

Japan-US Alliance in the multilateral cooperation

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**CHEK AGAINST THE DELIVERY
EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY**

1 Introduction

Thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to deliver a keynote speech at the 'Tokyo Washington Dialogue' today. As I understand it, the dialogue gives a rare opportunity for Japanese and American experts on maritime security from politics, government, and academia to convene. The participants will discuss the significance of Japan-US alliance essential for peace and security of the Asia-Pacific. I pay my respect to all the participants here for playing extremely important roles in shaping public opinion in their own countries through their activities. 【Also, today is the 87th birthday of Senator Daniel Inouye who has greatly contributed to deepening and developing Japan-U.S. alliance. I would like to take this opportunity to heartily congratulate Senator Inouye on his birthday. It is my great honor to deliver an address on Japan-U.S. relations in such a day.】 Prior to the panel discussion, I would like to give a speech titled 'Japan-US alliance in the multilateral cooperation.'

Now, when considering the future of Japan-US alliance, we must touch upon the Japan-US joint operation in the wake of the Great East Japan Earthquake on March 11th.

The earthquake was the strongest in Japan's recorded history. It had a magnitude of 9.0. And the fault was about 450 km long and about 200km wide. In particular, the tsunami, 9.3 meter at the highest, caused enormous damages to the coastal area. Additionally, the accident at the Fukushima Dai-ichi Nuclear Power Plant made search and rescue operation harder. This crisis, a combination of unprecedented natural disaster and radiation, imposed unexpected strain on our alliance, which is meant to defend Japan from armed attack and maintain peace and stability in the Asia Pacific.

Nevertheless, the alliance functioned sufficiently. The Self Defense Forces of Japan dispatched more than 100,000 personnel to the affected areas. The US Forces conducted disaster relief activities with SDF under Operation Tomodachi. President Obama made a statement immediately after the earthquake that the US spared no effort in supporting Japan. In fact, US AID sent a rescue team to Japan. It also sent nuclear experts

and offered necessary equipment to tackle the Fukushima accident. American citizens extended us donations amounting to about 300 million dollars as well as many encouraging messages. As can be seen, Japan received great deal of support from every level of the US.

Above all, Operation Tomodachi was largely taken up at home and abroad. About 24,500 US military personnel, 189 airplanes, and 24 warships including Aircraft Carrier Ronald Reagan joined the operation. Defense Minister Mr Kitazawa made a statement that, 'We have never appreciated the value and the significance of our alliance with the US as much as we do today.' The rescue operation ran by the SDF and the US Forces in one drew attention of the Japanese people. It has been highly evaluated. In Japan, people say that the Japanese people and the SDF have never been closer than now since its creation. It is also without doubt that the US Forces gave a considerably good impression to the Japanese people than ever.

As such, I believe the alliance fully demonstrated its true value, which has been fostered over 50 years, in the aftermath of the disaster. I wish to reiterate my gratitude as we owe this to prompt and efficient response of the American side.

Meanwhile, we have recognized once again that, in a time of crisis, the top priority for both countries are to protect their people's lives and properties. The armies are on duty to defend their national interest. On the outbreak of the nuclear accident, the US authority recommended American citizens in Japan to leave the country. I understand this was a very natural recommendation for any country to make. We must, therefore, consider how to respond to more severe cases. The concept of 'complex contingencies,' included in Japan's National Defense Program Guidelines decided by the Cabinet last year, envisages a case where the government must defend off-shore islands, respond to ballistic missiles, and other threats all at once. The concept, however, does not include large-scale and rare disasters. Naturally, complex contingencies will be more confused, complicated and intense as offensive intention of enemy exists accompanied with military combats. After all, Japan-US alliance must appropriately tackle them.

2 Security environment of North East Asia and how the region views the world

Now, as I have raised Japan's National Defense Program Guidelines, let me talk about recent international security environment.

In short, it may be said that the world is now in transition to a new age of power balance accompanied with globalization. Rise of the BRICs is amazing. Polarization of the international community has long been pointed out. I consider this tendency will become more prominent in the years to come. Current globalization, however, is happening more in economy. Globalization in politics has not developed much.

The world is not flattening; rather sovereign states are becoming increasingly self-assertive. Especially, due to relative change in influence of the West, the center of the global power balance is shifting from west to east, or from the West to the Mid-East and Asia. We can say that the 21st century will be the age of the Asia-Pacific. Under the situation, a competition is beginning between those who established and have maintained international rules (norms and systems) until today and those who wish to form new international rules (norms and systems). Some people point out that the openness of current global commons such as the ocean, outer space, and cyber space will be damaged as a result of such competition. Further, they argue that competition over resources, energy, territory and so forth, the so-called 'gray-zone' disputes-confrontations, will increase in the process, if not lead to armed conflicts. Let's suppose the Fukushima accident was caused not by tsunami but by a terrorist attack. Attack against nuclear power, a grey zone case, is highly likely. Thus it is necessary for us to consider ways to prevent nuclear proliferation and to counter terrorism.

Shift in power balance is more obvious in the Asia-Pacific. First, North Korea is now in the middle of regime shift. Its nuclear and missile development programs as well as the abduction issue are serious destabilizing factors in the region. Moreover, we cannot ignore North Korea's increasingly provocative behavior both in the region and in the international community. This was seen in the sinking of the Cheonan, an ROK naval vessel in March last year, the shelling of Yeonpyeong island of the ROK, as well as announcement of its uranium enrichment program against UN security council resolutions and the joint declaration of the six party talk last November. Meantime, many countries are modernizing its military capability and increasing military activities against a backdrop of their economic growth. Particularly, we are worried about China growing as a major power. The recent conflicts between Philippines and Vietnam in the South China Sea might be results of China's growing confidence toward its national power. Perhaps, the time of Deng Xiaoping's admonition, 'hide your capacity and bide your time,' is over. China is overwhelming in its size. The rules it insists are peculiar. When dealing with China, difference in values is a huge problem. We have become acutely aware of China's peculiarity again from its response to the collision incident between Japan Coast Guard Patrol vessel and Chinese fishing trawler in Japanese territorial waters off the Senkaku Islands. For after the incident, China detained Japanese civilians. Export of rare earth to Japan slowed down.

I would like to listen to how the US observes China in the following discussion. It seems Washington's perception on Beijing is gradually changing since late last year. Some experts analyze China that it is trying to change existing rules (norms and systems) favorably for China, as it must maintain current economic growth in order to secure its political stability. That is to say, for China, current international norms and systems are rules of a game formed under the initiative of the US after the World War 2, and China is a 'game changer' who alters the power balance of the game in the region.

How would China and the international community come to terms with each other? In other words, how could we lead China to soft-land on the existing international systems? This is our major challenge. The key is to make constant efforts so that China and other countries would follow the established international rules such as free trade and freedom of the sea. A strategy to construct a favorable environment for us is needed.

3 Value and today's mission of Japan-US Alliance

Now, how would Japan US alliance in the future be? From now on, I will talk on how Japan sees the value and the present mission of the alliance.

I have earlier mentioned polarization of the international community. Where does Japan stand in the age of polarization? GDP of the US remains to account for about one fourth of the world GDP. Overwhelmingly, its military budget is about 8 times of China's. Its population is projected to continue to rise unlike other developed countries. It shares fundamental values such as freedom, democracy, and market economy with Japan. Looking at these facts, the value of the alliance with the US will increase even more, precisely because we are now entering an age of greater uncertainty. In fact, global power balance is shifting due to stronger China, India, Russia and others, as people discuss polarization. Therefore, it will become even more valuable to ally with the US which plays the largest role in global peace and stability.

Japan-US Alliance has gone through redefinition in 1996 and enactment of Act concerning the Measures for Peace and Safety of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan in 1999. And with the end of the Cold War, it has become vital for peace and stability of the region. It is also true that Japan has worked to establish 'an alliance in the world' through such efforts as SDF's reconstruction assistance in Iraq and refueling operation in the Indian Ocean. For Japan, Japan-US alliance has evolved into two directions. That is, enhancement of collaboration with the US in the Asia-Pacific region including defense of Japan as well as cooperation in addressing global challenges. To which direction should Japan and the US lead the alliance in the years to come?

Comparing the present and the final days of the Cold War, I believe the role of the SDF in global issues has largely expanded, and the security cooperation between Japan and the US has deepened accordingly. We recognize the destabilizing factors of the other regions directly affect Japan's security in the mutually-dependent international community. Then there is no other choice for Japan, the third largest economic power, than to fulfill its responsibility in global issues.

Meanwhile, in addressing regional challenges, such as defense of Japan, situations in the areas surrounding Japan, many improvements must be made in legal infrastructure, human resources, and institutional basis. Recent security atmosphere of the Asia-Pacific shows these are pressing issues.

Japan-US alliance is important not only to defend Japan but to secure regional peace and stability as a linchpin. It must continue to fulfill its responsibility as public goods especially for the Asia-Pacific. We welcome the US to strengthen its engagement and to ensure its presence in the region. Looking at current incidents in the South China Sea, the presence of the US with overwhelming power is indispensable. Power balance is shifting dynamically in the Asia-Pacific. Then the most important for Japan and the US is to squarely work on forming of a new regional order with emerging game-changers. In doing so, we must keep in mind to hold sufficient deterrence and capability to cope with countries which do not hesitate to use force on solve issues. Traditional threats still remain in the region.

It is also true that both Japan and the US have many challenges at home. The debt of the Japanese Government exceeds twice the size of its GDP. On top of that, the government now has to earmark budget for the earthquake reconstruction. Japan's population will shrink, and Japan will enter aged society with declining birthrate soon. Meanwhile, the US Government is forced to reduce its security budget largely as a part of its long-term plan for debt reduction. In his speech on June 22nd, President Obama clearly referred to withdrawal from Afghanistan and mentioned that he would focus on nation building. With China, the game changer, the US is substantially promoting policy dialogue. Following former Defense Secretary Mr Gates' visit to China and Chinese President Mr Hu Jintao's visit to the US in January, the US and China held an Asia-Pacific Affairs consultation in Hawaii in June. Under the circumstance, it can be said that Japan and the US shares a common sense of danger on relative decrease of national power, political instability, and financial collapse.

To begin with, peace and stability of the Asia Pacific region cannot be sustained only by Japan and the US. Cooperation from many countries is needed. As other allies and friendly states in the region other than the US are gaining national strength due to economic development. Then we must consider how Japan-US alliance should be in the context of the multilateral cooperation.

It is of my view that 'Japan U.S. Alliance in the multilateral cooperation' is the new theme when considering the future alliance. Let me elaborate the idea using an example: In the past, US solved most of a huge complicated jigsaw puzzle called international community. But now, some pieces cannot be put together only by the US. So allies and friendly countries of the US need to help to fill in the space bilaterally, multilaterally, or through regional architecture.

In 2001, Commander of the US Pacific Command Dennis C. Blair and Primary Strategic Advisor John T. Hanley Jr. published an academic journal titled 'From Wheels to Web.' In the article, the authors argue that to respond to the emergence of Russia, China, and India, we must shift from the so-called hub-and-spoke led by the US to a Web in which the allies and friendly states of the US closely cooperate. However, this concept is not possible without solid bilateral relationships between the US and those countries.

In the vision of the 'Japan U.S. Alliance in the multilateral cooperation,' in addition to allies and friendly states of the US, regional organizations such as ASEAN, ARF, and EAS will also join as spokes. Collaboration among these spokes will create a rim or further solidify the spoke. More specifically, by building multilayered network consisted of various combination of bilateral and/or multilateral cooperation, it aims to maintain and strengthen the Japan-US alliance itself.

4 Challenges and prospects in deepening the Alliance

Looking at the decisions made at the 2+2 meeting in Washington in June, I assume such vision was in minds of the Ministers. At the 2+2, Common Strategic Objectives were renewed for the first time in four years. The Ministers clarified to further deepen and expand security and defense cooperation to accomplish the targets. What is now important is how to proceed with them.

I would now move on to my personal view on specific measures in order to deepen our alliance. The theme of the panel discussion following this speech is the security aspect of the alliance. I therefore will talk here in accordance to the spirit of the preamble of the security treaty. My argument is that Japan-US alliance is not a mere military alliance. That is, it intends to share our fundamental values such as mutual economic cooperation, democracy, individual freedom, and protection of the rule of laws. I will touch upon the ways to deepen the alliance in security (military) as well as in economic and cultural fields from Japan's perspective.

First, regarding security (military), the main pillar of the alliance, inter-interpretability between Japan and the US must be improved. How to coordinate the concept of 'dynamic defense force' included in the Defense Guidelines and the US Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) in 2010 will be important. Japan recognizes that a more suitable defense system must be built in accordance to changes of strategic environment in the Asia Pacific. The system must be able to address every kind of cases from normal activity to complex contingency. Seamless response to the grey zone areas are particularly critical to prevent the situation to further escalate. Many lessons have been learnt through the earthquake disaster at all levels. These lessons will be used in defending the nation, in responding the situations in the areas surrounding Japan, and also in combined cases. In the nuclear accident, we had to make decisions and take actions continuously based on a little

information and ever-changing situation day by day. Reinforcement of the security function of the Cabinet is also included in the Guidelines. It is necessary to prepare and examine each chain of command, the ways of coordination, and information sharing so that Japan and the US can jointly tackle any cases from natural disasters to armed attacks smoothly.

Secondly, I would like to touch upon the issue of global commons such as the ocean, cyber space and outer space. Concerning the ocean, Japan still does have an issue of Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA). But I understand, due to growing interests of the public in the maritime issues, that certain progress has been made such as the creation of the Maritime crisis management mechanism between Japan and China in July. On the contrary, discussion on the security aspect of the cyber space and outer space has only just started. As US released its cyber strategy a few months ago, I expect that many discussions will be held on the issue including the use of self defense, not just only between Japan and the US but in many other occasions. As to outer space, although Basic Space Law has been enacted, Japan does not have any legislation on space activities. Law Concerning Aerospace Exploration Agency is yet to be amended. Looking at the recent development of the anti-satellite weapon, I believe it is time for Japan to seriously discuss the use of outer space from security aspect.

Next, let me talk on the strengthening of the international peace cooperation.

When considering Japan-US alliance in the multilateral cooperation, cooperation in international peace operations, which has become the primary role of the SDF, is an important tool to manage the alliance. This is to balance the alliance in the world-wide scale. In other words, Japan and other friendly states will fill in the pieces of the puzzle which the US cannot do. There is a room to improve, for the SDF's actual participation to the peace operation is still not enough compared to that of other major states.

In doing so, we need to solve legal issues. First, it is necessary to enable SDF to defend other countries' military units operating with JSDF from imminent and unlawful infringement. This issue easily becomes off the point in Japan since it is regarded as the matter of the right of self-defense and activities involving the use of force. Concerning the controversy on the use of weapons of the SDF, the questions of self-defense and collective self defense also remain unsolved.

We must also review three principles on arms export, another legal aspect which the Guidelines failed to include. Under present principle, Japan's defense industry cannot even participate in joint development projects of leading technologies at the private level. Therefore, there is a risk that Japanese defense industry might be left behind in the trend of international technology innovation. By reviewing the principle, we can avoid the risk. We can also hold down the price of equipment. Furthermore, we can deepen Japan-US alliance as well as security cooperation with other countries through joint development and production. In this regard, it is a welcome step that we made clear the conditions for the third-party-transfer of SM-3 IIA in

Ballistic Missile Defense cooperation at the 2+2. Obviously, as this means transfer of equipment installed with Japanese technology to third countries, we must carefully examine to what extent we approve the transfer.

Next is on economy, the second pillar of deepening of Japan-US alliance.

I believe the development of the alliance must be sustained by robust economy. Economy is physical strength of the country. Economic ties between Japan and the US continue to be important. Japan is the fourth largest trade partner of the US. About 16.5% of local subsidiaries operate in the US.

Given the facts, early restoration of the Japanese economy is a significant factor to deepen the Japan-US alliance. It is important to cooperate in the fields which will lead to new growth, jobs, and exports of both countries. For instance, cooperation in new growth areas and in new technologies, such as high-speed railway including MAGLEV, green energy, and environment technology are of importance. Cooperation in these areas will be beneficial for both of us.

Meanwhile, it is important to strengthen collaboration with countries with matured democracy and market economy to build a security and economic cooperation system. Path toward AP-FTA is in line with the concept of 'Japan-US alliance in the multilateral cooperation.'

Third pillar of the alliance is people to people exchange.

Recently, people say that the number of Japanese student studying in the US is decreasing. We must come up with incentives to encourage Japanese youth to choose to study in the US and other countries. Japan still has much to learn from others. No matter how excellent equipment or a system is on its merit, it is used by people. I consider the success of the joint response of the SDF and the US Forces to the earthquake in March was thanks to joint training over many years. More importantly, it was thanks to the US Forces' deep understanding in Japanese culture, customs and sensitivity. I therefore am sure that the enhancement of cultural and people-to-people exchange in various fields such as industry, academia, and arts will fundamentally support Japan-US alliance.

5 Conclusions

I have so far spoken on my personal view. The power balance in the Asia Pacific is changing dramatically, as seen in emergence of China, economic integration, and proliferation of the weapons of the mass destruction. In a time like this, security arrangement of Japan and the US is the core of the alliance. Profits to be gained by economic integration are large. Nevertheless, we should be aware of the danger of the

integration when disputes in grey zone concerning territory and history cannot be solved peacefully. If the 21st century belongs to the Asia Pacific, and if the region continues to be an engine of the global economic growth, I believe Japan and the US, with common values, must fulfill their roles in forming a new order for peace and stability of the region.

Finally, the most important thing in an alliance is mutual trust. Effective joint operation in response to the earthquake was a result of mutual trust. It is likely that Japan will become inward-looking for a while, as their major interest is recovery from the disaster. Meanwhile, the US is likely to focus more on domestic affairs. Even so, situation of the international community will continue to change at top speed. Because Japan-US alliance should contribute to peace and stability not only of the Asia Pacific but of the whole world, Japan should not spend its time only on domestic issues. I believe Japan must renew its diplomacy. It will be crucial for Japan whether it can fully collaborate with the allies and the friendly countries of the US, as it will decide the future position of Japan in the international community.

An alliance is never a given. Constant efforts to maintain and reinforce Japan-US alliance are needed. I believe many excellent ideas will be shared in the discussions to follow. To conclude, I wish that today's dialogue will give us a good opportunity to deepen the friendship between Japan and the US and to strengthen the relationship of trust.

Thank you for your kind attention.

(END)