Preface

This is the third report to be issued by the Council of Defense-Strategic Studies, coming in succession to reports issued in May 2001 and September 2003. The Council of Defense-Strategic Studies, established six years ago in 1999, has a membership of experts representing a wide variety of fields and was established for the purpose of conducting broad interdisciplinary analyses and studies on the future of the global strategic environment and of Japan's defense strategy. Its secretariat is at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS). The analyses and studies are not limited exclusively to strict academic debate from the perspectives of the respective academic fields. Instead, the Council's working principle calls for uninhibited discussions based on the views and insights of individual members, cultivated from their past research and personal experience. As a result, the Council secretariat refrains from providing materials for meetings, with each meeting instead featuring presentations by two Council members, followed by free-ranging discussions. In other words, NIDS provides only staff support and a venue for the Council of Defense-Strategic Studies to meet, and the Council is careful to avoid mandating a single definitive conclusion to subjects, so as to encourage uninhibited analysis and study.

This report is based on Council discussions held over the course of the two-year period from fiscal 2003 to fiscal 2004. During these two years, various issues in the Middle East came to the fore in the course of the democratization process that was put in motion following the Iraq War. At the same time, the US military launched a worldwide transformation, while events nearer to Japan, such as the China-Taiwan and Korean Peninsula stand-offs, and situations in Southeast Asia and South Asia, attracted Japan's attention. Out of these trends the Council selected a number of suitable topics for discussion, culminating in this report. The Council hopes that this report encompasses information that may be of use for the future of Japan's security strategies, and that it will provide valuable reference material for NIDS and the rest of the Japan Defense Agency and for all others with an interest in security policies.

Members of the Council of Defense-Strategic Studies are listed on the following page. New members joining in fiscal 2003 included Yoichi Kato, member of the Editorial Board, and the Political Department Editorial Board, Asahi Shimbun, Yukio Satoh, President of the Japan Institute of International Affairs, and Professor Seiichiro Takagi, Department of International Politics, School of International Politics, Economics and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University. The Council also wishes to extend its sincere gratitude to Professor Masayuki Yamauchi, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo, Professor Ryo Asano, Faculty of Law, Doshisha University, and Professor Takako Hirose, School of Law, Senshu University, for their presentations in their respective fields of expertise as well as

for their valuable participation in the discussions.

Finally, as should be clear from the inherent nature of the Council as described above, the content of this report is derived from the views of the Council members only, and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Japan Defense Agency or of the National Institute for Defense Studies.

November 2005

Akio Watanabe
Chairman, Council of Defense-Strategic Studies

Members of the Council of Defense-Strategic Studies

(FY2003-2004, titles accurate as of November 2005)

Masahiro Akiyama (Secretary General), Chairman, Ocean Policy Research Foundation
Hisayoshi Ina, Columnist and member of the Editorial Board, Nihon Keizai Shimbun
Tetsuya Umemoto, Professor, Graduate School of International Relations, Shizuoka Kenritsu University
Masao Okonogi, Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, Keio University
Yoichi Kato, member of the Editorial Board and the Political Department Editorial Board, Asahi Shimbun
Yukio Satoh, President, Japan Institute of International Affairs
Toshiyuki Shikata, Professor, Department of Law, School of Law, Teikyo University
Takashi Shiraishi, Vice President and Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
Yoshihide Soeya, Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, Keio University
Seiichiro Takagi, Professor, Department of International Politics, School of International Politics, Economics and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University
Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, Dean, Department of International Politics, School of International Politics, Economics and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University
Wakamizu Tsutsui, Professor Emeritus, University of Tokyo
Masatsugu Naya, Professor, Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University
Shigeki Hakamada, Professor, Department of International Politics, School of International Politics, Economics and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University
Akiko Fukushima, Director of Policy Studies and Senior Fellow, National Institute for Research Advancement
Yoshinobu Yamamoto, Professor, Department of International Politics, School of International Politics, Economics, and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University
Richard C. Koo, Chief Economist, Nomura Research Institute, Ltd.
Akio Watanabe (Chairman), President, Research Institute for Peace and Security

Table of Contents

Introduction……. **1**

Fiscal 2003 Council of Defense-Strategic Studies –Proceedings–

I. The United Nations, the Alliance, and the Coalition of the Willing after the Iraq War (September 10, 2003)

A. Presentation (The United Nations, the Alliance, and the Coalition of the Willing after the Iraq War) ……. 3

B. Discussion……. 5

II. The Japan-US Alliance and National Interests (December 11, 2003)

A. Presentation (The Japan-US Alliance) ……. 7

B. Presentation (National Interest) ……... 9

C. Discussion……. 12

III. Trends in US Forward Deployment (January 29, 2004)

A. Presentation (US Forward Deployment) ……. 14

B. Presentation (Realignment of US Military Posture) …… 18

C. Presentation (US Military Realignment and the Media) ……. 19

D. Discussion……. 22

IV. The Japan-US Alliance, and Japan's Role (February 23, 2004)

A. Presentation (Role of the Self-Defense Forces) ……27

B. Presentation (Role of US Forces) ……. 29

C. Discussion……. 32

Fiscal 2004 Council of Defense-Strategic Studies –Proceedings–

I. China, Taiwan, and the Situation on the Korean Peninsula (September 21, 2004)

A. Presentation (China's Doctrinal Transformation and the China-Taiwan Relationship) …… 37

B. Presentation (The Situation on the Korean Peninsula–Realignment of US Forces in Korea, and the US-ROK Alliance) ……. 38

C. Discussion……. 41

II. The Situation in Southeast Asia, and Alliances and Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific Region (November 15, 2004)

A. Presentation (The Situation in Southeast Asia) ……46

B. Presentation (Alliances and Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific Region) …… . 49

C. Discussion……. 52

III. The Situation in India and Pakistan, and the Situation in the Middle East (December 15, 2004)
A. Presentation (The Situation in India and Pakistan) ……. 55
B. Presentation (The Situation in the Middle East) ……... 57
C. Discussion……. 60
IV. Current State of Japan's Security Strategy and Related Issues, and the Changing Japan-US Alliance and Japan's Security Policy (February 17, 2005)
A. Presentation (Current State of Japan's Security Strategy and Related Issues) ……. 64
B. Presentation (The Changing Japan-US Alliance and Japan's Security Policy) ……. 67
C. Discussion……. 69