

Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good:

Adapting the U.S.-Japan Alliance to Geopolitical Change in Asia

James L. Schoff | February 21, 2017

Outline

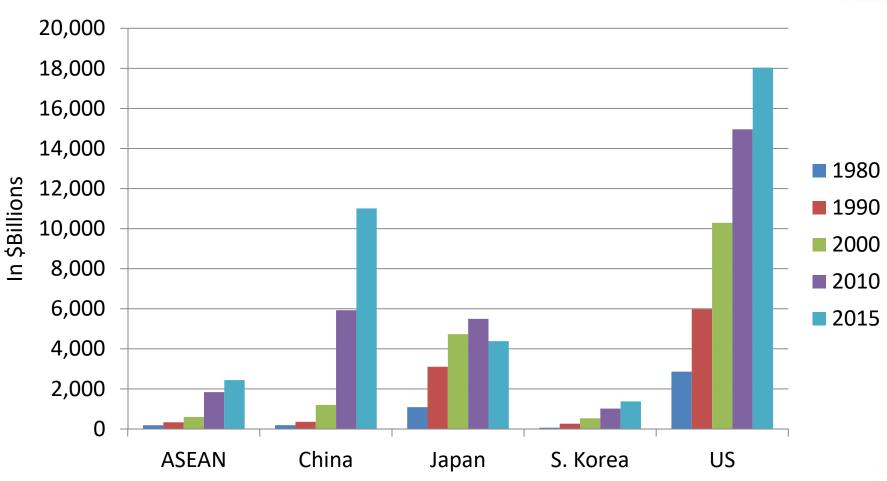
Where are we now?

Dangers and Opportunities?

What should we do?



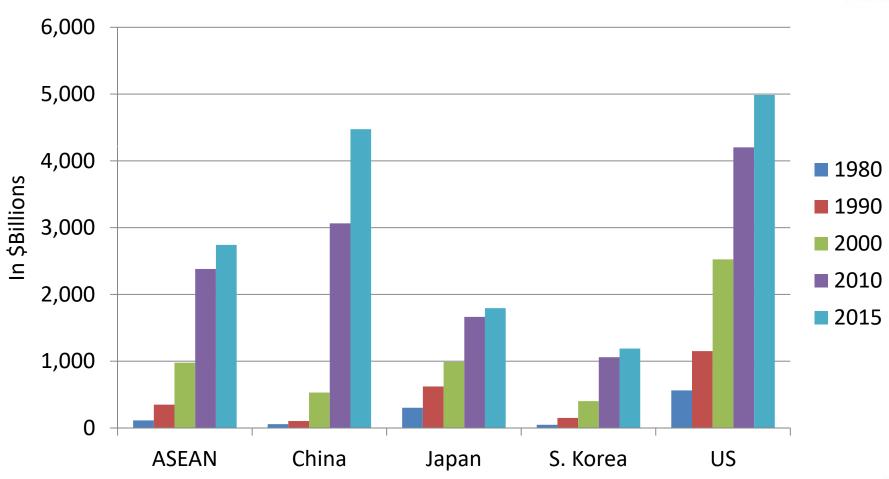
GDP (current US\$)



Source: World Bank, in current US\$



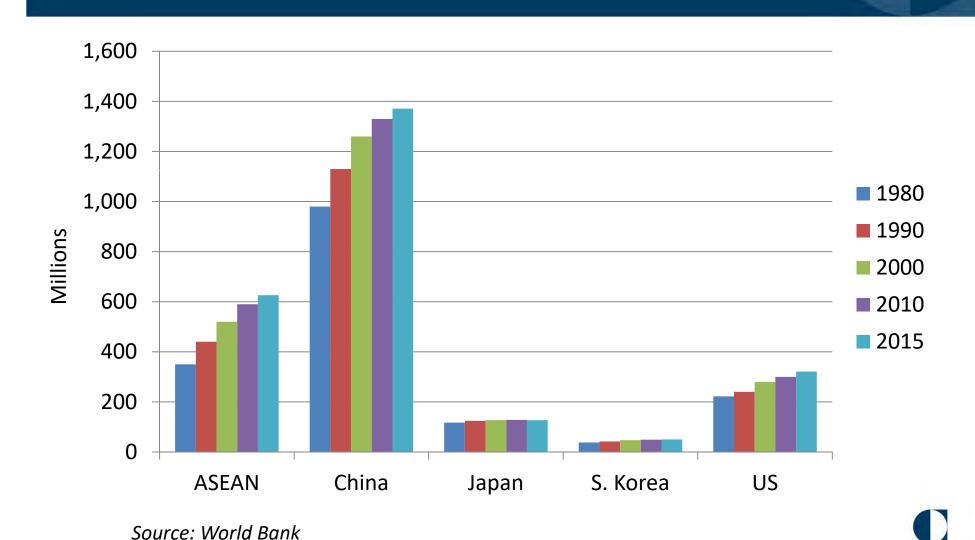
Trade Value



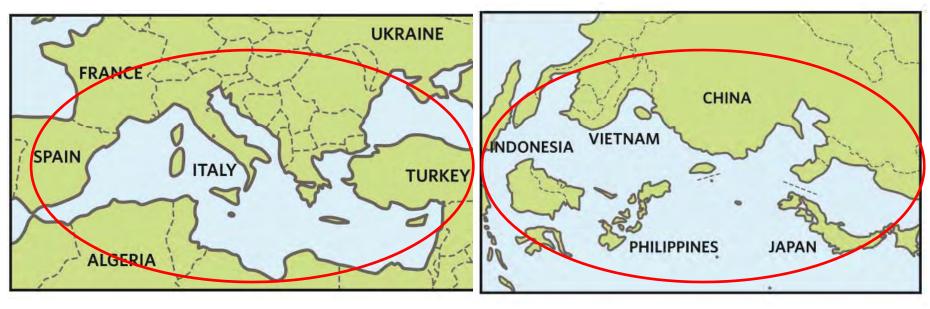
Source: UNCTAD; trade value as sum of exports and imports



Population



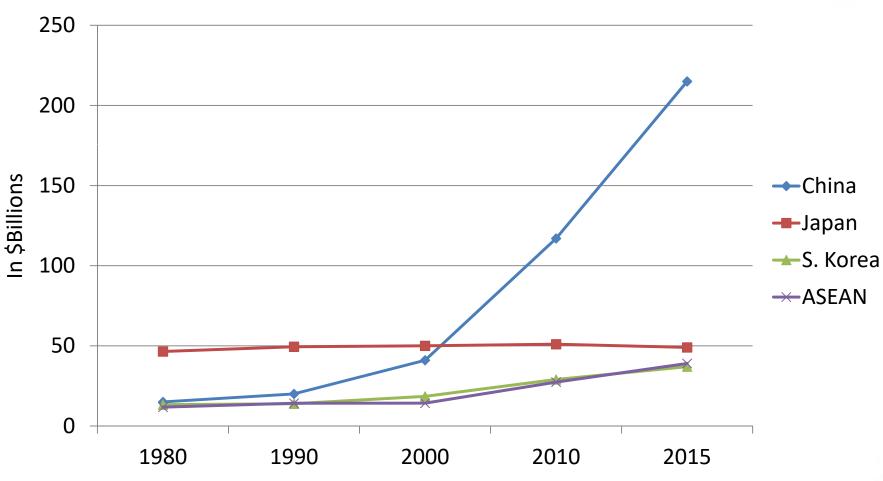
Asia's Mediterranean



- Diverse, ancient, and productive cultures linked by maritime trade
- History of rivalry and war, but also cooperation and prosperity



Defense Spending

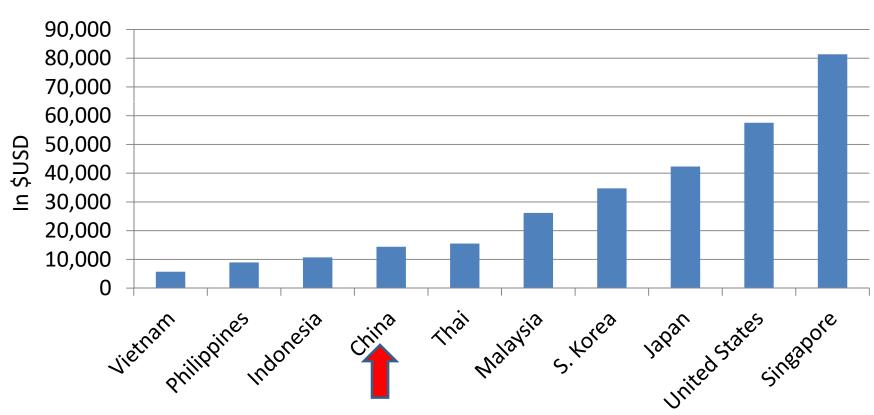


Source: Based on SIPRI and USG (DoD) data, in nominal US\$



GNI (per capita, PPP)

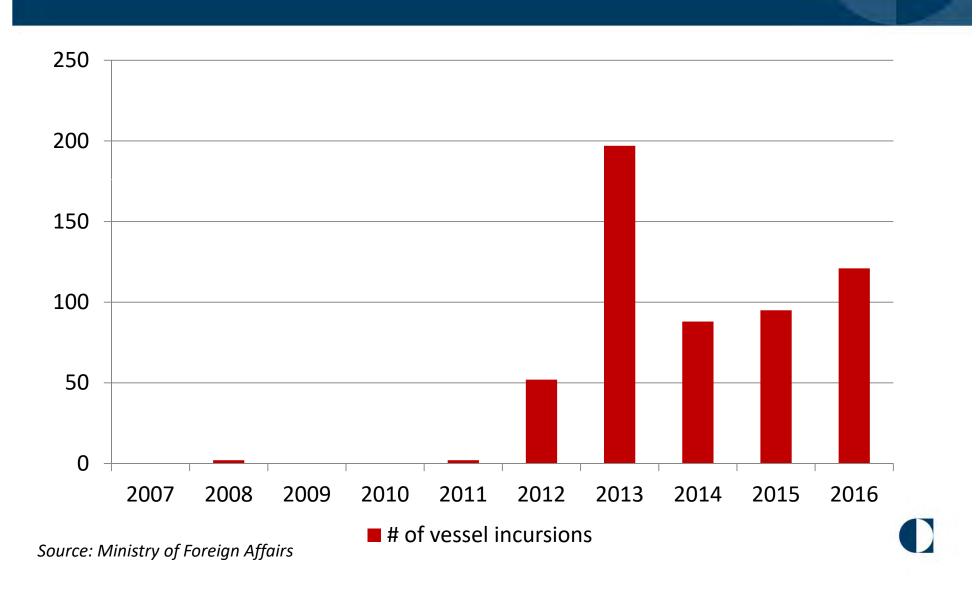




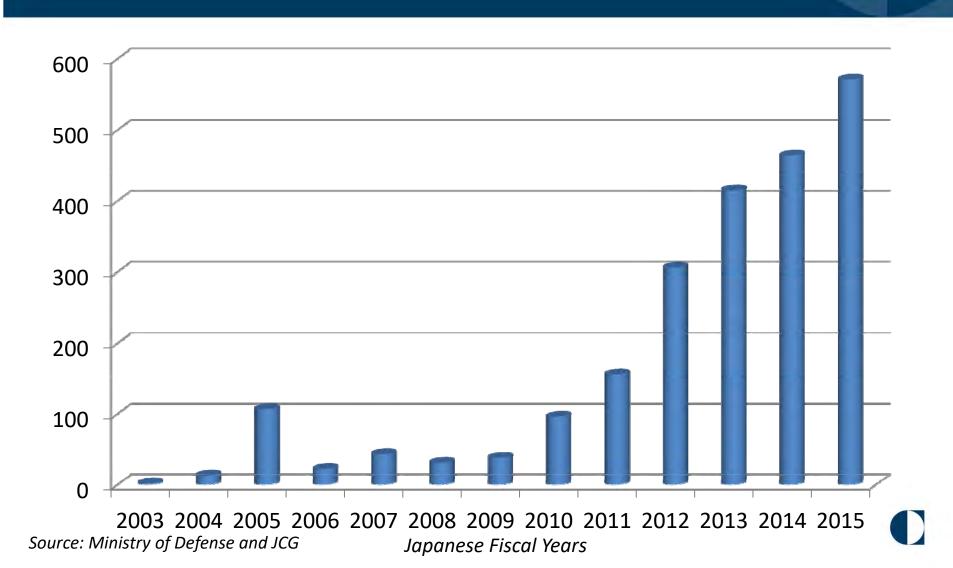
Source: World Bank



Chinese Ships in Senaku Waters

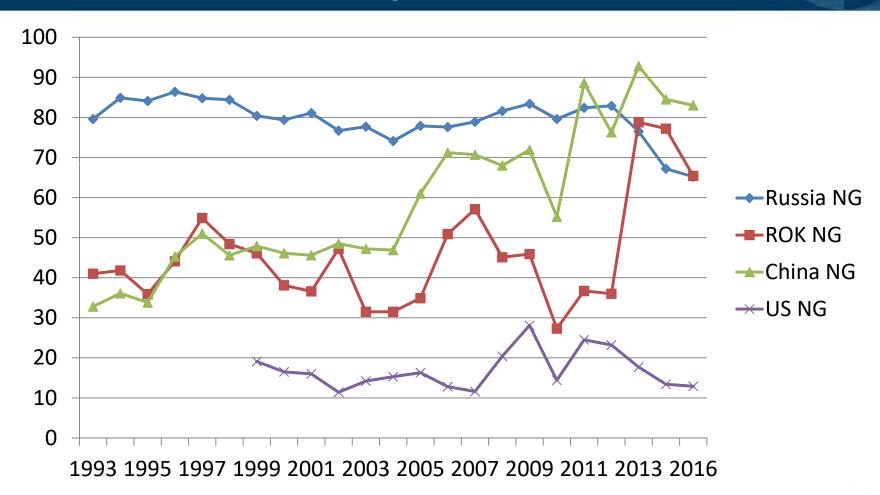


Air Scrambles by JASDF against China



Japanese Public on Relations in NE Asia

Relations are "not good" or "not favorable"



Source: Japan Cabinet Office



Japan's Security Policy Staircase

	Security Legislation	2015
	Revising Arms Export Principles	2014
	State Secrets Law	2013
	Counter-Piracy Patrols	2009
	Use of Space for Defensive Purposes	2008
	Defense Agency to Ministry (MOD)	2007
	Ball:stic Missile Defense System Intro	2004
	Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law	2003
	Emergency Situations Legislation	2002
	Antiterrorism Special Measures Law	2001
	SIASJ Law	1999
	PKO Law	1992



CHARTING THE POST-COLD WAR U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE A resource to explore the evolution of U.S.-Japan alliance cooperation across a variety of policy categories. FOREIGN SCIENCE AND **DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER ECONOMY** SECURITY POLICY **TECHNOLOGY** Cooperation on Population and AIDS Structural 7 Financial Dialogue Global Partnership Cooperative Program in Natural Resources Systems and Technology Forum mpediments Initiative Children's Health Initiative Cooperative Medical Sciences Program 2 Security Consultative Committee Common Agenda Framework for a New Investment Initiative **Economic Partnership** for Cooperation in Women in Development **Global Perspective** Cooperation on Energy Commission on Arms Control, **Enhanced Initiative** Disarmament, Nonproliferation, Trade Forum on Deregulation and Civil Society and Democratization and Verification Cooperation on APEC Comprehensive Dialogue on Space **Competition Policy** Polio Eradication Initiative **Economic Partnership** 4 Extended Deterrence Dialogue Joint High-Level and Working-Level Cyber Dialogue Harmonization Initiative for Growth Committee Meetings on Science and Technology Cooperation **Nuclear Security Working Group** Dialogue on the Private Sector/ **Government Commission** Internet Economy Collaboration on Intelligent Global Partnership for Health Cyber Defense **Transportation Systems** Regulatory Reform and Policy Working Group Dialogue to Promote 8 Development Dialogue Competition Policy Initiative Innovation, Entrepreneurship, **Nuclear Energy Steering Committee** and Job Creation Bilateral Commission on Civil **Nuclear Cooperation**

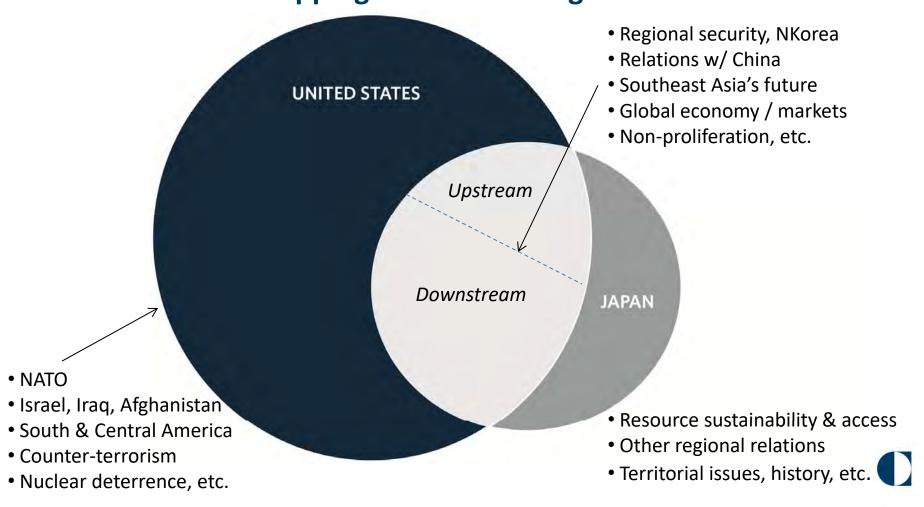
Times Change (1990 to 2015)

- Closer US-Japan, Global Japan, China risen...
- Japan share of US trade deficit (40% to 9%)
- US trade complaints vs Japan (57 to 7) (5-yr periods)
- Japan's US FDI 个by 6x; employ most in manufacturing
- Japan firms' ratio of foreign assets to all (3% to 12%)
- Foreign ownership of Tokyo stocks (5% to 30%)
- Japan export-import re: China (2 & 5% to 18 & 25%)

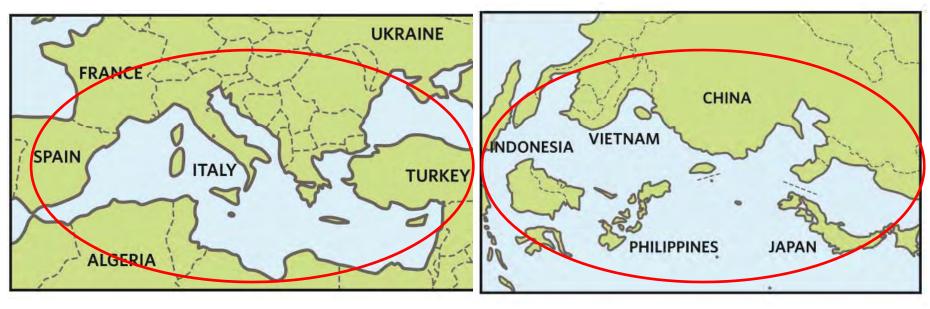


Broader Context for Security Policy

Overlapping Alliance Strategic Priorities



Asia's Mediterranean



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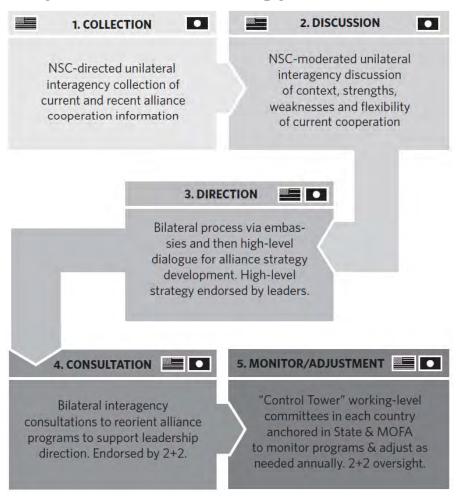


Thank You



New Opportunities & Enduring Challenges

Five-Step Alliance Strategy Consultations





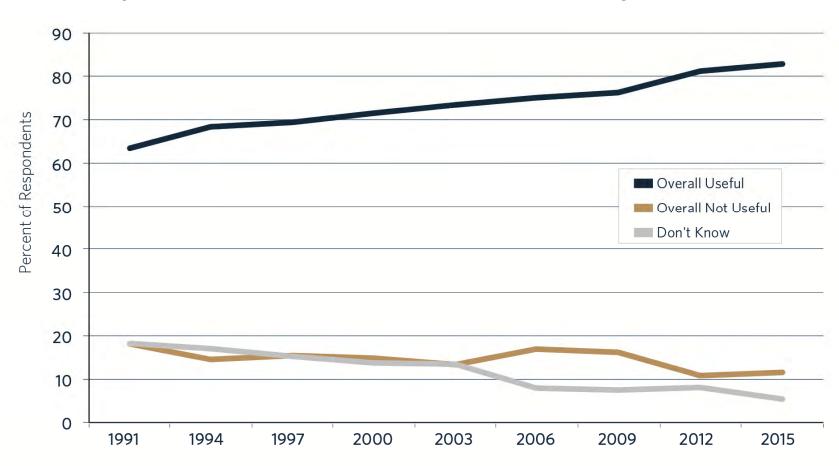
New Opportunities amid Challenges

Policy Recommendations

- Alliance Strategy Consultations
 - China Policy (and North Korea)
 - > Southeast Asia Balanced Dvlpt/Regional Commons
 - > Global Econ (minimize protectionism & promote tech policy)
- Defense Guideline Implementation
- Continue to Reduce the U.S. Footprint in Okinawa
- Adjust to Better Support the Open Stable System

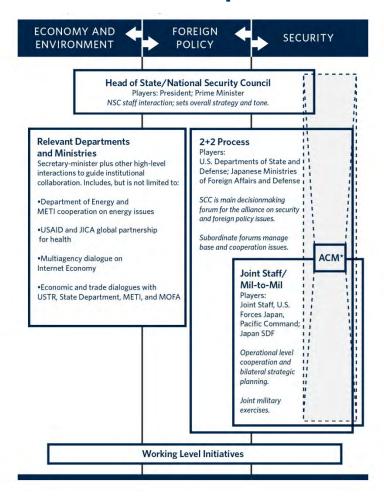


Japanese Public Views on Alliance Utility, 1990-2015





U.S.-Japan Alliance Management



The Alliance Coordination Mechanism (ACM)*

Players: USFJ, U.S. Embassy in Japan, DOS, DOD, PACOM, NSC; MOFA, MOD, NSC, SDF

The ACM facilitates interagency information sharing and collaborative decision making for a security-related situation. Maximizes operational and political accountability for the alliance in a crisis.

Meetings are conducted in-person and via secure video teleconference.

A bilateral operations coordination center in Tokyo and/or a component coordination center on site of the response can be created when necessary.

In event of a crisis, the ACM can be scaled up to include higher-level officials and other departments relevant to the situation.

Note: Please see the list of acronyms at the beginning of this report for full names.

