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Study Group on  
Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage

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U.S.-Japan Joint Policy Report  
**Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage:**  
As a Protector of a Liberal, Open, Rule-based International Order  
in the "Era of Smart Power"

June, 2015



The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

# Foreword

The present "Joint Policy Report" is the culmination of two-year study (FY2013-14) conducted by the Japan-U.S. joint study group on "Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage: Toward a Peaceful, Stable and Just International Order in the Era of Smart Power," co-sponsored by the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) and the Institute for National Strategic Studies, U.S. National Defense University (INSS).

Due to uncertainty over the rise of China, continuing tensions over Ukraine and a series of outrages by the "Islamic State" in the Middle East that have shaken the entire world, the international order today seems to be in increasing disarray. In light of such developments, and in order to become a nation which makes more proactive contributions to international peace, Japan needs to devise a solid security strategy of which the U.S.-Japan alliance serves as a main pillar. During the course of the present study, Japan and the United States worked together to revise the U.S.-Japan Guidelines for Defense Cooperation. During that process the two allies seem to have come to share a common perception that the U.S.-Japan alliance can achieve its fundamental goals only by contributing to peace and stability not only in the Asia-Pacific region but the entire world. Now is the time for us to conduct a future-oriented discussion on the U.S.-Japan alliance from a broader and more comprehensive perspective.

With this awareness in mind, JFIR, in April 2013, organized a Japan-U.S. joint study group on the "Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage: Toward a Peaceful, Stable and Just International Order in the Era of Smart Power," assembling a panoply of such experts from Japan and the U.S. as listed below. Having completed this two-year program of in-depth study on the topic, JFIR is now pleased to deliver the final product of the study.

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June, 2015

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\*During the entire course of this project, Dr. Michael GREEN, in his capacity as "research advisor" to this project, lavishly provided valuable comments and advice, from which both the Japan and the U.S. Teams have immensely benefitted. Nevertheless, the respective leaders and members of the Japan and the U.S Teams alone are responsible for the contents of the present "U.S.-Japan Joint Policy Report."



# Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage

As a Protector of a Liberal, Open, Rule-based International Order in the "Era of Smart Power"\*

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## I. Introduction

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Japan and the United States had been enemies only 70 years ago. During World War II, the Japanese and the Americans fought bloody battles, calling each other “fiendish beasts” and “yellow monkeys.” The U.S.-led allied occupation after the war was the very first experience of foreign occupation for Japan in its recorded history. However, Japan and the United States became allies when Japan regained its independence in 1952. For the next 63 years, the two countries worked hand-in-hand to ensure the security of the Asia-Pacific region and the world, and the solid ties between them remain firm and unshakable even today. Even in the annals of history, it is rare for two enemy countries that had hated each other so much to develop and share such close friendship and partnership ties.

The U.S.-Japan alliance has survived the rough torrents of history after World War II. This alliance was originally established to counter the threat presented by the Soviet Union at the time, and had contributed significantly to the victory of Western liberal democratic countries in the Cold War. After the end of the Cold War, the alliance was redefined, and evolved as a means of stabilizing the Asia-Pacific region. It has continued to support peace and harmony in the region since. With the dawn of the 21st century, the scope of security cooperation between Japan and the United States has expanded further to take on a global character. Today, the world is entering an era of changing international power balance, brought about by the rise of

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\* The views expressed in this report represent the personal views of the authors alone, and do not represent the views of the Japan Forum on International Relations, the Institute for National Strategic Studies/National Defense University, the U.S. Department of Defense, the Japanese government, the U.S. government, or respective institutions to which the authors belong.

emerging nations including China. Under such circumstances, there is a compelling need for the U.S.-Japan alliance to evolve further so as to continue contributing to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world. What does the U.S.-Japan alliance have to do in order to achieve that? This report is an attempt by a joint Japan-U.S. team to provide an answer to that question.

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## **II. The World in an Era of Transformation**

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The world today is in an era of historic transformation. The existing international order, which is liberal, open, and rule-based, has been formed and maintained through the post-World War II period by the collective efforts of developed democratic countries that share liberal values and principles, including Japan, under the consistent leadership of the United States. While Japan and the United States have been the largest beneficiaries of this order, other countries have also reaped significant benefits from the liberal, open, and rule-based nature of this order. In recent years, however, there have been growing concerns in the international community that this international order may be weakening and becoming increasingly unsettled as a result of the ongoing shift in the international power balance, brought about by the rise of newly emerging powers, particularly China. It is still unclear whether China will become a "responsible stakeholder" that is ready to uphold, rather than attempt to challenge, this order together with the United States, Japan, and other leading democracies in the world.

Under these circumstances, the most important question that now confronts both Japan and the United States is whether the two countries are able to manage the international situation so that the essential elements of the existing international order, i.e., its liberal, open, and rule-based character, can be preserved regardless of the various changes that are emerging in many aspects of international relations. If our answer to this question is not a cynical and resigned "No," then the next question has to be: by what means can we achieve that? The authors of this report, both Japanese and Americans, share the belief that an essential part of the answer lies in the U.S.-Japan alliance. We believe that this alliance should be the primary tool in our efforts to maintain the essential elements of the current international order. But what do the two countries actually have to do in order to maintain the liberal, open, and rule-based international order? What changes does the U.S.-Japan alliance have to undergo to meet this challenge effectively? What policies do the two countries have to implement respectively to achieve these ends? This report attempts to answer these questions, and at the same time, presents a grand design of the U.S.-Japan alliance toward the future based on the following basic premises.

# ***1. Rise of an Increasingly Assertive China***

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In recent years, the rapid growth of newly emerging powers, such as China, India, BRICS, IBSA, and the Next Eleven, has been bringing about major changes in the international distribution of power. Yet the international economic system forged in 1947 has not adapted sufficiently to these changes. While recognizing the reality of the emergence of new powers, there have been growing concerns in international society about the possible effects that these changes in international distribution of power could have on the existing liberal, open, and rule-based international order. Here, future developments in the rise of China will be of key significance.

Japan and the United States welcome the peaceful rise of China and do not seek a policy of “containment.” At the same time the two countries share a concern about the non-transparent growth of Chinese military power and the potential threat this could pose to the development of the international order going forward. In the study of international relations, the power transition theory posits that international order is most easily destabilized at a time when the hegemonic powers that had created and maintained that order are gradually weakening, and the major powers that have developed later are catching up or attempting to overtake these hegemonic powers. China now ranks second in the world after the United States in terms of GDP and defense outlay, and there are predictions of the strong possibility that China’s GDP may exceed that of the United States by the mid-2020s. There are growing concerns among the international community that this power transition theory will hold true for U.S.-China relations.

According to the power transition theory, international order becomes particularly destabilized when newly emerging powers voice their opposition to the international order that has been created and maintained by leading developed countries, and aim to build a new order themselves. The order may even become destabilized to the extent of giving rise to war. The world is now focused on whether an increasingly powerful China will support the liberal, open, and rule-based international order, or attempt to break it down. While China has benefited enormously from the established order, China is far from fully accepting the liberal values of freedom, democracy, and human rights, so it would not be surprising for it to seek fundamental changes to all or some aspects of the existing international order. Hence, since the beginning of the 21st century, the international community has begun actively lobbying China to support the current international order. It is necessary to be fully prepared to respond as required (“hedge”) when China acts in violation of the existing order and rules; at the same time, there is a need to encourage and strengthen the relationship in various ways (“engagement”), so that China will perceive that the maintenance of the existing order is helpful to its own interests and cooperate with Japan, the United States, and Europe. This concept has remained mainstream in the foreign diplomacy and security communities of Japan and the United States.

However, in recent years, the international community has recognized that the emerging China is becoming increasingly assertive, and has not responded to the “engagement” by other countries in the expected manner. Particularly since 2009, China’s foreign policy has rapidly taken on a strong character of self-assertiveness, as demonstrated by the growing frequency and escalation in the degree of acts of provocation in the South China Sea and East China Sea. Most recently, some Chinese leaders have voiced aspirations of China building a new Asian order that would exclude the United States. Concerns that China may challenge the existing liberal, open, and rule-based international order are becoming a looming reality.

Although it is not realistic to believe that the existing international order can be maintained without any changes, Japan and the United States, together with other leading democracies such as the EU, Australia, Canada, and South Korea, have a strong desire to preserve the essential characteristics of the existing order, i.e., its liberal, open, and rule-based character. For Japan and the United States, the U.S.-Japan alliance represents the most significant foreign policy tool toward the achievement of that goal.

## ***2. Alliance in the Era of Smart Power***

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The nature of the power that an alliance should exert is becoming increasingly complicated in the world of the 21st century. Traditionally, an alliance has been understood as a mechanism that seeks to promote the traditional military security of member states by mobilizing their hard power, especially military power. However, this understanding of an alliance has become too narrow for the world today.

In our world today, the centrality of military force as an instrument for state policy is perceived to have declined considerably. This is because hard power, which has been described as a “carrot and stick” approach by others, is gradually becoming less usable, particularly with regard to military power. On the other hand, soft power, which is used to encourage others to cooperate in a way that is desirable to their own countries, is gaining greater importance. In our world today, where the effectiveness of hard power has become more restricted in tandem with a growing need for soft power, there are limitations to the results that can be achieved through alliance cooperation that is solely dependent on hard power. In particular, to Japan and the United States going forward, it is becoming even more important to ensure that state and non-state actors outside of the alliance do not become opponents to Japan and the United States, but rather, bring them to the same side that the two countries are standing on. This is because without this force of attraction, it would be difficult to attain the goal of protecting the existing order that is liberal, open and rule-based against the rise of China, and especially in the Asia-Pacific region.

Regardless, it is not right to think that soft power will replace hard power in the world of the future. At one

point in time in the post-Cold War world, there were active expressions of expectation of the regression of the traditional (“modern”) order of international relations marked by competition and conflict centered on the military aspect between sovereign states, especially major powers. International relations in the new era would increasingly depart from power politics that are centered around states. In place of that, with greater interdependence and mutual penetration particularly in the area of economics, a “postmodern” international order would gradually emerge. In the “postmodern” international order, states will direct foreign policy toward achieving harmony while placing a focus on values and norms such as mutual trust between states, democracy, human rights, and the environment. Hence, states will no longer be bound by the previous form of “hard sovereignty,” and entities other than states, such as individuals and NGOs, will play a greater international role. In the security aspect, the development of mutual trust between states and greater transparency will replace the traditional policies that place an emphasis on military force and the balance of power. However, what we are facing in the 2010s could be more aptly described as a return to “traditional” international relations.

In the quarter-century since the end of the Cold War, it is true that some countries, especially developed democracies including Japan, took a stronger postmodern stance in their foreign policy. However, the postmodern situation did not take over the whole world. Globally, many countries continued to embrace the traditional stance that focuses on sovereignty and military force. A majority of the newly emerging powers, including China with its dramatic rise in recent years, are traditional countries in this sense. When confronting such countries, postmodern countries have no choice but to act in the traditional way that emphasizes sovereignty and military force, just like their opponents. Hence, as these modern newly emerging powers grow rapidly more powerful and gain greater weight and influence in the international community, the spotlight will once again turn onto the centrality of inter-state relationships marked by power politics that focus on sovereignty and military force.

This trend is becoming particularly prominent in the East Asia region, which surrounds Japan. International relations in East Asia today is gradually developing around the phenomenon of China’s rise. As illustrated by the recent events in the South China Sea and Senkaku Islands, there is a strong possibility that the rise of China could bring about a reversion in the overall regional system in East Asia to one that has a strong traditional element in its focus on sovereignty and military force. North Korea, which has been an increasingly serious and constant security threat to this region since the 1990s, has continued to concentrate on developing its military force, including nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. In Europe as well, Russia’s recent actions in relation to Ukraine have strengthened the impression that international relations is regressing toward the traditional.

The world of the 21st century, and particularly East Asia, is facing a situation that is fraught with

contradictions. Hard power that focuses on military force is becoming much less practical as a tool, and the effectiveness of hard power is on a gradual decline. At the same time, international problems that compel a response through the use of hard power, especially military force, are once again becoming increasingly salient.

Diplomacy in our world today requires a well-balanced and appropriate combination of both hard and soft power in order to be successful. Harvard University Professor Joseph Nye calls such a new form of power in international relations "smart power." The authors of this report share the recognition that international relations in the 2010s are entering the "era of smart power." We believe that an alliance in the era of smart power will have to pursue security and the maintenance of international order by simultaneously mobilizing the hard power (especially military power) of member states and promoting the attractiveness (soft power) of the alliance.

### ***3. The U.S.-Japan Alliance in the Era of Smart Power***

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Even in the era of smart power, the fundamental importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance remains unchanged. This is because we must consider that while there is only a small number of security problems in the Asia-Pacific region and the world that can be handled or resolved without the involvement of Japan and the United States in the foreseeable future, although it is also true that there is only a small number of problems that can be handled or resolved solely by Japan and the United States. Furthermore, the potential of the U.S.-Japan alliance in responding to global problems also remains unchanged.

The foundation for that lies in the maintenance and strengthening of the hard power of the alliance. To date, the U.S.-Japan alliance has possessed hard power that is only second in strength to NATO, and has exerted significant influence on the region and the world. In terms of both military and economic prowess, Japan and the United States have demonstrated an overwhelming power that has been capable of maintaining stability and deterring other countries. In the face of a rising China that is becoming increasingly assertive, Japan and the United States must maintain a sufficient degree of hard power to enable them to respond effectively to contingencies, contribute to security in Asia and in the world, and maintain an international order based on agreed upon rules and norms.

At the same time, the U.S.-Japan alliance in the era of smart power also has to put in place measures to enhance the attractiveness of the alliance in order to pull countries and non-state actors outside of the alliance toward it. The U.S.-Japan alliance becomes an attractive entity to countries and non-state actors outside of Japan and the United States, when this alliance provides international public goods that are also

beneficial to the countries and non-state actors outside of Japan and the United States. In actual fact, the U.S.-Japan alliance has provided international public goods since its formation. After World War II, Japan and the United States has contributed to managing and maintaining a liberal, open, and rule-based international order. This international order has benefited not only Japan and the United States, but also other countries around the world, not least, China. In this sense, the U.S.-Japan alliance, along with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), have fulfilled their roles as the providers of international public goods since World War II.

Japan and the United States should demonstrate and sustain the continuation of their roles as providers of international public goods to the Asia-Pacific region and the world, in order for the U.S.-Japan alliance to maintain the fundamental elements of the existing international order in both this region and in the world going forward. The existing international order is basically welcomed by most countries in the international community. Hence, a clear declaration of the intention to maintain this order in the region and the world by the U.S.-Japan alliance—which brings together the power of the United States which has the strongest hard power in the world, and the power of Japan which ranks third in the world for its economic prowess—is likely to build a sense of security in the world, and attract many countries and non-state actors to the side of Japan and the United States rather than make them opponents of the two countries. This sense of security lies at the root of the collective soft power of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

In short, despite the somewhat circular logic employed here, the soft power that is required for the U.S.-Japan alliance to help sustain and update the existing liberal, open, and rule-based order going forward can be enhanced precisely through the clear declaration of the alliance's intention to maintain that order.

However, it is necessary to understand this next point accurately. Possessing strong hard power is a necessary condition for enhancing the soft power of the alliance. This is because the soft power of the alliance is greatly influenced by what it can achieve using hard power in times of crisis. An alliance that does not have the capability to take adequate action during a crisis cannot be expected to appear attractive to countries outside of the alliance. In order to understand how an alliance works in the era of smart power, it is necessary to have an accurate understanding of the intricate relationship between hard power and soft power. Similarly for the U.S.-Japan alliance, the need to enhance the hard power of the alliance even more than before is emerging, precisely because there is a growing need to strengthen the soft power of the alliance as the world enters the era of smart power. Smart power for the U.S.-Japan alliance means preserving the essence of the liberal international order while adapting it to current and emerging new realities.

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### **III. Grand Design of the U.S.-Japan Alliance at a New Stage—Realization of the Optimal Scenario**

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In the face of the rise of newly emerging powers including China, the maintenance of the dynamism and operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance is harnessed as an instrument for shaping a liberal, open, and rule-based international order. The alliance contributes to the handling and resolution of regional and global security issues, including the North Korea problem and international terrorism, while maintaining this international order. After the second half of the 2010s, Japan and the United States must share this basic goal and work hand-in-hand to achieve it. To that end, it is necessary for the U.S.-Japan alliance to maintain a sufficiently powerful level of hard power for responding to the rise of actual and potential threats in the Asia-Pacific region and globally. At the same time, it has to put in place measures to ensure that it remains an attractive entity that has its value recognized by countries other than Japan and the United States.

What are the concrete conditions that are necessary in order to bring about this optimal scenario? In the following three sections, we lay out what is required of Japan and the United States respectively, as well as the challenges that the two countries have to tackle and overcome in cooperation with one another.

#### ***1. What is Required of Japan***

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In the past ten years or more, successive political regimes of Japan have, without exception, moved beyond partisan differences to advocate the need for strengthening the U.S.-Japan alliance. The general public has also accorded its consent to this governmental stance. In the Public Opinion Survey on Defense and the Self-Defense Forces conducted by the Cabinet Office in January 2015, 82.9% of the respondents indicated that the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty serves a useful role in ensuring the peace and safety of Japan, and 84.6% of the respondents indicated that the security of Japan should continue to be guarded by the Self-Defense Forces and the U.S.-Japan security arrangements as it is now. In Japan, political leaders as well as the general public have transcended differences in political faction and ideology to concur widely on the need for a strong U.S.-Japan alliance.

However, a strong alliance calls for strong alliance member states. The continued existence of Japan and the United States as strong, dynamic countries signifies their ability to continue having the intention and the execution ability to harness that strength for alliance cooperation. That is a major premise for maintaining the strength of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

Will Japan truly be able to continue being such a country? In September 2012, when we began conceptualizing the collaborative research between Japan and the United States that formed the basis for this report, it was not uncommon for people to hold pessimistic views regarding this point. *The U.S.-Japan Alliance—Anchoring Stability in Asia* compiled by Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye in the month before that described the need for a stronger and more equal U.S.-Japan alliance in order to provide an appropriate response to the serious challenges confronting us today, including issues related to China and North Korea. At the same time, it also asserted that Japan has to continue to be a “tier-one nation” that has “significant economic weight, capable military forces, global vision, and demonstrated leadership on international concerns.” At the time, Japan had been incapable of freeing itself from a long period of economic stagnation, and on the political front, had continued to suffer from “indeterminate politics” with the replacement of the prime minister at an almost yearly pace after Junichiro Koizumi stepped down from the position in September 2006. Although it was still one of the world’s leading economic powers, its weak political leadership meant that it was unable to exert its power, and Japan’s standing in the international community continued to decline. The world was skeptical of such a Japan, describing the situation as Japan’s “self-marginalization.” In the United States, there was a growing sense of frustration and distrust as a post-Koizumi Japan failed to move toward the implementation of agreements to strengthen the U.S.-Japan alliance. If Japan were unable to break out of this condition, it would fall to “tier-two status,” and the U.S.-Japan alliance would lose its effectiveness. Such concerns were felt not only by the United States, but were also shared widely by experts in Japan.

Fortunately, in the two and a half years that followed, Japan rapidly regained its vitality. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who had returned to power in December 2012 proclaimed to the world his determination to ensure that Japan would not fall into tier-two status, and at the same time, launched aggressive policies in quick succession with the aim of dispelling the sense of malaise that had pervaded Japan after the end of the Koizumi regime.

With regard to economics, Prime Minister Abe launched Abenomics, promptly moved Japan to participate in TPP negotiations, and took the bold step of increasing consumption tax rate to 8%. As a result, the abnormal conditions of the unprecedented strength of the yen after the Lehman Shock were quickly resolved, and Japan made a stunning recovery in the level of its stock prices. The growth rate of the Japanese economy also showed signs of recovery. A sense of expectation and hope for the future of the Japanese economy, which had been lost to the Japanese society for a long period of time, gradually began to revive.

On the diplomatic front, Prime Minister Abe propounded the concept of “diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map,” and demonstrated a proactive stance toward foreign diplomacy that no other prime minister of Japan had ever demonstrated. In the two years and four months from the time of his

appointment to the beginning of May this year, he has travelled 31 times overseas and visited as many as 54 countries and regions. In the area of security, he called for “proactive contribution to peace” based on the principles of international cooperation, revised the National Defense Program Guidelines, and formulated Japan’s first National Security Strategy. His Cabinet also adopted a resolution to enable the limited exercise of the right of collective self-defense, which includes making changes to the interpretation of the constitution. By pushing forth these policies in rapid succession, Prime Minister Abe sought to take a proactive stance with regard to Japan’s security policy.

The decisive leadership of the Prime Minister and his ability to deliver changed the views of the world toward Japan. The mockery of Japan’s self-marginalization subsided into the shadows, and Japan’s performance under the leadership of Prime Minister Abe once again drew the attention of the world. The attention given by the international community, including the United States, to Japan recovered dramatically during this period of more than two years.

The authors of this report greatly welcome this situation in Japan. All of these changes are headed in a positive direction that can contribute to enhancing the operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance. If this trend is sustained, both Japan’s hard and soft power will be enhanced, and this will in turn contribute to improving the collective hard and soft power of the U.S.-Japan alliance. However, we still do not think that Japan’s future is unconditionally stable and peaceful. We take a cautiously optimistic attitude about the future of Japan. It is necessary to be cautious because elements of instability that could potentially cast a shadow on the future of the alliance still exist. First, there is the problem of how the vitality of Japan, which has been restored since Prime Minister Abe took office, can continue to be sustained into the future. In addition, it is not certain if Japanese citizens have the intention to harness this restored vitality to strengthen the alliance. Overseas, there are also signs of concern that the gradual restoration of vitality in Japan may bring about an escalation in nationalistic fervor. Japan’s ability to adequately address these elements of instability will have a significant impact on its future, and in turn greatly influence the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

## **1) Rebirth of a Strong Foundation of National Power**

### **i) Continued Restoration of Vitality**

In order to bring about the realization of a strong U.S.-Japan alliance, Japan must regain its strength and dynamism. In that sense, more than anything, Japan is required to further promote the vitality recovery processes that have been in motion for the past two years and more.

To that end, the first necessary condition is the recovery of the Japanese economy. In the future, Japan will be confronted by a further decline of birthrates and an ageing population over a considerably long-term

period. However, if it does not sustain the economic recovery that it has achieved since Prime Minister Abe took office, and maintain a level of national power that is on par with the level of a major power, Japan will not be able to fulfill its role fully in its alliance cooperation with the United States.

We do not consider Abenomics to be an absolute. However, we feel that Abenomics should be highly appreciated for fostering a sense of expectation of economic recovery in the past two years plus, which had been lacking in Japanese society. While constructive criticism can be useful, we should avoid criticism for the sake of criticism, as that would only serve to dampen the effectiveness of Abenomics.

Alongside with economic prowess, there is also the high level of scientific and technological capability that has built the foundations of Japan's national power. Since the beginning of the 21st century, Japan has taken a global lead in the number of Nobel Prize winners it has produced in the fields of science and engineering. In addition to efforts toward economic recovery, Japan should also increase the amount of investment that is necessary to maintain this high level of scientific and technological capability through the collective efforts of the public and private sectors.

In tandem with these efforts, the public and private sectors also have to promote measures to address declining birthrates. Population is one of the most important indicators of a country's economic prowess. Should the population continue to shrink, Japan's economic prowess will be forced to shrink in tandem even if Abenomics continues to produce successful results going forward. With regard to measures for halting the decline of birthrates, there is particular need to put in place policies to ensure that women who have outstanding capabilities do not face disadvantages in their careers even after childbirth and taking up childcare responsibilities. On the other hand, countermeasures against declining birthrates require at least 30 years to produce visible results even if they had been implemented successfully, hypothetically speaking. The Government of Japan and its people have to tackle such measures based on a full understanding of this point. Moreover, policies directed at economic recovery and the maintenance of a high level of scientific and technological capability, as mentioned above, must, in the meantime, be implemented amidst the further decline of birthrates. It is also important to fully acknowledge this point.

The second condition is the steady injection of investment to build up the necessary military power. As described earlier, since his appointment, Prime Minister Abe has consistently called for proactive contribution to peace based on the principles of international cooperation. He revised the National Defense Program Guidelines, and formulated Japan's first National Security Strategy. His Cabinet also adopted a resolution to enable the limited exercise of the right of collective self-defense, which includes making changes to the interpretation of the constitution. The Diet is currently mulling defense legislation that reflects this new interpretation of the constitution, and Japan and the United States just reached an

agreement on the new guidelines for U.S.-Japan defense cooperation.

However, security and defense policies are not effective if they are proclaimed only in words. The most outstanding policy cannot function if it is not backed by the ability to put it into action. For the next 30 years at least, the finances of the Government of Japan will not be able to avoid being continuously subjected to the impact of declining birthrates and an aging population. Even if Abenomics produces successful results and the Japanese economy returns to the path of recovery, government spending will face severe limitations over a considerably long period of time. Amidst such limitations, Japan has to build the capacity, as far as possible, to move into the implementation phase of new security and defense policies that have been formulated based on its self-proclaimed brand of “proactive contribution to peace.” This is by no means a recommendation for military expansion. Nevertheless, taking a proactive stance toward security and defense policies necessarily calls for a certain degree of increase in defense spending. Furthermore, if we were to look at the region surrounding Japan, we would observe that Japan’s defense spending has generally remained at the same level, against the fact that China’s military spending has increased roughly nine times since 2000 and is now roughly three times larger than Japan’s. Japan should make necessary investments to capabilities necessary to maintain and develop the liberal, open, and rule-based international order, including and enhancing defense technology cooperation with the United States.

In tandem with the aforementioned rebirth and maintenance of hard power, the third condition is that Japan must strengthen initiatives to enhance its soft power through the collective efforts of the public and private sectors. To date, Japan’s greatest appeal has been its economic prowess. The prolonged economic depression was one of the causes behind its diminished international presence. Therefore, successful economic recovery is a necessary condition for the promotion of Japan’s soft power. Furthermore, Japan’s commitment toward proactive contribution to peace has drawn the attention and expectations of the international community today, and its ability to build the necessary capabilities while steadily implementing this concept of proactive contribution to peace will have a great impact on Japan’s reputation in international circles. On top of that, Japan’s treatment of the “history issues” will also have significant influence on Japan’s appeal.

In Japan, initiatives to promote soft power tend to focus on strengthening efforts to disseminate information from Japan. However, these efforts would not be effective if Japan fails to disseminate information that generates interest among citizens of other countries and appeals for the attractiveness of Japan. In this sense, the steady regeneration of Japan’s hard power and the control and handling of “history issues” in a manner that is considered reasonable and appropriate by the international society hold the key to the promotion of Japan’s soft power.

## **ii) Continued Stability of Japan's Political Situation**

In order for Japan to continue promoting the processes for the recovery of its vitality described above, it is necessary to ensure that its political situation does not revert to the state of instability prior to the Abe government. A stable government will exercise strong leadership and steadily implement the economic, diplomatic, and security policies that Japan needs. If political stability does not continue into the long-term, it is uncertain if Japan will be able to regain its vitality.

Japan is a democracy, and changes in political regime are bound to occur again. Even so, the respective administrations will exercise responsible leadership during their term of governance in order to realize "determinate politics." With regard to issues that have an influence on the future of Japan, such as rebuilding the economy and diplomacy and security policies, opposition parties will refrain from making "criticisms for the sake of criticism" in attacks against the ruling party. If politicians are able to demonstrate this constructive attitude, Japan's national power will remain firm and unshakable from the roots up.

In particular, with regard to foreign and security policies, it is vital for Japan to put effort into engaging in realistic discussions from the perspective of its national interests that take into account the international environment surrounding Japan, and to move beyond party politics in building consensus on its basic direction. Recently, a certain member of the Diet from the opposition party told us that there are no ruling parties or opposition parties in diplomacy and security; instead, there are only national interests. The extent to which many political leaders are able to share this belief will have a decisive impact on Japan's future.

For example, the concept of proactive contribution to peace based on the principles of international cooperation has drawn the attention and expectations of the international community in recent years. If this concept were not taken over and continued by the post-Abe regime (regardless of which party that regime may belong to), the international community would experience a great disappointment, dealing a major blow to Japan's soft power.

## **iii) Fostering of "Internationalism" Among Japanese Citizens**

Future strength and dynamism of Japan will be significantly influenced by whether the Japanese people will be able to consider the ideal state of Japan's future with an "internationalist" mindset. Broad public support for Japan to play a significant international role will have a positive influence on the future of Japan. Japanese political leaders need to continue to gain the understanding of the Japanese public on this point to ensure that the recovery of Japan's vitality proceeds smoothly.

Of particular importance will be the ability of the Japanese people to build consensus on the necessity of converting Japan's pacifism from a passive one to a more proactive one. Two types of passivity had been inherent in Japan's postwar pacifism. First, there was a lack of intention to take proactive actions toward peace. Japanese people after the World War II shared a strong determination never again to be a destroyer of peace, but this ruled out the idea of taking actions for the purpose of contributing to international peace. Second, Japan's postwar pacifism lacked the recognition that the intention to use military power is sometimes expected of a nation that wants peace. However, even more than before, the world is now calling for Japan to contribute to regional and global peace and security, including greater deployment of its Self-Defense Forces. Will the Japanese people have the capacity to recognize the need to take a proactive stance toward contributing to peace in the aspects described above? In particular, will they be able to regain the international recognition that military force plays an essential role in building and maintaining peace, even though the failure to use military force appropriately may also be dangerous?

In the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, a Japanese public with greater internationalist awareness should be able to confront the inevitable fact that the root of the U.S.-Japan alliance lies in military cooperation. It should also be able to support, more than ever before, the necessary strengthening and implementation of military cooperation. Until now, the U.S.-Japan alliance has been asymmetrical, based on the premise that the United States would protect Japan in times of crisis, and that Japan would provide the use of military bases in return as it is unable to exercise its right of collective self-defense to protect the United States. This structure is in the process of being revised to ensure that the alliance is based on greater symmetrical and mutual military cooperation between Japan and the United States. That is the true intention of the policy propounded by the Abe administration that allows for the limited exercise of Japan's right of collective self-defense. The degree to which the Japanese people are able to accept changes in this policy will have a decisive impact on the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

Such changes in the mindset of the people cannot take place automatically. Political leaders must exercise leadership to encourage a change in mindset among the people toward the direction that they believe is necessary, speak honestly to the people, and convince them. This is possible only when the political situation is stable.

Furthermore, the Japanese people will also be required to develop an attitude for thinking about the so-called "history issues" in an international context. Even as the international community embraces Japan's gradual recovery of vitality, there are some concerns that this may lead to a "rightward swing" in Japanese society. Although these concerns are unfounded to date, as Abe highlighted in his address at the Australian parliament on July 8, 2014, Japan needs to demonstrate that the country is facing history honestly, in order to position Japan to face the future.

## **2) Implementation of Necessary Measures to Strengthen the U.S.-Japan Alliance**

In order to maintain a strong U.S.-Japan alliance and enhance its operational effectiveness, Japan is required not only to regenerate a stable and robust foundation of national power. It is more important for Japan to harness this regenerated national power toward the implementation of concrete measures necessary to strengthen the alliance.

To that end, the first step will be to change the form of security and defense cooperation between the Japan and United States, and align it to achieve greater symmetry than before. As explained earlier, U.S.-Japan alliance to date has been based on an asymmetrical structure that encompasses the provision of military bases by Japan to the United States, and the U.S. commitment to defending Japan in times of crisis. This does not necessarily signify that the alliance had been one-sided, because there is recognition that the establishment of U.S. military bases in Japan has greatly benefited the United States strategically. Nevertheless, under this asymmetrical structure, it is easy for the people of both Japan and the United States to develop mistrust and dissatisfaction that the other country was reaping greater benefits through the alliance. Furthermore, it is also true that Japan's inability to protect its alliance partner in times of crisis has created a psychological sense of inferiority for Japanese government authorities and self-defense officials. Japan must aim to bring about alliance cooperation that is more symmetrical, while striving to ensure that there is appropriate policy coordination with the United States.

In order to achieve that, Japan has to adopt a more active stance of accepting military cooperation with the United States than it has previously demonstrated. As the point of departure for that, the Government of Japan has to take immediate measures, in line with the Cabinet decision passed on 1 July last year, to begin building a defense posture and capabilities that can allow it, even to a limited degree, to exercise the right of collective self-defense with the United States.

Together with the need to develop a defense posture to enable the actual practice of Japan's right of collective self-defense, it is important for Japan to take action to complement and support the United States' policy of "rebalancing" to the Asia Pacific region. The concept of "rebalancing," propounded by the Obama administration, is not restricted to the military front, but also widely encompasses the economy and other areas. However, it also clearly signifies the recognition that the United States will devote the necessary resources to this region in order to sustain and shape the liberal, open, and rule-based international order of the Asia-Pacific in an increasingly dynamic environment. Japan should appeal to the United States to continue its positive attitude toward sharing the burden and supporting this policy so that it may be realized.

Furthermore, the implementation of necessary measures to put into practice the policy of "proactive

contribution to peace” based on the principles of international cooperation, beyond the narrow definitions of security and defense cooperation between Japan and United States, will contribute to the strengthening of the U.S.-Japan alliance. As the country with the strongest national power in the world, the United States will have no choice but to play a significant role in the peace and stability of the world in the future. Even so, the fact remains that as a result of factors in recent years, such as the financial crisis and the prolonged wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, there has been a growing resistance among the some Americans toward the continuation of the United States acting alone as the “global policeman.” If Japan were to put into practice the concept of proactive contribution to peace globally, it would then be able to relieve the United States of some of its security burden, and in turn contribute to supporting the U.S.-Japan alliance. For example, Japan should fulfill its role by expanding its participation in international peace operations led by the United Nations and other entities, removing some of the previous constraints on the type of activities that it can participate in, and play some roles in collective security action based on the UN Security Council Resolutions. Other than in the military aspect, active contribution to international security in non-military areas that Japan excels in, such as Official Development Assistance (ODA), global environmental issues, and international humanitarian aid and disaster relief activities (HA/DR), will promote the global division of its roles with the United States, and come full circle by helping to maintain and enhance the resources that the United States devotes to the U.S.-Japan alliance.

### **3) Expansion of Security Cooperation**

As it moves toward the steady implementation of such measures to strengthen the U.S.-Japan alliance, the Government of Japan should also venture to take steps to further strengthen its security cooperation with partners in the Asia-Pacific region (or the Indo-Pacific region), other than the United States. The authors of this report share the firm conviction that Japan and the United States should play a central role in sustaining an updated liberal, open, and rule-based international order on which the peace of this region is based. However, the rise of newly emerging powers, especially China, has greatly shifted the global power balance. Today, with the relative decline of Japan and the United States, it would be unrealistic for them to continue taking on this role by themselves.

Japan must promote cooperation with key countries in the region that share the goal of maintaining a liberal, open, and rule-based international order in cooperation with the United States, and build expanded security cooperation networks that take the form “U.S. and Japan, plus alpha.” There is a particular need to strengthen the cooperative networks among U.S.-Japan-Australia, U.S.-Japan-India, U.S.-Japan-Korea, and U.S.-Japan-ASEAN. The successful promotion of such “U.S. and Japan, plus alpha” cooperation can contribute to relieving the security burden for both Japan and the United States in the long-term in the sense that it can help to pull countries outside of the alliance to the side of Japan and the United States. At the same time, it can also contribute to maintaining the dynamism of the U.S.-Japan

alliance. Although there are cases where friction exists between Japan and the “plus alpha” country over problems such as the issues related to history, Japan, together with the United States, should appeal to the country in question on the need to work together for the greater good, in order to maintain peace and order in the region.

Furthermore, it would be desirable for Japan to promote security cooperation with partners outside of the Asia-Pacific region, based on the premise of the steady implementation of the policy of “proactive contribution to peace” both in military and non-military fields. In particular, the strengthening of cooperation with NATO will contribute significantly to the achievement of the United States’ and Japan’s common goal of maintaining a liberal, open, and rule-based order. That will in turn contribute to enhancing the operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

#### **4) An Appropriate Asia Policy**

To bring about the realization of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, Japan has to put further effort into avoiding words or actions that could give rise to unnecessary conflict with its Asian neighbors and inhibit the strengthening of the alliance.

Recent years have seen an intensification of territorial disputes between Japan and its neighboring countries. The Japanese people share strong belief that it is clear both historically and under international law that the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima, and the Northern Territories are territories that belong to Japan. Nevertheless, Japan should adopt a controlled stance and actions while taking great care to ensure that it does not trigger an unnecessary escalation of the problems. Japan should also repeatedly state that while it would not hesitate to take decisive action in response to provocation by the other countries or attempts to change the current situation through force, it would also never initiate any action to provoke these countries.

At the same time, there is a need for Japan to manage the situation over the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima, and the Northern Territories through dialogue with the countries in question. From this perspective, the agreement comprising four items that was exchanged between Japan and China on November 7, 2014, serves as a meaningful precedence. In this document, Japan and China “recognized that they had different views as to the emergence of tense situations in recent years in the waters of the East China Sea, including those around the Senkaku Islands” in recent years. At the same time, the two countries “shared the view that, through dialogue and consultation, they would prevent the deterioration of the situation, establish a crisis management mechanism and avert the rise of unforeseen circumstances.”

Friction over “history issues” has also continued to escalate between Japan and Korea in recent years, as

the two countries have disputed over some facts of the past... Looking back, however, the two governments successfully controlled the problem since around the issuance by Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and Korean President Kim Dae-Jung of the joint declaration titled “A New Japan-Republic of Korea Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century” in October 1998, preventing it from exploding in both the Japanese and Korean societies. As a result, Japan-Korea relations have improved significantly in the period of more than 10 years leading up to the summer of 2012. Korea has continued to enjoy a strong presence and growing popularity in Japan, as demonstrated by the emergence of the social phenomenon known as the “Hallyu Boom.”. To retrieve such a situation, Japan, for its part, should continue to approach and appeal to Korea tenaciously, and take the initiative to keep the windows always open on Japan’s side for the improvement of relations.

In the face of the growing assertiveness of China, Japan and the United States are trying to protect the liberal, open, and rule-based international order, and to take appropriate steps to deal with regional and global security problems, including North Korea issues and international terrorism. The degree to which these common goals of Japan and the United States will be achieved will be significantly influenced by the extent to which the U.S.-Japan-Korea security cooperation will be realized. Japan should consider its relationship with Korea within a broader strategic context, and without focusing only on the problems of territory and history.

Japan should also demonstrate through action that it does not wish to have a confrontational relationship with China, but rather, seeks to develop a partnership. Japan is becoming increasingly concerned that China’s actions in recent years, such as its actions with respect to the Senkaku Islands, have focused more on force than rule, as in its external conduct. As long as China does not change its attitude, Japan will have no other option but to adopt a policy of focusing more on “hedging” rather than “engagement.” However, even under such circumstances, Japan should continue to engage China in various fields as far as possible, and to convey the wish of Japan and the United States to include China as a stakeholder in a rule-based international order that underpins the globalized economy and international peace.

## ***2. What is Required of the United States***

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Effort is required not only from Japan in order to maintain the strength and operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

It has been encouraging to witness recent positive changes contributing to the enhancement of the operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance not only in Japan, but also in the United States. The U.S.

economy, which had suffered from a slump after the subprime problem and Lehman shock, has made significant recovery in recent days. In relation to the growing assertiveness of China and the increasingly serious Ukraine problem, the Obama administration has begun to emphasize repeatedly the importance for both large and small countries to act with respect for rules and maintain the world order; in other words, it is placing the focus on the maintenance of the existing liberal, open, and rule-based international order. At the same time, the Obama administration is seeking to implement the policy of “rebalancing” to the Asia-Pacific region, and to increase its investment to the Asia-Pacific region, including investment in military spending, amidst fiscal difficulties. The first paragraph of its joint statement made by President Obama and Prime Minister Abe in Tokyo on April 25, 2014, stated, “The U.S. rebalance to the Asia-Pacific and Japan’s policy of “Proactive Contribution to Peace” based on the principle of international cooperation both contribute to the Alliance playing a leading role in ensuring a peaceful and prosperous Asia-Pacific.” The “Interim Report on the Revision of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation” published on 8 October stated, “For the United States, the Guidelines revision aligns with the U.S. whole-of-government rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region.” In the Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee (2+2), which was titled “A Stronger Alliance for a Dynamic Security Environment: The New Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation” and issued on April 27, 2015, when the two governments reached the final agreement on the New Guidelines, there was a paragraph that reads: “As articulated in its 2015 National Security Strategy, the United States is actively implementing its rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region. . . . Japan highly values U.S. engagement in the region. In this context, the Ministers reaffirmed the indispensable role of the Japan-U.S. Alliance in promoting regional peace, security, and prosperity.” And the U.S.-Japan Joint Vision Statement issued at the summit meeting between the two countries on the next day confirmed: “Through the United States’ Asia-Pacific Rebalance strategy, and Japan’s policy of “Proactive Contribution to Peace” based on the principle of international cooperation, we are working closely together to ensure a peaceful and prosperous future for the region and the world.” These statements can be interpreted as an indication of the U.S. commitment to strengthening the U.S.-Japan alliance as part of its policy of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region. If this trend could be sustained, it would contribute to enhancing the collective hard and soft power of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

The authors of this paper take a cautiously optimistic view toward the continued commitment of the United States toward the U.S.-Japan alliance. Our cautious attitude stems from concerns as to whether its rebalance policy will truly be maintained by future American administrations in the face of budget pressures and competing domestic and international demands. It will also be important that the United States maintain a consistent policy towards China, and resist isolationist pressure among some portions of the American public. Will the United States truly be able to continue controlling these factors of uncertainty to a satisfactory degree, and contribute to the strengthening of the U.S.-Japan alliance?

## **1) Maintenance of a Robust Foundation for National Power**

A strong U.S.-Japan alliance cannot be realized without a strong United States.

From the end of the 1990s to the beginning of the 21st century, the United States was the only superpower that boasted both military and economic prowess that other countries could not even closely rival. However, this situation changed drastically in the late 2000s. The subprime loan problem and Lehman shock triggered the U.S. economy's fall into an extreme recession, and some in the international community began to talk about the U.S. decline theory and the possible emergence of a "non-polar world." The people of the United States began to adopt a more inward-looking attitude. In Japan, there has been concern that the United States might lose its ability to invest the necessary resources to the U.S.-Japan alliance to ensure that the alliance continues to function effectively.

However, in recent months, the situation has taken a dramatic turn for the better. Successful monetary easing measures orchestrated by the Federal Reserve Board of Governors (FRB) as well as the impact of the shale revolution have produced the highest growth rates for the U.S. economy among developed countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In contrast, the marked deceleration of the Chinese economy is gradually bringing about rapid changes in the pattern of a declining United States and strengthening China that, at one point, appeared as if it would continue for some time. The sustenance of the recovery of the U.S. economy and return of a strong United States provides a powerful tailwind to drive the realization of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance.

## **2) The United States as the Protector of World Order**

Nevertheless, concern still remains in Japan about a growing tendency among the people of the United States to look inward after a decade of inconclusive wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan and the economic and fiscal crises that the country has suffered from in recent years. In January this year, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry released an article titled "Alliances for Peace," stating that the United States should continue with its involvement in the world. However, the reason behind his need to release such a study could only be attributed to the U.S. government's concerns toward the emerging inward-looking trend among the people of the United States. In order to bring about the realization of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, it is necessary to stem the inward-looking trend among the people of the United States, and it is vital for the United States to remain committed to the active international roles and leadership that it has shouldered consistently since the Second World War.

The strength of the awareness of the country's role in internationalism among the people of the United States will also be greatly swayed by the ability of U.S. politics to free itself from the dysfunction of a highly polarized political system. In the United States during the Cold War era, both the Democratic and Republican parties maintained a posture of cooperation with regard to foreign policy, as they shared a

common understanding of the U.S.' global role of containing communism and the Soviet Union. However, this consensus on foreign policy dissolved after the end of the Cold War. Amidst the growing polarization of politics, a spreading inward-looking trend that goes beyond partisan politics has been observed among the people of the United States. Although an inward-looking trend has traditionally been observed among supporters of the Democratic Party in the United States, Republican supporters have also taken on an inward-looking stance since the beginning of the Obama regime. If this trend accelerates, it is not clear that the United States will be able or willing to direct the national power that it has recovered toward maintaining its global leadership and strengthening the U.S.-Japan alliance. Recent political developments such as the bipartisan agreement on Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and on Congress' role in an Iran nuclear deal are hopeful signs.

Amidst changes in the global power balance brought about by the rise of newly emerging countries, as well as the emergence of new threats such as the Islamic State (IS), we believe that the United States has to regain an awareness of its indispensable role as the leader of countries that support a liberal, open, and rule-based international order, in order to maintain global peace and stability and protect the international financial and economic systems that has produced the wealth the world enjoys today. After the end of the Cold War, many U.S. politicians and experts said that while it was true that there were now fewer problems in the world that could be resolved only by the United States, it was undeniable that there were also few problems that could be resolved without the involvement of the United States. In particular, the maintenance of a rule-based international order, rather than the use of force, as an appropriate response to the growing assertiveness of rising powers, cannot take place without the leadership role of the United States. If the United States were to take an inward-looking stance and this international order were to collapse, the peace and prosperity of the United States itself would also be eroded.

We are hopeful that the people of the United States, especially its political leaders, will recognize these facts and move back toward a modest bipartisanship, at least with respect to diplomacy and security policies. Japan, which has laid out a policy of proactive contribution to peace, will work hand-in-hand with such a United States to achieve peace and stability for the Asia-Pacific region and the world. That will be the posture of the U.S.-Japan alliance in the optimal scenario.

### **3) Firm Adherence to Asia Policy**

In order to bring about the realization of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, the United States needs to adhere firmly to its Asia policy. The key to this lies in the United States' attitude toward China.

In recent years, the people of Japan have harbored anxieties that the attitude of the United States toward China has fluctuated between one that puts more emphasis on engagement, and one that puts more

emphasis on hedging. While calling for China to become a partner of Japan and the United States through its engagement in various fields, the two countries will place a greater emphasis on hedging when China displays an overt attitude toward flouting international rules or takes such actions. Japan and the United States have generally concurred on the point that it is acceptable to take this two-pronged approach toward China. However, under the Obama administration in particular, the perception has been created in Japan, and perhaps more broadly, that the United States prioritized engagement even when China has clearly taken action in defiance of international rules. There have also been growing concerns when high-ranking officials in the Obama administration have made remarks that appear to endorse the establishment of a “new model of major power relations” propounded by China. To bring about the realization of a strong U.S.-Japan alliance, it is important that the United States adopt a consistent attitude that adjusts the balance between engagement and hedging to correspond to China’s external attitude and actions. At the same time, the United States should make it clear to the world that it has no intentions of accepting a “new model of major power relations” as defined by China.

One of the important functions of the U.S.-Japan alliance is the provision of extended deterrence from the United States to Japan. If Japan becomes worried about U.S. Asia policy, this function may fail to work well. The United States must be fully aware of this point. In the face of the growing assertiveness of China, the United States must maintain a clear stance that it will continue to provide extended deterrence to Japan, including the Senkaku islands.

The provision of extended deterrence from the United States to Japan also remains indispensable against the burgeoning threat posed by North Korea. Even in the face of North Korea’s advancements in nuclear weapons and ballistic missile capabilities, the United States has to continue reassuring Japan, by demonstrating a firm and unwavering stance toward using all possible means against North Korea in the event that it launches an attack on Japan.

The Obama administration’s advocacy of a policy of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region is highly desirable in that it provides a sense of reassurance to Japan and the region. Amidst a growing inward-looking trend among the people of the United States, global threats outside of the Asia-Pacific, such as Ukraine/Crimea, ISIS, and Ebola, are becoming increasingly serious and immediate. Even under such circumstances, the United States is required to remain committed to continuing to allocate a sufficient level of financial and human resources, in order to sustain the implementation of its policy of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific.

#### **4) Clear Declaration of Emphasis on the U.S.-Japan Alliance**

While keeping up its efforts in the areas mentioned above, the United States also has to continue consistent

efforts to declare that Japan is the cornerstone of its alliance system in the Asia-Pacific region and that the U.S.-Japan alliance holds the key to its continued presence in this region and is vital to its global strategy.

The power of the U.S.-Japan alliance is also indispensable to the maintenance of the existing liberal, open, and rule-based international order into the future. United States should continue proclaiming this recognition to Japan, in the region, and widely to the world. This will provide a sense of reassurance to Japan, the region, and the world, and also serve to enhance the deterrence effect of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

In addition to clearly emphasizing the U.S.-Japan alliance, the United States, together with Japan, should also promote cooperation with countries in the region that support the maintenance of a liberal, open, and rule-based order, and put effort into building expanded security cooperation networks that take the form of “U.S. and Japan, plus alpha.” This will provide even greater assurance to the international community, and also contribute to enhancing the appeal of the U.S.-Japan alliance to countries outside of the alliance.

### ***3. What is Required of Japan and the United States***

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The world is now entering an era of transformation brought about by changes in the international balance of power, as a result of the rise of newly emerging countries including China. In order to respond appropriately to this situation while protecting an updated open and rule-based international order, it is necessary for countries that share the same will and purpose to cooperate and form coalitions. In turn, it is necessary to have strong leadership in order to ensure that the coalition of countries functions effectively. The United States, which still possesses the strongest national power in the world, must of course continue to exercise its leadership. However, changes in the international power distribution are making it increasingly difficult for the United States to lead the world without active cooperation from like-minded countries. Among countries that desire to maintain a liberal, open, and rule-based international order, countries that come next to the United States in terms of their powers have to share this leadership with the United States. The country that tops the list is Japan. Japan is America’s indispensable partner to share leadership with the United States and other leading nations to maintain this order. The realization of this shared leadership, and its effective functioning, is another condition for achieving the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance.

To that end, it is vital for Japan and United States, respectively, to achieve success in the efforts listed in previous two sections. However, that alone is not sufficient. There are several challenges that Japan and the United States have to tackle together.

## **1) Development of Hard Power as the Foundation of Asia-Pacific Security**

More than anything, the first thing that Japan and the United States need is to further develop the hard power of the alliance. An alliance that does not have sufficient hard power cannot be expected to take on a leadership role in regional and global security.

For a long time after the war, peace and safety in the Asia-Pacific region were underpinned by the bilateral alliances that joined the United States to various countries in the region. Of these, the U.S.-Japan alliance has played the most important role. Even today, it would be difficult to imagine a state of security in this region without the U.S.-Japan alliance. However, in the quarter-century since the end of the Cold War, this region has gradually developed various forms of multilateral security cooperation, including the ASEAN Regional Forum. In recent years, countries in the region have also begun taking steps to explore new forms of security cooperation, which includes security cooperation partnerships between these countries. Japan has also issued security cooperation declarations with Australia and India in efforts to strengthen the respective partnerships. In addition, in the midst of an expanding new security agenda that covers issues such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, growth in international terrorism, infectious diseases, and natural disasters, functional cooperative frameworks are also being developed in order to bring about the realization of cooperation between countries in the region, which is indispensable for tackling these problems. In order for Japan and the United States to become co-leaders in securing the safety of this region, it is vital to transform the U.S.-Japan alliance into a security mechanism that can function as the cornerstone of the network of various multilateral security partnerships in the Asia-Pacific region going forward.

In order to achieve that, the U.S.-Japan alliance must continue to gain the trust of countries other than Japan and the United States as an effective instrument of stabilization in this region. The basis for that lies in having the alliance continue to maintain a level of military capability that is able to respond adequately to regional security challenges.

The presence of the U.S. Forces in Japan (USFJ) has served as an important pillar for this military capability. In the face of China's growing assertiveness in recent years, countries in the Asia-Pacific region are beginning to gain a renewed awareness of the importance that the U.S. strategic presence has for peace in this region.

Security policies are currently undergoing dramatic reform in Japan. However, there is a widely shared consensus in the Japanese society, across political party lines, that Japan's defense posture should be limited to a defensive and self-restrained one. It is therefore not conceivable that Japan's defense capabilities will completely replace the functions currently undertaken by the USFJ. The presence of the

USFJ will remain vital even in the future for ensuring security in Japan and peace in Asia.

The continued presence of the USFJ cannot be achieved without the understanding and support of local residents. In order to maintain the military capabilities of the alliance, the governments of both Japan and the United States need to manage the so-called “base issues” and other operational problems of the alliance in a manner that enhances operational effectiveness of the USFJ, and at the same time, in a way that is accepted and approved of by the local populations and the wider Japanese public. Needless to say, these efforts are particularly important in Okinawa, where a large part of the USFJ personnel are stationed.

To that end, it would be important for the governments of the two allies to continue their dialogue on adjusting the implementation of the U.S.-Japan Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), including improvements related to criminal prosecution and environmental issues.

To ease the burden on Okinawa, it is also necessary to relocate USFJ activities that are currently conducted on Okinawa, including military training and exercises, outside of the Prefecture as much as possible, to the extent that the relocation does not have an adverse impact on the operational effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

To bring about the realization of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, it would not be sufficient simply to secure the operational effectiveness of the USFJ. The governments of Japan and the United States must continue to put effort into strengthening cooperation between the Self-Defense Forces and the USFJ, elevating role-sharing arrangements, and enhancing interoperability.

For these to happen, the basic premise is that the two allies must share a common recognition, through adequate communication of their intentions, about the practical scope of the ongoing changes brought about by Japan’s current efforts to make its security policy more proactive. In particular, the two countries must share a common understanding about what actions Japan will be able to take under the limited exercise of its right of collective self-defense, whether Japan will aim to possess strike capability in the future, and if it does, the extent and type of capability it will aim to possess. Upon reaching a common recognition about the specific military capabilities possessed by Japan under its new security policy, as well as the potential scope of its military role, and based on the newly formulated “Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation,” the two allies will promote concrete military cooperation that is necessary for dealing appropriately with security challenges in the Asia-Pacific region under civilian guidance, and at the same time, extend Japan’s role in Asia-Pacific security. That is the image of the optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance. The military cooperation that Japan and the United States should take steps to expand will include formulations of joint operational plans to deal with possible

contingencies and “gray-zone” situations, cyber space and space cooperation, promotion of the joint use of bases that are currently used only by the USFJ with the Self-Defense Forces, defense industrial cooperation for emerging technologies (advanced technologies that are anticipated to be put to practical use in future), and coordinated capacity building in the field of security in third countries, particularly in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, the two allies must also pay close attention to maintaining and improving economic capability on top of military capability, which also comprises a part of the hard power of the U.S.-Japan alliance. Neither strong military capabilities nor a strong alliance can be achieved without a strong economy. Hence, Japan and the United States must put effort into maintaining good, close economic relations, and at the same time, strengthen economic cooperation with countries in the region. As the starting point for that, the two countries should lead other participating countries to a successful conclusion in negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as soon as possible. In doing so, they should pay careful attention to the fact that TPP negotiations will become a testing ground for the capability of liberal democracies, especially Japan and the United States, to shape rules both regionally and globally in the future.

Such efforts by Japan and the United States to develop the hard power of the of the alliance, complemented by initiatives to promote security cooperation that takes the form of “U.S. and Japan, plus alpha,” will produce the most ideal form of the U.S.-Japan alliance for the future; that is the basic understanding of this report. For example, in order to protect and maintain the existing regional order that is liberal, open, and rule-based in the face of the rise of an increasingly assertive China, Japan and the United States will need the cooperation of like-minded states in the region, such as Australia, India, and South Korea. Furthermore, in order to deal with the North Korea issue, Japan and the United States will need to promote security cooperation with South Korea at the working level.

## **2) Adjustments in the Approach toward China**

An indispensable condition for the realization of the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance is for Japan and the United States to share a common perception about China’s external attitudes and actions, and to coordinate on their China policy so as to act in concert toward China.

The basic principle that the two allies should adopt for their China policy is to simultaneously engage and hedge against China, as they have been doing so far. Japan and the United States hope and welcome a Chinese foreign policy that involves China’s participation in the existing international order, one that accommodates China’s growing presence, and is based on the rule of law, the maintenance of a market economy system in China going forward, as well as continued growth that is achieved while maintaining economic and political stability. From this perspective, the two allies will share the common

understanding that, as far as possible, it is important to hold positive dialogues with China in various fields. However, at the same time, the two allies will also share the recognition that the U.S.-Japan alliance will have to keep China's excessive assertiveness in check, so as to prevent it from undermining a liberal, open, and rule-based order. While the United States and Japan need to accommodate a Chinese role in the system commensurate with its economy, this must be based on China adhering to the international laws and rules.

Japan and the United States share the understanding that they will have to take every necessary measures to prevent conflicts with China. At the same time, the two countries also agrees that the U.S.-Japan alliance must deter China while preparing for situations in which deterrence fails. Based on this understanding, the United States must continue to make clear proclamations to the world that the Senkaku Islands fall within the scope of Article 5 of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, and that there is no doubt that the United States is prepared to support Japan if a contingency or a "gray-zone" situation arises regarding the Senkaku Islands. On the other hand, Japan must maintain close communication and consultation with the United States on issues relating to the Senkaku Islands. As members of an alliance, Japan and the United States should continue to proclaim the following two points to China and the international community.

- i) Japan should not provoke China on the Senkaku Islands issue.
- ii) However, in the event that China provokes Japan, the United States will support Japan in its position as an ally of Japan.

### **3) Adjustments in the Approach toward North Korea**

Another indispensable condition for the realization of the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance is for Japan and the United States to share the same perception about North Korea's external attitudes and actions, and to coordinate on their North Korea policy so as to act in concert toward North Korea.

Even amidst a situation of growing security challenges in the Asia-Pacific region brought about by China's increasing assertiveness, the continued development and deployment of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles by North Korea is posing an increasingly serious threat to Japan, the United States, and the region. Sharing this awareness, the two allies must proceed on consultations about how they should make preparations, in a cooperative manner, for the various possible scenarios concerning the future of North Korea. Japan and the United States also need to continue to coordinate closely with South Korea with respect to politics toward North Korea.

In doing so, the two allies have to pay full attention to the fact that the abduction of Japanese citizens by North Korea continues to be a serious and unresolved problem for Japan.

#### **4) Maintaining Credible Extended Deterrence**

As long as Japan maintains a self-restrained defensive security posture, the provision of extended deterrence by the United States to Japan will continue to be a core function of the U.S.-Japan alliance going forward.

As China moves forward on enhancing and modernizing its nuclear capability, and North Korea makes advancements on reducing the sizes of nuclear warheads and acquires the capability of mounting them onto ballistic missiles, Japan and the United States must continue to affirm clearly and frequently that the provision of extended deterrence by the United States to Japan is indispensable to the security of Japan, and that they are committed to continuing with these efforts. Additionally, the United States must assure Japan that its nuclear deterrence will remain credible against nuclear threats from these countries to Japan, so as to ensure that Japan is not troubled by any sense of insecurity.

Furthermore, the deterrence of situations that cannot be managed through nuclear weapons alone is growing in importance in recent times, including the deterrence of the occurrence of “gray-zone” situations in the Senkaku Islands and other places. Even with regard to such situations, there are cases in which the provision of extended deterrence by the United States to Japan is indispensable as long as Japan maintains a self-restrained and defensive security posture. The United States must continue to assure Japan on the provision of extended deterrence that is focused on, but not limited to, extended nuclear deterrence against nuclear threats and a wide range of other threats to Japan, so as to ensure that Japan does not hold any sense of insecurity.

#### **5) Maintenance and Enhancement of the Alliance’s Soft Power**

Alongside with the abovementioned initiatives to strengthen the alliance’s collective hard power, the U.S.-Japan alliance has to put effort into enhancing its collective soft power, which is the ability to attract countries in the region and around the world, as well as non-state actors. To that end, the U.S.-Japan alliance must continue to act in ways that demonstrate to the world its stance of providing international public goods that will also benefit other countries and non-state actors. Above all, the alliance should continue to affirm its continued contribution to the protection and promotion of a liberal, open, and rule-based international order in the Asia-Pacific region and globally toward the future.

In order for the U.S.-Japan alliance to function effectively in the Asia-Pacific region, the ability of the allies to attract ASEAN countries to the alliance is becoming increasingly significant. Japan and the United States have to continue to affirm their intention to continue contributing to the maintenance of a rule-based order even in Southeast Asia. At the same time, they have to inject increased resources into helping in capacity building in the area of security by ASEAN countries.

To enhance the soft power of the alliance, it is also important to take steps to prevent the occurrence of situations that may damage the alliance's soft power. In that sense, the appropriate treatment of Japan's "history issues" poses a significant challenge for the U.S.-Japan alliance.

As a starting point for tackling this challenge, the two allies must basically concur on the views and assessment of world history 70 years after the end of World War II, and of the contribution of Japan as a peaceful country to peace and prosperity in the world.

Furthermore, it is important for the Japanese government to avoid being perceived as taking a revisionist stance toward the "history issues." In his address at the Australian parliament on July 8 last year, Prime Minister Abe made the following remarks that were well received by the Australian public as well as the international community. These remarks are still fresh in our memories.

*"When we Japanese started out again after the Second World War, we thought long and hard over what had happened in the past and came to make a vow for peace with their whole heart. We Japanese have followed the path until the present day. We will never let the horrors of the past centuries, history repeat themselves. This vow that Japan made after the war is still fully alive today. It will never change going forward. There is no question at all about this point."*

The Japanese government should indicate that Japan is not turning its back on the past in 2015, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the end of war. At the same time, it should make a renewed appeal to the international community that post-war Japan has tread on completely different paths before and after the war, and furthermore, take the opportunity to establish its future-oriented policies. Prime Minister Abe's address, as quoted above, was based precisely on this spirit.

With respect to some of the issues, such as the issue of comfort women, there are many in Japan who believe that there are certain "contra-factual" beliefs circulating in the international community. However, Japan must not adopt an attitude of complete denial against the fact that Japan had committed some mistakes in its past behavior. Japan's future-oriented policies going forward must be founded upon an attitude that does not turn away from historical facts.

*"Our fathers and grandfathers lived in a time that saw Kokoda and Sandakan. How many young Australians, with bright futures to come, lost their lives? And for those who made it through the war, how much trauma did they feel even years and years later, from these painful memories? I can find absolutely no words to say. I can only stay humble against the evils and horrors of history. May I most humbly speak for Japan and on behalf of the*

*Japanese people here in sending my most sincere condolences towards the many souls who lost their lives."*

Prime Minister Abe's address at the Australian parliament was well received internationally because the Prime Minister laid out clearly the stance of not turning away from historical facts through his own words.

Prime Minister Abe reiterated the same spirit as he expressed in Canberra, in the United States on April 29, 2015. In his address at the Joint Meeting of the Congress, he made the following remarks that were warmly accepted by most of the members of the Senate and the House who participated in the event:

*"Pearl Harbor, Bataan Corregidor, Coral Sea.... The battles engraved at the Memorial crossed my mind, and I reflected upon the lost dreams and lost futures of those young Americans. History is harsh. What is done cannot be undone. With deep repentance in my heart, I stood there in silent prayers for some time. My dear friends, on behalf of Japan and the Japanese people, I offer with profound respect my eternal condolences to the souls of all American people that were lost during World War II."*

History did not come to an end in 1945. A 70-year period, which was significantly longer than the pre-war and wartime periods that posed problems in Japan's "history issues," has already flowed by since 1945. The future that comes after this 70-year period will be even longer.

In his address at the UN General Assembly in September 2013, Prime Minister Abe spoke clearly about the concept of "a society in which women shine," which would become "a thread guiding Japan's diplomacy" going forward. The Prime Minister said, "It is a matter of outrage that there continues to be sexual violence against women during times of armed conflict even now, in the 21st century. Japan will do everything possible to prevent such crimes against women and to support both materially and psychologically those people who unfortunately become victims of such acts." At the same time, he declared that Japan would spare no efforts to cooperate closely with the international community, including UN Women, the International Criminal Court, and the Office of Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, in pursuing that policy.

In the 70 years after the war, Japan has taken the path of a peaceful country that respects the liberal values such as freedom, democracy, and human rights, and contributed to peace and prosperity in the world. As demonstrated by this address by Prime Minister Abe, Japan's key responsibility going forward is to project this 70 years of post-war history onto the future, and play a proactive role in making the world a better place. At the same time, Japan has to recognize the fact that there had been a period in its history when its actions had not necessarily been aligned with the standard of conduct that it has adopted today.

## 6) Avoiding Unilateral Moves

As explained above, in order to realize the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance, the two allies have to tighten their cooperation and cohesiveness, more than ever before, in both the aspects of hard and soft power. On the other hand, this also means that the two countries must avoid making unilateral moves on the security issues that either of the countries have strong concerns for.

In the long history of the U.S.-Japan alliance to date, there have been cases where either Japan or the United States made bold unilateral moves to change their policies on issues that included policies toward China and North Korea, without sufficient communication and coordination with the other ally beforehand. These instances have created a sense of distrust in the other party. In the face of the rise of newly emerging countries such as China, it is becoming more important than ever for the two allies to cooperate in order to maintain the effectiveness of the U.S.-Japan alliance. Going forward, Japan and the United States need to pay close attention so as to prevent such situations from arising with regard to security issues that both the allies have concerns for.

The two allies have to acknowledge that Japan's proactive contribution to peace and the United States' rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific region represent the policy concepts on which the new Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation, and to ensure that they do not act lightly to change these without communicating with the other country. Based on a foundation of these policies, Japan and the United States will maintain freedom over vast stretches of waters from Northeast Asia, to the East China Sea, South China Sea, and Indian Ocean, and protect a liberal, open, and rule-based order for the Asia-Pacific region and the world. With these as the fundamental goals for the U.S.-Japan alliance, the two allies have to constantly adjust their policies and maintain a consistent stance.

In the U.S.-Japan Joint Vision Statement issued on April 28, 2015, Japan and the United States declared that the two allies "have helped to build a strong rules-based international order, based on a commitment to rules, norms and institutions that are the foundation of global affairs and our way of life," and their alliance "has become global in reach." Under the optimal scenario, Japan and the United States, as allies, will continue to take a cohesive stance in tackling the various security challenges outside the region that are becoming increasingly serious in our world today. Such challenges include the Ukraine/Crimea problem, Islamic State (IS), and the Ebola hemorrhagic fever. Even in cyber space and space, new security threats and challenges are beginning to emerge. When confronting such problems, the two allies have to work together and pay close attention to maintaining the unity of G7.

## **4. Toward Strengthening Mutual Understanding and Trust**

As described above, it would be difficult to fulfill the conditions for the realization of the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance if the two allies do not perceive each other as reliable, trustworthy, and useful partners.

The U.S.-Japan alliance has functioned extremely well since its formation, and has therefore never once been faced with a crisis or a contingency. Hence, until relatively recently, there were experts who expressed skepticism about the alliance's ability to truly function effectively in times of crisis. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States in 2001, Japan took actions to prove that it was a useful, reliable, and trustworthy ally for the United States. Similarly, after March 11, 2011 when Japan was struck by the Great East Japan Earthquake and the consequent accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station, the United States also demonstrated through its actions that it was such an ally for Japan.

However, it has been 13 years and a half since the 9/11 attack and four years since the 3/11 disaster. The sense among citizens of both countries that the partner country is a useful, reliable and trustworthy ally could potentially fade with time if it were left alone.

To prevent that from happening, and to maintain the vibrancy of the alliance, it is important to engage in public educational activities for the societies of both Japan and the United States. It is particularly important to promote understanding of Japan and of the U.S.-Japan alliance among the U.S. society. From the perspective of Japan, the United States is a big country, and the people of Japan naturally take the United States into consideration when thinking about their foreign policy. However, as Japan is not such a big country when viewed from the perspective of the United States, the people of the United States may not necessarily take Japan into consideration when thinking about their foreign policy. Hence, the Japanese government has to take measures to enhance education and awareness building activities, as well as engage in public diplomacy, in order to strengthen Japan's presence as well as awareness of Japan in the United States, which had declined as a result of the self-marginalization trend that emerged after the Koizumi era. Such efforts must be put in place both in Washington, D.C. and in the local areas.

At the same time, Japan faces the pressing task of rallying the public and private sectors to strengthen recruitment and invitation of students experts, and practitioners in various fields from the United States to Japan, and to nurture groups in the United States that have strong knowledge of Japan. The number of experts and practitioners in the United States who have detailed knowledge about the U.S.-Japan alliance is said to be at most a few dozen, and these people are concentrated in the Washington, D.C. area. There is a need to put effort into turning this situation around.

An example is the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program (a program that recruits young people overseas to serve as language instructors and other role), which is implemented by local governments in cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and Council of Local Authorities for International Relations. This program has contributed significantly to promoting understanding of Japan amongst the general American public. The KAKEHASHI Project, which is implemented by the Japan Foundation as part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' youth exchange initiatives with the North America region, is another example. In addition to promoting understanding of Japan amongst the general American public, this project has also played an important role in nurturing groups in the United States that have strong knowledge of Japan. Regretfully, the authors of this report must note that Japan's investment in such projects has been less than adequate in recent years. In order to bring about the realization of the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance, it would be ideal for the public and private sectors to cooperate on increasing investment into this area.

On the other hand, there are also concerns in Japan that an insufficient number of new-generation experts who have detailed knowledge of the U.S.-Japan alliance and more broadly, of U.S.-Japan relations, is being nurtured. For instance, while there is a need for measures to strengthen subsidy schemes to support policy-oriented research related to the U.S.-Japan alliance and U.S.-Japan relations, conducted by young researchers with future potential, there has been inadequate investment poured into such initiatives in Japan in recent years. In addition, steps need to be taken to increase the number of Japanese students at American universities at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, particularly in view of the shrinking number of such students. Corrective action needs to be taken immediately in order to achieve the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance.

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## IV. Conclusion

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In the face of the rise of newly emerging countries such as China, maintain the operational effectiveness and vibrancy of the U.S.-Japan alliance, and harness the alliance instruments to protect the existing liberal, open, and rule-based international order. Contribute to handling and resolving security issues in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, including problems related to North Korea and international terrorism. As allies, Japan and the United States will share these fundamental goals, and work together to achieve them. To that end, they have to maintain the hard and soft power that are needed, and at the same time, succeed in measures aimed at maintaining a sufficiently strong level of collective hard power as the U.S.-Japan alliance in order to respond to the potential challenges posed by the rise of newly emerging countries, and making the alliance attractive enough to be able to gain cooperation and recognition of other countries toward the value of its existence. It is important for both Japan and the United States to realize such an optimal scenario for the U.S.-Japan alliance, and this importance goes beyond the partisan politics in respective countries.

Both Japan and the United States are liberal democracies, and it is natural for the ruling and opposition parties to compete on policies. However, the respective parties in both Japan and the United States that aim to take over the reins of government should share the common goals of protecting the fundamental liberal, open, and rule-based character of the existing international order, and of maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, and aim toward maintaining an adequate degree of power to achieve these goals. The U.S.-Japan alliance is the most important source of such power to both Japan and the United States.

In that sense, this report was not written only for the current rulers of the government in Japan and the United States. Rather, the optimal scenario of the U.S.-Japan alliance should be the aim of both countries, regardless of the party that is leading the government at a future point in time.

If the conditions laid out in this report are not fulfilled, there will be heightened fears for the realization of the “worst case scenario” for the U.S.-Japan alliance. While these conditions may not be easy to achieve for either Japan or the United States, they are hurdles that must be overcome in order to bring about the realization of a world that is ideal for the two allies in the future.

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