world. Let us check its capacity in Asia, because the main arena for a concerted Japan-U.S. policy is Asia.

### **Russia as a Former Colonial Power in East Asia**

Russia is a latecomer in East Asia. The Russian colonialists established their rule on what is today called the Russian Far East only in 1860, when they officially acquired future Vladivostok and its surrounding Primor’e region from the weakening Qing China (Treaty of Peking). Their ambition had not stopped at the Far East. Russians had further proceeded to Alaska and even to California in 1806. The “Fort Ross” and the “Russian Hills” around and in San Francisco are the remnants of these advances. They even attempted to establish a foothold on Kauai Island, Hawaii, only to be driven away by Kamehameha the Great.

Russia’s ambition in the Eastern hemisphere often had setbacks. In 1867 amid the financial distress, the Russian government sold Alaska to the United States merely for 100 million dollars in current prices. Russia’s defeat in the Russo-Japanese War was another blow, allowing the Japanese to dominate in the region for the following 40 years. Japan, together with the United States, sent its troops to Siberia in 1918,<sup>4</sup> and the Bolshevik government in Moscow had to decouple its Far Eastern part, officially declaring the independence of the “Far Eastern Republic” as a buffer state.<sup>5</sup>

After the Second World War, the Soviet Union effectively occupied Manchuria. Perhaps, this was the high time for the Soviets’ advances to the East, because soon Stalin, on Mao Tse-dong’s request, promised to return Manchuria to the new People’s Republic of China. The Soviet Union had an overwhelming influence on

Kim Il-sung of North Korea, but China managed to build equally strong ties with him by sending its troops toward the end of the Korean War.

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union established a large military presence in the Northwestern Pacific Ocean; Russian nuclear submarines loaded with Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) were constantly operating in the Sea of Okhotsk, and their bombers posed a threat to the Seventh Fleet of the United States.

The Soviet's position in East Asia was constantly compromised by its dispute with China. Nixon and Kissinger once took advantage of this feud and ensured the withdrawal of the American troops from South Vietnam.<sup>6</sup>

The Soviet leaders occasionally made "keynote speeches" on East Asia, but they were destined for rapid oblivion, because the Soviet Union did not possess either political or economic clouts to implement the policies. Toward the end of the Soviet era, however, Gorbachev managed to mend the relations with China<sup>7</sup> and established diplomatic relations with South Korea,<sup>8</sup> but before these acts brought due fruits, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

### **Russia's Current Position in East Asia**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia is no more a military threat either to Japan or to the United States. Russia still deploys nuclear submarines with SLBMs in the Sea of Okhotsk, but their equipments are rapidly aging. The return of the Cam Ranh Bay naval facility to the Vietnamese government in 2002 dealt a final blow to the mobility of the Russian Pacific Fleet. Russian bombers stopped their southward reconnaissance/intimidation flights. As the overall number of the Russian Army has been reduced from erstwhile four millions to merely one million today, the Russian Far East has become strategically very vulnerable.

The connection between the Russian Far East and European Russia is ensured only by the Siberian Railway; no proper highways have been yet constructed. While the Siberian Railway almost borders China, the Chinese population beyond the border<sup>9</sup> surpasses the total number of the Russians in the Far East by 20 times. Russia's weak position vis-à-vis China makes it a feeble actor in entire Asia. Russia can hardly act even as a counterbalance to China. But let me go over the situation by order.

### **Russo-Chinese Tandem against the United States: But Not Always**

All through the 1990s, Russia's priority in its diplomacy was on the West. But with the signing of the new Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation (2001), Russia activated its relations China. Both countries used the new ties for countering America's attempts to enlarge the NATO and to impose its values on others. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization particularly suited such a goal, when it was reformed in 2001 from the "Shanghai Five," which existed since 1996 for

determination of borders between the Central Asian countries and China. The governments of China and Russia very cleverly achieved a final solution to the border issue on small islands in Amur River.

Today the relations between China and Russia are in a process of gradual decay and strain. China always resisted Russia's attempt to turn the Shanghai Cooperation Organization into a military alliance, because China started to attach more importance to its ties with the United States as their economic relations soared. The gap in economic strength between both countries is rapidly widening, and it will be Russia and not China that will depend upon export of natural resources from Siberia to China, because neither Japan nor the United States acutely needs the Siberian oil.<sup>10</sup> In June 2009, China and Russia signed an agreement that said Russia will have to export annually 15 million tons of crude oil to China. China instead has pledged to offer a loan for 25 billion dollars, but the price of the oil remains unclear and may become a reason for future contention. Import of the Russian natural gas is still a hypothetical issue between China and Russia, because there is no gas pipeline which connects both countries.

### **The Dividing Factors between China and Russia**

If the natural resources in Siberia are still binding forces between China and Russia, the resources in Mongolia and Central Asia are becoming dividing factors, where China and Russia engage in a zero-sum game. China has built a 4,800 km gas pipeline from Turkmenistan and has started importing natural gas at the rate of about 15 billion cubic meters annually. Turkmenistan apparently attempted to play China against Gasprom which was almost the monopolistic importer of the Turkmen natural gas. However, as the global market prices for natural gas plummeted with the global financial crisis and other factors, Gasprom on its own drastically reduced its import of the Turkmen gas in 2009, thus leaving the Turkmens at the mercy of the Chinese importers. But before this change in the world market took place, the Russians did lobby against the Chinese import of Turkmen natural gas.

The situation in Afghanistan may trigger a contention between China and Russia, too. Only few people realize, but China borders Afghanistan, and in the south of that border the Pakistani Karakoram Highway penetrates the Chinese border. Through this area, a large traffic of Afghan narcotics goes to Xinjiang District of China. China recently acquired a license to develop copper mine at Ainak near Kabur, offering 4.4 billion dollars. China's influence in Pakistan has been traditionally large. Combining these factors, China potentially would be able to play a substantial role in stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan.

Russia does not possess such leverage in this region. The Russian leaders have repeatedly proclaimed that Russia would never send troops (again) to Afghanistan. It seems that the negative social repercussions on the Afghan invasion in 1979 left a profound trauma in their mind. And this undermines Russia's standing in Central Asia, for which the stability in Afghanistan is the foremost concern for security.

Under these circumstances China is making new advances into this area. It is poised to build cooperation with NATO for controlling the narcotics trade from Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup> It has firmly established its influence in Tajikistan, where Russian Army's 201st armored division is stationed, by conferring lucrative 600 million dollars of soft loans for construction of infrastructures.

It seems that Russia recently started efforts to make up for this deficit. In May 2009, the Kremlin invited Pakistani ex-president Musharraf, which heralded the visit of powerful General Kiani, Chief of Staff of the Pakistani army. Russia further organized tripartite (with Afghanistan and Pakistan) meetings on foreign ministers level and top level in June and July 2009 respectively. President Karzai has already become a rather frequent guest in Russia. Such moves may irritate China as well as repulse the Central Asian republics, because the Russians seem to be establishing contacts with the Taliban as well, against which Central Asian countries possess intrinsic apprehension.

### **The Arms Trade Is Also Shrinking**

Arms trade may have already ceased to be a binding force between China and Russia. Large contracts for import of Sukhoi 27s and Sukhoi 30s are over and new large-scale contracts have not yet been inked. China is now interested only in purchasing production license for advanced weaponry. Russia fears that any sale of license to China will lead to Chinese export of the copied arms en masse, as China's most advanced fighter plane Jian 10, for example, is equipped with the Russian engine AL-31 (under formal contract).<sup>12</sup>

While China is continuing its epopee to become world's most vibrant economy, Russia remains a mere variable of oil prices. China today engages in very active economic assistance (mostly soft loans) and construction of factories and infrastructures abroad, while Russia's capability is limited to resource and material area. The Chinese are increasingly conscious of this fatal gap between both countries, and do not hesitate to openly offend the Russians, saying that it is the Chinese now who are the "senior" brother to the Russians.

### **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): Only Fathers and No Mothers Around**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, once a symbol of solidarity (or collusion) between China and Russia, is now losing its glamor. It has not launched any tangible multilateral projects for regional economic development. Instead, SCO summit meetings have become the arena where the Chinese leader declares (unilaterally) how much soft loan it intends to give out to the Central Asian member countries for the next year.

China has successfully stopped the Russian attempt to form a small counter-NATO out of SCO. At first, China engaged in a large-scale joint military exercise under SCO's umbrella in 2005. After the tension around Taiwan was gone, however, the scale of the biannual joint exercise became constantly smaller. The

exercise is always tagged as “antiterrorist” exercise, to make it clear that SCO is not a full-fledged military alliance.<sup>13</sup>

### **Fragile Russian Far East**

Today many Russians are afraid of “infiltration by the Chinese into Siberia and the Far East.” It is true that the number of the Chinese immigrants and temporary workers is growing in these regions, but not to the degree that they soon will swallow the region. One has to note that the Chinese emigrate to other places only when they are distressed in their own land.

The Russians are afraid of the Chinese onslaught, perhaps because they are conscious of the dubious nature of their ownership of these lands. They were either taken away from indigenous Turkic and Mongol tribes or scraped off the ailing Qing dynasty. The Chinese remember the Russian acts. In some future, China may indeed come back to this “historical question” to deal with the past humiliation.

The Russian leadership started to consider the status of the Far East as a security threat. In December 2006, then president Putin complained during a meeting of the State Security Council that Russia was still unable to make full use of the natural resources in the Far East, allowing Chinese immigration, and said that all this posed a threat for the security of Russia. President Medvezhev also said in April 2004, when he was working under Putin, that if the elite do not unite, Russia would face an even more serious collapse than the Soviet Union and that Siberia and the Far East would not hold in that case.<sup>14</sup>

With this in mind Russia is now implementing the “Special Federal Program for Social and Economic Development of the Far East and the Za-Baikal area until 2013.” According to this program, 600 billion rubles of budget money will be spent for making the regional GDP 2.6 times larger. Vladivostok will be beautifully refurbished for hosting the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meeting in 2012.

### **Russia’s Presence in the Korean Peninsula**

The Korean Peninsula used to be an arena of contention between Japan, China, and Russia. Today, however, Russia’s position has become marginal. Kim Il-sung was a protégé of the Soviet Union, which made both countries close allies against the United States and Japan. Russia helped North Koreans develop nuclear and missile technologies. North Korea, however, made it a rule to maintain a balance in its relations toward China and Russia, as the latter two had been in fierce dispute since 1960.

When the Soviet economy fell into constant crisis in the late 1980s, this picture started to change. Lured by the robust economy of South Korea, the Soviet Union participated in the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 despite North Korea’s desperate plea against it. What is more, the Soviet Union opened diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1990 much to the anger of North Koreans.

South Korea on its part had a big expectation, political rather than economic, when it was striving to build official relations with the Soviet Union. South Korea

calculated that the Soviet Union would push North Korea to compromises in its deals with South Korea.

But such calculation was shattered very soon. Because of its weakened position after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia could hardly exert influence on anything. What is more, in the eyes of the North Koreans, Russia was nothing more than a betrayer, who because of a meager economic advantage deserted the longtime ally. So, we can say that South Korea by its own act lost Russia as leverage in its relations with North Korea. South Korea, although it went on making advances in the Russian market, soon lost serious interests in Russia.<sup>15</sup>

The relations between North Korea and Russia hit the lowest point, when Eltsyn government abrogated the alliance treaty, Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, in 1995. The Russian elite, who were allegedly committed to freedom and market economy, openly showed their hatred and contempt of the stiff North Korean regime.

As soon as Eltsyn stepped down as president of Russia, however, serious efforts were started to mend the relations with North Korea.<sup>16</sup> Acting president Putin concluded a new Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation.<sup>17</sup> What is more, Putin made an official visit to North Korea in July of 2000, creating a world sensation on the eve of the Okinawa G8 Summit meeting.

By 2002 Putin and Kim Jong-il had met each other three times, but the relations again lost momentum. North Korea demanded a wholesale cancellation of its debt to Russia, but neither side could agree on the sum of the debt. China was far more generous in helping North Korea, and it looked far more attractive as a model for North Korea's future than the dilapidated Russian Far East. The international row on North Korea's nuclear development further soured the atmosphere between North Korea and Russia, which joined the UN sanctions against North Korea. When Russian foreign minister Lavrov visited North Korea after five years' lacuna in April 2009, he was not received by Kim Jong-il.

On the other hand, the relations between South Korea and Russia stayed stagnant, too. South Korea's attention was directed to China, which became the largest partner for South Korea's trade and investment. When Russian high-ranked diplomat was sent to jail on charge of espionage for South Korea in 1998, the relations went to the lowest.

The new South Korean president Lee Myung-bak is an ardent supporter for joint development of Siberian natural resources. He made an official visit to Moscow in October of 2008, but failed in making any concrete agreement on import of oil and natural gas from Siberia and the Russian Far East. In sum South Korea and Russia stay in talking terms, but mutual interests are perfunctory. And Russia's attitude toward South Korea and North Korea has not substantially changed even after the sinking of the South Korean navy vessel *Cheonan* in March of 2010 and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island by North Korea in November of the same year.

Russia is a member of the Six-Party Talks on North Korean issues and chairs one of its working groups: the group on a joint Northeast Asia peace and security mechanism. Russia, however, condones with the fact that China plays a key role in the talks with North Korea, and has not taken any tangible initiative



in the working group. Russia seems to have lost the guts of the Soviet Union, which on all possible occasions lobbied for its cherished idea “Collective Security Arrangement in Asia and Pacific Rim.”

### **Russia’s Presence in Southeast Asia**

After the Vietnam War, the Soviet Union had lost its serious interest in Southeast Asia, which is geographically very far and which the Russians believed were the least developed nations in the world. When Vietnam became a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995 and demanded Russia to pay for the use of Cam Ranh Bay naval facilities, Russia readily withdrew, which symbolized the end of the Russian influence in the region.

Today Russia maintains its ties with Southeast Asian countries by exporting arms and taking part in energy resources development. However, Russia cannot become the main arms supplier for these countries, being merely used as a ploy to get a better deal with the United States. For example, Malaysia under the flamboyant Prime Minister Mahatir, who always staged verbal wars with the United States, signed an agreement to import Mig 29s. Indonesia, which was under the U.S. embargo because of its handling of the East Timor issue, once gave a promise to import Sukhoi 30s.

Nevertheless, Russia has been trying to maintain and develop its presence in Southeast Asia. It has been taking part in annual meetings of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) since its start in 1994. In 1996 Russia became a constant participant in the enlarged ASEAN meeting on foreign ministers level. In 1998 Russia adopted “Basic Directions of Russian Foreign Policy,” and called for activation of its diplomacy in the Asian Pacific rim including ASEAN. With the support of Japan and the United States,<sup>18</sup> Russia was accepted as a member of APEC in 1998.

In October 2010 the leaders of ASEAN reached a consensus to invite Russia to next East Asia Summit meeting, which is to take place in October 2011. Most probably the ASEAN leaders attached priority to have the United States take part in the Summit as a balancing factor vis-à-vis China, and Russia was invited so as to soften the edge of this move. Russia’s wish for the membership in this forum has finally been warranted, but its influence will be limited.

### **Russia’s Presence in South Asia**

Russia’s influence in South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, and Afghanistan) remains feeble, too. After the fall of the Soviet Union, India tilted toward the United States, and opened up its market to foreign capitals. India once was a big client for Russian arms,<sup>19</sup> but today it prefers licensed production of foreign arms with open-bidding system.

Some Russians, former prime minister Primakov inter alia, toy the idea to form an axis-like union between Russia, India, and China. There have been intermittent meetings of these three countries on the summit level and on foreign ministers level. In WTO and G20 meetings, these three countries often collaborate with Brazil, forming the so-called BRICs (in April 2011 it became BRICS with

South Africa as permanent member). But the relations between India, China, and Russia are rife with conflicts and rivalries. Therefore, the “axis” with India and China can hardly become a real diplomatic asset for Russia, not to speak of Brazil, which is far from the Asian hemisphere.

### **Russia’s Presence in Central Asia and Mongolia<sup>20</sup>**

Boosted by the rapid economic growth in 2004–8, Russia regained much of influence in Mongolia and Central Asia. But Russia still has handicaps; it does not have the capacity to help these countries modernize the industry, and it will not send troops to Afghanistan because of the historical trauma. Russia is jealous of Chinese and NATO’s foray into Central Asia, but its hasty moves to rally the Central Asian countries into a military union under Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)<sup>21</sup> has not united but divided them.<sup>22</sup>

Politicians in Central Asia are shrewd. They will not easily subjugate themselves to their old suzerain Russia, nor will they give in to other big powers. They will keep playing the big powers against each other, trying to draw maximum gains for themselves.

This does not mean that neither Japan nor the United States have to take care of these countries. What is important is the existence of a viable and independent political entity in the common backyard of China and Russia and the maintenance of our friendly relations with the Central Asian countries. Monopolization of this region either by China or by Russia would change the balance of power in East Asia. It would be sufficient for Japan, the United States, and the European Union to continue to help Mongolia and the Central Asian countries in a moderate way so that they keep their own political independence and proceed with economic development. In other words Japan and the United States will be able to coordinate their “off-shore balancing policies” in Central Asia and Mongolia, avoiding overly deep involvement.

### **Russia’s Relations with Japan**

In the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union, Japan activated its policy toward Russia with a view to establish permanent friendly relations with Russia, solving the territorial dispute. Eltsyn reacted to Japan’s overture, anticipating large economic assistance. In 1991–2000, Japan spent about three billion dollars in grants and loans to help Russia’s economy.<sup>23</sup> It softened its position on the territorial question; Japan told the Russians that the recognition by Russia of the Japanese sovereignty over the disputed four islands was the most important and that Japan could wait with the actual return of the islands. This reminds one of the Okinawa islands case; the United States recognized Japan’s “residual sovereignty” over the islands in San Francisco Peace Treaty (signed in 1951), but actually returned them to Japan only in 1974.

Eltsyn underestimated the magnitude of the territorial issue. He had proposed a “Five-Steps Solution” for the problem, but even its last fifth step did not warrant

a return of the islands to Japan, leaving the final solution to future generations. Eltsyn, typical for a Russian politician, considered that this question is negotiable and that Japan would place economic interest ahead of principles.

Alas, the Japanese did not see much economic advantage in the issue. Japan's concern was political foremost: namely, war-time occupation of its territories should be terminated and the territories<sup>24</sup> should be returned to Japan. The ever-growing protest to Eltsyn's reform policy tied his hands, too. During his rule the negotiations on the territorial problem did not produce tangible results.

President Putin made a step forward, formally reinstating the force of the Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration in 1956, which foresaw that upon signing of a peace treaty<sup>25</sup> the Soviet Union would give over two smaller (out of four) islands to Japan as a gesture of friendship. The Soviet Union, however, had virtually cancelled the validity of this agreement, when Japan renewed its security treaty with the United States in 1960.

Therefore, though President Putin's "compromise" was meaningful as a gesture, it merely brought the bilateral relations back to the status between 1956 and 1960. Here we see a typical Russian diplomatic technique: unilaterally abrogate something only to reinstate it later as a pawn for negotiation.

Japan currently does not link the development of economic relations to the solution of the territorial issue, and even promotes private direct investment to Russia. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the Japanese government has been considering that the more the exchange becomes between both countries, the better the atmosphere becomes in Russia for the solution of the islands issue.

Japan has invested about 10 billion dollars for Sakhalin oil and gas project, and its import of liquefied natural gas from Sakhalin will soon reach 8% of its huge domestic consumption. Japan Tobacco is one of the three main cigarette producers in Russia, and Toyota and other Japanese car producers have built their factories in Russia. While direct investment by the U.S. and the EU companies goes largely to the energy sector, Japanese investment mostly goes to the manufacturing area, which is vital for desperately needed diversification of the Russian economy. Japanese technology, capital, and management know-how are much needed for helping out Russia from its overdependence on oil export.

What is more, the Japanese government published the "Initiative for Strengthening the Japan-Russia Cooperation in the Far East Russia and Eastern Siberia"<sup>26</sup> in June 2007. Within its framework, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation (JOGMEC) is currently helping the Russians explore oil in East Siberia. If a large oil reserve can be established, Japan, the United States, and other countries may import the oil from the Russian Far East. This will reduce Russia's overdependence on China.

There are voices in Japan that call for attaching more priority to Russia as a counterbalance to China, but Russia with its meager presence in the Asian hemisphere would not become much of "counterbalance."

The United States is not much interested in the energy resources in East Siberia. It so far lacks in demand and infrastructure to import resources from the Russian Far East. The United States would not need Russia's help in dealing with China. Both Japan and the United States have intense relations with China,

and both countries serve for each other as the most effective counterbalance vis-à-vis China.

### **The Russo-American Relations in East Asia**

The Sino-American economic ties are such that the United States depends upon China to the same degree as China depends upon the United States. But the Russo-American relations lack such positive mutual dependence.<sup>27</sup> Their relations tend to degenerate into zero-sum games. In the eyes of the Americans, Russia matters mainly in nuclear arms reduction, solution of the Afghanistan and Iran cases, and settlement of conflicts in the ex-Soviet countries.

Russia's presence in East Asia is very limited. Russian nuclear submarines with long-range missiles are still operating in the North Pacific, but this operation is kept only on a limited scale. The aged bombers of the Russian Armed Forces can no longer pose a threat to the American Seventh Fleet. Moreover, in spite of the much-touted grandiose plan to modernize its armament by 2020 Russia does not have any solid plan to build aircraft carrier fleets in near future. Export of Russian arms to the countries in Asia is not a direct threat to the United States, and the volume of the export may become even less because of the rising prices and the lack of track records of the Russian weaponry.

Not a small number of people propose to treat Russia as a counterbalance vis-à-vis China. But, the strength of Russia in the Far East is such that they cannot become a meaningful counterbalance vis-à-vis China. Sure, Japan and the United States may try to shore up the economic strength of the Russian Far East. But, this will be a thankless undertaking, because the Russian Far East is not fit for industrial production for various reasons. Development of energy resources in East Siberia may be helpful, but the U.S. oil and gas industry does not seem to be interested in the prospects of East Siberian oil and gas. And even if we succeed in making the Russian Far East thrive (by some sheer luck), Russia will simply act on its own, sometimes against the interests of Japan and the United States. Therefore, "Russia as a counterbalance to China" remains a hypothetical possibility.

Some people call for a serious deal with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, but, this organization today looks bogged in a stalemate. There is no reason to take Russia more seriously because of SCO. All third parties are able to make direct deals with the Central Asian countries.

### **How Japan and the USA Can Help Each Other in Their Relations with Russia**

#### *In Global Dimensions*

Japan is not considered to be much of a global power, but it has been making substantial efforts to realize stability and economic development in Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia, which used to be parts or surrounding buffer zones

of the Soviet Union.<sup>28</sup> A fall of an empire always creates vacuum of power, which subsequently becomes a place for contention among big powers. The repercussion of the falls of the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungary Empire still lingers on in the Middle East and in the Balkans.

An easy enlargement of NATO would not solve the problem, and on the contrary it may exacerbate the conflict. Instead, assistance in building conditions for economic development is a very effective means for strengthening independence and stability of the ex-Soviet and its adjacent countries. Japan does not simply give out money; its grants and low-interest loans are used for specific projects, in most cases construction of infrastructures.<sup>29</sup> It will promote self-sustaining development of the recipient countries. Japan played a vital role even in Macedonia in 1998–99, becoming one of the main donors of assistance in relation with the Kosovo situation.

Japan's official development aid has been playing a vital role in Central Asia inter alia, together with the Asian Development Bank,<sup>30</sup> World Bank, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Japan has held "Central Asia plus Japan" meeting on foreign ministers level three times, calling for more unity among the Central Asian countries and promoting joint projects for economic development.

Maintenance of political independence and promotion of economic development in Central Asia serve the interest not only of the Central Asian republics but also of the outside world, because the Central Asian countries can be balancing factors between big powers. They are producers of large quantity of oil and natural gas as well. The more there are interactions between Central Asia, Russian Siberia, Chinese Xinjiang, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Iran, Azerbaijan, and Turkey, the larger the prospect becomes for economic prosperity and political stability in the region. In a shorter time span, it will facilitate the antiterror operation in Afghanistan. Central Asia and Mongolia are not the area, which are directly covered by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, but a concerted policy between Japan and the United States will be beneficial for both countries.

In global dimensions, further, Japan can make a substantial contribution in the efforts to incorporate Russia into the postwar mechanism for international cooperation. Among other things Japan's support for the dismantling and disposition of decommissioned nuclear submarines in the Russian Far East and disposition of surplus weapons-grade plutonium removed from dismantled nuclear weapons may deserve special attention, because these measures were well coordinated among Japan, the United States, and Russia. Furthermore, Japan's financial and technological contribution in developing the missile defense,<sup>31</sup> though it does not have direct connotation for Russia, would facilitate current U.S. policy for denuclearization of the world.

### *In Regional Dimensions*

Russia is not a main actor in the Asian hemisphere. Instead, it will be regarded as one of the factors, friendly or adversary on case by case basis, for achievement

of stability in the region. Japan and the United States should keep coordinating their policies toward Russia, but its effect will be not so much strategic as incremental.

The summit meeting of APEC will be held consecutively; in 2010 in Japan, in 2011 in the United States, and in 2012 in Vladivostok. Russia is already aware of this opportunity to present itself as a major power in the Asia Pacific rim. Judging from its previous behavior, Russia will probably present grandiose plans for security and economic cooperation in the area with a view to promote its own interests.

However, the APEC is not designed to address political issues (should it ever happen, China will block Taiwan's participation in the meeting). Instead the political issues can be dealt with in the East Asian Summit, for example. Japan will not snub Russia's move, but Russia will be required to solve the territorial issues with member countries, before it proposes any grandiose plan. In the EU, no country is allowed to become a member if it has undecided border issues with any of the member countries. And any new regional arrangement on security should not be construed as giving a justification for a collaboration between Russian and Chinese navies and air forces against interests of the other members.

In regional dimensions Japan, the United States, Russia, and the countries in the region will be able to develop multilateral cooperation in processing nuclear fuel for peaceful use, though the prospect is marred by the Fukushima nuclear plant accident in 2011. Russia possesses the world's largest capacity for uranium enrichment, a large part of which is not used after the fall of the Soviet Union. If Japan and the United States couple Russia's unused capacity with the huge uranium ore reserves in Central Asia and Mongolia, we would be able to promote a multilateral cooperation in processing nuclear fuel for peaceful use. Japan, having in mind this prospect, has concluded with Russia the Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy in May 2009. The United States has also signed a similar agreement with Russia.<sup>32</sup>

The Sakhalin oil and gas projects are a marvelous example of multilateral cooperation with Russia. The Japanese and the American companies are playing the most important roles in these projects.

In case the United States embarks on the development of East Siberian oil and gas, Japan will be able to go along without compromising its claim in the territorial issue with Russia, as long as such an undertaking is economically feasible. However, as I already mentioned, there would be little meaning in going beyond practical necessity: for example, an attempt will not pay off to shore up the Russian Far East economy as counterbalance vis-à-vis China.

### **What Japan Expects the United States to Do for Solving the Territorial Issue with Russia**

When the Soviet Union was intact, many American intellectuals expressed fear about a hypothetical anti-American ganging-up between the Japanese economic strength and the Russian military power in case of a solution of the territorial

issue. Now that this baseless fear lost its ground, some Americans started arguing that Japan should shelve its territorial claim to Russia and join the Western effort to help Russia modernize. The U.S. government has been more pragmatic, however. It was always willing to help the Japanese, but it mostly limited its role to an intermediary function.<sup>33</sup>

What Japan needs most from the United States is a support in legal aspects. For example, interpretation of Article 2 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 is crucial. Russia interprets, though the Soviet Union was not even a signatory of the peace treaty, that Article 2 means that Japan abstained from ownership of the four islands. These four islands, however, always belonged to Japan since establishment of formal diplomatic relations with the Russian Empire, so Japan could not have abstained from ownership of them. The U.S. support of Japan's position on this regard is important.

If Japan and Russia ever reach a final stage of their negotiations on the issue, America's blessing will be needed. For example, if the United States gives a guarantee not to use the returned islands for U.S. military purposes, it would promote the final solution.

As regards a direct intervention of the United States in the territorial negotiations between Japan and Russia, we have to be cautious because of the nervousness of the Russians about any American pressure. In March 1998, the U.S. ambassador James Collins publicly admitted during his trip to Sakhalin that the islands under dispute should be returned to Japan and caused waves of protest in the Russian society.

An American pressure in the opposite direction, that is a pressure on Japan to give up its "stiff posture" about the islands issue and to reach a compromise with Russia, would be even less welcome. For almost 20 years, Japan has been taking conciliatory attitude on this issue, removing the linkage between the territorial issue and development of economic relations. Therefore, Japan's posture on the problem as it stands now cannot be any impediment for the U.S. strategies.

### Some Afterthoughts

After the Second World War, the NATO in Europe and the Japan-U.S. Alliance in East Asia have been the mainstay for the maintenance of the status quo. The NATO was designed for keeping the "Russians out, Americans in, and Germans down."<sup>34</sup> In East Asia, the picture was all the same with Germany's role performed by Japan. In other words the main objectives of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty were initially

1. To continue the use of the Japanese bases by the U.S. forces even after the end of the postwar Occupation;
2. To ensure that Japan will not become again a threat in the region.<sup>35</sup>

Japan needed the alliance for its own defense, but the United States used the Japanese bases for the forward-deployment of its forces against the Communist bloc in the Eurasian continent as well.

Just like Germany, however, Japan took full advantage of this arrangement, achieving economic prosperity, firmly establishing democratic values<sup>36</sup> in its society, and becoming for itself an important member of the postwar global system: the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the International Banks for Reconstruction and Development (collectively known as the World Bank), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (later World Trade Organization). The Japanese had readily accepted the Western culture even before the war, digesting it in its own way to create a unique amalgam with its own esthetic feelings. Japan's disarmament after the war fitted the pacifist atmosphere, intrinsic in the larger part of Japan's society. Therefore, the need for the first tier of the Japan-U.S. alliance, keeping "Japan down," quickly dissipated.

Furthermore, at the end of the Cold War, the need for the second tier—keeping the "Russians out"—suddenly disappeared. China's power started ascending rapidly, as if to replace the Soviet Union. However, the voices about China are equivocal both in Japan and in the United States. China is not (at least so far) as aggressive as the late Soviet Union in its foreign policy. Economies of both Japan and the United States are intensely intertwined with that of China. And for the Japanese, China is culturally and historically very close. Therefore, a new second tier of the Japan-U.S. alliance should sound like "keeping China in and keeping it innocuous," instead of "keeping China out."<sup>37</sup>

Such an approach to China will be welcomed by many countries in Asia. The majority of them are expanding their economic relations with China,<sup>38</sup> but at the same time being afraid of political subjugation by China. These countries look for a bulwark of the status quo in the Japan-U.S. alliance. This factor, "the Japan-U.S. alliance as a common asset in Asia," is gaining importance and is latently becoming one of the main rationales of the alliance. This would be a new component for the third tier of the alliance "America in."

In these intricate relations of mutual dependence among the countries in Asia, Russia remains largely irrelevant because of the underdevelopment of its Far East. It could hardly play out even the role of a counterbalance vis-à-vis China. Russia's export of oil and gas from Sakhalin will not substantially enhance its political position in the Asia-Pacific region.

Russia has ceased to be a decisive rationale for the Japan-U.S. alliance and has failed to become a subject for a major positive Japan-U.S. joint initiative. Russia's place in the Asia-Pacific region will be determined through mutual actions and responses among Japan, the United States, China, South Korea, Taiwan, and ASEAN countries. It is not that Russia is encircled by adversaries, but that its own policy has been working against achieving an honorable place in the region even 20 years after it started a reform.

## Notes

1. More precisely, it is the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan concluded in 1960.
2. Russia's GDP has grown five times in 2000–2007, from 259.7 billion dollars to 1.289.5 billion dollars. During this period the oil prices went up by two and a half times, and



the ruble was evaluated against the dollar by 9%. *2020 nen no Rosia* [Russia in 2020] (Akio KAWATO and Shinichiro TABATA, Tokyo: Research Institute for Peace and Security [RIPS]), March 2008, 65.

3. Some pundits name it a policy of “congagement” (containment and engagement at the same time).
4. Japan hesitated in the beginning, but in the end the Japanese troops lingered in Siberia far longer than the U.S. Army. Japan, almost defeated, had to withdraw the troops in 1922 amid disgrace and criticism in the Japanese society.
5. It existed between 1920 and 1922. When Japan’s threat was gone, it was dissolved and merged in the Soviet Union.
6. Kissinger recounts how the Soviet leadership had no other choice than receiving President Nixon, even after the U.S. bombardment in North Vietnam brought casualty among the Russians. Because Nixon had visited Peking for rapprochement, Moscow did not want to be left behind. Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years* (Little Brown, 1979), Chapter 25.
7. Gorbachev made an official visit to Beijing in May of 1989 with a great fanfare only to be mired by the outbreak of the students uprising against the Chinese leadership.
8. The Soviet Union had participated in the Seoul Olympic Games much to the anger of North Korea, and opened diplomatic relations with South Korea in September 1990.
9. I mean here only three provinces of Northeast China.
10. On the other hand, export of oil and natural gas from Sakhalin is to become very important for Russia and Japan alike. Japan provided the technology to liquefy natural gas. Import of Sakhalin liquefied gas may well soon reach about 10% of the total demand in Japan.
11. A similar cooperation has been going on between NATO and Russia for several years.
12. AL-31 drives the most exported Russian fighter plane Su-27.
13. In August 2005, about 9,000 troops took part in the joint exercise. In August 2007, the number of the troops was approximately 6,500. In August 2009, only approximately 2,500 took part in the exercise in Northeast China.
14. Interview in the journal *Expert*, April 2004.
15. This part is based upon my own conversation with South Korean diplomats at that time.
16. It is quite possible to assume that Putin’s stronghold Federal Security Service (FSB), the secret police, lobbied for this.
17. This new treaty, unlike the abrogated old alliance pact, did not have a clause for mutual military assistance in case of war.
18. Japan at that time had embarked on a new initiative to finally solve the Northern Territory issue, and as a friendly gesture made a formal proposal to admit Russia into APEC.
19. According to the Russian government, India and China together absorbed 62% of the Russian arms export.
20. Mongolia and Central Asia should be discussed together because of their historical and geopolitical proximity as common backyards of China and Russia.
21. CSTO was formed in 2002. This was an attempt to resurrect the defunct Warsaw Pact, although in a smaller scale. Current members are Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.
22. For example, Uzbekistan strongly resisted the Russian attempt to form a united rapid deployment force in Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Probably out of fear that such forces might be used for conflicts involving itself or its friendly

- countries, Uzbekistan vehemently insisted that any decision for deployment of the rapid deployment forces be made on the basis of consensus (just like in North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO).
23. Japan's resources were used for scrapping of old nuclear submarines, construction of Business School at Moscow State University, and a variety of humanitarian aids. For details see the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)'s site at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/assistance/>
  24. Here I mean those territories that had belonged to Japan before it became a colonialist power.
  25. In 1956, Japan and the Soviet Union attempted to conclude a peace treaty. Because both sides could not reach agreement on postwar borders, they merely signed a joint declaration for cessation of hostilities, resumption of diplomatic relations, repatriation of the prisoners of war, and mutual abrogation of compensation claims. The Joint Declaration was later ratified by both countries, but it is not a peace treaty *per se*, because it lacks clauses on borders.
  26. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/initiative0706.html>
  27. On the other hand, the United States generously helped the Soviet Union during the Second World War, sending personnel, food, and material *en masse*. Older generations in Russia still remember this generosity. In spite of the America-phobia on surface, the Russians adore America in heart and love the American culture.
  28. This zone used to be called "The arc of instability."
  29. Most of Japan's soft loans are untied. Not only Japanese companies, but also local companies and third-country companies benefit from Japan's official development aid (ODA).
  30. Asian Development Bank (ADB), which is largely funded by Japan and the United States, has been building a system of trans-Eurasian highways through Central Asia.
  31. Japan's contribution is for developing a system against North Korean missiles.
  32. Both agreements are subject to ratification by the Diet and the Congress.
  33. This does not mean that the U.S. government mediated a solution of the border issue. What is meant here is, for example, the U.S. government's help in bringing to a success the 1993 G7 summit meeting (with Eltsyn as guest) in Tokyo in the wake of Eltsyn's undiplomatic cancellation of his official visit to Japan in September 1992.
  34. These words are attributed to the first secretary general of NATO Lord Ismay.
  35. In this sense, the Japan-U.S. alliance was regarded by some as a "cork in the bottle" of Japan the Devil.
  36. It has to be noted that democracy was not only forced upon the Japanese by the American Occupation. Japan's own tradition of consensus building suited the Western way of democracy.
  37. Some people call such an approach "conengagement" (containment and engagement simultaneously) of China.
  38. A sober and balanced policy is needed with regard to China. The United States and China alone will not be able to uphold the economy in Asia. A large portion of the Chinese trade surplus is earned by Japanese (American as well) companies operating in China. The Japanese, American, and European factories established in ASEAN countries are intensifying trade with their own subsidiaries in China, creating an intertwined regional economy like in the EU.



## The U.S.-Japan Alliance and Russia

*Joseph Ferguson*

Since 1991 Russia has occupied a secondary (if not tertiary) place in the strategic planning realm of the alliance between the United States and Japan. For almost two decades Russia's political and strategic profiles in Northeast Asia have been largely negligible. This is somewhat ironic, considering the fact that in the early 1990s Russia's Far East—for decades closed off from foreign contact, but viewed as a valuable strategic asset in terms of geography and resources—was opened to the nations of the Asia-Pacific region. Nevertheless, during the 1990s and in the first half decade of the twenty-first-century Russia remained primarily an afterthought in the Asia-Pacific region. But in the past few years one might say that Russia has again emerged as a strategic player in Northeast Asia. Although Russia possesses much less military weight in the region than it did during the 1980s, it has reemerged as an economic and political player in Northeast Asia. This has been due primarily to the political acumen of President (and now Prime Minister) Vladimir Putin and—perhaps even more so—to the bonanza of natural resources that lie under the surface of Eastern Siberia and offshore of Sakhalin Island.

For strategic planners in Japan and the United States today, the extent of Russia's reemergence in the region is still unclear. Russia no longer poses the same threat that the Soviet Union did during the years of the tremendous arms buildup (conventional, naval, and nuclear) in the Russian Far East during the 1970s and 1980s. Nor is Russia the paper tiger that could barely feed its own populace in the region during the 1990s. Instead, Russia poses challenges that are more political than strategic or military. The primary *strategic* option Russia possesses in Northeast Asia today is China. In other words, should Russia choose to enter into a full-scale military alliance with China—complete with an R&D and technological exchange—Russia would factor in more prominently for U.S.-Japan alliance planners. As it stands today, Russia diplomatically tries to figure into the Six-Party Talks on Korean Peninsula security issues, while undiplomatically turning

its head away from Japan, a potential economic and strategic partner. Otherwise, apart from Russia's geographical location on the Northern Pacific littoral (the Russian Far East and the Kuril Islands), Russia factors very little in the strategic calculus of Northeast Asia, and hence the U.S.-Japan Alliance.

To say that Russia will continue to be a nonfactor in the Asia-Pacific region in the coming years, however, would risk underestimating Russia's capacity to rise just when it has been discounted, as it has done time and again throughout its history. The government in Moscow is determined to make Russia an important player again in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2007 the Kremlin pledged to allocate up to 600 billion rubles (\$21.7 billion) to fund development projects in Eastern Siberia and the Far East by the year 2013, and 9 trillion rubles (\$326 billion) by the year 2025.<sup>1</sup> Although these figures have changed somewhat with the 2008–9 economic crisis, this plan is part of a clear strategy to reengage Russia diplomatically and economically (and to bolster its military capabilities) in Northeast Asia.

This chapter examines Russia's role in alliance politics (in particular relations with Japan) since the end of the Cold War; how Russia hopes to again become a factor in Northeast Asia and what this means for U.S.-Japan relations; and finally, this chapter presents several contingency scenarios involving Russia, which would entail U.S.-Japan strategic and military cooperation.

### **The 1990s: Russia's Rise and Fall**

The ending of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union was a time of uncertainty for the U.S.-Japan security relationship. Since its inception in 1951 the U.S.-Japan alliance saw the Soviet threat as its primary *raison d'être*. The massive Soviet military build-up in the Far East during the 1970s and early 1980s, combined with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the proxy war in Cambodia, provided even more of a rationale for those advocates of maintaining a strong U.S.-Japan alliance partnership in East Asia (even though the Soviet build-up was directed primarily toward China). In 1981 Japanese prime minister Zenko Suzuki agreed to a U.S. proposal for the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Forces (MSDF) to undertake responsibility for the defense of the sea lanes up to 1,000 miles from Japan in the Western Pacific. The next year the Japanese government accepted the deployment of U.S. F-16s to Misawa air base in northern Japan. Not to be outdone by his predecessor, Yasuhiro Nakasone came into office as prime minister in 1982 and declared famously that Japan would become America's "unsinkable aircraft carrier."<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly, and literally overnight, the Soviet threat disappeared in 1991. As celebratory an event as this was for the United States, the West, and Japan, the U.S.-Japan alliance was now bereft of a direct enemy. NATO was able to soldier on with the incorporation of new members and the onset of new missions in the Balkans and the Middle East, but the U.S.-Japan alliance, apart from some contingency planning, was left somewhat "adrift." Exacerbating the situation was growing economic and trade friction between Washington

and Tokyo, and the knowledge among alliance planners that—in fact—there was very little contingency planning actually going on.<sup>3</sup> A new framework for the alliance was established during the Clinton administration in the late 1990s, and Japan was persuaded to take a more active role globally, if not necessarily regionally.

For Russia the 1990s could be called the “lost decade.” Nowhere was this more the case than in the Russian Far East and Northeast Asia. The Yeltsin years were a monumental study in poor leadership, mismanagement, and lost opportunities. The Russian leadership, for the most part, was justifiably fixated on Europe and its own domestic issues. There were, however, notable successes and failures in its Asia policy during the 1990s. There were the first two of a series of border agreements with China, which would eventually put to rest a centuries-old territorial dispute. Four summits meetings between Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Chinese president Jiang Zemin in the two-year period 1996–98 resulted in a so-called strategic partnership between Beijing and Moscow. But there was still a lingering paranoia about the “China Threat” among Russian policymakers and citizens of the Russian Far East.<sup>4</sup> In Korea Yeltsin made overtures to Seoul in an attempt to shore up Russia’s traditional position of influence on the Korean Peninsula, which had been lost when Soviet President Gorbachev decided to abandon Pyongyang in the late 1980s. Russia negotiated a series of loans with the South Korean government, some of them backed by guaranteed arms sales. Meanwhile, Yeltsin reached out again to North Korea in an attempt to bolster its relationship with Seoul, by using its relationship with Pyongyang as a lever. But Moscow was shut out of the 1994 Agreed Framework on Korean Peninsula nuclear issues, and by the end of the 1990s its Korea policy was in shambles. Relations with Pyongyang were almost nonexistent, while the 1997–98 financial crisis and a spy-scandal set relations between Moscow and Seoul aback.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, relations with Tokyo in the 1990s witnessed ups and downs. The first few years of the Yeltsin presidency would have been an optimal time for the two nations to put aside historical differences and negotiate a peace treaty inclusive of a territorial settlement over the Northern Territories. After a last-minute postponement in 1992, Yeltsin did eventually visit Tokyo in October 1993, but the visit achieved nothing in the way of concrete results.<sup>6</sup> The appearance of Ryutaro Hashimoto as prime minister of Japan in 1996 created positive momentum in the bilateral relationship between Moscow and Tokyo. The two “no necktie” summits between Hashimoto and Yeltsin in Krasnoyarsk and Kawana in 1997 and 1998<sup>7</sup> created the hope that the two nations would put aside past issues, resolve the territorial dispute,<sup>8</sup> sign a long overdue Second World War peace treaty, and cement a true strategic partnership. Growing concern about China’s rise was palpable in both Moscow and Tokyo as Hashimoto and Yeltsin seriously discussed a new framework for relations in the twenty-first century.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, as pressing as the international exigencies may have been, the two governments could not get past domestic opposition and historical enmity. Once Hashimoto left office in 1998, positive momentum in the bilateral relationship largely died off for the next several years.

During the 1990s the various administrations in Washington carefully watched the slow progress in Japanese-Russian relations, and wondered whether normalization between Moscow and Tokyo could bring strategic benefits to the United States. During the Cold War, if anything Washington was seen as being obstructionist in Japanese-Russian relations. Tokyo was happy to tow the American line, but U.S. policymakers made it clear to their allies in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) that overtures toward Moscow were to be first cleared with Washington.<sup>10</sup> The administration of George H.W. Bush was quick to recognize the strategic benefits of a Japanese-Russian *rapprochement* for the United States. At their last summit meeting in Moscow in July 1991, Bush urged Gorbachev to reach a deal with the Japanese on the islands, warning that a failure to do so "could hamper [Russia's] integration into the world economy."<sup>11</sup> Bill Clinton was similarly eager to see Moscow and Tokyo cement a *rapprochement*, mentioning several times in 1993 to Japanese leaders the importance of economic cooperation between Japan and Russia.<sup>12</sup>

Among the Russian leadership there were also clear signs of a growing awareness that a *rapprochement* with Japan could have strategic benefits for their country. Even before the fall of the Soviet Union military leaders were beginning to question whether the U.S.-Japan security relationship actually posed a threat to their country. In May 1989 the Soviet Union officially delinked the security treaty from Japanese-Soviet peace treaty negotiations, something they had kept as a bargaining chip for more than 35 years.<sup>13</sup> On his visit to Japan in the summer of 1991 Gorbachev even went so far as to broach trilateral cooperation in confidence-building measures that could one day lead to a new regional security structure.<sup>14</sup> President Clinton continued to harp on the importance of normalization with Moscow to the Japanese leadership throughout his administration. He found a receptive partner in Ryutaro Hashimoto. In the lead up to the 1997 Denver G-7 summit, Clinton urged stepped-up Japanese assistance to Russia in order to help mollify Russian opposition to NATO expansion. Japanese leaders were beginning to worry that if they did not follow Washington's lead in warming to Moscow then they might be left behind.<sup>15</sup> In this vein, in the mid-1990s, a series of annual "track two" meetings were held in Moscow, Washington, and Tokyo. These meetings were known as the Trilateral Forum on North Pacific Security and included mid-level officials from the foreign affair and military bureaucracies in all three countries. In his visit to Tokyo in 1997, Russian Defense Minister Igor Rodionov declared that the U.S.-Japan security treaty was "necessary" for regional stability.<sup>16</sup>

As much positive momentum as there may have been in the progression of trilateral relations between Moscow, Tokyo, and Washington, by the late 1990s Russia was imploding upon itself in the wake of the 1998 financial crisis (which wiped out the savings of a vast majority of Russian citizens) and the second outbreak of the war in Chechnya. Yeltsin, though he would linger on for a few years yet, was practically on his deathbed when he announced his retirement on New Year's Eve 1999. At this point real progress in Japanese-Russian relations, and hence trilateral cooperation with Washington would have to wait for a while.

### The 2000s: The War on Terror and Russia's Reemergence

The year 2001 was a watershed not just in global politics with the September 11 attacks on the United States, but it was also perhaps the last realistic chance for Japan and Russia to agree to normalization and a peace treaty. Japanese prime minister Yoshiro Mori, whose father had close ties to Russia, traveled to the Russian Far East in March 2001 to meet Russian president Vladimir Putin in the city of Irkutsk on the shores of Lake Baikal. There was optimism among the Japanese that Putin was a Russian leader who could decisively deliver results, unlike Yeltsin. During a September 2000 visit to Tokyo Putin had suggested that Russia would honor the 1956 Joint Declaration, wherein the two nations would sign a peace treaty and Japan would receive Shikotan Island and the Habomai group in return. The Japanese would not have been content with such an agreement, but there was hope that Putin was willing to negotiate, and perhaps grant Japan further territorial concessions, in return for Japanese investment.

At the Irkutsk Summit, Prime Minister Mori laid out his idea for a "two-track" policy, in which two sets of talks would settle the matter, first, of the 1956 declaration, and then the sovereignty of the other two islands (Kunashiri and Etorofu), with Russia perhaps agreeing to an extended handover of all four islands (a Hong Kong-type formula). This was a big sea change in Japan's negotiating policy vis-à-vis Moscow, and it represented a big political risk for Mori. In fact, this policy was the result of a split in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), in which several higher ranking diplomats suggested a change in thinking about and negotiating with Russia. Prior to this any suggestion in Japan that they should negotiate for anything other than all four islands at one (*yontō ikkatsu*) was considered heretical. This new policy approach was outlined in a series of anonymous articles published in the *Sankei Shimbun*, Japan's most widely read conservative daily.<sup>17</sup> The summit meeting ended without any breakthrough. Putin told Mori that Russia would be unable to return more than two islands.<sup>18</sup> There was a tremendous backlash among many Japanese once the new negotiating tactic was made public. The infighting was prevalent not just in the Foreign Ministry, but also within the ruling LDP. In fact, for a number of reasons, including his perceived failure of policy toward Russia, Mori was forced to step down in April 2001. By the end of 2001 a full-scale political scandal had blown up surrounding the dealings of a certain LDP lawmaker, Muneo Suzuki. Besides being from Hokkaido, Suzuki had come to exercise an enormous amount of influence on Russia policy. He had cultivated many contacts within Japan's Foreign Ministry, and had visited Russia on many occasions, building a network in Moscow, as well. Suzuki was a champion of the "two-track" policy when he was eventually arrested in June 2002 and charged with corruption. After this episode, Japan's Russia policy was in shambles.<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps safe to say that since that time any politician or diplomat in Japan seeking a new tactic in policy toward Russia is watched with the utmost scrutiny in Tokyo. As such, there has been little in the way of substantial activity in Japanese-Russian normalization talks. Economic contacts (especially in the energy field) have flourished, and cultural contacts are not diminished, but political relations between Japan and Russia have become



a dead-end for politicians in both countries. And after 2001 no person within the Bush or Obama administrations evinced any interest in helping to further Japanese-Russian cooperation.

What made the impasse in Japanese-Russian relations during the first half-decade of the twenty-first century particularly vexing for policymakers in Tokyo was that strategic relations between Moscow and Washington were rapidly improving. This was due, of course, to the war on terror, and Vladimir Putin's decision to strongly back the United States in Afghanistan and Central Asia. President Putin was the first foreign leader to contact President Bush after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. Putin stated that Russia would do whatever was necessary to help the United States. In a televised address to the Russian nation on September 24, 2001, Putin authorized the flight over Russian territory of U.S. planes conducting humanitarian and support missions in Central Asia. He also held out the possibility of conducting search and rescue missions in Afghanistan, should the United States request Russian assistance. Putin promised that Russia would increase its military support of the Northern Alliance, Russia's quasi-allies in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Putin made a bold political decision to acquiesce in the establishment of U.S. military bases in Central Asia to help combat the Taliban in Afghanistan. Not only did Putin agree to such a strategy, but he also persuaded leaders in three Central Asian states (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan) to host U.S. facilities.

Until the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Moscow and Washington operated as quasi-allies, sharing intelligence, continuing the dismantlement of nuclear weapons and the disposal of nuclear waste, and joining together at the Six-Party Talks on Korean peninsula security issues. In a December 2002 trip to Beijing, Putin reportedly spent much of his time justifying to Chinese leaders his pro-U.S. stance on major policy issues. Putin went on to say that it would be "absolutely counter-productive" to seek confrontation with the United States.<sup>20</sup> Political relations, meanwhile, between Tokyo and Moscow remained mired in acrimony and distrust. The Japanese leadership, however, was concerned that their nation would be left behind, should U.S.-Russian cooperation lead to a real alliance.

Consequently, efforts were made in Tokyo to play a larger role in the war on terror, including the refueling of U.S. and International Security Assistance Force (NATO and coalition forces in Afghanistan) ships in the Indian Ocean. The Japanese government also joined the United States in the disposal of nuclear waste in the former Soviet Union, pledging more than \$180 million to help with the dismantlement of 40 decommissioned Russian nuclear submarines. These operations commenced near Vladivostok in early 2005.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the best efforts of Prime Minister Jun'ichiro Koizumi (who made a highly publicized visit to Moscow and Khabarovsk in the Russian Far East in early 2003), relations between Moscow and Tokyo remained stalled. In fact, Koizumi, who became prime minister at the time of the Suzuki scandal, never broached the idea of negotiating beyond the "four islands at one time" policy.

In spite of the stunted political relationship, something that had gone largely unnoticed during the 1990s and into the early years of the twenty-first century was the unprecedented number of defense contacts and exchanges between

the Japanese and Russian military establishments. Beginning in 1996 defense contacts flourished and continued to do so for another half decade. In 1996, for example, two historical visits occurred when Japan Defense Agency (JDA) Director Hideo Usui visited Moscow in April, and when the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) destroyer *Kurama* visited the Russian Far Eastern port Vladivostok in July. There was even talk in 1996 of Japan acquiring Russian fighter jets.<sup>22</sup> It was later revealed that Japanese Air Self-Defense Force (JASDF) pilots had been training in Russian jets on Russian airbases.<sup>23</sup> In 1997 Russian Defense Minister Igor Rodionov returned Usui's visit and became the first Russian defense chief to visit Tokyo in more than a century. The following year three JMSDF ships participated in joint search and rescue operation exercises with Russian naval forces in the Sea of Japan, also a first.<sup>24</sup> In 1999 the joint exercises were continued, and the Russian cruiser *Admiral Panteleyev* visited the Yokosuka naval base south of Tokyo, the first such naval visit since Crown Prince Nicholas visited Japan in 1891.

The torrid pace of defense exchanges continued in 2000–2001, but several events caused a slowdown in contacts between the two militaries, including the arrest in September 2000 of a JMSDF officer who was passing intelligence on to the Russian naval attaché in Tokyo, and an increase in 2001 in the number of airspace violations by Russian warplanes over Japanese territory.<sup>25</sup> Even more troublesome for the improved atmosphere in defense relations was the growing Russian concern about U.S. missile defense plans. Russian leaders made it very clear that Japanese cooperation in the development of a regional defense missile system could harm bilateral relations. The Russian Foreign Ministry issued a public statement warning Japan not to cooperate with Washington, and President Putin also raised the issue with Prime Minister Mori during a meeting between the two in St. Petersburg in April 2000.<sup>26</sup>

By 2003 U.S.-Russian relations began their downward spiral, culminating in the Russian invasion of Georgia in August 2008. During this five-year period, not coincidentally, Russia's economy was expanding as the global demand for energy mushroomed, creating unique opportunities for Russia and the Russian government. During this period Russia's foreign exchange reserves topped \$750 billion, most of this earned through energy exports. At every juncture the Kremlin looked to oppose the United States, whether over NATO expansion, missile defense, or even nonproliferation efforts in Iran and North Korea. Washington now joined Tokyo in viewing Moscow with suspicion. For perhaps the first time since the end of the Cold War, Tokyo and Washington found themselves on the same page with regard to Russian policy. With president Medvedev's visit to the disputed islands in the fall of 2010, Japanese-Russian relations officially moved into a deep-freeze.

### **The Russian Far East: Energy and Diplomacy**

Although, as mentioned, political relations between Japan and Russia seemingly remained frozen after 2001, the Japanese government was quite eager to engage

and assist Russia in the development of energy resources in Eastern Siberia, a decades-long dream cherished by a number of past Japanese leaders.<sup>27</sup> In 2006 President Putin announced an ambitious and massive development project—focused on energy infrastructure—for the Russian Far East. The Kremlin pledged to allocate up to 600 billion rubles (\$21.7 billion) to fund development projects in Eastern Siberia and the Far East by the year 2013 and 9 trillion rubles (\$326 billion) by the year 2025.<sup>28</sup> The 2008–9 economic crisis may have lessened the scope of the massive development plans by the Russian government for the Russian Far East, but the development strategy is still alive, including the ambitious plans for the East Siberian-Pacific Ocean (ESPO) oil pipeline, which began exporting Siberian oil directly into China in early 2011. “We are not going to put off our *strategic plans*” (emphasis added), Prime Minister Putin announced in November 2008.<sup>29</sup>

Since Putin assumed office in 2000, he has made the reemergence of Russia as an Asian power one of his priorities. In doing so Putin has made it clear that he wishes for Moscow to have equidistant relationships with partner countries in the Asia-Pacific region. One way to achieve this is to become the energy supplier of the first and last resort for these nations. Although, Russia is far from being able to meet the high levels of demand for energy in the region (especially China and Japan), the Kremlin has made it clear that this will be a priority in the twenty-first century. Although Russia has reemerged somewhat politically in the region—with its role at the Six-Party Talks and as future host of the APEC summit in Vladivostok in 2012—its political role can really be enhanced only with a sound energy strategy in the region.

As part of the massive national energy strategy published formulated in 2006 the Kremlin announced that it wished to increase gas and oil exports to the Asia-Pacific region from its 2006 level of 3% of total Russian energy exports to 30%.<sup>30</sup> Although the Sakhalin energy projects would be a vital component of this plan, the ESPO pipeline is expected to be able to export 80 million metric tons of oil annually by the year 2020 (or roughly 1.6 million barrels of oil per day). To compare, as of 2006, East Siberian production yielded 1 million ton; 15 million metric tons (109 million barrels) of crude were produced off Sakhalin Island in the Russian Far East in 2007. By 2030 the Russian government wants Far Eastern oil production to increase to 140 million tons a year. In order to help facilitate this quantum leap in production and export, the Russian government has announced plans for a development project known as the Far Eastern energy complex (to include pipelines, regional gasification efforts, electrical grids, RZD, and even tunnels to Sakhalin). In addition, the government has announced a socio-economic development plan wherein it would invest as much as \$300 billion in the region over the next few decades.<sup>31</sup> The announcement of Vladivostok as the host city for the 2012 APEC summit gave further impetus to the Russian government to get the development plan underway quickly.

This, of course, all smacks of the Soviet-type centrally planned economic development models that were so unsuccessful in the region during the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Putin, current President Dmitry Medvedev, and other Russian leaders see the issue of the development of the Russian Far

East in terms of national security. In a speech delivered along the Chinese border several years ago Putin warned that if the economic and social condition in the RFE were not improved, residents of the region would be speaking Chinese, Japanese, or Korean in future generations. Later he warned that the crumbling socioeconomic situation in the Russian Far East was a “threat to national security.” Medvedev also reiterated Russia’s fear of “losing” the Far East, when he alluded to “serious problems” in the region during a visit there in September 2008.<sup>32</sup> In short, the Kremlin sees the development of the Russian Far East as a strategic issue for a vital and resource-rich region within Russia.

In spite of what Putin said, the fear of “losing” the Russian Far East has little to do with Japan or Korea, or even the United States (as some nationalistic Russians have claimed). It has everything to do with a falling population, a crumbling infrastructure, and the rise of a dynamically expanding, demographically numerous neighbor to the south in China. Although the final component of the border agreement between Russian and China was signed in Beijing in late 2004, the “China Threat” is still present in Russia, and the further east you go, the more palpable it is.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the Kremlin is eager to enlist Japanese (and to a lesser extent Korean and Indian) assistance in their development plans for the Russian Far East.

The latest efforts at bilateral energy cooperation between Japan and Russia had their genesis in 1996–97 when Prime Minister Hashimoto was in office. A former head of MITI (now METI), Hashimoto had long been a champion of the development of the abundant, yet fallow, energy resources of Eastern Siberia. His dalliances with Boris Yeltsin were founded partly on the desire to see Japan’s energy dependence on Middle Eastern sources of oil and gas lessened.<sup>34</sup> And although Hashimoto never achieved normalization with Russia for Japan, the emphasis on energy cooperation was something that remained with the bilateral relationship. When Prime Minister Koizumi visited Russia January 2003, one of the results of his trip was the publication of a bilateral cooperation plan, known as the “Japan-Russia Action Plan.” Energy cooperation was one of the pillars of this plan, and the Japanese delegation that accompanied Koizumi included a large number of executives from energy firms and other high-profile trading companies. Meanwhile, since the 1990s two Japanese trading firms Mitsubishi and Mitsui (as well as Shell Oil) have been involved in a high-profile consortium on Sakhalin Island, known as the Sakhalin-2 project, each initially controlling 20% and 25%, respectively. In addition, the Japanese firm SODECO is involved with Exxon-Mobil and Russian partners in the Sakhalin-1 project (at a 30% ownership rate). Both of these projects—launched when Hashimoto was prime minister—represent billions of dollars of Japanese investment for Russia.<sup>35</sup> Finally, under Koizumi, the Japanese government lobbied for and initially offered up to \$5 billion in investment toward the construction of an oil pipeline from East Siberian sources to a Pacific Ocean terminal south of Vladivostok.<sup>36</sup>

The last offer was the beginning of a highly publicized tug-of-war between Beijing and Tokyo for the direction of the so-called East Siberian-Pacific Ocean (ESPO, or *VSTO* in Russian) oil pipeline. The majority of Russia’s continental East Siberian oil reserves lie to the northwest of Lake Baikal. A refining center is

located in the town of Taishet, also northwest of Baikal and which is also linked to pipelines further west in Siberia. Transneft, the state-controlled pipeline monopoly, chose Taishet to be the beginning of the ESPO pipeline. In 2002 the privately owned Russian oil firm Yukos had signed a tentative deal to construct a pipeline from Taishet directly to the oil refinery center of Daqing in northeastern China. The Chinese government, however, was unable to secure a firm commitment from Putin during his December 2002 visit to Beijing.<sup>37</sup>

In 2003 the Japanese government began a concerted campaign to lobby on behalf of a pipeline from Taishet to the Russian port of Nakhodka on the Sea of Japan. Over the course of the year, numerous Japanese delegations consisting of government officials and business executives visited Russia and continued the intense lobbying effort. Much to the consternation of the Chinese, the Japanese continued to sweeten the potential investment pot, from \$5 billion, to \$8 billion, and eventually to over \$10 billion.<sup>38</sup> But a major part of the equation in the construction of the pipeline had to do with the domestic political situation in Russia. The champion of the Pacific-bound pipeline was the state-owned monopoly Transneft, and its strong-willed President Semyon Vainshtok. Yukos championed the China-bound route. But in September 2003 when the CEO of Yukos, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, was arrested for tax evasion (although it was seen as a political move by Putin to order his arrest) the Chinese lost their biggest proponent in Moscow.<sup>39</sup> Within Russia there was still much bureaucratic infighting over the destination and length of the ESPO, but by the end of 2004 Putin was ready to make an announcement that the Russian government would pursue the Pacific-route in the short term, and the terminus would be on Perevoznaya Bay, across from Nakhodka.<sup>40</sup> From there oil could be shipped onward to Japan, South Korea, the United States, and elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region. The Kremlin, evidently, was concerned that a pipeline to China could leave Russia hostage to the whims of Chinese demand, a *de facto* monopsony situation.

The year 2006 was another watershed—though not particularly a good one—for Japanese-Russian energy cooperation. In September the Russian government announced that operations at the Sakhalin-2 project were to be suspended due to the violation of environmental regulations. This was a naked attempt by the Russian government to force the Sakhalin-2 partners to sell a controlling stake of shares to the Russian gas monopoly Gazprom. In December Shell, Mitsubishi, and Mitsui signed away their controlling share of the project to Gazprom for \$7.45 billion in cash. In return for paying at least \$3 billion below market price, Gazprom was rewarded with 50% plus one of the project shares.<sup>41</sup> Pressure was also exerted on the Sakhalin-1 partners to clean up that project and to desist from building a gas pipeline to China, where it would have been in competition with a planned Gazprom pipeline. Gazprom was also able to gain a controlling stake at the expense of BP in the Kovtyka gas field north of Lake Baikal.<sup>42</sup> These corporate raids were part of a grand mobilization strategy by the Kremlin to control Russia's strategic resources, especially in the Russian Far East. Not coincidentally in the fall of 2007 after the takeovers were complete, the Russian Ministry of Industry and Energy published a detailed blueprint for the Far Eastern energy complex. Although the ESPO project had begun construction, it was announced

that its completion might not take place until 2015, three years later than expected.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, the Kremlin continued to give conflicting signals to both Beijing and Tokyo about the final terminus of the ESPO, not clearly indicating whether a spur would first be built going into China, or whether the Pacific terminus had priority.<sup>44</sup>

By the fall of 2008 a 600-mile section of the ESPO was laid down, and the first stage was completed in early 2010. The Kremlin also made clear that there would be a spur from the ESPO pipeline routing oil directly into China. In response the Chinese government pledged loans of up to \$25 billion to Russian firms (*Rosneft* and *Transneft*) working on the pipeline, and Russia pledged up to 600,000 barrels of oil per day for China for 20 years.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the Kremlin seems to change its mind so often on this issue that the world may never know how much oil will go where until the entire pipeline is actually operating. Nevertheless, in the wake of the economic crisis of 2008–9 the Russian government may be forced to look for large sources of foreign investment for the Russian Far East, giving Tokyo and Washington opportunities there. By early 2011, the China spur was complete and oil deliveries were also made to the Pacific coast by rail.

### *Japanese Grand Strategy and Russia*

Since the end of the Cold War Asian scholars have debated the direction of Japan's geopolitical strategy (or lack thereof) for the twenty-first century. Japan's post-war constitutionally mandated pacifism has been held up by prominent Japan scholars as a normative beacon in the two decades of religious and ethnic conflict and chaos since 1989.<sup>46</sup> But this argument has had little bearing on Japan's rigid policy vis-à-vis Russia over the past two decades. And although various Japanese leaders have looked to Russia as a potential balancer to play against the rise of China in East Asia, this strategy has attained little headway, suggesting that it has little to do with mainstream thinking about Russia in Tokyo. Japanese leaders do appear to have grasped the unsettling realities of China's rise and what it means for Japan, but their response is an ever-tightening bandwagon movement toward the United States. Whether Japan's strategy is "offensive realist" or "defensive realist" in the face of a rising China, the clear decision has been made to back the United States, whether the ruling political coalition is LDP-dominated or controlled by the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ).<sup>47</sup>

Japan's Russia policy is slightly more complex (or perhaps distorted would be a better term). Tokyo's unchanging policy of mistrust and suspicion toward Moscow continued its Cold War patterns, in spite of several aborted efforts by earnest individuals within the Japanese government to create new thinking about Russia. While Washington rushed to embrace Gorbomania in the 1989–91 period and then pushed support for Yeltsin through the 1990s, leaders in Tokyo stood with folded arms. Japan preferred to witness Russia's transformation, rather than actively encourage and support it, as a liberal-pacifist model would have dictated. In spite of what Russia scholars might say about that nation today, in the 1990s Russia was an emerging democracy in need of economic assistance. Russia was

perfectly situated geographically to not only entice Japanese investment, but also as a perfect and viable balance against China's rise in Northeast Asia. As already pointed out, the United States actively encouraged Japanese support for Russia for both humanitarian and strategic reasons, but Tokyo refused to ante up in any significant way. Seemingly, both the liberalist and realist predictors seem to miss the mark when assessing Japanese policy toward Russia.

So how can Japan's strategy toward Russia be assessed? Only in the past few years have the viewpoints of Tokyo and Washington toward Russia been in alignment. The two allies were in lock-step through the Cold War in assessing and countering the Soviet threat in East Asia. But the two hardly seemed on the same page for the period 1989–2003. Washington sought to support Russia; Japan preferred to keep Russia at arms length. A partial key to understanding Japanese strategy toward Russia over the past two decades, not surprisingly, can be found in China and Korea.

Japan's brief flirtation with Russia as a balancer against China and a (future) reunified Korea that bandwagons with China has been analyzed here and elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> But a further explanation is necessary to understand why Japan has not moved toward Russia, a fellow democracy that represents no military threat or economic rivalry to Japan. History—particularly the Second World War—can help to explain Japan's irredentist attitude toward Moscow. China and the two Koreas (especially South Korea) continue to decry Japan's lax attitude about the transgressions committed against the Chinese and Korean peoples in the first half of the twentieth century, culminating in the blood bath of the Pacific War. Japanese politicians (including prime ministers) have been quoted whitewashing Japan's aggression across East Asia during this period. Demands for an apology have been frequent, and although Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama issued one in 1995, this did nothing to mollify Chinese and Korean demands for atonement.

But Japan has also developed over the decades its own "victim mentality" (*higaisha ishiki*) when it comes to the Second World War.<sup>49</sup> Japan sees itself as a victim to unscrupulous aggression in the war, both at the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States, of course, engaged in widespread civilian firebombing in the final months of the war, culminating with the atomic bombs. But Washington is still an ally, and although the Japanese people may wish to see an apology from Washington, they do not have much hope. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is castigated for its undeclared invasion of Manchuria, southern Sakhalin Island, and the Kuril Islands in August 1945. Close to 60,000 Japanese POWs and civilians disappeared after being interned in Soviet labor camps between 1945 and 1956. A prominent historian of Japanese-Russian relations, Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, feels that the Japanese suffer from "historical amnesia" and that the "Soviet-Japanese War served as a psychological means by which the Japanese acquired a sense of victimization, which served as a major excuse to avoid atonement for the Pacific War."<sup>50</sup> In his seminal historical account of the U.S. Occupation of Japan, John Dower concurs with Hasegawa, writing that the Japanese have come to regard themselves as "victims, rather than victimizers," pointing out that the Japanese have tended to look for scapegoats to explain the war, rather than examining themselves.<sup>51</sup>

Such analysis suggests that Japan's conservative political leadership—which emerged upon a platform of strong anticommunism—may prefer the continued existence of the territorial dispute, because it not only perpetuates the indispensability of the U.S.-Japan strategic partnership, but also allows Japan to skirt the issue of historical atonement with its Asian neighbors. Japan insists on putting discussions of the war behind it when it comes to its Asian neighbors, but in discussions with Russia it continues to insist on justice and restitution (in the handover of the four islands).

At times over the past two decades, Japan's strategy toward Russia has included an occasional tendency to balance against China, as well as a perceived hedge against any potential strategic drawdown of the United States in East Asia. At other times a pure neomercantilist strategy has manifested itself in Japanese overtures to the development of energy resources in the Russian Far East, in competition with China. Nevertheless, the historical-constructivist view is as valid as any other in trying to explain the ambiguity of Japanese strategy toward Russia. Ideationally the Japanese are still trying to come to grips with how they view Russia: is the Russia Federation just another manifestation of the traditional "Northern Threat" that has haunted Japan since the late 1700s, or is it a new potential partner in a balancing act in Northeast Asia and across Eurasia? Tokyo seems at a loss to say which explanation is most valid. Meanwhile, Washington's Russia policy seems to have come full circle from the Cold War. Moscow is again emerging as a competitor to the United States in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. Although many conspiracy theorists in Russia see Washington as maneuvering to bury Moscow, Russia's anti-American stance seems more a ploy to drum up domestic support in Russia for a government that is experiencing a hard time dealing with postimperialist realities and an emerging socioeconomic crisis in Russia. Again, this development may be in Tokyo's self-interests, but it speaks more to Japan's embrace of outdated ideas and an inability to develop a proactive strategy vis-à-vis Russia.

### **The Consequences for the U.S.-Japan Alliance for a Reinvigorated Russia in Asia**

As mentioned, Russia's reemergence as a political player in Northeast Asia has been primarily in the energy field. Russia's military has also reemerged on the scene, although perhaps not to the extent of the threat that it posed in the 1970s and 1980s. The Kremlin has said that it intends to build up Russian naval forces in the Pacific, and its strategic missile forces remain a potent threat. Russian military aircraft are becoming increasingly active in the skies around Japan, and since 2001 there has been a marked increase in airspace violations.<sup>52</sup> The most high profile incident occurred in February 2008, when two Tupelov Tu-95 "Bear" bombers flew low over the U.S. carrier *Nimitz*, which was on maneuver off of the coast of Japan, the first such incident since 2004. Russian arms exporters are also hoping to increase arms sales to traditional American clients in the Asia-Pacific region, such as Indonesia and Thailand. While traveling to the Sidney APEC



summit in September 2007, Vladimir Putin stopped in Jakarta. There Putin was able to sign a series of arms deals with the Indonesian government for more than 1 billion dollars. Russian energy and metals companies also sent representatives with the Putin delegation, and in Jakarta they signed deals with Indonesian firms totaling close to 4 billion dollars. Russia has also continued to sell Kilo-class diesel submarines to China, and maintains a treasured arms client in India.<sup>53</sup>

Russia's attempt to raise its diplomatic, economic, and military profile in the Asia-Pacific region has implications for the U.S.-Japan partnership, but at this point it remains unclear just how much it will affect the alliance. This depends on the continued political and economic development of Russia. If Russia continues to bully and cajole its neighbors, oppose NATO and the United States in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and elsewhere, then any Russian partnership with China (bilateral, or based on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization) could potentially be aimed at Japan and the United States. If Russia develops more democratically, then this would bode well for the United States and Japan in Northeast Asia. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that Russia's geographical position in the region potentially makes it an important player politically and militarily. Russia has tremendously upgraded relations with China in the past few years (despite continued mutual wariness), and maintains cordial relations with North Korea. Despite the dilapidated state of the Far Eastern naval and air forces, Russia still maintains a critical nuclear superiority vis-à-vis its neighbors in the region. Russia's voice in Asian politics will increase as it becomes a major source of oil and gas for the region. The development of the Land Bridge to Europe (a rail logistical network through Korea) as an alternative to oceanic transport from Asia to Europe also could provide new economic and political power to Russia.

Finally, Russia's nuclear infrastructure in the Far East (both civilian and military) is in serious need of attention. Russian dismantlement facilities in the Far East can only handle three-four nuclear-powered submarines a year. As of the end of 2006 over 190 boats had been decommissioned and are awaiting either dismantlement or to be recommissioned. The Russian Atomic Energy Agency, meanwhile, has announced plans to construct floating nuclear plants and station them in the Far East. Due to the erratic and often corrupt nature of the regional authorities, the threat of proliferation of nuclear material from the region remains high. Security may be enhanced by a deeper partnership between Russia, Japan, and the United States on nonproliferation and energy policy.

Although Tokyo and Washington may now have similar views of Russia today for the first time since in two decades, neither side has coherently explained any clear strategy vis-à-vis a resurgent Russia in Northeast Asia. To many seasoned observers, Japan's relations with Russia seem to have undergone little change since the end of the Cold War. Given the ups and downs in U.S.-Japan relations, one might assume that Japan would search for alternative strategies to hedge against a perceived U.S. indifference or strategic ambivalence (especially during the 1990s). A realist argument would suggest that Japan look elsewhere for partners in the face of a rising regional hegemon (China). To some extent the Japanese leadership has exhibited such a penchant, reaching out—most notably—to India and Australia. There are some who would argue that Japan's overtures toward

Moscow in the mid-1990s was a form of hedging, and feeling out a potential strategic partnership with Moscow to counter China's growing power.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of the transformation of international politics with the ending of the Cold War, Japan is very much a nation unsure of its path. It has not exhibited traits of a nation intent on defining a new niche for itself by implementing a more philanthropic foreign policy, based on democratic and humanitarian ideals. During the 1980s and 1990s many Japanese argued for such a strategy, in order to distance the nation somewhat from the United States. Instead, Japan appears to be influenced largely by ideational and historical factors, while clinging to its strategy of standing with the United States in the best traditions of the Yoshida Doctrine.

Meanwhile, as Tokyo and Washington have explored ways to bolster and reinvigorate the alliance, Russia has hardly figured into discussions about the future of the alliance. Perhaps as the alliance grows from bilateral through regional to global, Russia will again factor largely in the strategic calculus of alliance planners in the United States and Japan.

### **Crises and Contingencies: Consequences for the United States and Japan**

When the Japanese leadership rewrote the National Defense Plan Outline (NDPO) in the mid-1990s to reflect the new post-Cold War strategic realities, it was largely in response to various potential factors of instability, such as the Korean peninsula or the Taiwan Strait. During the 1990s any contingency planning that had to do with Russia most likely would have dealt with a scenario involving a collapse or secession of the Russian Far East. In the United States in the 1990s there was at least one major movie (*Crimson Tide*) and one Tom Clancy novel (*The Dragon and the Bear*) outlining such "failed state" scenarios. An even more frightening scenario involving a Chernobyl-type accident in the Russian Far East must have gained more credence following the revelation in the fall of 1993 that the Russian navy was dumping untreated radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan. Even more galling to the Japanese was the fact that the dumping had been revealed only three days after Boris Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo.<sup>55</sup> Given the geological instability of the region, and the inability of the Russian infrastructure to withstand strong earthquakes,<sup>56</sup> it stands to reason that Russian nuclear facilities in the Far East could possibly be great hazards for Japan and Russia's other neighbors, just as Japan's nuclear facilities have proven a potential radiological threat to the region in the wake of the Sendai earthquake and tsunami.

Russia's resurgence in the region, beginning early in the twenty-first century can certainly provide any number of potential contingencies for the U.S.-Japan alliance, ranging from a Hainan Island-type aircraft incident with Japan over the Northeast Asian littoral, to a full-scale Russian military alliance with China, including a Korean or Taiwan contingency. In between, there are numerous deviations and subsets. For the purposes of this brief study, we focus primarily on two major alternative assumptions: a weak, divided Russia ever-more beholden

to China; and a strong resurgent Russia, aggressively seeking a place for itself at the table of Northeast Asian powers. Within these two extremes we can focus on various alternative scenarios and outcomes. A median assumption that Russia remains as it is today in Northeast Asia—neither weak, nor overly strong—would perhaps prove the most problematic for contingency planners today, because presently Russia's strategy in the region appears to be more than anything reactive. Any scenario would necessarily entail a major event occurring elsewhere in the region, and one would be forced to judge and gauge Moscow's reaction based on outside factors. Therefore, only a small portion of this section deals with a status quo assumption about Russia's strategies and capabilities. A baseline assumption will be that the United States and Japan maintain their current capabilities and alliance structures.

*Scenario 1—A Significantly Weakened Russia*

A weakened Russia would have a difficult time maintaining economic—and hence political—control over the Russian Far East. Such a scenario has a historical precedent: the period 1918–22 during the Russian Civil War. In 1920, in the face of foreign invasions, the Far Eastern Republic was established, comprising the area east of Lake Baikal to the Pacific Ocean, including the northern half of Sakhalin Island. Although the Far Eastern Republic had the tacit support of the Bolshevik government in Moscow, it was dominated by foreign powers, including Japan and the United States, both of whom had troops occupying parts of the region.

During the 1990s a collapsed Russian Far East was perhaps the most credible scenario that would call for contingency planning between Tokyo and Washington. As to whether alliance planners in fact carried out any such planning is classified information, but it is unlikely that any significant time was spent poring over such a scenario, while North Korea was seemingly on the brink of collapse or conflict, and while a Taiwan Strait crisis threatened to erupt in 1995–96. Since that time Russia's economy had expanded, and although the Russian Far East continues to lag behind the rest of Russia in terms of the economy, infrastructure (social and structural), and demographics, the situation is much better than it was at the turn of the century.

Nevertheless, Russia's recent economic successes notwithstanding (and to be clear, the turnaround there is nothing like Japan in the 1960s or China since the 1990s), it does not stretch credibility to assume that the Russian Far East, by a combination of demographic, economic, and social factors reaches a serious crisis of political viability in the next decade or so. The scenario most familiar to observers of international affairs in Northeast Asia is one in which China, through economic means and a slow demographic encroachment, comes to indirectly control the Russian Far East. Perhaps the region would still be tied politically to Moscow, but due to the political impotence of the Russian political establishment, Beijing would dictate policy in the Far East, and dominate the major energy projects (on the Siberian continent, not including the Sakhalin

energy projects) while continuing to strip the region of its valuable mineral and timber resources.

Such a scenario could result in one of two outcomes, which would entail two dramatically different responses from the United States and Japan. In the case of war between China and Russia (as unlikely as it seems, since they are two nuclear powers), it is likely that Russia would call on the United States for assistance. Should Washington agree to assist Moscow, U.S. forces in Japan would undoubtedly be called on to assist Russia. This could entail tactical air support for Russian troops in the Far East, and perhaps a naval interdiction or blockade of vital Chinese sea lanes (especially bringing oil from the Middle East). China may be less reliant on Middle Eastern sources at that point in the future (a pipeline to Central Asia may be completed to go with whatever Russian oil they could secure through the ESPO), but they more than likely would still be reliant on more than half of their oil imports from Middle Eastern sources, all of this coming through the Strait of Malacca. A naval interdiction is where Japan (and India) would be asked to join the United States in pressuring China. The thought of Japanese air assets being used in a tactical role (against Chinese forces) is practically unthinkable, even a decade or two into the future. This scenario is presumably something that U.S. and Japanese planners have considered, since it is not necessarily unique to a Russian-focused contingency. In fact, a Taiwan crisis could result in a similar strategy, or even a Sino-Indian conflict.

What would, however, be most problematic for the U.S.-Japan alliance in this crisis is that it would entail serious strategic consideration of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. Should China make a naked grab of the Russian Far East, would the United States and Japan move in and occupy (at least temporarily) Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands? What about the Kamchatka peninsula and the Chukotka region of the Bering Strait? Would U.S.-Japan coalition forces move into these areas to avoid a vacuum? As mentioned, there is a precedent for this, but the situation would be entirely different in the event of Sino-Russian hostilities. For one, should Japanese naval forces be involved in a northward sweep, then Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) might be asked to participate in occupation duties. Even if the populace is friendly, this is entirely new territory for the Japanese armed forces. If this were the case, and if the United States—at Moscow's request—moved in to temporarily occupy parts of the Russian Far East, then Washington would need to be careful about Japanese claims to the Northern Territories. Tokyo might very well agree to support Russia in a conflict with China, with the stipulation that Russia would return the disputed territories. Such a scenario could be a coalition buster, or a future major point of discontent for Russia, should the United States back Tokyo's demands. In such a scenario, were the United States and Japan to engage in garrison/occupation duties in the Russian Far East it would be Washington's role to assure that Russia did not feel as if it were being taken advantage of by a U.S.-Japanese coalition.

A slow, inexorable Chinese takeover of the Russian Far East would present special difficulties for the United States and Japan, because the lack of conflict could mean that Moscow acquiesces to a certain level of Chinese control and would not call on the United States for assistance. In such a case, the United

States and Japan would have to consider responding to a Chinese grab for Russian resources, which presumably would also have been exported to Japan and elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region through the ESPO and the Sakhalin projects. In this case, the U.S.-Japan alliance would have to consider an occupation of Sakhalin in order to assure the sanctity of their huge investments in their energy projects there (both the Sakhalin I & II projects are each worth more than \$15 billion). Such a step could also lead to an occupation of the Kuril Islands in order to prevent a flanking Chinese takeover of naval assets and bases there and on Kamchatka. Again, there would be sensitive political ramifications, especially if Russia makes no overt call for the United States to counter China's slow takeover of the Russian Far East. In such a case, not only might the United States acquiesce in Japan's taking back the Northern Territories, but Washington itself may also consider a semipermanent occupation of the Kurils, Kamchatka, and Chukotka.

It must be remembered that Chinese leaders (including Mao Zedong) have at times reaffirmed China's historical claims to Russia's Maritime Far Eastern provinces up to Kamchatka.<sup>57</sup> Because China and Russia are both major nuclear powers, it is generally assumed that conflict between the two is a remote possibility (although it did not stop the two from engaging in border clashes in 1969). Nevertheless, a slow Chinese takeover of the Russian Far East is not necessarily that far-fetched. In fact, many Russians are arguing that is what is in fact happening today.<sup>58</sup> Given the possibility of such a scenario, planners in the United States and Japan would do well to at least consider what the options are, and what strategy would best meet the interests of the alliance.

### *Scenario 2—A Reemerged and Assertive Russia in Northeast Asia*

Despite the 2008–9 global economic crisis and the affect on Russia's weakening economy, Russian leaders are still determined to rebuild the nation's military power, focusing on strategic platforms such as missiles and naval vessels. Recent reports have indicated that although the ten-year military modernization plan announced in 2006 (for the amount of \$154 billion) will be scaled-back somewhat, an ambitious plan will be carried out by the year 2020.<sup>59</sup> It remains to be seen to what extent Russia's naval ambitions will fall victim to the budget crunch, but the Kremlin has made it clear that naval rearmament is a priority, indicating in 2006 that it wishes to build as many as six aircraft carriers and a new generation of nuclear-powered submarines complete with next generation ballistic missiles.<sup>60</sup> The Far Eastern ports of Kamchatka and Vladivostok would be the home ports for a good portion of these new forces.

Ironically, an assertive Russia in Northeast Asia poses much fewer problems for strategic planners in the United States and Japan than a weakened Russia would. In fact, a reemerged Russia in Northeast Asia presents the alliance with an easily identifiable threat, something that has not existed since the end of the Cold War. And just because Russia may build up its strategic and naval forces in the Russian Far East, this would present no irredentist threat to the existing

strategic order and territorial status quo in the Asia-Pacific region. Unlike China, Russia has no existing territorial claims or hegemonic ambitions in the region, so a reinvigorated Russia could in fact be brought into the U.S.-Japan camp, as a counterweight to China. Tokyo's cherished hope for a return of the Northern Territories, however, would likely have to be put on hold, especially if Russia continues to prefer confrontation with the United States to cooperation.

Russia potentially gives Japan (and to a lesser extent the United States) strategic options in the Asia-Pacific region, especially in the face of a rising China. Although China and Russia have for now put behind them the series of border disputes, if China seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region then Russia's well-documented nervousness about China's rise increases even more. Russia—like India—could represent for Japan a flanking balancer that could be tacitly aligned against Beijing. However, such an alignment would more than likely suggest a strategic withdrawal or downsizing of the United States and U.S. forces in the Western Pacific and Northeast Asia. To this extent then the question of the strategy of the U.S.-Japan alliance vis-à-vis Russia becomes moot.

### Concluding Thoughts

Russia—long a focal point for U.S.-Japan relations during the Cold War—has assumed a role as strategic outlier for the U.S.-Japan alliance in the twenty-first century. However strong or aggressive Russia becomes in the next few years to decades, it will still occupy a place of lesser importance than China and Korea in the strategic calculus of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

A major assumption of this work has been that the current structure of U.S.-Japan relations would remain for the foreseeable future. But given a drawn-down U.S. strategic posture in the Western Pacific, as well as Japan assuming a role as a "Global Ordinary Power" (Inoguchi), there exists the possibility of a Japanese-Russian *rapprochement* and a strategic partnership of some sort (aimed primarily at balancing against China). During the latter half of the 1990s there was some momentum for U.S.-Japan-Russia trilateral cooperation in the defense area, but friction between Moscow and Washington blocked any progress. Russia's concern about China could make such cooperation possible in the future, but it is likely to be more focused on bilateral U.S.-Russian cooperation, with perhaps a NATO component. Much of Japan's future strategy toward Russia hinges on the United States, China, and to a lesser extent, Korea. In other words, relations between Moscow and Tokyo have never existed in a vacuum, and over the next few years and decades, how Japan reacts to Russia will largely be dictated in Beijing and Washington.

### Notes

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2. Hiroshi Kimura, *Distant Neighbors (Vol. 1): Japanese-Russian Relations under Brezhnev and Andropov* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 2000), p. 88.
3. Yoichi Funabashi, *Alliance Adrift* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2000). Also, see Michael Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 6, 23–24.
4. A.D. Voskresenskii, "Kitai vo Vneshnepoliticheskoi Strategii Rossii," in A.V. Kortunov, *Vneshnaya Politika i Besopasnost' Sovremenoi Rossii*, 1, no. 2 (Moscow: Moskovskii Obshestvennyi Nauchnyi Fond, 1999): 146–147. For an overview of Sino-Russian relations during the 1990s in English, see Sherman Garnett, ed., *Rapprochement or Rivalry* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000).
5. Leszek Buszynski, "Russia and Northeast Asia: Aspirations and Reality," *The Pacific Review*, 13, no. 3 (2000): 399–420.
6. Many Japanese observers point to the 1993 Tokyo Declaration as a success in bilateral relations due to the fact that Russia officially recognized that the territorial dispute existed and named the four disputed islands as the point of contention. But few in Russia see the 1993 visit as a watershed.
7. The two best contemporary accounts of these summits are Yoichi Nishimura, "Yurashia Gaikō no Butaiura," *Sekai*, January 1998, 138–147; and Shinjiro Mori, "Nichirō Shuunō 'Kawana Kaidan' no Butaiura," *Sekai*, June 1998, 126–132.
8. Japan and Russia dispute over the ownership of the three islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai group of islets north of Hokkaido. Russia claims they are part of the Kuril Islands, and hence refers to them as the Southern Kuril Islands. Japan refers to them as the Northern Territories.
9. Joseph Ferguson, *Japanese-Russian Relations, 1907–2007* (London: Routledge Press, 2008), pp. 127–137.
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11. Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1994), p. 468.
12. Andrei Markov, *Rossiya i Yaponiya: Vo poiskakh soglasiya* (Moscow: RAN, Institut Dal'nego Vostoka, 1996), pp. 78, 93.
13. Kazuhiko Tōgō, *Nichirō Shinjidai he no Josō: Daikai no Kagi wo Motomete* (Tokyo: Saimaru, 1993), p. 165.
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  21. James Brooke, “Japan and Russia, with an Eye on China, Bury the Sword,” *New York Times*, February 13, 2005.
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  23. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 30, May 23, 1998.
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  25. *Asahi Shimbun*, September 10, 2000; *Reuters*, April 11–13, 2001.
  26. *Interfax*, February 24 and April 26, 2000.
  27. In the 1970s Japanese prime minister Kakuei Tanaka made a concerted effort to help the Soviet Union develop the resources of East Siberia. Politically, however, he met roadblocks in Washington, Tokyo, and Beijing. See Ferguson, *Japanese-Russian Relations, 1907–2007*, pp. 44–56.
  28. *RIA-Novosti*, January 24, 2006. For the actual figures, see “Russian govt approves Far East development program,” *Itar-Tass*, August 2, 2007.
  29. *Interfax*, *Itar-Tass*, *RIA-Novosti*, November 20, 2008.
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# **Evolution of the Australia-Japan Security Partnership: Toward a Softer Triangle Alliance with the United States?**

*Takashi Terada*

The second Armitage-Nye report describes the most desirable Asian structure in terms of U.S. interests as follows:

An open structure in which Japan, India, Australia, Singapore, and others... based on partnerships with the United States and shared democratic values, is the most effective way to realize an agenda for Asia that emphasizes free markets, continued prosperity based on the rule of law, and increasing political freedom... Working within Asia in this manner... will be key to positively influencing the growth and direction of all of Asia, including China, thereby “getting Asia right.”<sup>1</sup>

In this context, the recent development of Australia-Japan security and defense partnership was a welcome move to the United States. Both nations have rapidly established regular ministerial and senior official consultations and meetings, developed in a similar way that the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Australia alliances have advanced. The year 2007 can be seen as the beginning year for both nations’ serious commitment to security cooperation; the Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation (JDSC) in March, the inaugural Japan-Australia Joint Foreign and Defense Ministerial Consultations (Two-Plus-Two talks) in June, and the Action Plan based on the JDSC in September. As for military exercises, Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDFs) participated for the first time in the U.S.-Australia joint exercise in June as an observer and the first trilateral P-3C exercise was also implemented in October.

The Australia-Japan security and defense ties have evolved as a result of their responses to the demands from the United States that needed to establish the coalition of the willing to keep its commitment to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

as well as other crucial security regional flashpoints such as the Taiwan problem and the nuclear development in North Korea. The strengthened respective bilateral security and defense ties among the United States, Japan, and Australia led to the formation of the Security and Defense Cooperation Forum by senior officials held in Tokyo, August 2002, which was later elevated to the ministerial level, called the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD) by foreign ministers and secretary of state held in Sydney, March 2006. Moreover, the first trilateral summit among Abe, Bush, and Howard at the 2007 APEC Sydney meeting was also organized, so the closer Australia-Japan security relationship has contributed to the formation of a more balanced “triangle” involving the United States.

This chapter aims to examine how and why the Australia-Japan defense and security partnership has evolved, what policy implications this new partnership has for the U.S.-Japan alliance system, and what constraints the further advancement of trilateral security cooperation faces. The chapter argues that U.S. strategic position and defense posture have catalyzed the evolution of the Australia-Japan security and defense partnership that has served to sustain the U.S.-Japan alliance through, for instance, helping Japan’s further involvement in defense and security arenas, as was seen in Australian forces’ protection of JSDFs deployed in Iraq. The chapter finally highlights convergent views and interests, especially over the approach to the military rise of China, which appears to help the further development of the trilateral cooperation under a rapidly changing regional environment.

### **Historical Background: Gradual Engagement**

The postwar security order in Asia and the Pacific has been maintained through the U.S.-centered “hub and spoke” alliance system. Sheridan calls it “really a multilateral security system in everything but name.”<sup>2</sup> Yet, there were few interactions or consultations over the security-defense policy arrangements among spokes themselves, so even if it were a multilateral security system in essence, the structure was highly hierarchical, representing the spokes’ strong reliance on the United States as a crucial source of deterrence. The development of security and defense ties between Australia and Japan as American spokes was a condition for the formation of a multilateral regional security arrangement in the future, but both nations employed a gradual and low-key approach for the partnership.

During the Cold War era, Japan and Australia forged a strong partnership in the field of economic regionalism in Asia and the Pacific, as was seen in their joint initiatives in establishing the Pacific Trade and Development (PAFTAD) conferences and the Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC) in 1968, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) in 1980, and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in 1989. Both nations identify the growing web of Asian and Pacific interdependence as a condition that required a different role for Japan in regional affairs, a role that acknowledged the economic and potential political influence of Japan, beyond the bilateral relationship with the United States. This was the focus of policy innovation in regional diplomacy over the two

decades or so until APEC was launched in 1989. The intellectual, business, and governmental dialogues around the region over those years eventually delivered a regional intergovernmental arrangement in the form of APEC, an organization that was uniquely designed to suit the particular political and economic circumstance of Asia and the Pacific, critical to Japanese and Australian interests.

Australia and Japan attempted to incorporate a defense element into their bilateral relations through the 1990s. As an initial first step, Australia accepted the first visit of Japan's defense minister, Yojo Ishikawa, in May 1990 that was believed to be "extremely assuring" for Australia that the attempt to initiate strategic dialogue and defense contacts with Japan represented "no obstacle" for both countries, and that it was possible to develop the partnership to encompass political issues beyond the trade agenda.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Prime Minister Hawke officially supported Japan's bid for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (this was among the earliest expressions of support for Japan) and the participation of JSDF in a United Nations peacekeeping role in the Persian Gulf and Cambodia. These initiatives led to an Australian government review of Japan's defense policy, commencing in September 1992. The Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade initiated an inquiry into Japan's defense policy for Australia "to be better informed regarding recent security developments and implications for Australia, to address questions relating to possible Japanese roles in the Asia Pacific region, and to recommend constructive actions that the Australian Government might undertake." The report concluded: "through participation in regional networks, Japan can contribute to the solution of regional problems. It is the Committee's belief that where it can, Australia has a responsibility to facilitate such a regional approach."<sup>4</sup> This is a similar rationale to the earliest case that advocated defense cooperation with Japan. The Report of the Ad Hoc Working Committee on Australia-Japan Relations, submitted to Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, which advised to forge a defense and security dialogue with Japan: "There would be value in gaining better access to the thinking of the Japanese defense community on broader strategic issues and in establishing more regular exchanges of defense intelligence."<sup>5</sup> Isolated from major powers, Australia desperately sought information on key regional affairs for its security and Japan was one of those few regional states on which Australia could rely in this aim.

A driving force behind Australia's growing interest in Japan's security role in the region was a change in Australia's strategic standpoint on the importance of Northeast Asia to its security. Australia came to take the position that "the security of South East Asia cannot be separated from the rest of East Asia" and instability in Northeast Asia had a direct consequence for Australia's well-being.<sup>6</sup> Northeast Asia was increasingly recognized as of central economic importance for Australia during the 1990s (the region now receives over 50% of all Australian exports and is home to Australia's two most important economic partners, China and Japan), and Australia has had a huge stake in preserving stability and security in Northeast Asia. In this context, Japan's security and defense policy itself has become more significant in Australia's strategic environment and thus strategic planners in Canberra argued that it was useful to

establish a direct dialogue with Japan at the policy level. Japan and Australia commenced politicomilitary and military-military talks in February 1996 with the participation of assistant secretaries and directors general. Hugh White, then deputy secretary, Department of Defense, explained Australia's objective: "to the extent that talking to Japan gives us an opportunity to encourage the Japanese to see strategic issues our way to pursue their strategic interests in a way which is consistent with ours...we are trying to influence Japan's strategic policy."<sup>7</sup> In much the same way as they built the framework for regional economic cooperation during the 1970s and the 1980s, these arrangements in Australia-Japan strategic ties developed in the 1990s constituted the spadework for both countries in forming a partnership in regional security. Yet, because of the sensitivity to the activities beyond the restrictions imposed by the constitution, uncoordinated and dormant bureaucratic system, and a lack of interest in strategic thinking of its friendly nations, Japan was not able to move quickly. Also, the U.S. indifference to the possible development of the Australia-Japan security relationship due to its traditional proclivity to see cooperation between the spokes as "harmless but insignificant" hampered the bilateral ties from rapidly growing into a true partnership.<sup>8</sup>

### **Howard and Koizumi: Catalysts to the Security Partnership**

Prime Ministers Howard and Koizumi, both of whom were aware of the shared political fundamentals and commonly forged a strong personal rapport with U.S. president Bush, were pivotal in breaking the political impasse to add the security and defense elements to the Australia-Japan bilateral relationship. One of the initial motives behind the security-defense partnership was associated with China's active regional diplomacy. If China's interest in improving and strengthening its relations with ASEAN and its further commitment to the formation of an East Asian regionalism were seen as a way of China creating its own sphere of influence in East Asia, this would be counterproductive to America's regional interests.<sup>9</sup> The economic diplomacy that China has been executing to frustrate the containment that a U.S. coalition might form has involved the process of "knitting together the 'spokes' of the U.S.-centered hub-and-spoke security-alliance system, and connecting them more closely with governments less friendly to Washington."<sup>10</sup> So the role of the bilateral partnership between Japan and Australia, as key regional U.S. allies, was expected by the United States to counter the realization of China's ambition to dominate the region. The United States, for instance, hopes that both nations would play a checking role against China.<sup>11</sup>

Howard had been interested in a trilateral security cooperation approach even before coming to power. As the then opposition leader, he already proposed a tripartite defense and security arrangement among the United States, Australia, and Japan in March 1988, but out of consideration for possible Southeast Asian and South Pacific sensitivities, the then defense minister Kim Beazley rejected the proposal.<sup>12</sup> During the visit of Prime Minister Koizumi to

Australia in May 2002, Howard as prime minister again raised a similar plan of “forging a closer Australia-Japan-U.S. defense triangle,” an idea that was explicitly “designed to deal with future contingencies involving China.”<sup>13</sup> His interest in the establishment of a security partnership with Japan in a broader trilateral framework was partly sustained by his confidence arising from Australia’s experiences of working with Japan on several political fronts. For instance, Japan’s generous and crucial contribution to help fund the multinational force in East Timor (INTERFET), which was led by Australia was a good case of cooperation between the two nations in political and security areas. Their cooperation in East Timor also saw Australian soldiers and JSDF engineers closely working together on road-building projects. Welcoming Japan’s contribution of those hundreds of engineers in East Timor, as part of peacekeeping efforts, Howard said that “We see that kind of security involvement of Japan in the region in an extremely positive light.”<sup>14</sup> This positive assessment of Japan’s growing regional security role enhanced his overall views on Japan for Australia’s national interest as he frequently stated that “Australia has no greater friend in Asia than Japan,” which was based on not only Japan’s status as Australia’s largest export market for almost forty years but also “a strategic partner for regional peace and prosperity.”<sup>15</sup> During the Howard era, Australia increased its defense budget by 50% that reflected Australia’s sense of uncertainty in regional security environment, and this uncertainty was also seen as a “driver in Australia’s pursuit of a security agreement with Japan.”<sup>16</sup> His consideration about Japan as the most significant partner in Asia was seen in his visit to Japan as Australian prime minister seven times, the record in history, and his unwavering support for Japan’s bid for a permanent seat at UN Security Council, although this stance infuriated China.<sup>17</sup> It was also Howard who ensured Australia would build the Australian pavilion at the 2005 Aichi Expo, which cost millions of dollars, by personally intervening and reversing the previous decision made by Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade that had initially showed no Australia’s presence at the Expo.<sup>18</sup> The most significant political decision Howard made himself in terms of keeping good relations and forging security partnership with Japan was to increase Australian troops to Iraq to protect JSDFs, as discussed in more details later, since it made a significant contribution to Japan as well as the U.S.-Japan alliance.

During his term in office as Japan’s prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi—the first Japanese prime minister in almost 20 years since Yasuhiro Nakasone, to complete the full term as president for the Liberal Democratic Party—expended his greatest energies on the strengthening of the U.S.-Japan alliance based on his personal rapport with U.S. president Bush. To provide a support for the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq, Koizumi managed to widen the operational scope of JSDFs, which was limited by the Constitution Article 9, by enacting special laws to dispatch JSDFs to those areas, an approach that Koizumi found a way of fulfilling an obligation as an U.S. ally in the war against terrorism. As a result, the relations between the two nations during the Koizumi era were seen as having been “best” in the entire postwar period, and his rapport with President Bush was instrumental in securing “unwavering commitment to the alliance” as Vice

President Dick Cheney assessed.<sup>19</sup> This can be Koizumi's most significant foreign policy achievement as prime minister.

As mentioned earlier, the United States, excluded from a growing East Asian regional institution such as ASEAN+3, judged China's potential ascendancy in East Asia with its political and economic rise as being undesirable for its own interests. The United States thus felt that the inclusion in an East Asian framework of Australia under the Howard government, which, as the Koizumi government did, sought to strengthen its alliance with the United States, and further security cooperation with Japan, would result in the creation of an East Asian framework that would not counter its interests.

With this background, it was Koizumi who envisaged the creation of an East Asian community in a major speech in Singapore in January 2002 in which he urged Australia, as well as New Zealand, to join a regional framework in East Asia as a "core member."<sup>20</sup> This was seen as a surprise because Australia whose relations with ASEAN countries, especially Malaysia and Indonesia, were strained until late 2004 when the leaders of both countries decided to visit Canberra to promote bilateral relations, was not expected by many in the region to be a natural member of the community. In fact, when Koizumi proposed an East Asian community during his trip to Southeast Asia in January 2002, he faced difficulties in convincing ASEAN leaders, especially Mahathir, that Australia should be included in the community.<sup>21</sup> Reasons behind Japan's interest in incorporating Australia into its proposed East Asian community stemmed from the following three considerations in Japan's foreign policy: there was a tendency in Japan to fear China's possible predominance within ASEAN+3 and East Asia as a whole; security issues emerged as a more significant policy area in the bilateral relations with the United States, subsequently leading to the establishment of the trilateral defense talks among Japan, the United States, and Australia, thus enhancing Australia's presence in Japan's security policy; and the United States had expressed concerns about the rise of China as detrimental to American interests in East Asia.<sup>22</sup> In Tokyo it was perceived that Japan might be isolated within an East Asian framework in which most of the members were developing countries whereas China could be seen as a representative in this group, facing difficulty in injecting considerations that reflected the perspectives of Western or developed countries such as democracy or human right.<sup>23</sup> For these reasons, Australia was expected to join Japan in an attempt to be more committed to creating better relations with Southeast Asia, with which China has also been engaged in making better relations. Hitoshi Tanaka, a vice minister who was one of these senior officials in MOFA and had been responsible for drafting Koizumi's Singapore speech, commented on Japan's need to have Australia participate in East Asian cooperation: "In my heart I truly hope Australia will participate in the East Asia summit... We have worked very hard to make it possible. We are doing this not for Australia's sake, but for Japan's sake. We need you... I have a very strong feeling about our co-operation with Australia and I have been advocating it for a long time."<sup>24</sup> In sum, as is discussed later, the rise of China was a new factor that was perceived to reconnect Japan and Australia in more strategic and political arenas.

### Australia, Japan, and the United States in Iraq

One of the decisive events that strategically connected Japan and Australia was Howard's decision to increase its troops to Iraq to protect JSDF in response to requests from Japan, in addition to the United Kingdom and the United States, in February 2005; 450 Australian soldiers were deployed in Samawah, southern part of Iraq, to provide security for the 550 JSDF troops engaged in the Iraq reconstruction work. Japan's participation in Iraq was not so substantial as to impact the military capabilities, but the United States saw it as a "symbolic value of adding a major participant to the 'coalition of the willing';"<sup>25</sup> and Japan's "boots on the ground" was crucial for the maintenance of the U.S.-Japan alliance. As the *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* declared, the United States placed "great value on its unique relationships with the United Kingdom and Australia," since their military forces stood together in "Iraq, Afghanistan and many other operations."<sup>26</sup> The special nature of the Australia-U.S. relationship can also be found in the Australia-U.S. Treaty on Defense Trade Cooperation signed in September 2007, which would allow most defense trade to be carried out without prior government approval, a kind of treaty that the United States had signed with only the United Kingdom previously.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the participation of JSDFs in the reconstruction of Iraq, as well as their supply of fuels to the "coalition" member states in the Indian Ocean, can be seen as a step for Japan to join such a network of this "unique relationships" among the American allies.

The 1,300 Dutch troops had been announced to withdraw from Iraq by mid-2005, leaving 400 Australian and 150 British soldiers, and the security of JSDF was expected to be substantially fragile, given the deployment of JSDFs were allowed to operate only in a noncombat area, the involvement was limited in humanitarian and reconstruction activities, and their use of forces was restricted for defensive purposes. Accordingly, Australia's dispatch of further soldiers to Samawah to protect JSDFs contributed to Japan keeping its "boots on the ground," that soothed some U.S. critics who normally found Japan's role as a U.S. ally insufficient. The decision also led to strengthen the bilateral partnership through the actual actions, and a spirit of bound came to be deeply shared by Japanese and Australian soldiers. Howard, who had continued to reject several previous requests by the United States and the United Kingdom due to his election promise not to increase Australian commitment to the war in Iraq, found the Japanese element, carried by Koizumi's direct call that had been encouraged to do so by Bush, crucial in his decision, and states:

This deployment involves working alongside a close regional partner in Japan. Japan's presence as part of the coalition is very important. It is not only making a big contribution in practical terms, but Japan's presence is also very important symbolically... Very important indeed.<sup>28</sup>

Koizumi's subsequent agreement to set up a feasibility study for a bilateral FTA (a development that sounds perplexing at first glance, as Australia is one of Japan's largest agricultural exporters) can be seen as reflecting his desire to



take Australia's trade interests more seriously as a sign of Japan's gratitude for Australia's deployment of troops to Iraq to protect Japan's SDF units.<sup>29</sup> This also reflected Japan's intention to strengthen relations with Australia more comprehensively despite the political difficulties the FTA study would cause at home. Accordingly, should the Japan-Australia FTA occur, it might be Japan's first bilateral FTA that is promoted primarily on the basis of political and strategic considerations rather than economic considerations.

### **Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD)**

According to White, an approach to trilateral cooperation among Australia, Japan, and the United States was generated accidentally at the 2001 AUSMIN in Sydney, the first round under the Bush administration. At a press conference, asked about an "Asian NATO" issue in his meeting with Downer, Powell replied it by mentioning something related to a forum among U.S. allies in Asia. Downer, who hoped to avoid antagonizing China through such a politically sensitive idea, tried to redirect attention to another idea in which Australia had been previously interested, which was a trilateral dialogue, although he had intended not to say something about it. Thus, "the idea would not have been aired at all had Powell not responded as he did to the question."<sup>30</sup> Yet Downer's ad-lib catalyzed the process toward the realization, and several meetings at senior officials' level, involving Richard Armitage, Ashton Calvert, and Yukio Takeuchi, were consequently held in 2002-4.

Early 2005, the elevation of the trilateral senior officials' meeting to ministerial level was announced by Condoleezza Rice, the new U.S. secretary of state. The elevation was mainly attributed to growing concerns on the part of the United States, as well as Japan, about Australia's divergent interests regarding the rise of China. Australia's actions in relation to China have not followed Japan's and U.S. preferred course. White cited three evidences in which the United States found Australia's distinctive interests in and approaches to China: (1) the equal treatment to Presidents Bush and Hu, who visited Australia on consecutive days in October 2003; (2) Downer's statement on Australia's no obligation to support the United States in any conflict against China over Taiwan in August 2004; and (3) Australia's rejection to join the United States and Japan in pressing the European Union not to eliminate restrictions on arms sales to China in February 2005.<sup>31</sup> Australia's softer stance on China was partly arising from Australia's firm interest in maintaining the strong economic relationship with China, the world's largest importer of wool and iron ore, and this interest was to become stronger as China overtook Japan as Australia's largest trading partner in 2007. This encompasses the possibility of concluding an FTA with China, which was seen as an important shift in Australia's strategic thinking, as has the Australian media's increasing coverage on China rather than Japan.<sup>32</sup> Australian senior diplomat in charge of Northeast Asian affairs acknowledged that Australia's political and security relations with China were partly influenced by "functional distance"; as Australia tends to find the political and security relations with Indonesia very

difficult, Japan does so with China, and vice versa, and he did not conceal the influence of China's trade factor on Australia's softer stance: "Australia has found itself in a difficult situation in terms of its commitment to improving China's human rights records or promoting democracy, given China's growing significance in Australia's trade."<sup>33</sup>

With these pressing reasons, Rice and Aso came all the way to Sydney in March 2006 to "air their shared concerns about Australia's growing accommodation with China," an issue that was "indeed uppermost in their minds."<sup>34</sup> Yet, the joint statement merely mentioned that three foreign ministers "welcomed China's constructive engagement in the region and concurred on the value of enhanced cooperation with other parties such as ASEAN and the Republic of Korea," a stance that well reflected Australia's anxiety that the TSD that "has made Beijing deeply uneasy" would not be seen as any way of containing China.<sup>35</sup> So, Australia continued to take a different policy stance on China and developed the relations with China almost autonomously. For instance, in April 2006, while the United States still harbored concerns that uranium exported to China might be turned to military purposes, an agreement was reached between Wen Jiabao and Howard for the export of 20,000 tons of uranium from Australia to China over the 10 years. The announcement of the establishment of an Australia-China strategic dialogue on September 6, 2007 can be seen as a diplomatic balancing act by the Howard government to substantially enhance relations with China while also maintaining close security ties with the United States and Japan.<sup>36</sup>

Accordingly, Japan's support for Australia's inclusion in the community-building in East Asia that aimed to enhance the role of its partnerships with Australia as its valued partner, with a view to countering China's ambition to dominate the region, might be frustrated. For instance, during the first East Asia Summit held in December 2005 in Kuala Lumpur, China insisted that the ASEAN Plus-Three, rather than the East Asia Summit, should be used as a forum for discussing community-building in East Asia, with membership of the community limited to ASEAN Plus-Three nations. China's approach contrasted clearly with that of Japan, which advocated a wider membership including three democratic nations such as Australia, India, and New Zealand to reduce China's influence. Japanese leaders such as Noboru Hatakeyama, who played a pivotal role in prompting the Japanese FTA policy, however, attribute the difficulty in forming a regional community in East Asia to the fact that some regional countries like China do not share universal values such as freedom, democracy, or human rights with Japan.<sup>37</sup> Japan's claim on a wider membership prevailed for the inaugural East Asia Summit, partly due to India's strong claim on the use of the East Asia Summit rather than ASEAN Plus-Three as a vehicle for community-building in East Asia. This view was also supported by Indonesia that worried about the negative consequence of the growing regional power of China on ASEAN's influence and favored involving such balancing countries like India and Australia.<sup>38</sup> Yet, Australia, in comparison to Indonesia and India, was quoted as not exercising a strong influence on this battle by a senior official of Japan's MOFA,<sup>39</sup> although a senior Australian diplomat rebutted it by claiming that Howard who

was eventually impressed by EAS's function, could not take a pushing role in, for instance, agenda-setting, as Australia was a newcomer.<sup>40</sup> In short, the TSD process has not so far fulfilled a function that the United States initially set up since it has failed to press Australia to take a similar policy stance on China.

### **Quadrilateral Approach: Shared Values for Separating China**

As the second Armitage-Nye report highlights, the most fundamental element that politically connect the United States, Japan, and Australia for security cooperation is shared values such as democracy, human rights, or religious freedom.<sup>41</sup> The significance of those values was especially stressed by President Bush and Prime Minister Abe, despite both failing to forge a strong personal rapport that had flourished during the Bush-Koizumi era. For instance, in September 2007, Bush proposed the formation of a new Asia-Pacific Democracy Partnership to “provide a venue in which free nations will work together to support democratic values, strengthen democratic institutions, and assist those who are working to build and sustain free societies across the Asia Pacific region.”<sup>42</sup> In his first administrative policy speech at the Diet in January 2007, Prime Minister Abe who hoped to conduct “assertive diplomacy” urged the need of strengthening partnerships with nations that shared those values, and referred to Australia, as well as India, as such nations.<sup>43</sup> The value-oriented foreign policy approach promoted by Abe found India as an additional regional power with which three nations would work together to develop a regional mechanism to engage China peacefully, and the same purpose was embedded in the concept of “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity,” promoted by his foreign minister, Taro Aso.

While Abe ceased prime ministerial visits to Yasukuni Shrine, to which Koizumi had made an annual event and damaged its relations with China and Korea, with a view to repairing those relations with its Northeast Asian neighbors, his highly ideologically colored foreign policy approach as seen in the promotion of ties with nations that share “common values” with Japan had been already concretely expressed in his own book. Abe insisted on organizing a summit meeting among Japan, Australia, the United States, and India, all of which, he believes, share universal values such as democracy and respect for human rights. The purpose behind this assertion was to discuss the ways of making East Asian countries, including China, accept those values.<sup>44</sup> For instance, in his speech at the Indian Parliament on August 22, 2007, Abe introduced a new regional concept, a “broader Asia” by stating that “the Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity. A ‘broader Asia’ that broke away geographical boundaries is now beginning to take on a distinct form.”<sup>45</sup> Abe’s message to India was to promote regional cooperation together within this regional framework, further by “incorporating the United States of America and Australia.” A purpose behind the proposal was mentioned later in his speech that “I feel that it is imperative that the democratic nations located at opposite edges of these seas deepen the friendship among their citizens at every possible level.”<sup>46</sup> A reason Abe needed to introduce the new concept

of “broader Asia,” despite that Australia and India became EAS official members and thus were acknowledged as East Asian nations, was the engagement of a nation that the EAS does not include but Abe considered as an essential country in this new regional concept; the United States. In this sense, the Abe government was more explicit in expressing its desire to promote an exclusive group of democratic nations, centering on the United States, than the Koizumi government, and he was seen as “the most vocal supporter” of the quadrilateral forum.<sup>47</sup> Notably, Abe came to view Australia as a significant strategic partner especially after he saw Australia’s decision to increase its military forces to help Japan’s SDF in Iraq and promoted Japan’s effort to conclude the Australia-Japan FTA feasibility study, as a senior DFAT official declared.<sup>48</sup> Japan’s ASEAN Plus-Six approaches, embodied as the establishment of EAS in 2005 and the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) in 2007 including Australia and India, have been proposed and developed as part of the foreign policy agendas of the Abe governments, and the issue of how to respond to the rise of China was a common significant influence on both political and economic regionalism schemes.

Abe’s support for the quadrilateral approach sustained by his emphasis on values such as democracy and human rights came to be strengthened after he met with the U.S. vice president Dick Cheney in February 2007. They discussed the idea of India’s possible participation in Japan, Australia, and the United States, to form a quadrilateral grouping among like-minded democratic nations.<sup>49</sup> This proposal led to an experimental attempt to form the grouping through the organization of an informal meeting in May 2007, participated by representatives from the four nations as a sideline meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). China was wary of such a move and issued “formal diplomatic protests to Australia, Japan, and India out of concern that they were forming a security alliance with the United States against China.”<sup>50</sup> A rationale behind India’s participation in the framework can be attributed to its complex relations with China as seen in the territorial disputes with China over Kashmir, Sikkim, and Anurachal Pradesh that India might have wanted to discuss to put pressure on China.

Yet, Australia was not necessarily keen to use shared values as a political tool to form an exclusive framework as it was seen as annoying China. For instance, in their meeting in Washington in July 2005, Howard was reported to have turned down President Bush’s request that the United States and Australia work together to “reinforce the need for China to accept certain values as ‘universal.’” Howard’s approach toward China was “to build on the things that we have in common, and not become obsessed with the things that make us different.”<sup>51</sup>

Australia’s reserved stance on China in value politics was to be more shared by Japan after Prime Minister Abe resigned from office in September 2007 and Yasuo Fukuda who placed a greater emphasis on the relations with China in his foreign policy approach replace him. Fukuda naturally displayed little enthusiasm for continuing with the four-nation strategic dialogue, and Stephen Smith, Australian foreign minister in the Rudd administration, also indicated that the dialogue had caused concern to China, and that Australia had no intention of supporting a framework of this type.<sup>52</sup> A reason behind the Rudd government’s

decision to refuse to allow Australia's uranium sales to India while supporting the IAEA's approval of a uranium deal between India and the United States was not to provoke China that tended to worry about the containment movement. The preconditions for the ASEAN Plus-Six framework, born as a measure to counter the perceived negative aspects of China's growing rise, have transformed with the change of administrations in the region. The political implications of this change, for example, the differences in values held by different nations, have eroded the will to promote the quadrilateral framework for a purpose of checking China's growing regional influence, at the same time that they have eliminated the strategic value from partnerships among Japan, India, and Australia.

### **Strong Shared Concern: Military Rise of China**

U.S. concern over China derives, for instance, from China's military build-up, as emphasized by U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who believed that China's improved ballistic missile system would allow Chinese missiles to "reach targets in many areas of the world... Since no nation threatens China, one wonders: Why this growing investment? Why these continuing large and expanding arms purchases?"<sup>53</sup> This concern over China's increasing military build-up was well reflected on the QDR that declares China as "the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could over time off set traditional U.S. military advantages absent U.S. counter strategies."<sup>54</sup> Importantly, such a stark view of China's increasing military spending as threatening the delicate security balance in East Asia has gradually percolated through Japan, as insinuated in the last four *Defense White Papers*. In fact, Japan has kept a close eye on Chinese navy vessels especially after Chinese nuclear submarine's intrusion into Japanese waters in November 2004, and has worried about China's natural gas drilling project near an area in which Japan claims its exclusive economic zone. Howard shared this concern over China's growing military spending: "the pace and scope of its military modernization, particularly the development of new and disruptive capabilities such as the anti-satellite missile, could create misunderstandings and instability in the region,"<sup>55</sup> although Downer continued to be sanguine about China by seeing China's military budget as reasonable and benign.<sup>56</sup>

Military rather than economic rise of China is a shared concern among major states in Asia and the Pacific including Australia. Although trilateral and quadrilateral ministerial processes have faced a setback, to a different degree, defense cooperation including military exercises has been progressing. In June 2007, JSDFs for the first time joined the U.S.-Australia joint military exercise, *Talisman Saber*, on an observer status. As this is designed to train both military forces to improve their "combat readiness and interoperability,"<sup>57</sup> JSDF's participation was expected to potentially help improve Japanese defense and intelligence capabilities within a broader trilateral framework. Equipment compatibility was essential in joint military operation, and Australia's decision to acquire "three destroyers equipped with the Aegis combat system, the same system used by American and

Japanese militaries<sup>58</sup> was an initial step for its participation in trilateral defense cooperation. In October 2007, navies from the three countries conducted a drill near Kyushu, as the first trilateral P-3C exercise, to stimulate “search and rescue activities as well as an attack on a Japanese escort ship.”<sup>59</sup> Also, the quadrilateral approach with Singapore joining the other four nations had naval exercises in the Bay of Bengal in September 2007 with over 20,000 personnel, 28 ships, 150 aircraft, and 3 aircraft carriers.<sup>60</sup> Bristled at the exercises, China questioned whether this exercise may lead to an “Asian NATO,” despite U.S. insistence on that “the exercises were not directed at any particular country.” Nevertheless, there was a voice in the U.S. Navy that the demonstration “provides a message to other militaries, and our own, that we are capable of operating together and that we work together with our regional partners to ensure stability in the region.”<sup>61</sup>

Importantly, the Rudd government has also taken a similar view on the military rise of China, as was articulated in the 2009 Defense White Paper that saw China potentially “the strongest Asian military power” and warned that “the pace, scope and structure of China’s military modernization have the potential to give its neighbors cause for concern if not carefully explained.”<sup>62</sup> The Defense White Book articulated Australia’s hedge against a situation in which a military strong China backed by the rapid economic growth would challenge the U.S. hegemony in its neighboring areas by planning a military buildup over the two decades that Rudd calls “the most powerful, integrated and sophisticated set of military capabilities” Australia has had,<sup>63</sup> including the acquisition of 3 air warfare destroyers, 8 new frigates, and 12 new submarines by 2030. Given the statement by Admiral Wu Shengli, the top of China’s navy, in April 2009 that the navy would “move faster in researching and building new-generation weapons to boost the ability to fight regional sea wars,”<sup>64</sup> Australia’s declaration to see China a major threat to its security represents its potential engagement in U.S. battles against China, or, at least, the continued military sophistication. In this case, Japan’s promise to accelerate an array of defense cooperation with Australia, as declared by both defense ministers in December 2008, and Japan’s choice of India as the third nation, after the United States and Australia, that launched a joint security declaration in November 2008 appeared to lay a foundation for the potential U.S. engagement in a more formal multilateral defense and security arrangement, if China’s maritime ambitions continued.

## Conclusion

The political-security arrangements between the United States and Japan and the United States and Australia, separately, provided an implicit, if not explicit, framework of political confidence within which the Australia-Japan relationship came to grow and flourish, so the alliances with the United States have contributed to Australia and Japan sharing same strategic interests, laying the foundation for the establishment of closer security ties between them. In other words, the U.S. alliance has catalyzed the recent upsurge of mutual interests in the establishment of the Australia-Japan security and defense partnership. The

Australia-Japan security and defense partnership, a relatively new element in the bilateral relationship, is not, however, based on an alliance system like the one between Japan and the United States. It is still at a formative stage and thus requires strong shared strategic interests and common regional understandings to develop. Further development cannot be achieved without political leaders' strong commitment to the trilateral cooperation by removing or narrowing the different perceptions over emerging critical security agendas such as the rise of China.

As argued earlier, both nations had a slight different perception toward the rise of China while strengthening the bilateral security relations, and a dark shadow was once casted over the bilateral partnership, as well as the trilateral and quadrilateral approaches. Thus, "how defense cooperation can be strengthened without alienating China"<sup>65</sup> was a major task Australia needed to overcome. Accused of being "passing Japan" through the exclusion of it from the list of countries on his first overseas trip in April 2008, Prime Minister Rudd was seen as taking a pro-China stance as he reversed Howard's decision to sell uranium to India and decided not to participate in a quadrilateral framework, both of which, he believes, would annoy China.

Yet, China's double-digit rises in declared defense spending in the past two decades, as well as undeclared spending that is reported to be much higher, is a major concern shared by almost all countries in Asia and the Pacific. If the transparency were not secured, the momentum for trilateral/quadrilateral defense cooperation would be more firmly established. As it is the first case to the United States, Japan, and Australia, their major trading partner (foreign creditor to the United States as well) is their major source of threat, frequent consultations through more institutionalized framework among three nations are needed to identify their common approaches toward engaging China in the regional stability.

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# The United States, Japan, and Australia: Security Linkages to Southeast Asia

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The United States, Japan, and Australia have been described as the post-Cold War democratic neoliberal anchors for Asia-Pacific security. This description seems apt because liberal capitalist democracies depend on open trade and investment for growth and prosperity. Nevertheless, strategic imperatives for the three allies differ: the United States is a global power with concomitant security interests of which the Asia-Pacific is a single—albeit very important—component; Japan is a major Asian economic player whose security concerns have focused on its Northeast Asian neighbors; and Australia, although a close American ally and friend of Japan, is primarily involved with threats to Southeast Asian stability and the South Pacific. These differing—though not incompatible—priorities play out in their relations with Southeast Asia.

Both Australia and Japan are island nations, dependent on long, vulnerable sea lines of communication (SLOCs). Australia's primary sphere of strategic interest extends from the mid-Indian Ocean through the Straits of Malacca and South China Sea to the Southwest Pacific. Japan's SLOCs are encompassed by Australia's. Both the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) and Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) maintain P-3C Orion surveillance aircraft that cover these regions, in Japan's case up to the northwest Pacific and the East China Sea. The two countries' air patrol craft maintain electronic data links allowing them to share information on ship movements throughout the areas of combined operations.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the U.S. Seventh Fleet also patrols these areas.

The Southeast Asian Ten—ASEAN—have evolved over 40 years from mercantilist to essentially open and outward oriented polities. Their security situation in the early twenty-first century is less fear of conventional military threats from neighboring countries than new challenges frequently referred to as “non-traditional threats,” including infectious diseases, piracy, terrorism, drug and

human trafficking, and international crime. While the United States retains its Cold War alliances in Southeast Asia (Thailand and the Philippines), these have been modified and supplemented post-9/11 to become “coalitions of the willing,” states that coalesce around specific common security practices such as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI)—to be discussed below. While Southeast Asian states preserve long-standing security ties with the United States, they are wary of great power games and pursue sophisticated diplomatic strategies designed to keep all great powers involved in regional affairs while ensuring none dominates. Moreover, because of all the great powers, the United States is a distant hegemon, Washington remains the balancer of choice on China’s periphery.<sup>2</sup>

### The American Security Position in Southeast Asia

In the post-9/11 world, two concerns dominate U.S. security policy for Southeast Asia: the first is a long-standing commitment to maintain freedom of the SLOCs for international commerce—a public good that benefits all trading states; the second is radical Islamist terrorism, and Washington has placed a high priority on countering this threat in bilateral relations with Southeast Asia as well as in its diplomacy toward such regional organizations as ASEAN, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). As William Tow and Amitav Acharya have argued, the United States has moved from alliance exclusivism to allied coalition building that share common concerns, particularly with respect to counterterrorism. To command U.S. interest and support, Southeast Asian states are asked to demonstrate their commitment to suppressing terrorist activities within their territories.<sup>3</sup>

In effect, the United States is offering assistance to Southeast Asia partners that face internal security challenges from opposition forces that employ terrorist tactics. Tow and Acharya note: “Washington’s focus on counterterrorism has provided the Bush administration with an opportunity to pursue an egalitarian approach to bilateralism in the Asia-Pacific,” one that must demonstrate “a genuine American sensitivity to the unique insurgency and terrorist threats facing each regional ally.”<sup>4</sup> Although this may be true, there is still a potential downside: the United States could become involved in the domestic politics of its Southeast Asian partners as well as in determining the legitimacy of their governments. While the Philippines to a considerable extent and Indonesia to a lesser degree welcome U.S. counterterrorism support, Thailand and Malaysia have declined Washington’s offers of direct assistance (discussed below). Those who are reticent about direct American counterterrorist involvement were not reassured by Washington’s 2006 *National Security Strategy* document that states that while diplomacy is always the preferred course of action, the United States will “not rule out the use of force before attacks occur, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy’s attack.”<sup>5</sup>

However, Southeast Asian strategists may have picked up on a subtle revision of U.S. strategy issued by the U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) in November

2008. The new strategy, approved by Pacific Commander Admiral Timothy Keating, is “based on partnership, presence, and military readiness.” Its predecessors were more assertive, stating that strategy was “rooted in partnership and military preeminence.” In a cover letter authorizing the new strategy, Admiral Keating explained that “it underscores the fundamental importance of sustained and persistent cooperation and collaboration in times of relative peace to mitigate situations that could lead to conflict and crisis.” Without openly saying so, the new strategy appears to abrogate American military “unilateralism” of which the Bush administration has been accused and to emphasize instead the importance of cooperative security, particularly in the face of nontraditional security threats. This new PACOM strategy also fits with the ARF’s goal of preventive diplomacy whereby countries identify and work together to resolve conflicts before they can rise to a tension level leading to open hostilities. Moreover, PACOM officers have also stated that U.S. government agencies other than Defense—the State Department, Agency for International Development, and Treasury, among others—must become more deeply involved in regional security so that the Defense Department can focus more on the military dimension. Calling for a “whole-of-government approach,” the revised strategy demands “a high degree of coordination [and] integration” across departments and agencies. Finally, the new document applauds Australia and Japan for joining the United States “in developing a trilateral partnership dedicated to improving security in the region.” At bottom, the new strategy constitutes another assurance to Asia that PACOM remains “an engaged and trusted partner committed to preserving the security of the region.”<sup>6</sup>

### **The Trilateral Partnership in U.S.-Southeast Asian Security**

In a September 2007 Honolulu address, the U.S. Pacific Commander Admiral Timothy Keating stated that the United States prefers “multilateral over bilateral exercises, engagements, [and] theater security cooperation . . . increasingly interweaving systems.”<sup>7</sup> This security conception underpins Washington’s interest in the trilateral dialogue. Initial discussions among the United States, Australia, and Japan took place at the Hanoi ARF meeting and Australia-U.S. ministerial dialogue, both convened in July 2001. Although Australia and Japan had close bilateral security relations with the United States prior to the 2001 discussions, Canberra and Tokyo had few security links with each other, a notable exception being the RIMPAC naval exercises. By 2005, the trilateral dialogue was raised to the ministerial level. Although the dialogue covers a variety of topics, from a Southeast Asian perspective, the most salient topics include terrorism, WMD proliferation, and preparation for possible pandemics. Nevertheless, most Southeast Asian governments express little interest in the dialogue. If anything, some view the meetings as efforts by wealthy, developed powers outside Southeast Asia to devise an alternative to the impotent ARF that is dominated by ASEAN.<sup>8</sup>

Australia in particular has developed bilateral security dialogues with Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand. In addition, Malaysian and

Singaporean defense relations with Canberra go back decades through the Five Power Defense Arrangement. Moreover, Australia has signed counterterrorism memoranda with Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines; and through APEC, the three dialogue partners and Southeast Asian states have also agreed to counterterrorism action plans related to international trade. (Only Malaysia has objected to APEC's counterterrorism requirements, complaining that the organization is moving beyond its commercial mandate.<sup>9</sup>)

The Australia-Japan defense relationship was significantly strengthened with a 2003 Memorandum of Understanding that regularized defense departments' consultation and coordination. Joint naval exercises constitute the dominant form, and the two defense forces have also worked together in Cambodian peacekeeping (1992–93) and in East Timor where Japan Self-Defense Force (JSDF) engineers have engaged in reconstruction. In addition, Japanese personnel have been involved in monitoring developments in Aceh and offering an aid package to the Philippines in Mindanao. Moreover, Japan dispatched a thousand JSDF personnel for humanitarian assistance to Aceh after the December 2004 tsunami.<sup>10</sup>

The 2009 Japan-Australia Declaration institutionalizes cooperation across several dimensions: peacekeeping and disaster relief, joint military exercises, annual defense policy talks, and exchanges of navy and air force visits, including bilateral naval exercises. Australia also works with Japan on PSI, including a 2008 counter-WMD exercise near Japan.<sup>11</sup>

### **Counterterrorism: The Focal Point of Trilateral Security**

After September 11 and the 2002 Bali bombings, Australian and U.S. priorities in Southeast Asia focused single-mindedly on counterterrorism. In May 2006, Australia announced a four-year \$70 million aid plan for Southeast Asia to combat terrorism. Support and training would be provided for border control, WMD surveillance, and efforts to counterterrorist propaganda. The Australian Federal Police (AFP) would also step up law enforcement, forensics, and technical training for regional police forces. Coordinating with Canberra, the United States launched a Rewards for Justice Program that allocated millions of dollars for the capture of Jemmah Islamiyah (JI) leaders who were wanted for the Bali attacks and other depredations in Indonesia and the Philippines.<sup>12</sup>

ASEAN has generally welcomed this external support, though its own counterterrorism actions have been more cautious, reflecting the multiconfessional demographics of several ASEAN states. At its January 2007 summit, ASEAN leaders signed their *first* convention on counterterrorism but insisted that "terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, or ethnic group." Moreover, unlike the hardline American approach to terrorism, ASEAN pledged to try to rehabilitate and reintegrate convicted terrorists back into society.<sup>13</sup> In addition, ASEAN states vary in their commitment to UN counterterrorism initiatives. While all 10 ASEAN members now submit counterterrorism reports to the UN 1540 and 1373 Committees that deal with counterterrorism and WMD proliferation, most of these reports have been late, and

some are superficial. The most comprehensive came from Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, while Cambodia, Laos, and Burma provided scanty documents. Also, though the majority of ASEAN members have signed on to the NPT, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, little progress has been made in ratification. With the notable exception of Singapore, export control systems of Southeast Asian states remain unsophisticated and weak.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Maritime Dimension of Southeast Asian Security**

Multilateral maritime security is an ASEAN priority. While the declaratory target is piracy, in effect, antipiracy capabilities are much the same as those required for maritime counterterrorism. In 2002, the ASEAN Work Program adopted in Kuala Lumpur called for information sharing on pirates and also the need to seek technical and financial assistance from dialogue partners, including Australia, Japan, and the United States. A major ARF meeting in March 2005 brought together maritime security experts to discuss applicable technologies for situational awareness. Singapore led in demonstrations of its advanced port security.<sup>15</sup> The desire for antipiracy (and counterterrorism) technical assistance receives additional support from the UN Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) Article 43 that provides for cooperation between user states and littoral states bordering a strait. The Malacca Straits states (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore) have asked user states to share the costs of ensuring maritime safety and security. International Maritime Organization meetings in Jakarta (2005) and Kuala Lumpur (2006) urged user countries to fulfill their UNCLOS obligations to share safety and security costs. However, only Japan has offered to contribute. Meanwhile, at the 2002 Kuala Lumpur meeting, Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia tabled four projects that could be funded by user states: wreck removals, situational awareness buildups to respond to hazardous incidents, providing Automatic Identification System (AIS) transponders to small ships, and replacement and maintenance of navigational aids.<sup>16</sup> None of these was directly related to counterterrorism; nevertheless, implementation could establish a habit of cooperation.

The United States has been particularly interested in promoting naval cooperation. Its annual CARAT exercises with Southeast Asian navies have included surveillance, SLOC protection, and mine countermeasures. Nevertheless, there exists a disjunction between the American navy's focus on littoral operations and expeditionary forces versus regional navies that are interested in sea-denial capabilities to defend their littorals. Moreover, Southeast Asian states have a strong commitment to sovereignty in their territorial seas that extends even to their EEZs. This jealous protection of sovereignty constitutes a significant obstacle to the cooperation needed for countering maritime piracy and terrorism. Moreover, piracy ranks relatively low among regional governments' priorities. Illegal fishing and smuggling rank higher because their financial and human costs are greater.<sup>17</sup>

When the U.S. Pacific Command announced a Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI) designed to call on available maritime forces to protect Southeast Asian SLOCs, Malaysia and Indonesia objected to the notion of patrols conducted by extraregional countries. To preempt this project, Operation MALSINDO was devised whereby the three littoral Malacca Straits states would be responsible for Straits security. The first trilateral patrols were launched in July 2004. By 2006, 17 ships had been allocated to the patrols: 7 from Indonesia, 5 from Malaysia, and 5 from Singapore. Yet these ships may patrol only within the territorial waters of their own states. No hot pursuit protocol has been devised. Instead, "reverse hot pursuit" agreements have been discussed among Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, which would allow the ships of one state to drive the ship being pursued into the coastal waters of a neighbor whose own navy (or coast guard) would be waiting.<sup>18</sup> In actuality, piracy in the Straits of Malacca as a proportion of Straits traffic is quite low. Most pirates come from Indonesian waters and prey on fishing craft from communities on the Malaysian side. In August 2006, Lloyds Maritime Insurance was sufficiently assured that Southeast Asian piracy was under control that it lifted the insurance surcharge for ships transiting the Straits it had imposed a few years earlier.

In 2003, motivated by the prospect of North Korea providing WMD contraband to "rogue states" such as Syria and Iran, Washington started the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) with likeminded states that agreed to open their own flagged vessels for cargo inspection and to interdict suspicious ships when they entered the territorial waters of PSI members. Japan and Australia as well as Singapore were among the original PSI adherents. Exercises take place regularly on interdiction tactics.<sup>19</sup> Indonesia and Malaysia see PSI as an encroachment on sovereignty, while the Philippines lacks the naval capability to participate. Other ASEAN PSI members include Brunei, Cambodia, and the Philippines though they have not participated.

Coast Guards have the potential for a greater role in maritime security along the Southeast Asian littoral. As maritime police rather than navies, they maintain a lower political profile and are less threatening to countries particularly sensitive to sovereignty. Indicative of Coast Guard agencies' importance to Asia-Pacific security is the 2006 decision by the U.S.-led Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) to invite Coast Guards to participate in WPNS sea exercises. The Australian navy also exercised with a Japanese Coast Guard vessel in the 2003 Exercise *Pacific Protector* in the Coral Sea, a part of the PSI.<sup>20</sup> For Southeast Asian navies, the littorals are vital human and economic spaces that need to be protected against criminal and terrorist activities. Coast Guards are better equipped and trained for this role than western navies with expeditionary forces that view the littorals as a space from which large forces can leap from the sea to the land.<sup>21</sup> These navies are not constabulary forces. Coast Guards are. Of the three trilateral countries, Japan's Coast Guard has been the most attentive to Southeast Asian needs. Tokyo trains Southeast Asian coast guard personnel in Japan and has hosted Port Security Seminars in Southeast Asia as well as working individually with Indonesia to help Jakarta create an independent coast guard.<sup>22</sup>

### U.S. Military Relations with Southeast Asia

While it is clear that trilateral security coordination toward Southeast Asia is limited at best, individually, the United States, Australia, and Japan have assisted regional security development in ways that are mutually reinforcing. Unsurprisingly, Washington is more broadly and deeply involved in the region's security than its two allies with military assistance and joint exercises that began in the 1950s. In recent years, these exercises have stressed antipiracy skills. U.S. Cooperation and Readiness Afloat (CARAT) exercises are annual events that pair American naval, marine, and coast guard elements with Southeast Asian partners from Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, and Brunei. Similarly, the annual Southeast Asian Cooperation Against Terrorism (SEACAT) initiated in 2002 enhances cooperative responses to maritime terrorism and transnational crime. The United States also shares information on maritime activities in Southeast Asia with regional partners to strengthen "Maritime Domain Awareness." An interesting feature of SEACAT exercises is that although primarily bilateral, the United States has held some of them simultaneously with more than one partner, providing multilateral value.<sup>23</sup>

The closest American security relationship is with its only former colony, the Philippines. During the Cold War, Philippine air and naval bases constituted key repair, R&R, and deployment positions for America's Pacific forces that could be dispatched either north for a Korean or China contingency or west to the Persian Gulf. The end of Cold War and rising Philippine nationalism led to the cancellation of this basing arrangement in 1992. However, a decade later, after 9/11, Washington and Manila renewed their security links as part of what Renato Cruz De Castro calls "the war of the third kind... a form of political violence waged by organizations other than the state against state actors."<sup>24</sup> In the Philippines, a small but lethal al Qaeda-linked terrorist group, Abu Sayyaf, and elements of a similar Indonesia-based terrorist organization, JI, became the impetus for a transformed Philippine-U.S. alliance. The United States did not attempt to renew the Philippine bases arrangement. Indeed, the new Philippine constitution prohibits the basing of foreign troops on Philippine territory and also forbids foreign soldiers from fighting alongside Philippine forces on the nation's soil—these restrictions are a reaction to the overly close U.S. relationship with Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos prior to the expiration of the bases treaty.

For the United States, renewed security cooperation with the Philippines constituted an example of how Washington would work with allies and friends who were challenged by radical terrorist organizations. In the Philippine case, these included Islamist groups as well as Manila's more traditional protracted fight with the communist New Peoples Army. Washington portrays its current security assistance to the Philippines comprising counterterrorist training, equipment, and civic action (medical and dental aid, the building of roads and schools in southern Philippine areas threatened by Abu Sayyaf, and construction of potable water supplies) as ways of assuring other Southeast Asian states that al Qaeda will not be able to obtain sanctuaries in the ASEAN region. American actions in the Philippines constituted Washington's initial effort to engage ASEAN in



cooperative security that addresses the transnational challenges of terrorism and piracy.<sup>25</sup>

The Philippine government is aware of its own military shortfalls; the reduction of American military aid in the 1990s led to the obsolescence of most of the defense forces equipment. Counterinsurgency in the new century, therefore, requires a significant renewal of U.S. assistance to initiate military modernization. The political cost to the Arroyo administration has been negative reactions from nationalist politicians and leftist groups. U.S. aid has concentrated on building the Philippine capacity to suppress domestic insurgents. Unlike the Cold War period, aid has not been designed to help the Philippines defend against external threats. Therefore, Manila's ability to control its air and sea spaces has not been significantly augmented in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

In 2002, the Philippine-U.S. Mutual Defense Board agreed on a confidential Five Year Plan that provided for American training and equipment for a counterinsurgency Philippine Rapid Deployment Force. This agreement also included the construction of bases and arms caches. As these arrangements evolved over the decade, U.S. forces assisted their Philippine counterparts in field intelligence through technical means (UAVs, radio and electronic intercepts).<sup>26</sup> Several hundred American trainers are in the Philippines at any time. They come from the Pacific Command Special Forces. Philippine light reaction companies are trained by Americans in Mindanao and better equipped than regular Philippine army troops.<sup>27</sup>

Counterterror operations in Mindanao are independent of the annual *Balikatan* exercises conducted under the Philippine-U.S. Defense Treaty. *Balikatan* has taken place primarily in Luzon and focuses on upgrading general Philippine armed forces sufficiently to engage in joint exercises with U.S. forces. However, Washington's primary interest continues to be counterterrorism in the south. In late 2006, the U.S. Navy offered to support and equip a Philippine coast watch system with radar to be put in place by 2008. Philippine Coast Guard personnel were sent to the United States to undergo antiterrorist training. Australian Special Forces are also contributing to this enterprise.<sup>28</sup>

In the course of this close cooperation between U.S. Special Forces and Philippine soldiers, allegations were made by the respected Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism in a January 2007 report that U.S. personnel facilitated the rescue of hostages held by Abu Sayyaf and that the killing of two major Abu Sayyaf leaders in September 2006 occurred with the assistance of U.S. surveillance. If true, these activities would appear to be on the edge of legality insofar as American personnel were not directly involved in Philippine military action. The Philippine press regularly reports that FBI and CIA agents along with Australian police and intelligence work with the Philippine military to track down Abu Sayyaf and JI militants. However, the Americans always insist that their actions stop short of direct participation in firefights.<sup>29</sup>

Although the Philippine Constitution prohibits foreign bases, according to the Philippine press, the United States has established a small forward operating base in Sulu where prepositioned equipment is maintained and a small number of rotational U.S. personnel are permanently deployed. The product of a U.S.

Pacific Command concept, these “lily pads” would be available to U.S. forces for joint exercises with host countries and as supply points for military activities in the region, as required. The U.S. presence in Mindanao is strategically positioned near the Makassar Strait at the southwestern rim of the South China Sea. As for joint military exercises, the 2008 *Balikatan* was devoted entirely to civic action in efforts to win the “hearts and minds” of poverty-stricken populations—troops working with civilians on roads, sewer systems, and providing clinics. Nevertheless, complaints persist from human rights organizations that elements of the Philippine armed forces continue to engage in extrajudicial killings of leftists and journalists. These concerns have been incorporated into the most recent American military aid provisions, linking a portion of that aid to certification that the Philippine armed forces implement the recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial executions.<sup>30</sup>

As in the Philippines, *Indonesia’s* military capabilities eroded in the 1990s, partially as a result of the 1997–98 regional financial crisis. Although Indonesia along with Singapore and Malaysia constitute the Malacca Strait littoral, until recently, the United States did little to enhance Jakarta’s naval and air force capabilities. In its dealings with the Indonesian armed forces (TNI) the Bush administration took advantage of U.S. sympathy for Indonesia’s December 2004 tsunami travails by expressing the hope that International Military Education and Training (IMET) could be restored. This program was withdrawn in 1992 when the Indonesian military launched a bloody attack on proindependence protestors in East Timor. The sanctions were further tightened in 1999 when the Indonesian army was accused of directing the killing of some 1,500 people in East Timor in an unsuccessful effort to prevent the territory’s independence. The IMET ban was written into law by Congress in 2002 when U.S. lawmakers insisted that Indonesian generals were blocking an investigation into the killing of two U.S. school teachers in Papua province.

Subsequently, Indonesian authorities have taken steps to improve cooperation with the FBI and brought charges against a member of a Papuan separatist group for the killings of the two Americans. This development coincided with President Bush’s stress on the importance of strengthening counterterrorism cooperation with Indonesia in a January 16, 2005, joint press conference with then deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz. Indonesian defense minister Sudarsono announced that “my job is now to try to reconfigure the Indonesian defense force . . . so that it will be more accountable to democracy . . . [T]here’s no excuse for some of their alleged human rights abuses that have been taking place over the past 25 years.” Sudarsono went on to ask the United States to improve TNI training, “a very important part of consolidating democracy.” Wolfowitz concurred: “I think we need to think about how we can strengthen this new elected democratic government . . . to help build the kinds of defense institutions that will ensure . . . that the Indonesian military, like our military, is [a] loyal function of democratic government.” Wolfowitz promised to raise the IMET issue again with Congress.

The U.S. Pacific Command had already reestablished some ties with the TNI by sponsoring a series of conferences on civil-military relations, democratic

institutions, and nonlethal training—major components of IMET, which also includes combat training. The Pentagon argues that training in the United States can help create a more professional and disciplined force. However, the long hiatus in U.S.-Indonesian military relations increased sentiment within the TNI to steer clear of the United States because Washington stopped providing much of what it gave during the Cold War.<sup>31</sup>

By the end of 2005, the United States restored military relations with Jakarta. The Bush administration persuaded Congress that the world's most populous Muslim country, now a democracy, known for a predominantly moderate approach to Islam, was a key to Southeast Asian stability and security, especially since it sits astride the region's vital sea lanes. The State Department announced a new plan to help modernize and reform the Indonesian armed forces. With U.S. arms sales once again available, the TNI declared the refurbishing of F-16s, F-5s, C-130s, and OV-10s "priorities." The TNI also became the largest U.S. beneficiary of counterterrorism training combining local constabulary with Indonesian military personnel involved in over 100 events under the U.S. Pacific Command Theater Security Cooperation Program.<sup>32</sup>

At the June 2007 annual Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, Indonesian defense minister Juwono Sudarsono summed up Jakarta's view of U.S. armed forces by noting that America "remains the security provider" with "the largest number of ships, planes, and missiles in the Asia-Pacific." However, Juwono also pointed out that China and Japan were developing capabilities "to codetermine the terms and conditions of western Pacific security." In March and April 2007, the Indonesian and U.S. Armies and Marine Corps signed agreements for joint training at the brigade level with an emphasis on UN peacekeeping operations. By 2008, U.S. military aid for Indonesia had increased to \$15.7 million, though part of that sum was contingent on Jakarta's willingness to account for past human rights abuses by the TNI. For antipiracy and coastal patrol operations, in January 2008, Washington provided the Indonesian police with 15 new patrol boats.<sup>33</sup>

In 2010, the Obama administration completed the restoration of Indonesian-U.S. military ties initiated by its predecessor, fully restoring IMET and reinstating American relations with *Kopassus*—Indonesia's Special Forces. *Kopassus* has been a particularly sensitive subject with human rights advocates in the U.S. Congress. Led by Senator Patrick Leahy (D, Vermont), Congress has insisted that *Kopassus* personnel who had committed atrocities in East Timor—prior to its independence—and in Papua be brought to justice and that current *Kopassus* personnel be given human rights training. However, by 2010, no *Kopassus* member had been tried and convicted of human rights violations, though Indonesia's defense minister points out that the individuals accused of these atrocities left *Kopassus* some time ago and that a human rights component is now incorporated into *Kopassus* curriculum. Washington has said that renewed U.S. relations with *Kopassus* initially will not include joint exercises but rather classroom experiences through IMET.<sup>34</sup>

The other states abutting the Malacca Straits and the South China Sea, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, have also received U.S. security assistance. Although Thailand, as the Philippines, has been designated a "major

non-NATO ally” and provides the location for the Pacific Command’s largest annual Southeast Asian exercise, *Cobra Gold*, nevertheless, Washington’s closest security partner arguably is Singapore. When the United States abandoned the Philippine bases, Singapore offered American forces access to its air and naval facilities, including Changi Naval Base’s deep water pier, sufficient for Nimitz-class aircraft carriers. In 2005, this multilayered defense relationship was formalized via a Closer Cooperation Partnership in Defense and Security that covered counterterrorism, military exercises, and defense technology. Singapore is also an active participant in the PSI and Container Security Initiative and is the only ASEAN state to sign on to the development of the American Joint Strike Fighter (F-35) project. The island state has also set up radiation detection devices at container ports and tightened air cargo security. In late 2005, Singapore’s air force and navy carried out their first combined exercise at 29 Palms, California, on the U.S. military reservation—though how desert warfare fits Southeast Asia’s jungle environment is something of a mystery.<sup>35</sup>

Although Malaysian and U.S. political relations can sometimes be testy, military links are positive. In April 2007, Malaysian defense chief Gen. Abdul Aziz Zainal praised the longstanding cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries in training, joint exercises, and intelligence sharing and went on to say that Malaysia would welcome more U.S. Navy port calls. Although Malaysia has not signed on to the PSI, it has sent observers to PSI exercises.<sup>36</sup> Kuala Lumpur is also planning to acquire additional F-18s for its airforce.

As for Thailand, the United States by law had to significantly cut a relatively small military assistance program in the wake of the September 2006 military coup. Nevertheless, the multinational *Cobra Gold* exercise is still held annually, and counterterrorism aid continued even while the Thai military was in power. Elections in late 2007 and the formation of a new democratically elected government have led to the restoration of military assistance, including the IMET program in 2008. On a separate dimension, in April 2007, U.S. Special Operations commander in the Pacific, Maj. Gen. David Fridovich offered to help train Thai forces in counterinsurgency, citing the effective relationship between U.S. Special Operations trainers and the Philippine military in Mindanao. Thai army troops have been attempting to suppress a virulent Muslim insurgency in its southern provinces since early 2004 with no success. The Thai government immediately declined the American offer with critics saying any direct U.S. involvement would only exacerbate the problem. However, Thai army commander general Sonthi Boonyaratglin stated he would appreciate access to U.S. intelligence, especially on foreign financial contributions to insurgents.<sup>37</sup>

### **Malacca Straits Security—A Multinational Enterprise**

Australia, Japan, and the United States, as the littoral states, are concerned about the future safety and security of the Malacca Straits. Nevertheless, prior to 2004, the littorals displayed little enthusiasm for trilateral security measures, owing to differing threat perceptions and heightened sensitivity over sovereignty issues.

For Singapore, international trade is its lifeblood. Any threat to that trade is literally existential. Therefore, both security cooperation among the littorals and assistance from Western navies to keep the Malacca Straits open are welcome to the city-state. Moreover, Singapore believes it has been targeted by al Qaeda because of the city-state's close links to the United States and because Western countries have major business interests in Singapore.<sup>38</sup>

By contrast, neither Malaysia nor Indonesia place either maritime terrorism or piracy at the top of their security agendas. For Malaysia, the main maritime security challenges are illegal trafficking in people, small arms, and narcotics. Although piracy is a concern, Malaysian authorities note that most Southeast Asian attacks originate in Indonesia where governance, socioeconomic conditions, as well as the professionalism and capabilities of security are much lower than Malaysia's. For Indonesia, the central maritime security challenges are illegal fishing and smuggling. Indonesia derives fewer economic benefits from the Straits than either Malaysia or Singapore. Most ships entering the Straits are either transiting in either direction or heading for ports in Singapore and Malaysia. Nor does Indonesia accept the piracy-terrorism nexus underlying Singapore's Straits policy and to a smaller degree, Malaysia's.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to Somalian coastal waters, for the past few years, piracy has been down along the Malacca Straits; in 2008, the lowest number of incidents in years.<sup>40</sup> (See discussion above.) While Indonesia's remote Anombas islands have been the source of small-scale attacks on fishing trawlers and islands in the southern Philippines contain Muslim insurgents who sometimes engage in maritime crimes, Malacca Straits traffic flows unimpeded. Unlike the Somali pirates who are well armed and organized with safe havens along the Somali coast, Southeast Asian pirates tend to be Indonesian fishermen who have fallen on hard time. For the most part, they rob crew members but seldom attempt to seize the vessels they board.<sup>41</sup>

For several years, the Malacca Straits states—with which Thailand is now participating—conducted parallel though independent antipiracy patrols. In 2005, these efforts were enhanced through greater coordination (discussed above). These efforts now include an "Eyes in the Sky" component by which one country's surveillance aircraft with personnel from the other three littoral states on board monitor suspicious maritime activity and notify their respective navies to take action. The United States offered to assist these efforts. Singapore endorsed the American offer, but Malaysia and Indonesia demurred, saying that direct U.S. involvement would violate their sovereignty. Nevertheless, Malaysian defense minister Najib stated that the United States would be welcome to provide aircraft for "Eyes in the Sky" as long as the personnel on board were exclusively from the Straits states.<sup>42</sup>

In January 2007, Admiral Mike Mullen, then the U.S. chief of naval operations, in a Singapore visit, praised the coordinated Malacca Straits states' antipiracy patrols as a "model maritime network" and offered U.S. information technology. (Incorporating the naval capabilities of friendly states in a common security endeavor is the concept behind Admiral Mullen's "thousand ship navy.") Subsequently, in March, then commander for the U.S. Pacific Fleet admiral

Gary Roughead stated there was no need for the U.S. Navy to patrol the straits because the littoral states were “doing very well. We cooperate closely with these countries.”

Nevertheless, several observers question the effectiveness of the littorals’ endeavors, suggesting they are more show than substance and pointing out that airborne surveillance is of little use since these observations cannot be transmitted in real time to forces on the surface. Although steps were taken in 2006 to link surface and air patrols via an agreement among the littorals, there is little evidence to show the situation has changed. Moreover, the air patrols occur only during the day; and most piracy is a nighttime activity.<sup>43</sup>

Singapore takes maritime security threats more seriously than its neighbors, requiring that all vessels in the Singapore Strait be equipped with identification transponders. Singapore navy security teams also deploy on selected ships entering the city-state’s waters. In late 2005, Malaysia created a national coast guard and placed armed police aboard ships carrying high value cargo through Malaysian waters. Indonesia, too, is increasing maritime patrols and has requested more patrol boats from South Korea and Japan.

The littoral states have been pressing users of the Malacca Straits to contribute a fair share of the costs needed to ensure their navigational safety. Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak in mid-March 2007 stated that user states that want to see better safety arrangements should help finance their upgrade. He praised Japan’s Nippon Foundation, which has proposed a special fund to which shipping companies could contribute to finance navigational aids and the removal of shipwrecks from the Straits. In November 2008, shipping industry members and some user states agreed to contribute \$5.4 million to assist the littoral states with Straits security. The money will go to the Aids to Navigation Fund (ANF). Japan continues to be the largest contributor with additional pledges from the United Arab Emirates and South Korea. The ANF 2009 budget provided \$8 million for the upkeep of 51 navigational aids along the Straits. At the end of 2008, however, the Fund was \$2.6 million short. The United States has financed four reconnaissance radars along the Makassar Strait, used particularly by large tankers as an alternative to Malacca. And, Washington has also provided 15 high-speed patrol boats to Indonesia, some of which are based at Batam opposite Singapore—a vulnerable choke point. Focusing on Indonesia’s needs, Washington is funding a tactical communications center in Jakarta in addition to the radar installations along the northern Sumatra coast.<sup>44</sup>

A separate U.S. exercise, Southeast Asia Cooperation Against Terrorism (SEACAT), was held in mid-August 2007 involving navies from Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand with U.S. ships from the Seventh Fleet. In this exercise, each Southeast Asian navy steamed bilaterally with the U.S. ships in a variety of scenarios. For example, the Singapore exercise focused on the tracking of ships transiting through the Singapore Strait as well as an antiterrorist simulation involving the hijacking of a merchant ship.<sup>45</sup>

### The Japanese and Australian Roles in Southeast Asian Security

Unlike more broad-gauged American security relations with Southeast Asia, Japan and Australia have focused on counterterrorism and transnational crime. Canberra has entered into security agreements with Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, while Japan has been concerned primarily with assistance in the maintenance of open SLOCs. Australia is a key partner in the longstanding 1971 Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) with the UK, New Zealand, Singapore, and Malaysia. The FPDA Integrated Air Defense System provides for the rotation of combat aircraft from all five states to Malaysia's Butterworth Air Force Base. FPDA armed forces exercise together annually. However, the only Southeast Asia relationship Australia dominates is with East Timor. Canberra is its ally and guarantor, intervening when Dili seemed on the verge of political chaos in May 2006 and again in February 2008. Australia's position in East Timor complicates its relations with Indonesia, though common counterterrorism needs, especially after the 2002 Bali bombings, have led to renewed military and police ties. On February 7, 2008, Jakarta and Canberra ratified a 2006 agreement on counterterrorism, intelligence, and maritime security cooperation scheduled to run until 2011.

Security relations with Singapore are very close. The two countries' armed forces are the most advanced and capable in the region. Personnel exchanges are high, and Singapore armed forces regularly train in Australia, prepositioning some equipment at Australian training areas. The Singapore Air Force has operated a pilot training facility in western Australia since 1993, and in August 2005, Singapore was given access to the Shoalwater Bay Training Area in Queensland where they may deploy up to 6,600 personnel and their equipment for up to 45 days each year through 2009. Australia has also provided military equipment to Southeast Asian states, in May 2007, donating 28 high-speed gunboats to the Philippine navy for use in its southern waterways. Australia, the United States, and the Philippines are particularly concerned about sea boundaries between Borneo and the Philippines where smuggling, pirates, human trafficking, and JI militants cross at will. With Australia's help, the Philippines is also setting up 17 coastal watch stations from Palawan to Davao Province equipped with fast patrol boats and helicopters.<sup>46</sup>

For Japan, dealing with piracy in Southeast Asia has been its primary security concern. As early as 2000, Japan convened a conference of regional coast guards to discuss mutual antipiracy measures. The most recent achievement was the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships in Asia. By 2007, 14 countries had ratified the agreement, including Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Burma, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Vietnam alongside Japan. To formalize this collaboration, an Information Sharing Center was established in Singapore in November 2006 to which Japan's Coast Guard (JCG) has assigned personnel. Japan has also sent three patrol ships to Indonesia as part of its counterpiracy and counterterrorism program, implying that this did not constitute a prohibited weapons export but rather support for the maritime police, permitted under Japanese law.<sup>47</sup> From 2006, Japan has helped the Malaysian maritime forces with a variety of tracking devices, high

capacity computers, and advanced radio communication systems. Tokyo also pledged \$15 million for Indonesian patrol craft. In late 2008, Japan appropriated \$15.6 million toward the Enhancement of Vessel Traffic System in the Malacca and Singapore Straits. The money is for a vessel traffic system center in Batam that will oversee traffic safety and security in the Straits.<sup>48</sup>

According to Richard Samuels, the JCG has changed the rules of naval engagement, asserted new maritime rights, circumvented the ban on arms exports, and has moved toward the “right of collective self defense, a capability Japan had long denied itself.”<sup>49</sup> The JCG now deploys a special operations unit dedicated to counterterrorism operations. A 2006 JCG White Paper listed “securing the safety of the sea lanes” among its core missions. This is the basis for assisting Southeast Asian states with training and technology to help police the Malacca Straits.<sup>50</sup>

### Conclusion

The trilateral countries and Singapore would like to “securitize” antipiracy efforts in Southeast Asia by linking them to counterterrorism. This linkage would make maritime security cooperation a part of the national security strategies of Southeast Asian participants alongside Washington, Tokyo, and Canberra. However, most ASEAN members do not concur. Protective of their sovereign prerogatives, they insist that piracy and maritime terrorism should not be conflated and that piracy is a criminal activity, therefore, subject to national criminal jurisdictions. No external powers should be involved in suppressing pirates.<sup>51</sup> In effect, this means that Southeast Asian states will limit American, Australian, and Japanese security activities to technical assistance, financial support for regional armed forces, training of coast guards, and naval and air joint exercises—the last dominated by the United States.

Singapore remains the exception as the only ASEAN state whose armed forces qualitatively match those of the trilateral members. Singapore’s interest in playing in the “big leagues” was dramatically demonstrated in *Malabar-07-02*. In the largest multinational Asian naval exercise in decades, Singapore joined large naval contingents from the United States, India, Japan, and Australia from September 4 to 9, 2007, in the eastern Indian Ocean. While the 12 previous *Malabar* exercises were exclusively bilateral events conducted by India and the United States in the western Indian Ocean, this set of war games was held in the Bay of Bengal off the Andaman islands and near the western entrance to the Malacca Straits. It featured over 30 warships and 200 aircraft from the 5 nations. Singapore sent its most modern frigate, while the United States deployed two aircraft carriers, the *USS Nimitz* and *USS Kittyhawk*, a nuclear submarine, two guided-missile cruisers, and two guided-missile destroyers. India provided its single aircraft carrier, *INS Virant*, and a number of surface combatants, Japan two warships, and Australia a frigate and a tanker.

The exercises had a range of scenarios including mock air battles involving Indian and U.S. carriers, sea strikes near the Malacca Strait, as well as antipiracy and antigunrunning drills off the Andaman island chain. The exercise came at



a time when the then U.S. chief of naval operations, Admiral Mullen, called for a “1000 ship navy” consisting of countries that have a common concern in protecting the SLOCs from piracy and illegal trafficking as well as the proliferation of WMD. Humanitarian relief from the seas was also a component of the exercise.

Some analysts have described *Malabar-07-02* as a response to China’s “string of pearls” strategy, whereby the PLA navy has gained access to Indian Ocean ports of Burma and Bangladesh. Others see the exercise as the beginning of an “alliance” of Asian democracies. However, the commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, Vice Admiral Doug Crowder, underplayed these speculations, insisting that the war games held not far from Burma were directed against no country but rather provided for the common good of keeping the sea lanes open for international commerce. Similarly, the commander of U.S. Pacific Command, Admiral Keating, stated: “There is no—let me emphasize no—effort on our part or any of those countries’ parts, I’m sure, to isolate China.” The high-level American assurances followed angry expressions from Beijing that the war games constituted an effort to “contain” it in the Asia-Pacific region. Nevertheless, the United States, Australia, Japan, and India are all engaging in strategic consultations that began on the sidelines of the May 2007 ARF meeting in Manila.

Whether *Malabar-07-02* will be a one-off event or the beginning of more elaborate multinational security exercises in and around Southeast Asia remains to be seen. By 2010, it had not been replicated. ASEAN members will view future exercises involving large numbers of external forces with some anxiety as a potential encroachment on their responsibilities for the maintenance of security in their own neighborhoods. External assistance to build these capacities continues to be welcome as can be seen in current arms sale to ASEAN armed forces. However, any external efforts to usurp regional security roles will be resisted. For the trilateral states a balance must be struck with Southeast Asia whereby regional strategic interests are supported but not replaced.

Finally, mention should be made of multinational security efforts involving both littoral and user states, particularly the 2004 Japan-initiated Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP). This arrangement includes the 10 ASEAN states, Japan, China, South Korea, India, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. It brought Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Northeast Asia together for the first time on maritime security. ReCAAP involves three kinds of activities: information sharing, capacity building, and operational cooperation. An Information Sharing Center (ISC) is its centerpiece whose primary purpose is to improve incident response. Both because of its central location and modern communications, Singapore was chosen to host the Center. As a result of Singapore’s selection, however, neither Indonesia nor Malaysia has ratified the agreement. Jakarta felt insulted because it sees itself as *primus inter pares* among the ASEAN states; and Malaysia feared that ReCAAP would overshadow Kuala Lumpur’s International Maritime Bureau. Singapore financed the entire start-up costs of the ISC, \$1.1 million.<sup>52</sup> Note, too, that not only is the United States not involved in ReCAAP but also that the Agreement was struck in part as a way of avoiding unilateral Americans’ decisions on regional security taken without much consultation with the region’s members.

Potential exists for greater cooperation among user states—not only the United States, Japan, and Australia but also possibly China and India—to enhance economic development projects in Indonesia and the southern Philippines with an emphasis on improving governance. As this chapter demonstrates, capacity building takes place in the Straits states with assistance from user governments; but this capacity building remains exclusively bilateral between the donors and recipient countries. A greater focus by the donors on helping Indonesia and the Philippines particularly improve communication, surveillance, and coastal interdiction capabilities would significantly contribute to Southeast Asian Straits' safety and security. ASEAN's new Charter has a strong maritime component in the prospective ASEAN Security Community (ASC). Collaborative external support for littoral states' joint patrols could go a long way toward the realization of the ASC.

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  47. "Coast Guard to Expand Anti-Piracy Cooperation," *The Japan Times*, January 5, 2007. See also the interview with Japan's Defense Minister Fumio Kyuma in *Defense News*, May 14, 2007, 38; and "Japan Grants Three Patrol Vessels to Indonesia," *Vietnam News Agency*, November 30, 2007.
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  49. Richard Samuels, "'New Fighting Power!' For Japan?" (MIT: Center for International Studies, September 2007): 1.
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  51. Ralf Emmers, "Comprehensive Security and Resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's Approach to Terrorism and Sea Pirates," *The Pacific Review*, 22, no. 2 (2009): 159–177.
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# The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: New Chances for the Japan-U.S. Alliance?

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This chapter looks into one of the most recent debates of Japan's relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and estimates its impact on the Japan-U.S. alliance. Until the end of the Cold War, Japan has had little relations with NATO<sup>2</sup> and concentrated its defense efforts in sustaining the Japan-U.S. alliance. Recent new developments, such as global terrorism, the growing China, and an unstable Korean Peninsula, have made the Japanese government pursue an expanded role and declare a clearer vision of its diplomacy: the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine. As we see in the following sections, there is little doubt that Japan's top priority remains firm: to sustain the Japan-U.S. alliance in order to defend its nation.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the Cold War period, however, Japan now aims, and has also been urged by the United States, to act globally, and the Arc doctrine emerged in response to such demands. The doctrine declares Japan's support to the democratization of developing countries across the Eurasian Continent. As one of the measures to realize such contribution, Japan now obtains an observer status in NATO.<sup>4</sup> Would this new attempt affect the Japan-U.S. alliance positively or negatively? Would it contribute to stabilize the Asian-Pacific region, or vice versa? To what extent is Japan willing and ready to act globally, and how much are Japan's partners—the United States, NATO, and its European membership countries—willing and ready to see Japan acting globally?

Recently in Japan, both among specialists and public opinion, Japan's global role and the role of the Japanese Self-Defense Force (SDF) have been debated. It has also been discussed among English-based academic circles, which shows that there is little doubt in Japan and the United States that the bilateral alliance has been and will remain the core of Japanese defense policy. Ikenberry and Inoguchi discussed the points of the changing environment of the alliance and its new roles and characters.<sup>5</sup> Hook and Dubson focused on Japan's "global role,"<sup>6</sup> which

provokes debates of what power Japan could and should become.<sup>7</sup> In pursuing a global role, what relations should Japan hold with international organizations and powerful alliances like NATO?<sup>8</sup> What are the historical backgrounds and current state of Japan's relations with NATO?<sup>9</sup> How does public opinion, an ever-increasing important factor in debates about wars against terrorism, respond?<sup>10</sup> It is an urgent necessity to focus on Japan's possible choices and the relations between the bilateral Japan-U.S. alliance and other organizations and alliances like NATO. I note here that I have quoted as many Japanese academic works as possible on the Japan-U.S. alliance and NATO, so that the English-speaking community could briefly understand the debates and arguments in Japanese academic circles.

In this chapter, I argue that the Japanese government is now aiming to use the "act global," which includes the cooperation and participation in a global-acting NATO, for the purpose of solving regional and near-abroad problems: the first is to reensure American commitment to Japanese defense by Japan contributing globally. The second is to deal with China and North Korea. At least in Japan, Japan's "acting global" is seen (and expected) as useful to convince the United States *not* to weaken its commitment in protecting Japan, which would both ensure Japan's defense and regional stability in the Asian-Pacific. I estimate that as long as Japan's contribution for NATO is carefully limited to the benefits that Japan would use the "act global" as a mere tool for enforcing the bilateral alliance, it would not jeopardize U.S. diplomacy and NATO's operations. Japan's well-controlled (but not too much self-restrained) approach would help sustain the bilateral alliance and, therefore, contribute to the regional stability. One of the most serious threats for both Japan and the United States would be the upheaval of Japanese nationalism, calling for unlimited expansion of Japanese military power. Another uncertain factor is the Japanese public opinion, in which debates of defense policy remain not decided on a single and clear conclusion.

This chapter consists of three sections and a conclusion. The first section reviews the history of NATO during the Cold War and analyzes how NATO shared things in common with the Japan-U.S. alliance. It shows Japan's potential closeness to NATO and its membership countries. The second section introduces the new Japanese initiative, the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine and reviews the process of how and why Japan achieved its first official participation in NATO's North Atlantic Council (NAC). The third section looks into the responses in Japan, the United States, and NATO membership countries toward Japan's participation in NATO. The final section will put all the arguments together and propose future perspectives.

### **NATO during the Cold War: Something in Common with the Japan-U.S. Alliance?**

#### *Building Alliances in Postwar Era*

The fact that you boys and your presence are *not* outstanding in Japan symbolizes the crucial historical fact that Japan has become a peaceful country.<sup>11</sup> (Shigeru Yoshida)

Find for me even one other country that has an organization like Japan's Self-Defense Forces, that for 60 years has shot not a single round of artillery, nor a single bullet from a gun.<sup>12</sup> (Taro Aso)

Japan should start debates of nuclear armament in order to counter North Korea.<sup>13</sup> (Toshio Tamogami)

Debates about Japanese defense policy have changed sufficiently after the Cold War ended. During the Cold War, Japan pursued the so-called Yoshida doctrine, named after the Japanese prime minister in the immediate postwar period. Japan has minimized defense expenditure on one hand and, on the other hand, utilized the saved money and resource for economic growth. This structure realized Japan's rapid economic reconstruction on the one hand and made Japan rely on the Japan-U.S. alliance for its national defense on the other. Yoshida, who built up his career as a diplomat, was never in good relations with Japanese militants. When Yoshida gave a speech in front of the first graduating students of the National Defense Academy in 1957, he emphasized Japan's role in economy and did not hide his antimilitant tone. Japan has relied heavily on American military power in order to defend itself, giving strong motives for Japan sustaining the bilateral alliance.

After the Cold War ended, Japanese defense policy had to change. Japan was asked by its partner, the United States, to "show the flag" and its "boots on the ground." For the first time in its history, the Japanese Self-Defense Force was sent overseas for peacekeeping missions. The global threat of terrorism and changes of power balance in the Asian-Pacific, namely the emergence of China and threats of an unstable North Korea, have also demanded Japan to play a wider role. With a certain timelag, but in parallel with Japan's growing global role, nationalistic claims among Japanese militants also arose and called for expanding its power and presence. Would these changes influence the very basic defense policies of Japan and affect the bilateral alliance? It seems urgent for academics to once more review the legacies of alliance in postwar history and to find out new implications for the current day. Even though Japan had little relations with NATO during the Cold War, did not NATO and the Japan-U.S. alliance share things in common? In this section we briefly review NATO's achievements during the Cold War and the historical backgrounds of how and why Japan found itself close to NATO in the post-Cold War era.

NATO was launched in 1949 as a multilateral defense alliance. Its urgent task was crystal clear: to confront the Eastern block led by the communist Soviet Union. As the first secretary general, Lord Ismay rightly described NATO's role: to keep the Americans in, Russians out, and Germans down. While the United States was willing to reduce its defense expenditure and the number of U.S. forces stationed in Europe, defense forces of European countries were far from sufficient. NATO ensured European countries that America would be kept involved in Europe's defense by posting its military forces in NATO countries, as long as Europeans also made defense contributions. Finding a way to rearm (West) Germany became highly necessary, so that the Germans could contribute to defending Western Europe. NATO was to achieve the so-called double



containment: confronting the communist Soviet Union and also anchoring Germany to the West.

On April 4, 1949, the 12 countries, which were the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, and Portugal, signed the NATO Treaty in Washington. The highlight of the treaty was the fifth article, which defined the way how NATO would confront the communist countries: collective security. If one or more than two membership countries were attacked, this would be seen as an attack against all membership countries, and all membership countries agree to fight back, whether individually or collectively. It was also remarkable that the preface of the treaty stated that membership countries share values of democracy, individual freedom, and order of law. NATO began as an alliance of countries sharing common values. This point was in common with the Japan-U.S. alliance that was also an alliance between countries that shared values of democracy, individual freedom, human rights, and rule of law. The aspect of shared common values highlights NATO's function as a political alliance, providing an arena of political debate held under NATO's Council meetings. Council meetings were assisted by a permanent secretariat, in which Lord Ismay from Britain was named as the first secretary general in March 1952.

We must note, however, that NATO had to be assisted by other institutions in order to handle the question of German rearmament.<sup>14</sup> The issue raised a paradox: German rearmament was necessary in order to defend Europe, though this caused fears among European countries against Germany and endangered the alliance. It was not surprising that membership countries other than the United States feared facing a rearmed Germany, only five years after Hitler fell. Fears were not only based on Germany's military strength but also on its economy and industry, because it had been based on Germany's competitive heavy industry. France called for political guarantee so that German industry would not become a threat again, and proposed the Schuman Plan in 1950.<sup>15</sup>

While the questions of German industry were successfully handled by the Schuman Plan, whether European countries would agree to German rearmament or not was still not clear. The British had proposed the Western European Union (WEU), which played an important role in launching NATO. The WEU defined the idea of collective security and showed Washington that European countries were ready to agree to similar methods under NATO. Germany was out of the WEU, and, therefore, an urgent solution was necessary. The French government declared the Pleven Plan in October 1950, proposing to launch a European Defense Community (EDC). The plan proposed to establish a European army to which each member country would send troops from their national army. The only exception was Germany, which was to directly send soldiers *without* organizing a national army. Germans saw this unfair. The Pleven Plan was also far from popular in France, whose public opinion feared German rearmament of any form. The French parliament rejected the EDC Treaty in August 1954. While the idea of keeping an eye on German rearmament, especially its nuclear armament, was partially succeeded to the proposal of launching Euratom,<sup>16</sup> the core debates of alliance were handed over to NATO.

After the Plevan Plan failed, Britain took initiative and the negotiations were concluded in September 1954 by deciding that Germany join both NATO and the WEU with a revived German national army.<sup>17</sup> Germany joined NATO in May 1955 and recovered its national sovereignty.<sup>18</sup> The year 1955 was a crucial one for NATO, because the fact that Germany joined NATO showed that NATO was an operable defense alliance capable of achieving the double containment. The negotiation process also showed how European countries depended upon the United States for their defense, just as the case of Japan after the Second World War. By reducing its defense expenditure, European countries were able to concentrate on economic growth, which was also similar to the Japanese case. The most evident difference between Japan and Europe was whether the alliance with the United States was based on collective defense or not. NATO is an alliance with a clear definition of collective defense, while the Japan-U.S. alliance is not. Despite the differences, it must be emphasized that both NATO and the Japan-U.S. alliance started as alliances between countries who respect individual freedom, democracy, human rights, and rule of law.

#### *How NATO Survived Outside Threats*

NATO's unity as an alliance was seriously tested by both inside and outside threats, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Examples of outside threat were the Berlin Crisis, the Cuban Crisis, and the Vietnam War. Threats inside the alliance were twofold: the first case was France under de Gaulle's presidency, which nuclear armed and left NATO. NATO had to face Gaullist challenges. The second was public opinion of membership countries, namely leftist opposition against NATO.

The Suez Crisis in 1956 was a turning point for French defense policy. France turned toward obtaining its own nuclear weapons, and nuclear armed itself in February 1960 under de Gaulle's presidency. Contrary to France, Britain turned toward strengthening British-U.S. relations. Germany chose to keep good relations with both the United States and France, therefore, supporting both European integration and NATO. De Gaulle had supported NATO in the early 1950s when he opposed the Plevan Plan. After becoming French president in May 1958, however, he turned to criticize NATO and its character of being led by America and Britain. De Gaulle proposed that NATO be led jointly by America, Britain, and France. This proposal was rejected. France left NATO in July 1966, and NATO's headquarters moved from Paris to Brussels.

One point must be noted, however. While boycotting NATO, de Gaulle never totally denied the political alliance with the United States, especially when America faced the most severe crises. France not only stayed inside NATO's summits but also never hesitated showing its firm support and cooperation for the United States. This was the case in the Berlin Crisis in 1961, the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, and the Vietnam War. France firmly stayed as a member of "alliance of shared values" and gave support to U.S. diplomacy. While Gaullism has been frequently referred to as a threat of NATO, it is possible to evaluate that de

Gaulle and his diplomacy also highlighted the unity and solidness of the political alliance across the Atlantic in cases of serious outside crises.

*How NATO Survived Inside Crises*

What troubled NATO was not only de Gaulle's diplomacy. Leftist movements heated up in almost every developed country, and, therefore, public opinion emerged as an influential factor in defense policies. Governments of membership countries had to persuade the public about why the alliance was necessary and how it was useful. It was not NATO itself, however, that shared the burden of persuading the public. National governments alone were responsible. NATO merely promoted diplomatic ties inside the alliance so that member governments could positively introduce such progresses to the public. This was not enough to calm down the upheaval, which reached its height in 1968. Détente played a controversial role: it was able to, on the one hand, partially persuade the public that the alliance could negotiate and reduce missiles, but, on the other hand, the insufficient agreements of the negotiations gave rise to strong suspicion and opposition.

NATO was preoccupied with questions of détente<sup>19</sup> and new missiles of both the Soviet Union and the United States in the 1980s. In the late 1970s, the Soviet Union developed a new missile, the SS20, which was a middle-ranged nuclear missile that could *not* reach the United States but reached European countries. Britain, France, and Germany were obliged to persuade the Carter administration that threat of war was eminent in Europe. Carter had been less interested in a missile that would not reach the United States. This could have caused a serious split in the alliance, if the United States and European membership countries disagreed on whether they shared a common definition of what their threat was. At the end, Carter agreed to the Europeans, and the unity of alliance was confirmed. NATO's double-track decision was made in December 1979, which decided that U.S. missiles in Europe will be modernized and renewed, and that the United States and the Soviet Union would negotiate to reduce long-ranged missiles.

Regime changes in America and the Soviet Union, however, postponed the negotiations. The American administration changed from Carter to Reagan in 1981. The Reagan administration took some time to decide on its defense policies. Gorbachev led the Soviet Union from March 1985 onward, which fundamentally changed Soviet Union's diplomacy. In October 1986, Reagan and Gorbachev held a summit in Reykjavik and reached agreement that there will be no INF stationed in Europe, neither by the Americans nor the Russians. Based on this agreement, both countries signed the INF Treaty in December 1987.

The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union was accepted half-heartedly in Europe. German chancellor Schmidt was urged to persuade the public that renewed American missiles would be stationed in Germany. Like in the 1960s, public opinion once more heated up. Peace movements resisted, and Schmidt had to resign. His successor Kohl was more puzzled, because the

United States agreed shortly after the treaty that they would diminish the new missiles. It was French president Mitterrand who saved Kohl, giving a speech in the German parliament in January 1983 and stressed that U.S. missiles must be placed in Germany for the sake of all NATO countries. The alliance was once more saved from loosing its consensus. Although led by a renewed Gaullism of Mitterrand,<sup>20</sup> France once more stood firmly with NATO and supported it, even if France itself still kept one foot outside NATO's function as a military alliance. Its other foot remained firmly inside NATO as a political alliance. Once again, the alliance worked as that of shared common values.

As we have seen in this section, there is little doubt that NATO had been a successful military alliance during the Cold War. NATO had never fought wars and had never sent troops to battlefields until the Cold War ended. NATO's counterpart, the Soviet Union, collapsed in the early 1990s because it was no longer capable in budgeting its military power. NATO won the Cold War without heavy casualties. In this sense, NATO had been a very successful alliance.<sup>21</sup> NATO also survived the challenges of French Gaullists and showed its unity whenever outside threat was eminent. In this sense NATO was also successful as a political alliance of shared common values. NATO's homework was left, however, because NATO won the Cold War without fully convincing public opinion that it could take action in questions of détente and other political issues in ways that the public favored. Public opinion was left as an uneasy factor for the alliance and related defense policies, just as the case of Japan.

### **Japan Meets NATO: The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity Doctrine**

In this section, we first review how the end of the Cold War affected NATO and its tasks, and then move to analyze how and why Japan became interested in participating in NATO. As a case study, we focus on the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine, which was declared by Japanese foreign minister Aso in November 2006. This doctrine typically shows the aims of Japanese diplomacy in aiding democratization of developing countries, which is a crucial aspect of Japan's "act global." We then analyze how Japan's global role affects the Japan-U.S. alliance.

#### *NATO after the End of the Cold War*

The Berlin Wall, the symbol of the divided Germany, fell in November 1989. Gorbachev and Bush met in Marta in early December and announced that the Cold War had ended. Germany was reunified in October 1990 and the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991. Russia was no longer an eminent threat for NATO, neither was reunified Germany. NATO had achieved the double containment and won the Cold War. NATO's enemies disappeared, and NATO seemed to have lost its meaning. This assumption proved wrong, and the alliance became live than ever.<sup>22</sup> New threats emerged in the immediate post-Cold War period, and NATO had to enlarge and also go "out-of-area."

The end of the Cold War was immediately followed by events that occurred in the Middle East. The Gulf War broke out in Iraq in January 1991. Combat lasted merely a month, and Hussein's dictatorship fell. Soon after the Gulf War ended, ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia broke out in April 1992 and became a direct problem for NATO. Civil war broke out in Bosnia. NATO had to decide what it could and should do in such conflicts outside (but quite close to) NATO's territories. In November 1991, the NATO summit agreed that NATO was ready to pick up tasks out of area. NATO became increasingly outside conscious.<sup>23</sup> This decision led to NATO's active attempts to tie up relations with nonmembership countries, including Japan.<sup>24</sup>

Soon after the conflict in Bosnia was settled in 1995, NATO moved toward its enlargement. Russia had resisted against NATO's eastward enlargement, though agreed to improve relationships with NATO and to launch the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council (PJC) in May 1997. Thanks to the improved relationship, NATO agreed in July 1997 that Hungary, Poland, and Check Republic would join. Enlargement functioned in stabilizing former communist countries.<sup>25</sup> In the next year, however, another ethnic conflict broke out in Kosovo, pulling NATO back to military operations. NATO's air forces stroke Kosovo in 1999. A more shocking incidence occurred in the United States two years later, fundamentally affecting NATO's tasks and decisions.

The twenty-first century started with an unthinkable attack against the United States. Terrorists hijacked passenger planes and rammed into the Twin Tower on September 11, 2001. Immediately afterward, the Security Council of the UN confirmed countries to exercise their rights of self-defense. For the first time in its history, NATO agreed in October 2001 to exercise collective security. NATO's role once more expanded, and fighting against terrorism was added as a new task.<sup>26</sup> The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, however, caused another spilt inside the alliance on whether they agreed or not on fighting a new war. We must also note that NATO's expanded role opened possibilities for nonmembership countries to participate and contribute, namely the Asian-Pacific countries.

In October 2001, the Operation Enduring Freedom began in Afghanistan. NATO's membership countries supported the United States, though it was not NATO that intervened in Afghanistan. Besides the United States and Britain, it was the countries of "coalition of willing" who sent their troops. After combat ceased, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) took over. Taliban and Al Qaeda resisted, and casualties kept on increasing. The public started to criticize the war in Afghanistan.<sup>27</sup>

The Bush administration swiftly made decision to turn toward Iraq and to start a new war. NATO's membership countries got split on whether supporting the United States or not. France and Germany opposed the Iraqi War, while Italy, Spain, Poland, Check Republic, and other countries declared support and sent their troops. Before the UN adopted a resolution, the United States called together a "coalition of willing" and invaded Iraq in March 2003. Combat merely lasted for two weeks, and Baghdad was liberalized in early April. France and Germany still spoke against the war, firmly supported and encouraged by public opinion. The Italian government was criticized by public opinion for sending troops, and

ultimately decided to retreat. In Spain, it was also public opinion and the election in 2004 that made the Spanish government to retreat. We must note that the terrorist attack in Madrid also played a role. Facing hesitation and reservation against the coalition of willing in Europe, cooperation from non-European countries came to the forefront: Australia, New Zealand, Korea, and Japan.

### *Japan Meets NATO*

NATO had already looked beyond Europe immediately after the Cold War ended and was eager to state that it was.<sup>28</sup> During the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, it was no more “mere talks” but concrete action. It was not NATO but the coalition of willing that the Asian-Pacific countries first joined. Japan, Korea, Australia, and New Zealand declared its support for the war in Iraq, showing its readiness to contribute for the coalition of willing.<sup>29</sup>

NATO had approached Japan already in October 1997. NATO’s secretary general Solana visited Japan and appealed to the Japanese public that NATO and Japan shared common interests and common goals, and that NATO’s approach could also be applied in the Asian-Pacific.<sup>30</sup> In October 1999, shortly after conflicts in Kosovo were settled, NATO’s secretary general Robertson thanked Japan and other nonmembership countries for contributing in Kosovo. He stressed that “NATO without partner countries is unthinkable,”<sup>31</sup> strongly encouraging the nonmembership countries.

The Japanese government responded positively to NATO’s new initiatives. In May 2006, Foreign Minister Aso officially visited the NAC. It was the first time that a Japanese foreign minister gave a speech at the NAC. Minister Aso emphasized that the Japanese government shared common views with NATO, and that its intention was to develop a closer and *operational* cooperation with NATO.<sup>32</sup> Japan’s message was not ignored by NATO. In late 2006, NATO’s secretary general de Hoop Scheffer proposed the idea of global partnership. This idea was proposed and discussed at the summit in Riga,<sup>33</sup> where the Bush administration promoted “global NATO” based on the idea of global partnership. At the end, the word “global partnership” was excluded from the summit declaration. Still, signals from NATO were clear for Japan. NATO was ready to act global and to accept cooperation from nonmembership countries.

In response to NATO’s active acceptance of nonmembership countries, Foreign Minister Aso gave a speech as the Japanese foreign minister in a seminar held at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIJA) in Tokyo on November 30, 2006. The JIJA was a product of Shigeru Yoshida and was established in 1959 as a thinktank studying Japanese foreign policy. At this historical institution, Aso, being a grandson of Yoshida, proposed the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine.<sup>34</sup> He proposed a grand design for Japanese diplomacy in its efforts of acting global.

The basis of Japan’s foreign policy is to strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance. [...] We are aiming to add a new pillar upon which our policy will revolve. [...] Japan

wants to design an arc of freedom and prosperity [where the successfully budding democracies form an arc on the outer rim of the Eurasian continent].<sup>35</sup>

In his speech, Aso emphasized that Japan is going to pursue a “value oriented diplomacy,” placing emphasis on universal values such as democracy, freedom, human rights, rule of law, and market economy.<sup>36</sup> Aso proposed that Japanese diplomacy would support such values in countries stretching from Northeast Asia to Central Asia and the Caucasus, Turkey, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Baltic states, and that Japan will serve as an “escort runner” to support these countries that have just started into the “never-ending marathon for democratization.”<sup>37</sup> Japan would not be able to carry out such a heavy task alone, and Aso understood this well. Therefore, he emphasized the necessity to strengthen ties with the United States, Australia, India, and the member states of the EU and NATO, so that Japan could work with these friends toward the expansion of the Arc. Aso puts clear priority on the Japan-U.S. alliance, and positions Japan’s cooperation with NATO as one of the concrete methods to strengthen the bilateral alliance.<sup>38</sup>

Succeeding Foreign Minister Aso’s initiative, Japanese prime minister Abe officially visited the NAC in the following January 2007 and gave a speech. This occasion was the first in which a Japanese prime minister gave a speech at the NAC. Prime Minister Abe emphasized that Japan and NATO shared common values, and, therefore, both were partners.<sup>39</sup> He stressed that Japan shared responsibility with NATO and should act together. Abe went further than Aso and stated that Japan was ready to participate in Afghanistan.<sup>40</sup> Receiving an active Japanese will, NATO’s secretary general de Hoop Scheffer welcomed Abe’s speech and announced that “it is NATO and Japan’s *destiny* to enforce our relations” (emphasis added). We must note, however, that Abe was realistic and careful enough to state in his speech that Japan is ready to participate in Afghanistan, as long as it agreed with the ninth article of the Japanese constitution prohibiting offensive war.<sup>41</sup>

## Responses toward Japanese Observer Status in NATO

### *Japan: Government, Academics, and Public Opinion*

In this section we analyze how the Japanese government, academics, and public opinion responded and evaluated the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine and Japan’s participation in NATO.

Within the Japanese foreign ministry, the Arc doctrine has been understood more as a summary of what Japanese diplomacy had achieved through its foreign aid policy and less as a blue print or grand design of future Japanese diplomacy. In official statements and speeches, Japanese diplomats carefully refrain from emphasizing that the Arc is a guideline of future Japanese diplomacy,<sup>42</sup> carefully keeping a distance from statements made by politicians. They also carefully deny that the Arc aims to counter Chinese and Russian foreign policy among the Arc countries.<sup>43</sup> The ministry carefully avoids labeling China as a threat. The

cautiousness shown by the foreign ministry reflects Japan's difficult and delicate diplomatic maneuver between the United States and China.

Compared to the realistic and cautious attitude of the foreign ministry, the alarming factor could be the Japanese defense ministry and right-wing politicians in charge of defense policies. It is rather doubtful whether the defense ministry holds firm civilian control over its militants, especially in cases of its nationalistic upheavals. Tamogami's ejaculation of nationalistic claims is not surprising as that of a militant. It is a problem, however, if state bureaucrats and politicians, who should exercise civilian control over the militants, join and encourage him. Such was the case in the Defense Committee of the Parliament, in which conservative politicians showed positive and sympathetic reaction to Tamogami's claims. We must also note, however, that the defense ministers, both Ishiba and Hamada, condemned Tamogami personally that he ignored the codes of civilian control of the SDF.

Contrary to the exceptional nationalistic tendencies, Japanese academics and specialists in defense issues have evaluated the proceedings in a fair and neutral way. Majority of academics see that Japanese participation in NATO would add points to pull out better American reputation about Japan. Specialists point out that Japanese diplomacy is seeking an additional pillar besides its core, the Japan-U.S. alliance, by using the NATO card.<sup>44</sup> If Japan took over a portion of the heavy costs in Afghanistan, it would be welcomed by the country with the largest budget expenditure, the United States. Better still, if Japan participated "on the ground" and eased the American physical burden as well. In sum, Japan's participation in NATO is seen to strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance.<sup>45</sup> Academics also warn, however, that some of the NATO membership countries aim to realize Japanese participation in Afghanistan, merely to lighten their very heavy costs and make Japan and other Asian-Pacific countries pay it instead.<sup>46</sup>

While academics and specialists come up with rational and fair conclusions, Japanese public opinion in defense issues could become the most uncertain factor in the debates. During the Cold War, Japanese public opinion heated up in the 1960s and opposed the Japan-U.S. alliance. Academics in defense issues criticized that the Japanese left-wing parties insisted on ideological (and rather communistic) arguments and never discussed concrete policies of defense.<sup>47</sup> After the Cold War ended, leftists lost their grounds of ideological arguments and, therefore, the images of "NATO as an imperialist" faded away.<sup>48</sup> Neither does Japanese public opinion today see NATO in a negative way.<sup>49</sup> Japanese public opinion has also viewed the Japan-U.S. alliance positively since 1979 up to the present.<sup>50</sup> The Japanese government, however, has kept public debate in low profile up to the present and has not provoked wide discussion.<sup>51</sup> It seems as if the government fears another upheaval of opposition against Japanese defense policy, just as the case of the 1960s.

Such fears and uncertainty are to some extent confirmed by results of opinion polls. Evidence shows that Japanese voters have not yet decided whether they want to send the Japanese SDF into risk areas. Opinion polls taken in years from 2004 to 2006 show that around 30% of Japanese citizens support the idea of collective security, 30% oppose, and the rest are not clear.<sup>52</sup> Opinion is divided equally



into three on collective defense and could swing in any direction, whether for or against participating in NATO's collective activities. It is also notable that a gap exists in the ratio between the highly positive views toward NATO and the rather lower support for collective defense. Public opinion seems not aware that participation in NATO operations requires Japan's involvement in collective defense, and that both are not dividable. Considering the fact that the Japanese government does not have similar methods like the EU in researching and influencing public opinion in defense issues, public support for Japan's contribution in NATO could face sudden and serious opposition, if fundamentally new methods or rhetoric are not invented.

Finally, we must focus on another risk factor in Japan: the unstable and frequent regime changes. The Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP) has changed the Japanese prime minister three times in merely three years after the Koizumi administration finished its term. It seems doubtful that the LDP could name a leader with strong leadership. Another factor is the regime change from the LDP to the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), a growing central-left party. The DPJ gained considerable support of voters in urban districts and the Hatoyama administration was launched after the elections in August 2009. The DPJ showed signs of its realistic turn in defense policy in its manifestation for the parliament elections of August 2009.<sup>53</sup> Whether the DPJ could pursue realistic and feasible defense policy will be seriously tested.

### *The U.S. Government*

What are the priorities of U.S. diplomacy toward the Japan-U.S. alliance, when Washington is one of the promoters of Japan contributing globally? It seems clear that the United States firmly aims to first of all sustain the Japan-U.S. alliance, and intends to merely use Japan's global contribution as a method to sustain the bilateral alliance. On this point Japanese and American diplomacy share a common view about the aims and means of the alliance. As long as Washington stayed on this line and clearly and repeatedly confirmed this priority, there should be little problem for the Japanese side to place top priority on the bilateral alliance.

It is questionable, however, to what extent is American satisfied with the Japan-U.S. alliance. There is little difference between both countries seeing the alliance indispensable in sustaining the regional stability of Asian-Pacific. Washington could be, however, impatient or disappointed on some specific points. Political scientists like Katzenstein compare Germany and Japan in wars against terrorism and see that Germany has been quicker and active in taking action than Japan was.<sup>54</sup> Is not Japan taking too much time on merely handling an "old homework" to act global, which was already posed to Japan during the Gulf War?

Japan's cautiousness in taking action could also be observed in Prime Minister Koizumi's diplomacy before the Iraqi War. Koizumi's diplomacy has generally been seen as swiftly and eagerly supporting the American war of coalition of the willing. Research shows, however, that Koizumi had hesitated until the last moment to support the war, and asked the Bush administration until the last moment for

a UN resolution.<sup>55</sup> Bush partially accepted Koizumi's requests, but ignored the most significant part: achieving a UN resolution before starting a war. This case shows that Japan would have to clearly define its aims and range of contributions and to explain it crystal clear. Needless to say, the priority of the Japan-U.S. alliance should be confirmed at all cases. For the purpose of taking close and regular contacts with Washington, less frequent regime changes and a stable political leadership are highly necessary in Tokyo. This will also ensure that Japanese defense policy would stay rational, coherent, and effective. Whether the DPJ administration could succeed the realistic defense policies of the LDP seems not certain and could affect the alliance. Keeping down nationalistic claims in Japan would also be necessary so that it would not disturb the political leaderships in Tokyo.

### *NATO and European Membership Countries*

So far, NATO's membership countries in Europe do not openly show interest in Japan's participation and its future contributions for NATO. Countries other than the United States seem reluctant to see nonmembership countries getting further involved.

When NATO's Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer proposed the idea of global partnership at the summit in Riga in late 2006,<sup>56</sup> it was opposed by France. The French defense ministry saw the "global partnership" and Bush's proposal of "global NATO" as an unnecessary divergence of both NATO's territory and its role as a military alliance. France saw it as merely weakening the alliance. As a result of French opposition, the word "global partnership" was excluded from the summit declaration. France did not, however, oppose the idea that nonmembership countries, including Japan, send troops to Afghanistan. France evaluates Japan's financial aid and technical support in Afghanistan and states that France would welcome further contribution from Japan in fields of training police officers in Afghanistan.<sup>57</sup>

The low interest of European countries toward Japan's contribution is apparent in the results of public opinion. In the Eurobarometer, questions regarding the images of Japan are merely asked in general terms and do not refer to concrete issues such as Japan's cooperation for NATO. European public opinion is paying more attention to defense policies by the EU than those of NATO and Japan. Results of the Eurobarometer of 1989 show that European public opinion preferred the European Community (EC, from 1993 onward the EU) than NATO in making decisions on European defense.<sup>58</sup> After the Gulf War broke out in 1991, 62% of European public supported the idea of the EC being responsible for a common policy of security and defense, while 19% were not in favor.<sup>59</sup> Although the CFSP did not turn out a success in Bosnia, European public opinion evaluated the CFSP positively. Support decreased after the conflicts in Kosovo,<sup>60</sup> though it once more recovered when the Nice Treaty and its European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) were on the agenda.<sup>61</sup> There is little doubt that public support has encouraged the European Commission in developing a European defense policy

with around 73% of European public support. Opposition was highest in Finland and Denmark.<sup>62</sup>

After 9/11, European public opinion supported defense-related decisions made by the EU by 42%, NATO by 20%, and national governments alone by 24%.<sup>63</sup> Voters in Britain and Denmark preferred NATO to the EU, while those in France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries preferred the EU. Although the governments of Central and Eastern European countries tend to rely on NATO than the EU, voters in these countries support the ESDP.<sup>64</sup> In 2007, 49% of European public support the EU as the decision maker of European defense, while 17% support NATO. It must be pointed out that contrary to NATO, the EC/EU has developed methods to research (and influence) public opinion. The importance of public opinion has kept on rising ever since the end of the Cold War, because terrorist attacks directly affect citizens' everyday life. The European case shows that efficient methods of research are becoming highly necessary and valuable in defense issues. If Japan aims to firmly sustain and enforce the Japan-U.S. alliance and win consensus about its future contributions for NATO, it would urgently need to develop methods to reach the public positively and effectively.

### **Future Prospects: Positive or Negative for the Japan-U.S. Alliance?**

This chapter looked into the most recent debates of Japanese diplomacy and its relations with NATO. Until the end of the Cold War, Japan had little relations with NATO and concentrated its defense efforts in sustaining the Japan-U.S. alliance. Recent new developments, such as global terrorism, the growing China and an unstable Korean Peninsula, have made the Japanese government declare a clear and renewed vision of its diplomacy in the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity doctrine. There is little doubt that Japan's top priority is to sustain the Japan-U.S. alliance in order to defend its nation. Contrary to the Cold War period, however, Japan aims to act globally, and the Arc doctrine emerged in response. In order to support democratization of developing countries, Japan is looking forward to further contribute to global issues.

One of the means for acting global is Japan's observer status in NATO. Japan now aims to use the "act global," which means to cooperate and participate in a global-acting NATO, and, by doing so, to try solving regional and near-abroad problems: the first is to reensure American commitment to Japanese defense. The second is to deal with China and North Korea. Japan's act global is seen in Japan as useful to convince the United States *not* to weaken its commitment in protecting Japan, which would both ensure Japan's defense and regional stability in the Asian-Pacific. Whether Japan's mixed use of "global" and "bilateral" is understood and shared enough or not with the United States, NATO, and NATO membership countries remains questionable. Japanese diplomacy should continue explaining and persuading its aims and methods clearly and repeatedly more than ever to its partners. I estimate that as long as Japan's contribution for NATO is carefully limited to the benefits that Japan would use the act global as a mere tool for sustaining and enforcing the bilateral alliance, it would not

jeopardize NATO, U.S. diplomacy, and regional stability in the Asian-Pacific. One of the most serious threats for both Japan and the United States would be the upheaval of Japanese nationalism, calling for an unlimited expansion of Japanese military power. Closely related to this point is the uneasy Japanese public opinion in defense issues, which is equally a risk factor if the Japanese government, be it the LDP administration or the DPJ, could not persuade and convince the voters with a clear, rational, and coherent defense policy.

### Notes

1. I sincerely thank Professors Takashi Inoguchi, John Ikenberry, and Yoichiro Sato for their useful, precise, and encouraging advices for revising my chapter. I also thank all participants of the Conference “Roles of the Japan-U.S. Alliance in Dealing with Neighbors” held in Honolulu (January 30–31, 2009).
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3. *ARF Annual Security Outlook*, May 1, 2002, cited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA). MOFA lists the Japan-U.S. alliance as top priority for Japanese defense, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/arf/index.html>
4. Joint Press Statement by the prime minister of Japan and the secretary general of NATO, December 13, 2007, Tokyo, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/nato/joint0712.html>
5. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *Reinventing the Alliance: U.S.-Japan Security Partnership in an Era of Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
6. Glenn Hook and Hugo Dubson, eds., *Global Governance and Japan* (London: Routledge, 2007).
7. For example, see Takashi Inoguchi and Paul Bacon, “Japan’s Emerging Role as a Global Ordinary Power,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 6, no. 1 (2006) 1–21.
8. Naoki Kajiwara, “Comparing ‘Redefinition’ of NATO and the Japan-U.S. Alliance: Implications for Japan that Stands at the Crossroads,” *Journal of International Studies*, 36, no. 2 (September 2008): 139–164. He argues that Japan should take a different path than NATO’s.
9. Masamori Sase, “Japan and NATO,” *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 6 (June 2007); 55, no. 7/8 (July 2007); 55, no. 9 (September 2007). He argues that the reason why debates linking both NATO and the Japan-U.S. alliance lacked until present is due to two reasons. The first is that the United States lacked its will to link both, and the other is the lack of Japan’s readiness to do so. Sase, “Japan and NATO,” 55, no. 6 (June 2007): 99, 101–104.
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11. Shigeru Yoshida, speech as former prime minister at the first graduating ceremony of the National Defense Academy of Japan, Kurihama, March 26, 1957.

12. Taro Aso, as Japanese foreign minister and also a grandson of Shigeru Yoshida, speech at the Japan Institute of International Affairs Seminar, Tokyo, November 30, 2006.
13. Toshio Tamogami, former general of the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF), "Confront North Korea with Nuclear Weapons," *Will*, no. 54 (June 2009): 40–49.
14. Ken Endo, "The Political Dynamism of Enlarged Europe: The End of the 'EU-NATO-Council of Europe Regime,'" *International Affairs*, no. 537 (December 2004): 8–22.
15. Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2000); Dirk Spierenburg and Raymond Poidevin, *The History of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994); Klaus Schwabe (Hrsg.), *Die Anfänge des Schuman-Plans 1950/51* (Baden: Nomos, 1988). For historical analysis of how European integration saved workers and unions in Europe from turning communist, see, for example, Hitoshi Suzuki, "Digging for European Unity: The Role Played by the Trade Unions in the Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community from a German Perspective 1950–1955," Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute, Florence, December 2007.
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17. On the history of NATO, see Francis Heller and John Gillingham, eds., *NATO: The Founding of the Atlantic Alliance and the Integration of Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Masamori Sase, *NATO* (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 1999).
18. Also note that Greece and Turkey joined NATO in February 1952.
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20. Kazuto Suzuki, "France and ESDP: Institutionalization Process of Gaullio-Mitterrandiennism," *Journal of International Security*, 34, no. 3 (2006): 25–48.
21. "Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance (London Declaration)," NATO Summit, London, July 6, 1990, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_23693.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_23693.htm)
22. John Ikenberry, "The Myth of Post-Cold War Chaos," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1996): 79–81.
23. Manfred Wörner, *NATO Review*, December 1992.
24. Secretary General Wörner visited Japan in September 1991.
25. Frank Schimmelfennig, *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
26. NATO already declared in April 1999 that terrorism became a threat for NATO. "An Alliance for the 21st Century," Washington Summit Communiqué, April 24, 1999, Washington, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_27440.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27440.htm)

27. For example, the majority of British public opinion currently requests immediate retreat of their troops from Afghanistan. *Independent*, July 28, 2009. In the poll, 52% answered that British troops should immediately retreat, and 58% answered that Taliban could not be defeated by military power.
28. In November 1991, membership countries agreed that NATO was ready to pick up tasks out-of-area. "The Alliance's New Strategic Concept," agreed by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, November 8, 1991, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-366A465B-6821BB48/natolive/official\\_texts\\_23847.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-366A465B-6821BB48/natolive/official_texts_23847.htm)
29. Secretary General Wörner paid an official visit to Japan as NATO's secretary general in September 1991. It was the first time in NATO's history for a secretary general to officially visit Japan. Wörner explained to the Japanese public that NATO was ready to pick up new roles.
30. "NATO's Role in Building Cooperative Security in Europe and Beyond," remarks by the secretary general of NATO Dr. Javier Solana at the Yomiuri Symposium on International Economy, Tokyo, October 15, 1997, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions\\_25561.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_25561.htm)
31. Opening Remarks by Lord Robertson at the NATO-Japan Security Conference, October 15, 1999. [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions\\_27516.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_27516.htm)
32. "Japan and NATO in a New Security Environment," <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/enzetsu/18/easo.0504.html>
33. "Riga Summit Declaration," Riga, November 29, 2006, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_37920.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_37920.htm)
34. Speech by Taro Aso, minister for foreign affairs on the Occasion of the Japan Institute of International Affairs Seminar "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic Horizons," Tokyo, November 30, 2006, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0611.html>
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. "Japan and NATO: Toward Further Collaboration," speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the North Atlantic Council, January 12, 2007, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/kaidan/s\\_abe/ugbf\\_07/jnato\\_kaidan.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/kaidan/s_abe/ugbf_07/jnato_kaidan.html)
40. *Ibid.* For an evaluation of Abe's speech, see Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 6 (June 2007): 94–110.
41. "Japan and NATO: Toward Further Collaboration," speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the North Atlantic Council, January 12, 2007.
42. Takashi Okada (Director, European Policy Division, European Affairs Bureau, MOFA), "A Comprehensive Review on the Action Plan for EU-Japan Cooperation (2001–10)," Keio Jean Monnet Workshop for EU Studies, May 23, 2009, Tokyo.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Masamori Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 9 (September 2007): 115.
45. Takako Ueta, "Integrated Europe and Japan's Direction 2007," *Sekaishuho*, 88, no. 3 (January 23, 2007): 6–9.
46. Yoshikazu Hirose, "Where Is 'Global' NATO Heading Towards?" *Sekaishuho*, 88, no. 9 (March 6, 2007): 18–21.
47. Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 6 (June 2007): 101–104.
48. Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 7/8 (July 2007): 88.

49. Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 9 (September 2007): 111.
50. Iokibe, *Japan-U.S. Relations in Public Opinion Polls*, pp. 36–39.
51. Sase, "Japan and NATO," *Journal of World Affairs*, 55, no. 9 (September 2007): 115.
52. Publication Office of the Minister's Secretariat, Cabinet Office, *Report of Japanese Public Opinion*, 2006, 2005, and 2004. Asahi Shinbun (2006), p. 557; Kyoudou Tushin (2006), pp. 612–613; Asahi Shinbun (2005), p. 474; Yomiuri Shinbun (2005), p. 522; Yomiuri Shinbun (2004), p. 474; Kyoudou Tushin (2004), p. 481; and NHK (2005), p. 524.
53. The DPJ had opposed sending ships of the SDF to the Indian Ocean and Somalia, but turned to partially admit and continue such policies shortly before the election of August 2009. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 23, 2009.
54. Peter Katzenstein, "Same War, Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *International Organization*, 57, no. 4 (Autumn 2003): 731–733.
55. Yasuaki Chijiwa, "Insights into Japan-U.S. Relations on the Eve of the Iraq War: Dilemmas over 'Showing the Flag,'" *Asian Survey*, 45, no. 6 (November/December 2005): 848–855.
56. "Riga Summit Declaration," Riga, November 29, 2006.
57. Press briefing at the French embassy in Tokyo, April 17, 2009, *Jiji Tsushin*, April 17, 2009.
58. 36% of the public answered that the EC should make decisions, 30% answered NATO, and 8% answered other organizations (including 5% for the WEU). *Eurobarometer No.32*, December 1989, 45.
59. *Eurobarometer No.35*, June 1991, 28–30.
60. *Eurobarometer No.51*, July 1999, 55.
61. For American fears that the ESDP might compete with NATO, see Robert Hunter, *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion or Competitor?* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2002), pp. 33–44; Yoshikazu Hirose, "EU's ESDP and Transatlantic Relations: From Shared Destiny to Burden Sharing," *Sekaishuho*, 85, no.4 (February 3, 2004): 10–13; Yoshikazu Hirose, "Cooperation or Compete with NATO?: Enlarged EU and ESDP," *Forum of Foreign Affairs*, no. 193 (August 2004): 54–59.
62. *Eurobarometer No.54*, April 2001, 69.
63. *Eurobarometer No.56*, April 2002, 52–53.
64. *Eurobarometer No.66*, September 2007, 175–181.

## **Conclusion: Active SDF, Coming End of Regional Ambiguity, and Comprehensive Political Alliance**

*Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry, and Yoichiro Sato*

The year 2010 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Revised U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty of 1960. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which led Japan's recovery from the Second World War and growth into one of the richest nations in the world, did not get to host the anniversary event, as it lost control of the parliament in summer 2009. The victorious Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) is in no mood to celebrate the occasion either. The DPJ-led coalition government pledged to revise the plan to relocate the U.S. Marine Corps Airfield at Futenma, Okinawa, which was agreed between the LDP government and the United States, at the cost of considerable discord between the two governments. After nearly six months of search for a suitable alternative site, the DPJ government has returned to a plan, which seems to stay within minor modifications of the original relocation plan. The politically weakened Prime Minister Hatoyama announced his resignation in early June 2010. Whether DPJ under a new leadership can push through with the plan now is questionable at best. Much political damage has been done to the overall relations between the Obama administration and the Hatoyama government for sure, yet how much harm this issue might cause to the long-term strategic-level relations between the two countries is yet to be seen. Further, two more important issues remain to be seen. The first is whether the DPJ will achieve an upper-house majority of its own and be able to form a government without coalition with the Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ) members, who seem to have held veto power on most security cooperation issues with the United States. The DPJ not only failed to achieve the upper-house majority on its own in the August 2010 election, but also lost the SDPJ from the coalition when Prime Minister Naoto Kan (Hatoyama's successor) abandoned Hatoyama's pledge to relocate the Futenma base functions to a new location outside Okinawa.



The disarray of Japan's domestic politics has resulted in added reluctance on both the U.S. and Japanese sides to undertake serious discussions on long-term strategic objectives of the alliance. The second issue is whether the DPJ will return to closer U.S.-Japan bilateral cooperation on regional security issues, which is laid out by the LDP governments. Revisions of the LDP policies that the Hatoyama government undertook since late 2009 upset the United States. On the other hand, the declining voter support for the Hatoyama government seemed mostly attributable to domestic factors, including his continued reliance on Ichiro Ozawa (whose secretary was arrested for misreporting the campaign contributions) and Hatoyama's own mishandling of campaign contributions from his mother. Although Kan has reemphasized U.S.-Japan security cooperation, DPJ foreign policy of being more selective about security cooperation with the United States does not seem to be hurting the party's popularity.

The post-Cold War evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance was first and foremost represented by the gradual enlargement of the SDF missions beyond territorial defense of Japan under the LDP governments. Starting with SDF participation in UN PKO in Cambodia (1993-94), SDF roles overseas after the simultaneous terror attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, expanded to include support to the multilateral maritime patrol operation in the Indian Ocean (2001-9) and the reconstruction and logistics support in Iraq (2003-8) in a coalition framework.

While the SDF dispatches to the remote postconflict regions attracted media attentions, East Asia—Japan's immediate neighborhood—has experienced several upswings of tensions. On the one hand, the rise of China is steadily altering the regional power balance over a long term. On the other hand, tensions across the Taiwan Strait and over the Korean Peninsula fluctuated since the end of the Cold War. In both cases, domestic politics of each country played important roles in the rise and fall of tensions that cannot be explained solely in terms of international systemic factors. Most importantly, however, rise of tensions in the region has provided a strong impetus for Japan to revise its security role in the region. Through two key legislations (Regional Contingency Law, 1998; Armed Attack Contingency Law, 2004), Japan has more clearly spelled out the expanded scope of SDF activities to be taken bilaterally in support of the U.S. troops.<sup>1</sup>

The clearer articulation of the SDF roles near abroad and its cooperation with the U.S. forces has undoubtedly invited various responses from Japan's regional neighbors. The United States sees a contingency over the Korean peninsula or the Taiwan Strait as the test of the bilateral U.S.-Japan alliance. Japan's regional neighbors see that Japan's ban on collective defense has been reinterpreted in order to allow closer security cooperation with the United States. To some, Japan's crossing of the Rubicon—overcoming the taboo against collective defense<sup>2</sup>—is an encouraging sign. To others, it is a warning sign that the U.S.-Japan alliance is losing its less spoken aspect of containing possible reemergence of Japan's militarism—the argument that the alliance is no longer serving as the “cork in the bottle.”<sup>3</sup> Most of Japan's neighbors do not neatly fit into either or the other of the two camps, and instead have gone through internal debates on this question.<sup>4</sup>

Korea under President Roh Moo Hyun sought both closer security ties with the United States and a more independent Korean foreign policy toward North

Korea—both consistent with Korea’s cautious view about Japan’s active regional security roles. Roh’s successor, President Lee Myun Bak, however, seems to seek a closer security cooperation with both the United States and Japan, while taking a more cautious approach toward North Korea.

Taiwan under President Chen Shui Bian moved a step closer to independence and attempted to solicit diplomatic support and security engagement from the United States and Japan. Chen’s successor, President Ma Ying-Jeou, has taken Taiwan back to a more traditional stance of maintaining the political status quo (of separate administrations) while pragmatically taking advantage of the booming commerce with the mainland China.

While China’s skepticism that the U.S.-Japan alliance may no longer be containing Japan’s military activism has grown, China’s responses are mixed: China on one hand challenges codominance of the U.S. and Japanese sea power in the West Pacific, and, on the other hand, attempts to replace Japan as the prime strategic partner of the United States.

Russia reluctantly accepts U.S.-Japan codominance in the West Pacific, partly because it currently is in no position to challenge this situation, and partly because the enhanced U.S.-Japan alliance checks Russia’s potential rival, China, in East Asia. As Kawato in this volume argued, Russian weight in East Asia is nowhere near a counterweight to China. Rather, Russia is getting further behind China, in terms of both relative strength in East Asia and relative diplomatic proximity to the United States. At the same time, Russia is worrisome of the globalization of the U.S.-Japan alliance, which might find applications in other parts of Russia’s broad border where the country still retains formidable influence, especially in Central Asia. Ferguson in this volume argued Russia remains a potential player in East Asia, aided by the higher energy prices.

The upgrading of U.S.-Japan security cooperation has recently been accompanied by efforts to network Asia-Pacific democracies. Overshadowed by China in material terms and outmaneuvered by China in diplomatic terms, Japan under the LDP sought a way to reestablish its place as the primed U.S. ally in East Asia. Capitalizing on President George W. Bush’s democracy promotion, Japan has launched its own networking with Asia-Pacific democracies. The Japanese effort aims at embedding the U.S. security commitment to a coherent minilateral framework and checking China’s bilateral approach to the United States over Japan’s head. Meanwhile, the Hatoyama administration let the bilateral U.S.-Japan alliance drift over the base relocation issue, annoyed the United States with inconsistent comments in regard to Japan’s expectations about U.S. roles in East Asian integration, and retreated from the Abe-Aso era LDP emphasis on networking of Asia-Pacific democracies in order to appease China.

### **Cautious Operationalizations of U.S.-Japan Military Cooperation in East Asia**

Japan’s active overseas dispatches of its Self-Defense Forces during the first decade of the twenty-first century marked a new era, in which Japanese troops

were deployed outside the framework of the PKO Law and in U.S.-led coalitions. While this move was a significant departure from the UN-centric framework of overseas SDF deployments, application of the new U.S.-Japan bilateral cooperation framework to security issues in Japan's immediate neighborhood (East Asia) was not a foregone conclusion. Expansion of Japanese security roles in regional contingencies has faced multiple obstacles. At the most general level, SDF activism of any sort was viewed with strong suspicions by China and Korea. Japan's revision of its guideline for defense cooperation with the United States during the mid-1990s and resulting passage of the Regional Contingency Law in 1998 was viewed by China as a reaction to the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1996. The Chinese fear of joint U.S.-Japan interventions in the Strait culminated in reactivation of China's anti-Japanese propaganda citing Japan's wartime atrocities.<sup>5</sup> At a more specific level, invocation of the regional contingency law in a hypothetical conflict across the Taiwan Strait or around the Korean peninsula became a highly controversial subject. While the Japanese government officials have remained tight-lipped about the law's possible applications to any hypothetical conflict, repeated violations of UN Security Council resolutions by North Korea since 2006 and the resulting sanctions inevitably activated the discussions about SDF roles in North Korea contingencies.

Domestically, the Japanese public is split on the SDF dispatches to the Indian Ocean and Iraq. The split on the SDF dispatches vividly contrasts the growing consensus on the primacy of the U.S.-Japan alliance in Japan's security policy at the time regional tensions rose despite the end of the global Cold War. With the end of the Cold War, the antimilitary, neutralist/pacifist stance of the dogmatic old Socialists died. However, the core of the winning ideological camp in Japan at the end of the Cold War was not the promilitary, internationalists/interventionists, but the mercantilists of the old Yoshida School of foreign policy who concentrated on rebuilding Japan's economy under the protection of the alliance with the United States. They too faced the challenges of the post-Cold War changes in the requirements of the alliance. Since the "Gulf War Trauma" of 1991, in which Japan's failure to contribute SDF forces to the UN-led intervention forces during the conflict<sup>6</sup> severely hurt international reputation of Japan in general but most importantly support for the U.S.-Japan alliance in Washington, Japan's ruling conservatives have played a catch-up with the upgraded expectations and requests from the United States for SDF contributions to meeting both global and regional strategic objectives of the United States.<sup>7</sup>

The last obstacle to Japan's enhanced regional security roles is inherent in the asymmetric nature of the alliance. For domestic constitutional reasons and considerations to its neighbors, Japan has first pursued troop dispatches in remote locations (such as Cambodia and Mozambique) under the UN peacekeeping operations. Building on the precedence and seizing the moment of heightened tensions in the Taiwan Strait and over the Korean peninsula, Japan upgraded bilateral security cooperation with the United States. The reverse order of enhancing Japanese security roles (from national, global, then to regional) meant that Japan's increased regional security roles would have to compete against the world and U.S. expectations of Japan's global security roles.

Achieving these two objectives, while keeping the long-held defense spending ceiling at 1% of the gross national products, has stretched available SDF resources. For example, Japan recalled its advanced Aegis destroyer from the Indian Ocean region in summer 2004 in response to the heightened tension in Northeast Asia after North Korea's announcement to void its freeze on ballistic missile testing.<sup>8</sup> Japan simply cannot be a global "deputy sheriff" of the United States, to borrow Australian prime minister John Howard's description of Australia's security role in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>9</sup> In addition, cooperation with the United States on ballistic missile defense poses a similar dilemma between Japan's regional security considerations and the "alliance due" in the form of contributions to U.S. global strategic objectives. While the Japanese acquisition of PAC-3 interceptors is primarily for defending Japan's key installations and population centers against the incoming ballistic missiles, the United States expects that X-band radars in Japan and sea-based (on Japan's Aegis destroyers) SM-3 interceptors be made available as integral parts of defending the U.S. mainland against ballistic missiles launched in the vicinity of Japan. Japan's consideration to deploy theater high altitude area defense (THAAD) also means that the system is capable of shooting down not only Japan-bound ballistic missiles but also U.S.-bound ones. Deployment of such a U.S.-built system by Japan will come with U.S. expectation for Japan that it is for defense of both countries, at the time expensive missile defense items are already putting pressure on other defense spending requirements.

Commitment to the U.S. missile defense also incurs political costs in the region. Despite the repeated U.S. explanation that the missile defense is not aimed at China or Russia, but "rogue states" such as North Korea, neither China nor Russia has fully accepted this explanation. Japan's deployment of missile defense, though still limited in scope and scale, is viewed by China as confirmation of its intent to militarily check China. The Obama administration's announcement to scale down or modify missile defense in Europe has been welcomed by Russia, but no revision to Asia's missile defense has been discussed. Meanwhile, the Obama administration has launched a bilateral nuclear weapons reduction initiative with Russia. The drastic shift of U.S. strategic stance from the Bush to the Obama administration is welcomed by Japan's current Democratic Party leadership, but the U.S. recourse has confused Japan's security bureaucracy.

### **End of Regional Ambiguity?**

The greatest challenge to the evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance is to balance among the risen U.S. expectations of the Japanese SDF in East Asia's regional security, concerns of Japan's neighbors about the U.S.-Japan alliance, and changes in the availability of the ambiguities about the alliance's and Japan's regional security roles. The first two considerations have often been discussed, and it is the last consideration—availability of ambiguities—especially in the changing regional and domestic contexts that needs an extended discussion.

The ambiguities about the roles of Japan and the U.S.-Japan alliance in regional security were employed for providing the United States with added flexibility, bypassing Japan's domestic political opposition against closer U.S.-Japan cooperation, and avoiding unnecessarily threatening Japan's regional neighbors. These ambiguities were possible under both the overwhelming superiority of the U.S. forces in the region and the continued willingness of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) governments to make use of undemocratic yet convenient practices to keep the public out of security policy discussions. Both conditions are no longer available. Furthermore, domestic politics of other countries, such as Taiwan and Korea, increasingly challenge U.S. and Japanese efforts to maintain status quo in conflict zones via the use of ambiguities.

*Ambiguities in Japan's Cold War Security Policy*

The question of Japan's military role in a Korean peninsula contingency was first answered at the breakout of the Korean War in 1950. The war marked a major turning point for Japan's security roles, from an entirely disarmed pacifist nation to a partially rearmed nation. In addition to creating the Internal Security Force to take over the role of domestic counterinsurgency from the U.S. occupation force, Japan at the request of the United States quickly assembled former naval officers to assist U.S. naval operations in coastal waters off the Korean peninsula. Japan also provided logistical support for the transportation of U.S. military goods and medical support for the wounded U.S. soldiers, setting partially unspoken precedence to the list of permissible SDF activities under the revised guideline for defense cooperation in 1997.<sup>10</sup> However, at the time, Japan did not make a closer military cooperation with the United States a permanent or public feature of its security policy.

Intensification of the Cold War following the Korean War did not lead to Japan's increased regional security roles. The revised U.S.-Japan alliance of 1960 explicitly spelled out U.S. obligation to defend Japan against external aggressions, and Japan focused its effort on economic recovery while relying on the United States for defense. Japan employed two ambiguities to allow flexibility to the U.S. forces. First, on the geographical scope of U.S. military operations out of its bases in Japan, the U.S. forces were allowed to operate to maintain security in the "Far East"—a geographical concept with no clearly stated boundary. The U.S. forces freely used their bases in Japan to run a war in Vietnam during the Vietnam War, despite opposition from the Japanese leftist parties. Second, on transit of U.S. nuclear weapons through Japan's territorial space, the Japanese government used two-layered ambiguity that "transit" of nuclear weapons would be exempted from the "introduction" of nuclear weapons, and that there was no "introduction" because the United States did not request a "prior consultation," which would have been required by the 1960 treaty. This ambiguity served both U.S. policy of not disclosing the whereabouts of its nuclear weapons and the LDP policy under the three "nonnuclear principles." Based on allegation of a secret agreement between the two governments to tacitly endorse "transit" rights of the

United States in declassified and later reclassified U.S. government documents,<sup>11</sup> the DPJ government of Prime Minister Hatoyama called a committee of experts to investigate the matter to bring to the lights the past unspoken security cooperation under the LDP government.

### *The Era of Burden Sharing and the “Taiwan” Ambiguity*

Three key events during the 1970s moved Japan toward a more active regional security role. First, U.S. rapprochement with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1972 opened a new era of regional security in Northeast Asia, in which Japan’s primed position as a key U.S. ally was under closer scrutiny. Facing a worsening government deficit, President Nixon insisted on defense burden-sharing with Japan. Second, the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975 and the fear of declining U.S. commitment to regional security moved Japan to upgrade its security role. In 1978, the first U.S.-Japan guidelines for defense cooperation were published, in which Japan discussed the start of studies for bilateral military cooperation in regional contingencies.<sup>12</sup> Third, the two oil shocks during the decade highlighted the vulnerability of Japan’s energy supply, especially to maritime threats against its tanker fleet. Japan’s defense procurement during the renewed Cold War tension of the 1980s extended the range of potential SDF operations. However, faced with opposition from the neighboring countries and anticipated diplomatic costs of military approach to security, Japan largely refrained from operationalizing long-range capabilities of the SDF, except for sealane defense in the Western Pacific. Instead, Japan’s regional security policy adopted a “comprehensive security” approach, in which Japan’s role was defined largely in economic and diplomatic terms. China’s rapprochement with the United States, its abandonment of support for communist insurgencies in Southeast Asia, and continued U.S. presence throughout East Asia accorded Japan needed security without undertaking military operations away from its territorial space. On the other hand, Taiwan’s status became a new ambiguity in 1978, when both the United States and Japan shifted their diplomatic recognitions of China from the Nationalist government in Taipei to the PRC government in Beijing. The question of sovereignty over Taiwan was left unanswered, as the “One China” principle to them only meant that the Taipei government’s claim over the Chinese mainland was no longer recognized.<sup>13</sup> Both have maintained pseudo-diplomatic functions in Taipei and maintained military liaisons, and the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, which unilaterally committed the country to defense of Taiwan in case of an unprovoked PRC attack on Taiwan.<sup>14</sup> Japan’s role in an event of U.S. intervention belongs to the domain of highest ambiguity.

### **China’s Soft Rise and U.S. Engagement in East Asia**

Japan’s fear of U.S. disengagement from Asia post-Cold War led it to seek both anchoring of U.S. commitment and disciplining of China via their inclusions in trans-Pacific regional multilateral frameworks, such as the ASEAN Regional

Forum (ARF) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). This effort has produced only limited successes. Despite the creation of the ARF and its inclusion of both the United States and China as members, there is little evidence that these two powerful countries have modified their behavior because of the ARF process. China continues to increase its military budget and build a modernized navy. The United States has not refrained from bilaterally discussing security with China and North Korea, whenever it sees some advantages, and has frustrated Japan with perceived lack of consultations. The APEC process has neither disciplined China's mercantilist trade practices, nor promoted America's signing of free trade agreements (FTAs) with East Asia. Now, it is China that promotes a different type of regional groupings, which exclude the United States. China's strategy aims at replacing Japan from its current roles—America's prime strategic partner in East Asia and Asia's regional leader, and the prevailing shifts in the balance of regional military powers and in the economic linkages favor China's move.

### *Regional Multilateralism*

The end of the Cold War posed two major challenges to Japan. First and foremost, anchoring U.S. commitment to regional security in Asia was of critical importance to Japan. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, regional hotspots such as the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan Strait remained security concerns for the entire East Asian region. Second, constructive engagement of China into a new regional security framework became desirable, as disappearance of the Soviet Union erased the most important rationale for the pseudo-alliance among the United States, Japan, and China of the renewed Cold War period of the 1980s. In order to simultaneously pursue both objectives, Japan in cooperation with Australia promoted regional security multilateralism through the launching of ARF.<sup>15</sup> However, ARF has proven to be ineffective in diffusing tensions over the regional hotspots.

Efforts to anchor U.S. commitment in Asia through multilateral groupings have been hampered by the ever-decreasing proportional share of U.S. trade in the trade portfolios of most countries in the region, except China. China is, in contrast, becoming both Asia's and America's prime trade partner. As Asian economies increase their intraregional trade (mainly driven by China's growth), the United States has been replaced by China as the prime trade partner of most Asian countries (see table 15.1). While U.S. trade with China has increased, the United States has run consistent bilateral trade deficit with China (see table 15.2). China has been actively promoting regional groupings without the United States, such as the ASEAN Plus-Three (China, Japan, Korea), in order to consolidate its strengthening of regional political leadership. The United States has remained ambivalent about East Asian regionalism, yet its effort to revamp trans-Pacific regionalism (such as APEC) has been half-hearted. The U.S. approach to economic liberalization has frequently conflicted with not only China's mercantilist trade policy, but also Japan's protection of the agricultural sector. A call for

**Table 15.1** Trade Partners of Major Asian Countries

	1990		1995		2000		2005		2008	
	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
<b>Japan</b>										
World	286947.4*	234798.6	442937.4	336094.2	479247.6	379662.9	594940.9	515866.4	781412.2	762533.9
United States	90943.54	53029.26	122024.1	75900.48	143976.9	72509.12	135946.7	65403.97	138705	78937.22
Australia	6906.578	12391.03	8099.172	14558.43	8571.291	14800.45	12418.29	24513.2	17296.01	47531.82
China	6115.281	11997.22	21991.32	36017.1	30380.33	55100.15	80074.35	108477.6	124900.5	143230
Hong Kong, China	13064.78	2181.821	27725.07	2738.345	27181.72	1666.66	35960.29	1571.071	40294.05	1557.905
Korea	17428.52	11717.78	31225.96	17281.35	30698.59	20446.41	46629.9	24414.81	59492.56	29475.96
Russia	...	...	1153.515	4738.301	569.7092	4579.416	4488.231	6184.259	16534.1	13417.76
Chinese Taipei	15998.19	8337.673	30265.39	13156.52	38556.95	16599.06	46052.6	15110.52	46507.2	17555.72
<b>China</b>										
World	...	...	148779.5	132083.5	249202.6	225093.7	761953.4	659952.8	1430693	1132562
Australia	...	...	1626.175	2584.488	3428.877	5024.007	11061.5	16193.63	22247.26	37435.13
United States	...	...	24728.63	16118.44	52156.43	22374.57	163180.5	48741.36	252843.5	81585.56
Hong Kong, China	...	...	35983.42	8590.675	44518.28	9429.012	124473.3	12224.78	190729	12915.85
Japan	...	...	28466.67	29004.49	41654.31	41509.68	83986.28	100407.7	116132.5	150600
Korea	...	...	6687.796	10293.19	11292.36	23207.41	35107.78	76820.4	73931.99	112137.9
Chinese Taipei	...	...	3091.257	376.6004	6223.112	4217.429	20093.09	43643.32	31390.47	66883.03

Continued



**Table 15.1** Continued

	1990		1995		2000		2005		2008	
	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
<b>Korea</b>										
World	65015.7	69839.52	125056.5	135112.9	172267.5	160479.2	284418.2	261235.6	422003.5	435271.4
United States	19446.19	16945.86	24343.73	30418.72	37806.05	29285.96	41499.4	30787.58	46500.68	38555.95
Japan	12637.88	18573.82	17048.83	32604.09	20466	31826.96	24027.42	48403.13	28252.42	60956.29
China	1365.388	1485.28	9143.564	7400.927	18454.51	12798.63	61914.97	38648.14	91388.9	76926.97
Hong Kong, China	3779.947	613.8639	10681.98	837.3421	10708.07	1260.687	15531.02	2043.014	19771.22	2222.672
<b>Australia</b>										
World	38781.28	38632.77	53000.55	57422.8	63766.22	71263.05	105751.5	118921.9	186853	191583.9
United States	3157.034	9142.603	2635.124	12256.84	6343.601	14254.88	7068.854	16553.58	10184.27	23014.49
Japan	9814.552	7151.756	10731.91	8722.93	12600.18	9412.794	21588	13058.61	42731.58	17155.35
Korea	2070.766	876.0879	4037.321	1606.201	5230.424	2936.73	8345.821	3957.927	15485.8	5449.669
China	720.5796	1030.373	1798.173	2825.026	3474.449	5568.675	12229.99	16295.25	27225.18	29896.35
Singapore	1788.68	870.4784	2758.781	1784.023	3386.429	2234.335	3051.573	6619.46	5154.095	13721.03

Sources: UN Commodity Trade Statistics, APEC, Chinese Taipei Bureau of Foreign Trade.

\* U.S. Million Dollars

**Table 15.2** U.S. Trade Balance with Japan, EU, and China, 1997–2009

<i>Year</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>EU</i>	<i>China</i>
1997	-56,114.7*	-16,964.6	-49,695.5
1998	-64,014.1	-28,582.8	-56,927.4
1999	-73,397.8	-45,228.1	-68,677.1
2000	-81,555.0	-58,719.7	-83,833.0
2001	-69,021.6	-64,637.2	-83,096.1
2002	-69,979.4	-85,692.2	-103,064.9
2003	-66,032.4	-97,871.6	-124,068.2
2004	-76,236.5	-112,089.3	-162,254.3
2005	-83,323.1	-125,271.5	-202,278.1
2006	-89,721.8	-120,172.1	-234,101.3
2007	-84,303.8	-110,243.4	-258,506.0
2008	-74,120.4	-95,807.4	-268,039.8
2009	-44,669.5	-61,201.5	-226,877.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5880.html> (on Japan); <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c0003.html> (on European Union); <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html> (on China).

\* U.S. Millions Dollars

a U.S.-Japan free trade agreement has been voiced by the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (which represents Japan's manufacturing industries), but strategic significance of such an agreement has not sufficiently convinced the U.S. administrations to take a political risk of pursuing such an agreement against protectionist Congress. While Japan and the United States continue to disagree on the scope and contents of trans-Pacific multilateralism, China is consolidating its version of East Asian multilateralism to sideline the United States. Victor Cha in this volume shared his optimism reasoned by the existence of layered and overlapping groupings in the region, which warrant a degree of inclusion for every country. While Japanese conservatives do not share this view, it is not certain either whether Japanese liberals' pursuit of regional groupings without the United States is driven by the same logic.<sup>16</sup>

### *China's Naval Modernization*

The drastic economic empowerment of China has been accompanied by simultaneous pursuit of its military modernization. During the Cold War, China's primary security interests were in securing land borders against its rivals, such as the Soviet Union and India. The rapid economic growth of China through industrialization since the late 1980s has resulted in increasing energy use. Although China's prime energy source remains to be domestically produced coal, dependence on imported petroleum from Middle East and Africa has increased. This dependence has elevated China's interests in maritime security in the Western Pacific (through Southeast Asia) and into the Indian Ocean.

China also sees naval power as critical in preventing Taiwan from flirting with the idea of declaring independence. China's attempt to intimidate Taiwan through a series of missile tests and discourage Taiwan voters from voting for the proindependence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1996 was met by U.S. President Bill Clinton's decision to dispatch two carrier battle groups into the Taiwan Strait for show of support for Taiwan. Since then, China has been working on upgrading its naval forces to challenge U.S. naval supremacy first in China's coastal waters and later in more distant waters. China's second maritime defense line lies east of the Philippines archipelago and the Mariana chain of islands (including Guam and Saipan), indicating the country's desire to turn West Pacific into its exclusive lake by 2020.<sup>17</sup> In particular, China has been deploying an increasing number of diesel-powered submarines in its coastal waters (including the Taiwan Strait), making U.S. carrier operations near the Chinese coast more vulnerable.

### *Japan Passing*

Decline of Japan's relative standing in Asia has been well noticed by the Japanese leaders with alarmism. When U.S. President Bill Clinton visited China in 1998 without making a stop in Tokyo first, the worried Japanese coined the term "Japan passing," which was supposedly worse than "Japan bashing" of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Clinton's calling China "a strategic partner" invited a further cry in Tokyo, which has paid great efforts since the mid-1990s to upgrade Japan's contributions to regional security via revision of the U.S.-Japan Guideline for Defense Cooperation.

China's gross domestic products (adjusted by purchase power parity) passed that of Japan for the first time in 2003, and its GDP at the official exchange rate is expected to pass Japan's when official statistics become finalized for the year 2010. China's military budget has continued to grow with a 10% plus annual growth rate, further outpacing its fast economic growth. Meanwhile, Japan's military budget has remained constant since the end of the Cold War. Despite the George W. Bush administration's reemphasis on Japan as the most important U.S. ally in Asia and the U.S.-Japan alliance as the "lynchpin of U.S. security policy in Asia," China's growing importance has been repeatedly demonstrated by U.S. reliance on China's chairmanship in the Six-Party Talks on North Korean nuclear weapons programs, for example.

China's ascent as an economic and military power, thus, has steadily altered the regional power balance. China's relative power position vis-à-vis Japan has reversed in the former's favor. China's diplomatic posture in the region has further complicated the Japanese strategy. China has minimized conflicts with the United States and developed bilateral strategic-level discussions, while playing a leadership role in regional groupings that excluded the United States. China's self-assigned role as the representative of Asia to the United States directly challenges Japan's special channel to the United States via its alliance.

### Evolution into a Comprehensive Political Alliance?

Japan's "reluctant realism"<sup>18</sup> in promoting security cooperation with the United States since the mid-1990s did not fully fill Japan's shortage of confidence in America's commitment to the bilateral alliance. Relative decline of Japan's economic significance to the United States and Japan's inability to rapidly expand the scope of its military activities for constitutional and budgetary constraints have both posed tangible limits to enhancing the U.S.-Japan security cooperation. Perceiving its own shortage of tangible utilities to the United States, Japan started a new search for binding bonds to sustain the bilateral alliance into the domain of intangible values. Japan identified itself closely with the economically developed democracies in general, and those in the Asia-Pacific region like the United States, Australia, and New Zealand in particular. While the earlier Japanese effort of creating the ARF was to embed the U.S. commitment to regional security into a multilateral framework, the new effort of lining up prosperous Asia-Pacific democracies was less ambitiously yet more pragmatically to embed the U.S. commitment to a regional unilateral framework. This effort started under Prime Minister Koizumi, but was elevated to a more systematic program under Prime Ministers Abe and Aso and extended to India as well. The change of political leadership from the LDP to the DPJ in summer 2009 ended the program on surface. Instead, the DPJ government seems to be interested in strictly placing Japan's security cooperation with the United States within the United Nations (UN) decision-making framework. At the same time, Japan's security cooperation with India is still being explored on a bilateral basis. Prime Ministers Hatoyama and Singh on December 29, 2009, agreed to launch an annual Two-Plus-Two (foreign and defense vice ministers) meeting between Japan and India.

#### *Japan's Skeptical Constructivism*

Given that proportional importance of Japan as an economic and military power is declining relative to China, Japan is concerned about the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance based on these tangible common interests. Japan's search for intangible commons as additional basis of the bilateral alliance hence reflected the conservative view that the growing China will soon be a menace to Japan's security. While the second George W. Bush administration justified the U.S. invasion of Iraq in the name of democracy promotion against the mounting criticism that there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, U.S. application of the same ideational principles to its Asia policy was based on close matching between the material interests and the ideational principles.<sup>19</sup> Koizumi quickly and positively responded to Bush's call with his own effort to network with democratic countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Australia, Canada, India, and New Zealand, with a series of summit meetings in 2005.

In August 2007, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister Singh proposed the "Quadrilateral Initiative" to form a coalition of democracies calling for closer political dialogues among Japan, United States,

Australia, and India—a grouping China likely saw as an anti-China containment network despite Japan's explanation otherwise. A quiet omission of South Korea (and Taiwan) indicated that more pragmatic geopolitical considerations, not values, were the main drivers of such an approach. The purpose of the grouping is not to militarily contain China, but to counter China's soft diplomacy and bilateral approach to the United States to sideline Japan.

### *Democratization*

The end of the Cold War not only fundamentally altered the bipolar international system among the states through dismantling of the Soviet bloc, but also affected internal governance of each state (both socialist and capitalist) through discrediting the socialist ideology. The demise of socialism not only caused socialist states and revolutionary movements to collapse, but also robbed the right-wing authoritarian governments of a justification for their rule. The end result was the "third wave of democratization."<sup>20</sup>

Unlike in Eastern and Central Europe, most socialist regimes in East Asia have survived the end of the Cold War, however, either through capitalist-oriented economic reform, iron-fisted suppression of the opposition, or both. On the other hand, some capitalist-authoritarian regimes in East Asia have democratized and consolidated democratic governance, like the case of Taiwan and South Korea. Some Southeast Asian countries also have gone through democratic transitions, like in the cases of the Philippines, Thailand, and more recently Indonesia, but their transitions have proved to be more challenging.

Even China has not been free of domestic democratic movements. In summer 1989, students and workers occupied the Tiananmen Square in protest, and the Chinese government mobilized the army to crack down the demonstration. The resulting deaths invited massive Western condemnations of the Chinese government and economic sanctions. Since then, democratization and human rights protection in China have become rallying causes of the Western countries, and global media coverage of China's ethnic minority issues (such as the Tibetans and the Uighurs) have put the Chinese government to the international scrutiny by universalistic democratic standards.

Japan's dual identities as a member of the Western democracies on one hand and the champion of Asian developmentalism on the other forced Japan to take an ambiguous stance on the issue of China's democratization, as indicated by its reluctant imposition of an economic sanction after the 1989 incident and its early lifting of the sanction.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, volatile anti-Japanese demonstrations in China have put the Japanese government in an awkward situation of having to rely on the authoritarian Chinese government to control demonstrations in order to carry out the booming economic interactions. This is very troublesome for Japan's "value-oriented" diplomacy since the very Chinese government has also been responsible for fanning anti-Japan demonstrations from time to time to advance its diplomatic positions.<sup>22</sup>

In Southeast Asia as well, a more popular role Japan is expected of is to shield the Asian countries from Western criticism against their nondemocratic features.

Japan continued to provide economic aid to Myanmar despite the Western criticism of the ruling military junta. Japan finally gave into Western criticism and suspended aid to Myanmar after the bloody suppression of demonstrating monks by the military junta in 2007. As a result, China has become the main source of developmental aid to Myanmar and in return enjoys various natural resource imports from the latter. Meanwhile, the Thai coup leader in the same year was seeking diplomatic endorsement through a visit to Tokyo, while facing Western criticism. As Japan's economy is more integrated with East Asia and especially China, too much emphasis on democratic values is likely to conflict more with Japan's growing economic opportunities in the region.<sup>23</sup>

### Conclusion

The major breakthroughs in the alliance cooperation Prime Minister Koizumi and President Bush made turned most observers optimistic about the alliance's future. Only nine months prior to the lower-house election in Japan in summer 2009—in which the ruling LDP lost power, 67.1% of the Americans trusted Japan “very much” (18.2%) or “some” (48.9%).<sup>24</sup> The ongoing discord between the two countries has been blamed on the change of the government in Japan and on the specific issue of relocating the Futenma airfield. These factors are no doubt part of the problem, but deeper causes are also found at the international systemic level.

The rise of China has been in the background of Japan's post-Cold War security initiatives, from the creation of the ARF and the APEC, the participation in the U.S. missile defense, sending the SDF overseas in U.S.-led coalition frameworks, and to the launching of Two-Plus-Two security dialogues with the United States, Australia, and India. The increasing integration of the East Asian economies, including China and Japan, and China's nuanced approaches to regional security have prevented the U.S.-Japan alliance from developing into a solid anti-China containment alliance. Instead, both the United States and Japan are going through thorough overviews of their respective relations with the rising China, and their revisions have affected the bilateral U.S.-Japan alliance. Japan—the weaker of the two allies—has been more concerned about the future of the alliance, for fear of both entrapment and abandonment. Only within a decade or so of the conservative LDP politicians making up their minds that abandonment fear was more serious than entrapment fear, the party was thrown out of power. The United States has taken advantage of Japan's abandonment fear to gloom Japan into a reliable alliance partner, but neglected assuring Japan of its continued involvement in the Asian security matters solidly on Japan's side.

Other countries in and out of Asia are carefully watching the evolution of the U.S.-Japan alliance, but unlike China they are not driving the process. There are two major exceptions to this—Taiwan and Korea. These Cold War frontiers in East Asia democratized during the last years of the Soviet Union's existence, and consolidated their political systems into competitive party democracies. Their previous security policies, which were locked into the Cold War mold and run by the

authoritarian governments, turned into more dynamic ones, of which both internal and external drivers can make drastic changes. In Taiwan, Chen Shui Bian's proindependence policy dared Japan and the United States to take off their "ambiguity" clothes much to their discomfort. In Korea, the "Sunshine policy" toward the North from Kim Dae-Jung to Roh Moo Hyun (and perhaps more importantly its failure) urged Japan to step up its commitment to the peninsula's security.

Japan's seemingly irreversible loss of its relative standing vis-à-vis China—a structural change in East Asia—is a cause of Japan's insecurity and upgraded security cooperation with the United States. Japan's inability to compete against China for America's attention on economic and military terms has urged some conservative Japanese leaders to search for common values as foundations of the bilateral alliance.<sup>25</sup> Democracy as the driving value of the bilateral alliance and broader groupings has not been emphasized under the Hatoyama government as much as it was under the Abe and Aso governments. However, the related bureaucratic initiatives that were started under the previous prime ministers have survived the change of the government. In particular, start of regular bilateral security dialogues with India is noteworthy in this regard. On the economic side, America's attention is on China, for good or bad, on the trade balance, the foreign exchange rate, and the cumulative Treasury bond holding. Sharing of identity as the mature developed capitalist economy between the United States and Japan and development of their coordinated strategy vis-à-vis China are partially visible on issues such as China's disregards of intellectual property rights and undervaluation of the renminbi. Whether such joint efforts to discipline Chinese economic behavior through global standards will succeed, and how much inputs China will have in the global economic rule making are to be seen.<sup>26</sup>

### Notes

1. Yoichiro Sato, "Nihon no kaigai hahei kettei no bunseki" [Analysis of Japan's Overseas Troop Dispatch Decisions], in Kimie Hara, ed., *"Zaigai" Nihonjin Kenkyusha ga mita Nihon Gaiko* [Japanese Diplomacy as Seen by the Overseas Japanese Scholars] (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2009), pp. 85–115, 290–292 (notes).
2. John Miller, "Japan Crosses the Rubicon?" *Asia-Pacific Security Studies*, 1, no. 1 (January 2002), Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/JapanCrossesTheRubicon.pdf> (Accessed January 2, 2010).
3. Michael H. Armacost, *Friends or Rivals? An Insider Account of U.S.-Japan Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 78. The analogy quoted here was used by Lieutenant General Hank Stackpole, a former Marines Corps commander in Okinawa, who inadvertently described some Americans' views of the alliance with this analogy.
4. Takashi Inoguchi, "Japan Desperately Needs Grand Strategy," *International Herald Tribune/Asahi Shimbun*, January 1, 2009; Takashi Inoguchi, "Japan: What Power? What Strategies?" *Politique étrangère*, 74 (2008): 35–49.
5. Takashi Inoguchi, "Cong Riben de jiaodu toudi Zhongguo de Minzuzhuyi" [Looking into Chinese Nationalism from the Japanese Ayle], *Shijie jinji yu zhenzhi* [World Economy and Politics], pp. 49–50. Opinions vary on the extent of the Chinese government role in the rise and fall of anti-Japanese demonstrations. Those

- who deny active government roles, however, look for evidence of direct agitations by the government, thereby narrowing the definition of the government role. He, for example, argues that the Chinese government has accommodated the anti-Japanese popular nationalism, but cannot orchestrate it. Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 16, no. 50 (February 2007): 1–24; Similarly, Reilly emphasizes the increasing role of independent activists in China's anti-Japanese nationalism. James Reilly, "China's History Activists and the War of Resistance against Japan," *Asian Survey*, 44, no. 2 (March–April 2004): 276–294; Qiu takes an even more bottom-up view and argues that the public perception of Japan originated in the state's official and mythologized history, but cannot be controlled by the state any longer. Jin Qiu, "The Politics of History and Historical Memory in China-Japan Relations," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 11, no. 1 (March 2006): 25–53; A broader definition that includes letting loose or deliberately not stopping the demonstrators would cast China as passively taking advantage of the demonstrations at least. See Allen S. Whiting, *China Eyes Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); Gerrit Gong, ed., *Memory and History in East and Southeast Asia* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2001).
6. Japan did, however, contribute a minesweeping force to the Persian Gulf region after the conflict ceased. Its successful demining efforts at a great risk to the naval personnel enabled the Gulf's sea traffic to quickly return to normalcy.
  7. U.S. deputy undersecretary of defense Richard Lawless has repeatedly expressed his frustration with Japan's lack of combat-ready interoperability with the U.S. forces. At one occasion, he said in regard to this issue: "Words on paper can be useful because they state a commitment, but realization and commitment required national leadership, a national consensus, and the allocation of sufficient financial resources." Richard Lawless (remarks, AEI Conference, Tokyo, Japan, October, 25–26, 2005), transcript available at [www.aei.org/event1157](http://www.aei.org/event1157). Quoted in Dan Blumenthal and Christopher Griffin, "Japan: A Liberal, Nationalistic Defense Transformation," AEI Outlook Series, November 2005. <http://www.aei.org/outlook/23464> (Accessed May 4, 2010)
  8. Sato, "Nihon no kaigai hahei kettei no bunseki," pp. 94–95.
  9. David Fickling, "Australia Seen as 'America's Deputy Sheriff,'" *The Guardian*, September 10, 2004. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/sep/10/indonesia.australia> (Accessed December 21, 2009).
  10. "Feature: Retired Admiral Recalls Japan's Role in Korean War," Kyodo, June 19, 2000. Reproduced at [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m0WDQ/is\\_2000\\_June\\_26/ai\\_63024328/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0WDQ/is_2000_June_26/ai_63024328/) (Accessed December 21, 2009).
  11. Yoichiro Sato, "Local Autonomy, Political Accountability, and National Security Diplomacy: When Anti-Nuclear Arms Movements Meet U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation," in Rouben Azizian, ed., *Nuclear Developments in South Asia: And the Future of Global Arms Control* (Wellington: Center for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2001), pp. 215–224, especially pp. 217–219, notes 6–7, 10–13.
  12. *Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation*. Report by the Subcommittee for Defense Cooperation, Submitted to and Approved by the Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee, November 27, 1978. <http://machidaheiwa.fc2web.com/tokushyuu/2law-anpo/old-guidelines.html> (Accessed January 2, 2010). Its Section III stated: "The scope and modalities of facilitative assistance to be extended by Japan to the U.S. Forces in the case of situations in the Far East outside of Japan which will have an important influence on the security of Japan will be governed by the Japan-



- U.S. Security Treaty, its related arrangements, other relevant agreements between Japan and the United States, and the relevant laws and regulations of Japan. The Governments of Japan and the United States will conduct studies in advance on the scope and modalities of facilitative assistance to be extended to the U.S. Forces by Japan within the above-mentioned legal framework. Such studies will include the scope and modalities of joint use of the Self-Defense Forces bases by the U.S. Forces and of other facilitative assistance to be extended." Such studies to operationalize U.S.-Japan cooperation were not conducted until the revision of guidelines started in the mid-1990s under the Hashimoto government.
13. The director of Japan's Interchange Association (de facto embassy) in Taipei Masaki Saito resigned after his comment that Taiwan's international status was "unresolved" angered the Ma administration. It was the case of a legally correct remark that was politically incorrect to say in the context of Taiwan's divisive domestic politics. Mariko Kato, "Will Warmer Ties Burn Taiwan? Critics Fret Loss of Sovereignty as Taipei Draws Closer to China," *Japan Times* (Online), December 30, 2009. <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20091230f1.html> (Accessed May 4, 2010)
  14. *Taiwan Relations Act*, Public Law 96-98. Enacted April 10, 1979.
  15. Takeshi Yuzawa, *Japan's Security Policy and the ASEAN Regional Forum* (London: Routledge, 2007).
  16. Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada of the Hatoyama administration commented that the United States need not be part of the East Asian integration process. "Editorial: East Asian Community," *IHT/Asahi*, November 12, 2009, <http://www.asahi.com/english/Herald-asahi/TKY200911120138.html> (Accessed May 13, 2010)
  17. A map illustrating the two maritime defense lines of China was published in a report by U.S. Naval Office of Intelligence, "China's Navy, 2007." It is reproduced at <http://blog.livedoor.jp/kiwahori/archives/50896418.html> (Accessed May 4, 2010).
  18. Michael Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
  19. Michael J. Green and Daniel Twining, "Democracy and American Grand Strategy in Asia: The Realist Principles Behind an Enduring Idealism," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 30, no. 1 (April 2008): 1-28.
  20. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Tulsa, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Georg Srensen, *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007).
  21. Akitoshi Miyashita, "Consensus or Compliance? *Gaiatsu*, Interests, and Japan's Foreign Aid," in Akitoshi Miyashita and Yoichiro Sato, eds., *Japanese Foreign Policy in Asia and the Pacific: Domestic Interests, American Pressure, and Regional Integration* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 37-61.
  22. Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*; In contrast, Hughes pays attention to the domestic politics of China and argues that while a Chinese leader may employ the anti-Japanese popular nationalism in his campaign for political leadership, a strong Chinese leader can suppress the anti-Japanese popular nationalism. Christopher R. Hughes, "Japan in the Politics of Chinese Leadership Legitimacy: Recent Developments in Historical Perspective," *Japan Forum*, 20, no. 2 (July 2008): 245-266.
  23. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses Strategies and Impacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Inoguchi, "Three Frameworks in Search of a Policy: US Democracy Promotion in Asia-Pacific," in Cox, Ikenberry, and Inoguchi, eds., *American Democracy Promotion*, pp. 267-286; Inoguchi, "Higashiajia no minshushugi towareru Obama gaiko: Nichibei

- kyodo de nebarizuyoi taiwa o” (Obama diplomacy about Democracy in East Asia Questioned: Tenacious Dialogue by Japan and the United States with Nondemocracies Needed), *Mainichi Shimbun*, December 10, 2009; Peter Gourevitch, Takashi Inoguchi, and Courtney Purrington, *United States-Japan Relations and International Institutions after the Cold War* (La Jolla California: Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies University of California, San Diego, 1995).
24. Yomiuri Shimbun-Gallup, December 2008, Japan-U.S. Joint Opinion Poll (P08-33), <http://www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/2008/poll-08-33.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2010); Takashi Inoguchi and Matthew Carlson, eds., *Governance and Democracy in Asia* (Melbourne: Trans-Pacific Press, 2006); Takashi Inoguchi, “Demographic Change and Asian Dynamics: Social and Political Implications,” *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 4, no. 1 (2009): 142–157. Japan Center for Economic Research.
  25. Takashi Inoguchi, “Higashiajia no minshushugi towareru Obama gaiko: Nichibei kyodo de nebarizuyoi taiwa o” [Obama diplomacy about Democracy in East Asia Questioned: Tenacious Dialogue by Japan and the United States with Nondemocracies Needed], *Mainichi Shimbun*, December 10, 2009.
  26. The spirit of this volume is in line with our previous collective volumes on the alliance: John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *Reinventing the Alliance: U.S.-Japan Security Partnership in an Era of Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1–18; Ikenberry and Inoguchi, eds., *The Uses of Institutions: The U.S., Japan, and Governance in East Asia* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).



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