

Preface

NIDS held the Seventh International Symposium on Security Affairs entitled “The Second Bush Administration’s Global Security Policy” on February 2 and 3, 2005. In today’s international community, the United States stands as the world’s sole superpower with overwhelming power, and current international relations are greatly influenced by U.S. activities. Against this backdrop, Republican President George W. Bush was reelected and has embarked on his second administration. The course of development of President Bush’s security policies in the second administration, particularly the ongoing war against terrorism, the transformation of the Iraq operation and Global Defense Posture Review, are crucial issues for Japan, in order to build a closer relationship with the U.S. From this perspective, NIDS invited researchers from the Republic of Korea (ROK), Russia, Singapore, the U.S. and Japan to this symposium for a multi-faceted examination focusing on U.S. global strategy, East Asia policy and strategy against terrorism.

In the opening session, Mr. Seiichi Kobayashi, President, NIDS delivered the opening remarks, which were followed by the welcome remarks by Mr. Hiroshi Imazu, Senior Vice Minister, Defense Agency, and keynote speeches by Dr. Patrick Cronin, Senior Vice President and Director of Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S., and Dr. Akio Watanabe, President, Research Institute for Peace and Security, Japan. In his keynote speech, “The Second Bush Administration’s Global Security Policy,” Dr. Cronin outlined five policy issues of the second Bush administration: (1) The war against terrorism; (2) Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; (3) Improved relations among the major powers; (4) Efforts to promote stability, economic prosperity and political freedom among all developing countries; and (5) Cooperative efforts through the international institutions. These trends in the Bush administration’s policies were interpreted as suggesting a shift from the first administration’s “unilateral” approach to a stance of international cooperation. The change in expression from “axis of evil” of the first administration to “outposts of tyranny” also hints at a subtle change of course.

In his keynote speech, “East Asia and the Security Policy of the United States during the Second Bush Administration and” Dr. Watanabe presented a multi-faceted analysis of U.S. power. In his view, the U.S. now possesses extraordinary power as a “hyper-puissance” on a scale unprecedented in history. At the same time, however, with the growing complexity of international relations and conflicts due to globalization, the U.S. alone cannot address issues of global governance. The cooperation among allies and friendly countries is essential to deal with issues that require a multilateral framework such as peace-building in Iraq and Afghanistan. Accordingly, Bush’s second term will be geared to give a strong commitment to “restoring diplomacy.”

Based on the points made by these keynote speeches, the symposium focused on three aspects of security policy under Bush: (1) U.S. national strategy; (2) U.S. policy toward East Asia; and (3) the U.S. and the war on terror.

In the first session on Global Strategy of the United States, presentations were delivered by Dr. Michael Brown, Director, Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University, U.S., and Dr. Alexander Pikayev, Director, Department of Disarmament and Conflict Resolution, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Federation. In his presentation, “Continuity and Change in U.S. Grand Strategy,” Dr. Brown stressed that continuity, rather than change, from the first Bush administration will characterize the second Bush administration’s security policy. This prediction can be explained mainly in terms of presidential leadership, the formation of a tight inner circle of aides and advisers, and the legacy of the first administration’s agenda, namely the war against terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan. Dr. Brown argued that strategic priority should be given to promoting constructive engagement by other major powers to curb the U.S. unilateralism.

In “Challenges for the Second Term of the Bush Administration: A View from Russia,” Dr. Pikayev presented a critical view of the security policies of the Bush administration. He judged the first Bush administration in error in its handling of three issues: (1) the centrifugal tendency of the Atlantic alliance, (2) the decaying credibility of the East Asian security umbrella provided by the

U.S., and (3) the balance between multilateralism / international institutions / international regime on the one hand, and ad hoc “coalitions of the willing” and the administration’s unilateralism on the other. He also pointed out that the U.S. preoccupation with its “exit strategies” for Iraq and Afghanistan made it unable to respond to urgent problems in East Asia such as North Korea’s nuclear issue. Dr. Pikayev offered the pessimistic view that closer ties between Russia and China in such circumstances will further deepen the U.S. dilemma.

In the second session on U.S. Policy toward East Asia, a comparative viewpoint was introduced through presentations by two researchers: Dr. Hyun In-teak, Professor, Korean University, ROK, and Dr. Heigo Sato, Senior Research Fellow, Fifth Research Office, Research Department, NIDS. In “U.S. Policy toward Northeast Asia: A View from South Korea” Dr. In-teak pointed out that U.S.–ROK relations had undergone a fundamental change with respect to a series of policy issues such as North Korea’s nuclear issue, the revision of U.S. strategy after 9/11, the realignment of U.S. forces in the ROK, and the ROK’s domestic politics. Among these, the transformation of the U.S. military and Global Defense Posture Review (GPR) is playing a pivotal role in the process. In contrast to the U.S.-Japan alliance, in which change is based on close bilateral dialogue, the U.S.-ROK alliance has become increasingly strained over the redeployment and reduction of U.S. forces.

In “Japan-U.S. Security Relations under the Koizumi Administration: Implications for Bush’s Second Term,” Dr. Sato stated that the Japan-U.S. alliance has strived for the common goal of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. In his judgment, this tendency has become more pronounced since September 11. Here, the essence of Japan’s diplomacy should be the balance between international cooperation and the Japan-U.S. alliance. Dr. Sato argued that, as in the war in Iraq where there is no international consensus, Japan’s policy will be to strike a balance between promoting international cooperation through the U.N. and enhancing the Japan-U.S. alliance as a member of the coalition of the willing.

In the third session on The United States and the War against Terrorism, the policies of the Bush administration were examined from a global perspective based on the presentations by Mr. Michael Richardson, Senior Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, and

Dr. Jolyon Howorth, Visiting Professor of Political Science, Yale University, U.S. In “The United States, Asia and the War against Maritime-related Terrorism,” Mr. Richardson focused on the threat of maritime terrorism wherein the targets are the ships and containers that may transport nuclear and radioactive explosives, amid the trend toward world trade centered on maritime transport. Since September 11, various legal safeguards have been introduced concerning mega-port cities and international sea channels and canals, along with security measures concerning maritime containers and the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).

In his paper, “European Analyses of the Prospects for Transatlantic Harmony and Fight against Terror under the Second Bush Administration” Dr. Howorth focused on structural changes in U.S.-Europe relations. He pointed out that historically, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) constituted a “natural alliance” among the major Western powers, but with the end of the Cold War and the war in Iraq, the U.S.-led “coalition of the willing” has ushered in a somewhat competitive relationship. With regard to anti-terrorism policies, Dr. Howorth highlighted the contrast between Europe and the U.S., where the European strategy places emphasis on eliminating the basic causes of terrorism while the U.S. strategy seeks immediate results. He also pointed out the European criticism that as a result of the U.S. applying its concept of “war” against terrorism in the war in Iraq, the Middle East has, if anything, grown increasingly unstable. Europe is also dissatisfied with the U.S. for not emphasizing, in its Greater Middle East Initiative, the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians proposed by Europe. Against this backdrop, the appointment of Condoleezza Rice as Secretary of State in the second Bush administration has raised expectations for a restoration of U.S.-Europe relations.

The following points were discussed in this symposium in analyzing the course of security policy of the second Bush Administration.

(1) The Global War on Terror and Nation-Building

Since September 11, the focus of the security policy of the Bush administration has been the “global war against terrorism” and this has been positioned as the highest priority of the first and second administration. Up to

now, the success of the U.S. combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan has not led to the “victory of democracy” as was initially expected. In contrast to the swift end of combat operations achieved by the U.S. military, the stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) operations, essential constituents of post-war nation building, have failed to progress on schedule. Since the success and failure of the “exit strategy” will affect both domestic and overseas support for the U.S., the Bush administration must move more proactively not only to re-implement its anti-terrorism strategy but also to address the challenge of nation-building.

(2) Transforming Alliances

To win the “global war on terror,” the second Bush administration must transform its alliances. The Bush administration’s formula that “the mission determines the coalition, not vice versa” has led to adverse reactions from France, Germany and other major countries and a decline in the “soft power” of the U.S. For this reason, the Bush administration must make a policy shift toward promoting international cooperation, so that the cost of post-war reconstruction of Iraq is shared widely in the international community. Emblematic of this policy shift is the statement by Secretary of State Rice, who was appointed to the office in the second administration, about a “reinstitution of diplomacy.”

An emerging task for the Bush administration in alliance management is restoring its relationship with European countries after the Iraqi debacle. Progress in the Middle East peace negotiations, which offers mutual benefits for the U.S. and Europe, is expected to become the gateway to such reconciliation, and the new Secretary of State’s selection of the Middle East and Europe for her first overseas visit after assuming office was a calculated move in this direction. This visit was consistent with the Bush administration’s foreign policy objectives of a Greater Middle East Initiative and its measures in response to the “Arc of Instability.”

On the other hand, the second Bush administration is also likely to press for democratization in countries with whom the U.S. has a friendly relationship, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, in order to stay on its course of expanding democracy.

(3) Policy Coordination among Alliances in the Asia-Pacific Region

A reorganization of alliances in the Asia-Pacific region is underway, and what stands out in this structure of alliances is the asymmetry between the U.S.-ROK alliance and the U.S.-Japan alliance. The asymmetry can be summed up by the following three points: (1) a sharp contrast between ROK's conciliatory attitude toward North Korea and more realistic perception of threat held by Japan and the U.S., (2) a sharp contrast in the implementation of the U.S. military's Global Defense Posture Review (GPR), whereby the U.S. forces are cutting back in the ROK while strengthening their functions in Japan, and (3) differences between Japan and the ROK in their attitudes toward the U.S. regarding U.S. bases in their countries.

On the other hand, diplomatic efforts to build a "community of democracies" in Secretary Rice's words should continue in the Asia-Pacific region as well. Accordingly, the U.S. needs to manage the U.S.-Sino-Japan triangular relationship, with China heading toward prosperity and Japan aspiring to be a more "normal" country. In the context of promoting security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, the institutionalization of the Six-Party Talks, which are currently being held on an irregular basis, as a permanent consultation mechanism may prove to be a viable option.

(4) Transformation of the International Community and Japan's Security

Up to the present, a type of division of labor has existed between Japan and the U.S., in which the U.S. has pursued military operations and Japan has undertaken non-military activities. However, as the international community continues to come to grips with such difficult questions as nation-building in Iraq and Afghanistan, attention should be directed to whether or not this traditional division of labor will continue to hold. The United Nations, in its 60th anniversary year, is also advocating strengthened efforts for maintaining peace, and it could be said that a reassessment of the philosophy on military power as a means of maintaining peace and stability is needed. As demonstrated by the war in Iraq, some military action is at times necessary, and the Self-Defense Forces may perhaps be called upon to play a more active role. Meanwhile, the U.S. should appreciate more squarely the merits of non-military peace-making solutions in which Japan excels.

This two-day symposium concluded with closing remarks by MG You Suzuki, Vice President of NIDS. It is hoped that this symposium, which was organized to give an opportunity to analyze the policy taken by the second Bush administration from a multi-faceted approach, has provided a prospect from which to view the security issues of East Asia and the world.

(Tomonori Yoshizaki)

This symposium was prepared by Shigekatsu Kondo (Executive Director and Chairman) and Shin'ichi Ogawa (Director of Research Department), Yoshiaki Sakaguchi, Tomonori Yoshizaki, Tomoko Okagaki, Ikuya Kozuka and Eijiro Imamura (Research Department staff).