

Summary

Post-Cold War International Society and U.S.-China Relations: On "Containment" and "Engagement"

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The paper examines U.S.-China relations from the perspectives of the "international society" theory and within the context of the foreign and domestic politics of the United States. Chapter 1 starts with the definition of international society, examines its evolution through history to identify today's characteristics, and draws implications for today's U.S.-China relations in the Post-Cold War era. As the originally homogeneous Christian-European international society has become globalized, it has lost its common cultural/civilizational foundations which used to create a high degree of consensus among its members in forming international rules and norms. Today's heterogeneous international society entails minimum consensus on ideas of territorial integrity and sovereignty, and is reached when short-term interests or expediency coincide. When the member countries belong to different cultural and historical traditions like the United States and China, rules are often more effective when they are formed implicitly through diplomatic interactions and case-by-case resolution of conflicts over time rather than through establishing explicit, universal rules based on long-term interests.

The objective of the Clinton administration's engagement policy is considered to be the integration of China into international society. What are the logical foundations of the "engagement"? How does "engagement" differ from the often contrasted "containment"? Chapter 2 reexamines George Kennan's concept of "containment" drawing on the findings from studies of the history of the Cold War, and argues that the current "conditioned engagement", which was born out of debates over "containment" and "engagement", is conceptually the same as Kennan's "containment". Furthermore, "conditioned engagement" is essentially similar to the U.S.-Soviet détente diplomacy carried out by Henry Kissinger in 1970's. We see here continuity in U.S. foreign policy despite the changing political environment, means of policy presentation, and policy names.

It is essential to look at U.S. domestic politics in considering today's U.S.-China relations. What kind of opinions on China has leverage in U.S. politics? What kind of interests is behind those opinions? What is the political constellation of the related interest groups? Chapter 3 embarks on these questions and finds that

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coalitions are being formed between traditional hawks and doves over hardline policies toward China, opposing moderates and business interests. The intellectuals maintain that overall consideration of the U.S. national interest should not be neglected by focusing too much on one particular issue; that is, to look at China from one particular point such as its human rights policy might hamper a balanced policy outlook based on sound geopolitical considerations.

The final chapter presents a future view of U.S.-China relations from the perspective of identity politics. Twentieth century politics and diplomacy unfolded the dynamics of identity politics, which succeeded in transforming the identity and the domestic politics of Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The international society, which expanded from its Western origins to become a truly global entity, is trying to change China to better suit Western civilization. The often-discussed tensions between the United States and China result from the changes already occurring in China's identity in the international society. On the other hand, the success of the U.S. engagement policy will undoubtedly depend on the domestic politics of the United States. If there were any obstruction to a coherent engagement policy, the cause would be the recent tendency of "pluralistic stagnation," where various opinions kill one another and do not produce anything.

Whether China will be a threat in the future is no longer the right question to ask. China's military modernization is undoubtedly proceeding, but it will take another 20 years from now to at least come up to the Western levels. The problem is whether we can facilitate China's identity change within the coming 20 years. If we succeed, we will have established a global international society in a true sense.

Security Dialogue, U.S.-Japan Alliance and Asia-Pacific Nations

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In the last couple of years, East Asian countries have actively pursued security dialogue and military-to-military exchanges. Promoting these activities is important in view of diversified attitudes held by regional states toward the reshaped U.S.-Japan alliance. China, for instance, criticizes the alliance and newly established guidelines for U.S.-Japan defense cooperation as a measure to contain it. South Korea and ASEAN countries in general support the alliance as a stabilizing factor. At the same time, however, South Korea is cautious of Japan's expanded military role stipulated in the guidelines, and ASEAN countries fear that strengthened U.S.-Japan alliance could invite Chinese reaction and might bring about Sino-U.S./Japan confrontation.

However, the role and function of multilateral or bilateral security dialogues and defense exchanges should not be confined merely to promoting understanding and confidence building as related to the U.S.-Japan alliance. Their significance is more than that: they can be pursued as precursory actions for establishing confidence-building measures (CBMs) and reaching arms control agreements that constitute basis of a cooperative security regime.

Arrangements for deterrence and defense such as the U.S.-Japan alliance

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and cooperative security regime are complementary to each other in maintaining regional peace and stability. The U.S.-Japan defense cooperation can deter an outbreak of regional military conflict and, should it ever erupt, can deal with it. The alliance, however, tends to invite counteractions from a country that believes to be targeted by the alliance and therefore is not very helpful for improving security environment. On the other hand a cooperative security regime materialized by accumulated CBMs and arms control measures is largely incompetent in coping with actual armed conflict, but is conducive to advancing security environment. The countries in the Asia-Pacific region are advised to pursue the two security systems in a balanced manner.

Nevertheless, security talks and defense exchanges carried out in East Asia have given rise to few concrete products that are conducive to shaping a cooperative security regime. For a way to make security dialogues more productive, East Asian countries must make efforts to produce a community identity such as by implementing cooperative actions to solve region-wide issues that have common interests.

Japan-U.S. Security Relationship under the Clinton Administration First Term

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Japan-U.S. security relationship under the Clinton Administration first term gradually increased its importance within the overall structure of Japan-U.S. bilateral relationship, as economic matters lost its salience.

In the beginning, the Clinton Administration put its emphasis on economic matters in order to dissolve the trade imbalance with Japan. This led the U.S. to take its resulted in firm, rigid positions during bilateral consultations. This policy created tension and confrontation between the two countries. Soon, it became clear that Japanese economy was not as strong as it had been envisioned due to the U.S. economic recovery and Japanese economic recession after the collapse of its bubble economy.

However, during this period, both countries encountered difficulties which could have shaken the backbone of the Japan-U.S. security arrangement. Those incidents were identification of North Korean nuclear weapon development in 1994, the Okinawa rape case by U.S. Marines in 1995 which led native of Okinawa to call for U.S. bases reduction and withdrawal, and Taiwan strait crisis in 1996. Under these circumstances, the importance of security matters was fully realized by both governments. Against this background, discussions on the Japan-U.S. security relationship in post cold war were activated. As a result, the "U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security" was issued in April 1996. This declaration is the compilation of many discussions under the Clinton Administration first term. But,

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this is not the final goal of the new Japan-U.S security consultation, but rather a starting point.

Asian countries' responses to this joint declaration have not been the same. There were some affirmative reactions; but other countries, especially the PRC, expressed concerns over Japan's expanded military roles. Japan has yet to resolve many new problems before it can effect this new declaration. Examples of these problems are how can Japan play an effective role in the stability of Asia-Pacific region, and how can Japan ease the anxieties which were expressed by the PRC?

Japan's role is to maintain stable relationship between the U.S. China and itself. In order to do this, Japan needs to have the U.S. maintain its military presence in this region, while keeping Japan-U.S. security arrangement co-existent with Japan-China relationship.

As the PRC further defines its Asian strategy, close security consultations by both parties will become more important.

Maritime Force, Its Significance and New Role: In Connection with Ocean- Peace Keeping

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Through the progress of borderless economic activities, the structure of human society has undergone some major changes, and the globalization is taking place at accelerating tempo. The pursuing of economic growth and wealthy life style in developing countries are bringing about the increase in demands for resources, and the global trilemma of development, environment and peace is coming up as the serious global issue in the post cold war era. While the developments for economic growth are being promoted in global scale, the dependence on marine resources is increasing.

As the dependence on marine resources increases, there is the risk of spurring on overfishing and the pollution in the oceans. The resources exhaustion and environmental destruction will be serious threat to the sustainable development of human society.

Ocean security should be considered not only from the viewpoint of national interest but also from global interest, and there needs the concept of the consolidated management of oceans for protection of resources and the environment which should be one of the biggest global issue in the coming century.

OPK (Ocean Peace Keeping), which is being studied by researchers of the National Institute for Defense Studies, is the maritime coordinated operation in regional multinational mode based on a new security idea. The concept of OPK proposes the peaceful use of maritime forces for promoting stability of the oceans through the contribution to a consolidated management of the oceans. Proposed OPK comprises the operation for protection of marine resources and for conservation of the ocean environment through the cooperated ocean surveillance mission conducted by the multinational maritime forces in accordance with some

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regional arrangement or agreement. It can be said that OPK is the preventive deployment for conflict prevention and the concrete measures for preventive diplomacy and confidence building.

What is Security: Its Origin and the Present

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With the end of the Cold War, the concept of security has diffused. That is, some people refer to problems related to environment, economy, or human right, for example, as security problems. However, if the meaning of security swells too much, security means everything, and as a result nothing. To avoid such a thing, we must reconstruct the concept of security to make it relevant to the post-Cold War era.

To do that, this article inquires the origin of the security concept going back to the interwar period to clarify the original meaning. At first, the original meaning of security was collective security, but after 1920's, it carried the same meaning as the present one which is related to somewhat comprehensive policy, instead of "defense" which concentrates on military means. The cause of it is inferred that WWI showed that a war would be a total war inevitably in the twentieth century and it was not enough to respond such situation using the traditional "defense" concept.

The concept of security is highly contingent on contemporary situation and so it had been strongly influenced from the experience of the Cold War. Hence, we must reconstruct and redefine the concept of security in order to match the post-Cold War world. Through the concept-reconstruction process, we must be careful enough not to redefine the concept too broad in such a way as to blur the line between "security policy" and "foreign policy," or "security studies" and "international relations studies." If we redefine "security" too broad, the security studies will outgrow the subfield of international relations where it once belonged. This article will define the concept of security as "the concept of national policy which respond to or deter the external threat which originated from other political actor by force." Matters relevant to economy, environment and others are included in security problems as far as these matters affect security problems.

Being its contextual character in nature, some people say that security studies has been American security studies. In discussing Japanese security, we must discover a new horizon of security studies as well as new agenda that fit Japan's condition. For example, we must make a theoretical account for the U.S. forces in Japan and its "stabilizing" effect, because it is the most important element in security of Japan. We might argue that the "stabilizing" effect is similar to what we call as deterrence, but "stabilizing" effect and deterrence are not identical concept. Therefore, we must reconsider the meaning of military forces in the Asia-Pacific region. For Japan, in order to "work hand-in-hand to secure peace and prosperity for future generations" (Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security -Alliance for the 21st century-) with the U.S., Japanese security studies must contribute to the whole process mentioned above.

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