

NIDS International Security Seminar  
Meeting the Challenge of China's Rise:  
A New Agenda for the Japan-U.S. Alliance

Supported by its remarkable growth as the world's second largest economy, China is rapidly and comprehensively expanding both its military capabilities and activities. In particular, Beijing's actions in the East China Sea and South China Sea have generated significant concern across the Asia-Pacific region. At the same time, China remains a developing country seeking to make a "peaceful rise," and is confronted by a host of serious domestic problems. Arguably, how China might behave in the future poses the single greatest uncertainty for the stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In April 2015, the Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee (also known as the 'Two-plus-Two Meeting') approved the new Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation. The following month, Japan's Cabinet adopted the Legislation for Peace and Security, which contributes to ensuring the effectiveness of the new Guidelines. In September 2015, the security-related bills, as submitted by the Cabinet, were passed by the Diet and subsequently promulgated. The new Guidelines and security legislation bring to the forefront Japan's need to enhance the credibility of its deterrent—through further strengthening of the Japan-U.S. alliance and partnerships with other countries—in order to build a seamless security posture capable of responding to a range of contingencies, whether in peacetime or times of crisis.

Given the new security environment (the "New Normal") as shaped by the changing dynamics of major power relations vis-à-vis the rise of China, and with the United States increasing its engagement and presence in the Asia-Pacific, it behooves us to examine various aspects of the U.S. strategy toward the region and explore the future roles, missions, and capabilities of the Japan-U.S. Alliance. To spotlight the convergence of these critical issues, the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) will host the International Security Seminar "Meeting the Challenge of China's Rise: A New Agenda for the Japan-U.S. Alliance," inviting distinguished experts from the U.S and Japan. It is our hope that this seminar provides an opportunity to encourage a lively and informed debate on Japan's security strategy, especially with regard to China and the future of the Japan-U.S. Alliance.

NIDS International Security Seminar  
“Meeting the Challenge of China's Rise:  
A New Agenda for the Japan-U.S. Alliance”  
Monday, March 7, 2016  
Hotel Chinzanso Tokyo

**PROGRAM**

- 13:00      **OPENING REMARKS**  
Yoshiyuki Suzuki, President, National Institute for Defense Studies  
(NIDS)
- 13:05      **INTRODUCTION**  
Eiichi Katahara, NIDS
- 13:10      **KEYNOTE SPEECH:**  
Gerald L.Curtis, Columbia University  
“The United States and Japan in a Turbulent Asia”
- 13:40-14:30 **SESSION I: "The U.S. Strategy for Asia and the U.S.-Japan Alliance"**  
Speaker:  
    Kent E. Calder, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies,  
    Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS),  
    Johns Hopkins University  
Discussant:  
    Shigeo Kikuchi, NIDS
- 14:30-14:45 **COFFEE BREAK**
- 14:45-15:35 **SESSION II: "The U.S. Strategy toward China"**  
Speaker:  
    Bonnie S. Glaser, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)  
Discussant:  
    Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies,  
    Waseda University

15:35-16:25 SESSION III: "An Evolving U.S.-Japan Alliance and its Strategic Outlook"

Speaker:

Michael R. Auslin, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

Discussant:

Sugio Takahashi, NIDS

16:25-16:40 COFFEE BREAK

16:40-17:30 SESSION IV: Wrap-up discussion

17:30 CLOSING REMARKS

Hirofumi Onishi, Vice President, NIDS

## ✦ SPEAKERS (in presentation order)

**Gerald L. Curtis** is Burgess Professor of Political Science at Columbia University, former Director of Columbia's Weatherhead East Asian Institute, and Distinguished Research Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation.

**Kent E. Calder** is currently Director of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins SAIS in Washington, D.C. He also serves as Director of Japan Studies.

**Bonnie S. Glaser** is a senior adviser for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at CSIS, where she works on issues related to Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a non-resident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, a senior associate with CSIS Pacific Forum and a consultant for the U.S. government on East Asia.

**Michael R. Auslin** is Director of Japan Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI), where he specializes in Asian regional security and political issues.

## ✦ DISCUSSANTS

**Shigeo Kikuchi** is Chief of the Global Security Division, Policy Studies Department, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense, Japan. His areas of expertise are U.S. civil-military relations and U.S. defense policy.

**Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki** is Professor of Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies at Waseda University. Her field of specialization includes International Relations and Security of East Asia, U.S.-Japan-China Relations, Political Science, International Relations, and Security Studies.

**Sugio Takahashi** is Chief of the Policy Simulation Division, NIDS. His areas of expertise are Military Strategy and Japan-U.S. Alliance.

## ✦ CHAIR

**Eiichi Katahara** is Director, International Exchange and Libraries, NIDS. His areas of expertise are Japan's foreign and security policy, US-Japan security relations, US defense policy, Australia-Japan relations, and Security issues in East Asia and the Pacific.

Keynote Speech

The United States and Japan in a Turbulent Asia

Gerald L. Curtis

Columbia University

What are the major risks facing the US and Japan in the geopolitics of East Asia, how serious are they, and what should be done to ameliorate them?

I plan to discuss six risks: the risk of political polarization in the US undermining US global leadership; the risk of a too quick and deep weakening of the Chinese weakening the regional and global economy, strengthening government suppression of dissent and channeling public discontent outward; the risk posed by North Korea's nuclear and missile development programs; the risk of the US and Japan being entangled in a ratcheting up of tensions between China and Taiwan; the risk of terrorism coming closer to Japan; and the risk of political weakness in Japan caused by disappointment in Abenomics.

I will emphasize that the US Administration that will come to office next January needs to adopt a strategy of global leadership that involves more power sharing; that the US and Japan need to maintain a balance of power against China and at the same time pursue a policy to engage and not to contain China; that there is no way to reverse North Korea nuclear weapons policy without Chinese cooperation which is unlikely and that the only option is a stringent containment policy until the regime collapses; that the US and Japan need to adopt policies that help sustain, and do not contribute to undermining, stability across the Taiwan Straits; that Japanese have to be aware that terrorism is not necessarily a fire on the other side of the river; and that Japan needs to pursue a cautious and prudent security policy and avoid contributing to an escalating security dilemma dynamic in the region.

Session I

## The U.S. Strategy for Asia and the U.S.-Japan Alliance

Kent E. Calder

Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies

SAIS/Johns Hopkins University

The US-Japan alliance has been a natural cornerstone of US post-World War II strategy for Asia, beginning in the days of the Korean War. During that conflict, Japan served as an important logistics base and source of offshore procurement, despite the constraints of its postwar Constitution. Since the 1950s, Japan has continued to be important as a potential source of economic and logistical support for potential contingencies in Northeast Asia, but its prospective global strategic importance, like the global political economy, has been vastly transformed.

Following the Suez crisis of 1956, and across Japan's period of explosive economic growth across the 1960s and 1970s, Japan became increasingly dependent on the energy resources of the Persian Gulf, even as the United States itself became increasingly involved in Middle East affairs. The geopolitical importance for the US-Japan alliance of the energy sea lanes to the Gulf has been enhanced even further since the early 1990s by the onset of rapid Chinese economic growth and the rise of China as a major energy importer across the same energy sea lanes, stretching across the East and South China Seas and the Indian Ocean to the Gulf.

Chinese growth has also brought steady increases in Chinese military spending, and increasing sophistication in Chinese weaponry. Important critical junctures across Eurasia, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, have transformed the diplomatic and geopolitical playing field of the continent. Other junctures, such as the Iranian revolution and the collapse of nation states such as Syria, Yemen, and in many ways Iraq, have fueled the rise of sectarianism and related terrorist manifestations.

The US and Japan thus today face a vastly transformed strategic environment from what they confronted in the classic days of alliance formation in the early 1950s. China is larger and more challenging, but that is only part of the picture. Technology is much more advanced, and power can be projected across much longer distances, making missile defense, flexible-response capability, and stand-off capabilities more important. The energy sea lanes are more important strategically, as are developments in the Middle East. New potential partners, such as India and Vietnam, are also arising.

The classic strategic functions of the alliance, in stabilizing Northeast Asia and deterring North Korea, still remain. Yet a changing world creates the imperative of a more multi-faceted alliance. That means broader and more symmetrical missions for both Japan and the United States.

## Session II

### The U.S. Strategy toward China: Engaging, Binding and Balancing

Bonnie S. Glaser

Center for Strategic and International Studies

The cooperative and competitive dynamics of the bilateral relationship are both intensifying, resulting in both growing opportunities and challenges. In the cooperative realm, there is recognition in Washington and Beijing that many of the most significant regional and global problems—nonproliferation, climate change, and global economic growth, for example—cannot be solved without US-Chinese cooperation. At the same time, however, there is sharp competition for influence, especially in the Asia-Pacific, as well as increased friction over security issues such as cyber and freedom of navigation which are rooted in deeper differences over international rules and norms.

The task for US policymakers, therefore, is to formulate and execute a strategy that realizes the potential for cooperation in areas where American and Chinese interests sufficiently overlap, while at the same time managing competitive impulses so that they do not inhibit cooperation, military conflict is avoided, and China is dissuaded from harming US interests and broader peace and stability.

To manage an increasingly complex relationship with China, the United States has developed a multifaceted strategy that includes engaging, binding, and balancing. The relative mix of these elements changes over time as needed in response to Chinese behavior and other variables such as unforeseen developments in the international situation. Deciding when and how to apply these three approaches is a constant challenge for US policy makers.

Regardless of who is elected the next president of the United States, US policy toward China is likely to get tougher on specific issues where China is judged to be posing a challenge to American interests. These are likely to include the South China Sea, cyber theft and cyber security, China's evolving anti-access and area-denial military capabilities, and possibly Taiwan. At the same time, however, the US is likely to seek Chinese cooperation on a growing number of global challenges. The bilateral relationship, therefore, can be expected to continue to be mix of cooperation and competition.

Session III

An Evolving U.S.-Japan Alliance and its Strategic Outlook

Michael R. Auslin

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

This paper begins by examining the significant changes occurring within the Asian security environment, focusing on both challenges as well as opportunities for stability. It then explores the domestic political environments in both Japan and the United States, seeking to understand how each government may look at the opportunities offered by the alliance to achieve foreign policy goals. Finally, it outlines how the U.S.-Japan Alliance may evolve over the next decade to respond to regional challenges and shape a new Asian security architecture.

The gravest risk to Asia is the threat of growing disorder. The best way to manage that risk is for the U.S.-Japan alliance to help create a new community of liberal nations in Asia and forge a cooperative security architecture. Based on shared democratic values, and working with a host of partners throughout the region (and even in Europe), the alliance has the potential to halt the continued deterioration of Asia's security environment. While increasing joint activity in the South China Sea or in relation to North Korea may appear to raise risk in the short-term, only by changing today's trends can the Asia-Pacific hope to remain peaceful in the coming decade.

Michael Auslin is the author of *The End of the Asian Century* (forthcoming, Yale)