Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good:
Adapting the U.S.-Japan Alliance to Geopolitical Change in Asia

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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

Source: World Bank
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)

2015

Source: World Bank
Chinese Ships in Senaku Waters

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Air Scrambles by JASDF against China

Source: Ministry of Defense and JCG
Japanese Public on Relations in NE Asia

Relations are “not good” or “not favorable”

Source: Japan Cabinet Office
Post-Cold War Reflections

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
- Ballistic 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
## Post-Cold War Reflections

**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.

### DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER

1. Cooperation on Population and AIDS
2. Children’s Health Initiative
3. Women in Development
4. Civil Society and Democratization
5. Polio Eradication Initiative
6. Argo
7. Global Partnership for Health

### ECONOMY

1. Structural Improvements Initiative
2. Framework for a New Economic Partnership
3. Enhanced Initiative on Dissemination and Competition Policy
4. Economic Partnership for Growth
5. Private Sector/Government Commission
6. Regulatory Reform and Competition Policy Initiative
7. Financial Dialogue
8. Investment Initiative
9. Trade Forum
10. Economic Harmonization Initiative
11. Dialogue on the Internet Economy
12. Dialogue to Promote Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Job Creation

### FOREIGN POLICY

1. Global Partnership
2. Common Agenda for Cooperation in Global Perspective
3. Cooperation on APEC
4. Cyber Dialogue

### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

1. Cooperative Program in Natural Resources
2. Cooperative Medical Sciences Program
3. Cooperation on Energy
4. Comprehensive Dialogue on Space
5. Joint High-Level and Working-Level Committee Meetings on Science and Technology Cooperation
6. Collaboration on Intelligent Transportation Systems
7. Nuclear Energy Steering Committee
8. Bilateral Commission on Civil Nuclear Cooperation

### SECURITY

1. Systems and Technology Forum
2. Security Consultative Committee
3. Commission on Arms Control, Disarmament, Nonproliferation, and Verification
4. Extended Deterrence Dialogue
5. Nuclear Security Working Group
6. Cyber Defense Working Group

Post-Cold War Reflections

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 ↑ 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

**United States**
- Regional security, NKorea
- Relations w/ China
- Southeast Asia’s future
- Global economy / markets
- Non-proliferation, etc.

**Japan**
- Resource sustainability & access
- Other regional relations
- Territorial issues, history, etc.

- NATO
- Israel, Iraq, Afghanistan
- South & Central America
- Counter-terrorism
- Nuclear deterrence, etc.
Asia’s Mediterranean

- Diverse, ancient, and productive cultures linked by maritime trade
- History of rivalry and war, but also cooperation and prosperity
Thank You
New Opportunities & Enduring Challenges

Five-Step Alliance Strategy Consultations

1. COLLECTION
   NSC-directed unilateral interagency collection of current and recent alliance cooperation information.

2. DISCUSSION
   NSC-moderated unilateral interagency discussion of context, strengths, weaknesses and flexibility of current cooperation.

3. DIRECTION
   Bilateral process via embassies and then high-level dialogue for alliance strategy development. High-level strategy endorsed by leaders.

4. CONSULTATION
   Bilateral interagency consultations to reorient alliance programs to support leadership direction. Endorsed by 2+2.

5. MONITOR/ADJUSTMENT
   “Control Tower” working-level committees in each country anchored in State & MOFA to monitor programs & adjust as needed annually. 2+2 oversight.
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
Post-Cold War Reflections


Source: Japanese Cabinet Office
Post-Cold War Reflections

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.