

# Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements and the Expectations toward China

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

The prosperity of Japan is inevitably linked to the prosperity of East Asian region, and therefore, of the world. Under this perspective, Japan has been playing an active role in enhancing regional cooperation in East Asia. This can be exemplified by the fact that Japan and Australia were the advocator for APEC, that Japan was deeply involved in founding ARF, by Japan's participation in Peace Keeping Operations, and by Japan's swift and effective economical assistance seen during the Asian currency and financial crisis. In other words, regional cooperation is at the very core of Japan's Foreign Policy.

Given the enormous diversity of the Asia-Pacific region in terms of, for example, countries' individual political and economic systems, levels of economic development, and culture, the development and strengthening of bilateral and multilateral dialogue and cooperation frameworks on a number of levels is both a realistic and appropriate means of improving the region's security environment. Through these endeavors, security cooperation in the region is expected to make incremental progress, with continued concrete efforts from all countries required for the achievement of long-term regional stability.

*(Quoted from: Diplomatic Blue Book 2000, Chapter 2; Section1 "Regional Efforts")*

In recent years, moves to strengthen regional integration and cooperation have been accompanied by a new trend, namely the promotion of regional trade agreements. Japan believes that the development of such regional trade agreements should complement the WTO-centered multilateral free trading system and contribute to world economic development through stimulating economies.

*(Quoted from: Diplomatic Blue Book 2000, Chapter 2; Section2 "Overview")*

This prosperity Japan speaks of does not come from a self-seeking impulse, nor does it block the interests of any outer-region countries. Rather, it is Japan's belief that

regional cooperation leads to world-wide cooperation, and therefore should be open not only to regional members but also to outer-region countries as well. This kind of attitude will become more important as globalization deepens.

Quite obviously, an effective economic policy is needed for such continuous prosperity Japan hopes for. However, that alone is not enough. As precondition, stability must be kept in security wise throughout the region, so that each country may concentrate on how to create and continue prosperity. For more than 10 years, this region has been experiencing a continuously stable state. (The word “stable” here is equivalent to “no wars between two or more nations”) And as a result, the region has been experiencing an increase in economic power. This stability we now experience, however, can not be taken for granted. There are many uncertain and opaque factors such as territorial disputes and divided nations still lurking in the region. Mutual-distrust can be seen often times. Though the security state we have now is not perilously strained, there is no proof that this no-war-situation will last either. And East Asian region lacks an effective regional mechanism to stabilize such uncertain factors.

Taking in account of such regional conditions, Japan has adopted the Japan-US Security Arrangements as its Security Policy. China has often times criticized this arrangements to be a legacy of the Cold War, and that it is an “out of date” policy. That is an absolute misconstrue. In this presentation, we would like to point out that Japan-US Security Arrangements is nothing like an exclusive arrangements China speaks of.

## **Chapter 2 The Utility of Japan-US Security Arrangements in East Asia**

### **Section 1 Japan-U.S. Security Framework after the review**

During the Cold War the major aim of the Alliance was to establish a framework to weaken the Soviet’s expansion into the Far East region by maintaining enough military power to deter them. However, instability and uncertainty persist in the region after the end of the Cold War. Accordingly, the maintenance of peace and stability in areas surrounding Japan has assumed greater importance for the security of Japan. In view of the changes in the post-Cold War environment, the Governments of the United States and Japan decided to examine ways to enhance their defense cooperation.

Responding to the need to review ways to increase the credibility of the defense cooperation resulted from studies and consultations on a comprehensive framework for cooperation in the area of defense. U.S. and Japanese officials have since pursued a variety of bilateral programs, including studies on bilateral defense planning. Such programs have increased the credibility of bilateral security arrangements.

The "U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security" issued by Prime Minister Hashimoto and President Clinton in April 1996, reconfirmed that “the U.S.-Japan security relationship remains the cornerstone for achieving common security objectives, and for maintaining a stable and prosperous environment in the Asia-Pacific region.”

What’s most important is that a potential enemy no longer exists. Meaning that its role during the Cold War as a security tool only for the interests of “the west” has

changed to a broader role as a stabilizer in the East Asia Region.

## **Section 2 The benefits of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements to the region**

Alliances such as Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements stable East Asia's security environment. This concept is based on three main effects and functions of alliance.

First, alliance has an function of "deterrence" and "reaction". The "deterrence" here means to let opponent know the risk of armed attack in advance, and let she hesitate from it. The term "reaction" means practical arm forces when attacked by others in spite of "deterrence". This "deterrence" and "reaction" towards uncertain factors in Asia-region remains indispensable. The stability of the region lies on common use of these powers.

The second effect is standardization of strategic relationships. If it were not for the alliance with the function of "deterrence" and "reaction" in Asia-region, each nation should have to cope with crisis on their own.

Thirdly, it promotes the security dialog. As in the case of the Spratly Islands where the national interests of the parties involved in the conflict complicatedly overlap there is the need to prevent one's use of armed forces. This is where the Alliance's function as a deterrent becomes useful. If one cannot use armed forces, the only solution to a conflict would be to carry on a dialog through a multi-lateral cooperation framework. As a multi-lateral cooperation is ensured it provides security to the countries in the region which smoothly brings countries to hold conversations on an equal footing at the ASEAN forum.

In short the significance of the Alliance in the region is that its existence not only secures but also promotes a multi-lateral dialog to be proceeded in the region. In another words the multi-lateral cooperation framework, as a place to build trust and precede preventive diplomacy, supplements the Alliance in the security sphere. There for the U.S.-Japan alliance is indispensable for ensuring the security of Japan and continues to play a key role in maintaining the peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

## **Section 3 The expectations toward China in becoming a Responsible Power**

The importance of China's contribution to the region is emphasized in the Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security Alliance that " it is extremely important for the stability and prosperity of the region that China play a positive role" and stressed "the interest of both countries in furthering cooperation with China ". It is also emphasized in the "East Asia Strategy Report" as bellow,

China presents numerous challenges, as well as opportunities, in our regional security strategy. As a nuclear weapons state, a leading regional military power, and global player with a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, China plays a key role in Asia-Pacific security. The United States, and indeed the rest of the Asia-Pacific region, has a substantial interest in China's emergence as a stable, secure, open, prosperous and peaceful country. Prospects for peace and prosperity in Asia depend heavily upon China's role as a responsible member of the international community.

China as a big power is expected to play an appropriate role as a responsible power.

Here we refer “a responsible power” as a country that is aware of its responsibilities to contribute to the stability and prosperity of the region. However the military build up signals China's intention to establish regional hegemony.

Among the many uncertainties of the Asian security environment, none is more compelling than this. East Asia's security environment in the future depends on China's future intentions. Regional stability is impossible to pursue without China's cooperation to fulfill its required role as a responsible power. This does not contradict to the “omni directional diplomacy”.

### **Chapter 3      China's suspicious actions that incurs distrust throughout the region**

As a big power in the region China's moves are one of the greatest concerns to the neighboring countries. Many countries of East Asia including Japan has high expectations towards China to actively contribute to stabilizing and prospering the region and to do one's duty, so to speak, as a responsible country.

Needless to say that China has previously indicated its intentions towards contributing to the regions peace and stability. However far from living up to the expectations China has rather raised feelings of unease and concerns of the neighboring countries.

#### **Section 1    China's opaque National Defense Policy**

The National Defense Policy still lacks transparency even after publicly releasing the white book of National Defense three times. China's defense spending has registered an annual increase of more than 10% for 13 consecutive years since 1989. According to the reports of the Institute for National Strategic Studies, there is a significant portion of total expenditures that has not been revealed yet, and that the actual amount of the budget is three times larger. Given these facts, China's strategic intentions are absolutely incomprehensible.

#### **Section 2    The expand to the Sparty Islands**

Chinese territorial claims and the expansionism in the Spratly Islands have stimulated military skirmishes and jurisdictional disputes among the involving countries. In a 1988 incident, the ongoing dispute between China and Vietnam over sovereignty to the Spratly Islands erupted into an unprecedented exchange of hostilities. The situation was reduced to an exchange of accusations following the armed encounter. Vietnam's repeated calls for China to settle the dispute diplomatically won rare support for Vietnam from the international community, but elicited little response from China. A conciliatory mood developed on both sides of the Sino - Vietnamese border in 1989, partly because Vietnam's proposal to withdraw completely from Cambodia responded to a basic Chinese condition for improved relations. In a 1992 Chinese Law China restated its territorial claims to expand its initiatives over the Islands.

ASEAN has held a number of working groups with China and Taiwan on related issues that have the potential to foster the cooperation and friendship needed to resolve

the more contentious issues in the region. The ASEAN foreign ministers have reiterated the invitations to all parties directly concerned to subscribe to the principles of the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea.

In late November 1999 officials of ASEAN agreed to draft regional code of conduct to prevent conflicts over the Spratly Islands in advance of the ASEAN summit in Manila. China also agreed to hold talks with ASEAN member nations on the newly formulated draft code of conduct. However China, which claims the entire South China Sea, signaled it was not ready to agree to the ASEAN draft. To resolve South China Sea issues, and for the peaceful arbitration of territorial claims it is indispensable for China's to take the leading role in diplomatic initiatives and cooperative agreements.

### **Section 3 The activities by Chinese Navy Vessels and Marine Research Vessels in waters near Japan**

Another example of China's behavior that incurs distrust throughout the region is the Chinese Navy Vessels' and Marine Research Vessels' activity in waters near Japan. The Japanese public sentiment is strongly against China's behavior on this matter.

The Chinese Navy Vessels were confirmed twice in 1999, three times in 2000 in Japan's side of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). In May 2000, a Chinese navy vessel crossed the Tsushima Strait between Japan and South Korea and then the Tsugaru Strait in Japan, moving southward along the Pacific coast to waters off Cape Inubo in Chiba Prefecture. There the vessel reportedly conducted intelligence-gathering operations focused on metropolitan Tokyo before going back to China, concluding its trip that circulates the whole of Japan. Such act without any advance notice is surly equivalent to infringement of Japanese sovereignty. And China has not, up until today, made it clear why such an act was necessary.

Not only that, for the past several years, Chinese vessels have been conducting research activities in the same zone, defying Japanese protests. In 1999, a total of more than 30 vessels, sometimes accompanied by warships, conducted research operations in the waters.

These vessels are using pneumatic devices for acoustic exploration and conducting drilling tests. Obviously, the Chinese are making geological surveys of the sea bottom, disregarding Japanese rights. The UN's law of the sea does not permit such act in foreign waters. And never has China asked for Japan's permission for its conduct. This kind of behavior prompted the Japanese China criticism, which in the end, lead to ODA criticism.

In August 2000, Foreign Minister Kohno brought up the subject of Chinese Marine Research Vessels during his official visit to China, and it was agreed on both sides to establish a framework for "mutual prior notification". This requires Japan and China to give two months' notice through diplomatic channels on marine research activities in the East China Sea. During the talk Foreign Minister Tang even declared that "the circumstances concern to the Japanese no longer exist."

Well, guess what happened in September 2000. Chinese marine research vessels were found yet again in waters near Japan, conducting its usual geological surveys of the sea bottom. This has furthered Japan's distrust toward China. Not only has China

defied its agreement in not to conduct research without prior notification, China has defied its Foreign Minister's words. Wouldn't such self-contradictory behavior be criticized?

The framework for "mutual prior notification" was set in February 2001, however, up until today five different research activities have been conducted. In one case, the activity was explained to be made "under the government's order".

China has continuously betrayed Japan's trust by continuing its research activities even after the matter became an international issue in August 2000. As long as this behavior continues, Japan's distrust against China would accumulate.

What must be noted is the fact that this issue is no Japan-China problem. China's behavior against an official agreement such as the framework for "mutual prior notification" will spread an image of China not keeping agreements. Considering China's high foreign dependence in economy, 40% in specific numbers, it must be said that it is not a fine move.

### **Conclusion**

To hope one's growth and prosperity is probably the same with any other nation. With the end of Cold War, which terminated the unnecessary tension and brought the deepening of globalization, interdependence between nations has risen dramatically. It is unrealistic to pursue interests for limited nations under such condition. And, stability throughout the region is needed for continuous growth and prosperity.

The readjustments made in 1996 for Japan-US Security Arrangements was to adapt the former arrangements into the new world order. In other words, to shift from an arrangements whose objective was to defend Japan from the threat of Soviet Union to an arrangements whose objective is to deal with uncertain and opaque factors that exist in East Asia. As we have pointed out clearly in Chapter 2, an alliance such as Japan-US Security Arrangements has its utility that does not confront the recent movements for multilateral cooperation.

The cooperation of all regional members, including China, is necessary in pursuing this stability Japan and US speak of. And for regional cooperation to flourish in East Asia, nations must follow International Laws and agreements, and establish relations founded upon solid trust. We have stated the concerns felt throughout the region toward China in Chapter 3. The objective in doing so was not to stir up another China-is-a-threat-theory. However, considering the fact that China has a profound influence in East Asia, by showing behaviors stated in Chapter 3 will cause unwanted concern to other nations and hinder mutual trust to form.

What we ask is quite simple. We ask China to answer sincerely to these concerns felt by nations throughout the region. Is it not true that, by dismissing such concerns can China finally become a sure power that enhances East Asia's stability and prosperity it hopes to become?