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SPECIAL JOINT WORKING GROUP
ON

U.S.-JAPANESE POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS

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CONTENTS

Section	Page
I. OBJECTIVES	1
II. PARTICIPANTS	2
III. MEETINGS	6
IV. CONFERENCES.	7
V. PAPERS	9
VI. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS.	11

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I. OBJECTIVES

Political and military relations between countries depend not only on official communication between diplomats, but also on an effective dialogue between experts and informed scholars. The *Seminar's* joint working group on "U.S.-Japanese Political and Military Relations" was designed to contribute to the foreign affairs dialogue between Washington and Tokyo in an effort to clarify U.S. policy goals to the Japanese and, in turn, to better understand Japan's policies.

As part of the general concern about the future of U.S.-Japanese alliance relations, the range of topics agreed upon for discussion and research in the joint working group have included: (1) the effects of recent international developments, including the U.S.-Soviet détente and strategic arms control agreements, on the Japanese foreign policy outlook; (2) the effect of the "Nixon Doctrine" on Japanese policies; (3) threats to Japan and Japanese defense options; (4) the prospects for stability in Southeast Asia after Vietnam; (5) the impact of converging and conflicting Japanese and U.S. economic interests on U.S.-Japanese relations, especially in regard to energy; (6) U.S. and Japanese relations with Korea, Taiwan, and China; and (7) prospects for the development of nuclear energy in Japan in the context of recent international developments.

The *Seminar's* approach stressed a vigorous and systematic exchange of views, both in the United States and Japan, based on reciprocity and equality. The objective to deepen mutual understanding of each country's political and military policies was sought through an iterative process in which a representative range of Japanese and U.S. experts and policymakers participated in discussions based on individual but complementary papers. The results of this dialogue are to be distributed widely to scholars and policymakers in Japan and the United States.

The summary of the activities and the studies of the joint *Seminar* working group on "U.S.-Japanese Political and Military

Relations," and the content of the papers completed by the Japanese and U.S. participants will illustrate how the objectives supported by the INR contract have been achieved.

II. PARTICIPANTS

A. Principal Members of the Joint Working Group on "U.S.- Japanese Political and Military Relations":

Mr. Hiromu Fukada	Deputy Director-General of the American Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Fred Hoffman	Program Director, Energy Policy, Economics Department, Rand Corporation
Dr. Ryukichi Imai	Deputy Director, Department of Technology, Japan Nuclear Power Generation Company; Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
Professor Fuji Kamiya	Professor of International Politics, Keio University; Trustee, the Japan Institute for International Affairs
Professor Katsumi Kobayashi	National Defense College, Japan; Visiting Scholar, The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
Professor Masataka Kosaka	Professor, Faculty of Law, Kyoto University; Member, Japan Council on International Problems
Mr. Paul Langer	Senior Social Scientist, Social Science Department, The Rand Corporation
Professor Makoto Momoi	Director, International Security Affairs, National Defense College, Japan
Dr. Richard Moorsteen	Senior Economist, Economics Department, The Rand Corporation
Professor Masashi Nishihara	Associate Professor of International Relations, Kyoto Sangyo University

Professor Robert North

Professor of Political Science,
Stanford University

Professor Henry Rowen

Professor of Business Administration,
Stanford University; Member, *Seminar*
Executive Committee; Study Director,
Seminar Working Group on U.S.-Japa-
nese Relations

Dr. Kiichi Saeki

President, Nomura Research Institute
of Technology and Economy, President,
Japan Society for Defense Studies

Dr. Franklin Weinstein

Director, Project on United States-
Japanese Relations, Stanford
University

Professor Martin Weinstein

Associate Professor of Political
Science, University of Illinois at
Urbana

Professor Albert Wohlstetter

University Professor, the University
of Chicago; Member, the *Seminar*
Executive Committee

Dr. Charles Wolf, Jr.

Head, Economics Department, The Rand
Corporation; Director, Rand Graduate
Institute for Policy Studies; Co-
chairman, the *Seminar*

Professor Ciro Zoppo

Associate Professor of Political
Science, University of California,
Los Angeles; Executive Director,
the *Seminar*

**B. Participants in the Meetings and Conferences of the Joint
Working Group:**

Dr. Morton Abramowitz

Deputy Assistant Secretary for East
Asia and Pacific Affairs, International
Security Affairs, Department of Defense

Dr. Michael Armacost

Member, Policy Planning Staff, Depart-
ment of State

Professor Hans Baerwald

Professor of Political Science, Uni-
versity of California, Los Angeles

Mr. Lyall Brockton	Deputy Director, International Security Affairs, Department of State
Mr. Leslie Brown	Director, Office of International Security Policy and Planning, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Professor Lynn Davis	Institute of War and Peace, Columbia University; Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
Professor David Elliot	Professor of History, Humanities and Social Science Division, California Institute of Technology; Co-chairman, the Seminar
Dr. William Kacoub	Financial Attaché, U.S. Embassy
Admiral Noel Gayler	Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific (CINCPAC), U.S. Navy
Dr. Victor Glikusky	Head, Physical Sciences Department, The Rand Corporation (now Commissioner, Nuclear Regulatory Commission)
Professor Masamichi Inoki	President, the National Defense Academy, Japan
Mr. Samuel Jameson	Tokyo Bureau Chief, The Los Angeles Times
Mr. Charles Jefferson	Graduate School of International Relations, Claremont College
Professor Chalmers Johnson	Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
Dr. Sheila Johnson	Independent Scholar
Ms. Kathleen Julian	Assistant to the Director, the Seminar
Mr. John Kelley	Political Advisor to CINCPAC
Commander Edward Koczak	National War College; U.S. Navy
Professor Shigekatsu Komdo	National Defense College, Tokyo

Mr. Takakazu Kuriyama

Mr. Kagechika Matano

Mr. Howard McElroy

Mr. Yoshio Okawara

Mr. David Pabst

Mr. Nicholas Platt

Dr. Donald Rice

Mr. Gregg Rubinstein

Mr. William Sherman

Mr. Thomas Shoemith

Major John Slaughter

Dr. Richard Solomon

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Political Counsellor, The Japanese
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First Secretary, U.S. Embassy,
Tokyo

Deputy Vice-Minister for Adminis-
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Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy,
Tokyo

First Secretary, U.S. Embassy,
Tokyo

President, The Rand Corporation;
Member, The Seminar Executive
Committee

Third Secretary, U.S. Embassy,
Tokyo

Country Director for Japan, Bureau
of East Asian and Pacific Affairs,
U.S. Department of State

Minister, U.S. Embassy

Aide-de-Camp to CINCPAC; U.S. Air
Force

Senior Staff, National Security
Council

Research Economist, Pan Heuristics,
Division of Science Applications,
Inc.

Director, Committee on International
Studies, Center for Research in
International Studies, Stanford
University

Independent Scholar

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

C. Seminar Fellow in Residence:

Professor Katsumi Kobayashi

National Defense College, Japan;

III. MEETINGS

Discussions on possible joint activities and on major problems in U.S.-Japanese relations had been pursued by Seminar members and Japanese scholars for many months prior to the formal establishment of the joint working group on "U.S.-Japanese Political and Military Relations," and before the Department's contract was awarded. Several meetings on substantive topics of potential interest to the joint working group were held during the months preceding the INR contract. Among these was a meeting in which Admiral Noel Gayler, U.S. Commander in Chief, Pacific, led discussion on "Japan, the United States, and Strategic Realities in the Pacific." In addition to members of the Seminar, several Japanese experts also participated. At another Seminar meeting, Professor Kei Wakaizumi led discussion on "Japan's Foreign Policy Options." At a subsequent meeting, Professor Makoto Momoi spoke on "Problems and Prospects in U.S.-Japanese Relations."

After the joint working group on "The Future of U.S.-Japanese Relations," was formally established, a meeting was held in Los Angeles, 3 July 1974, in which Katsumi Kobayashi, Makoto Momoi, Henry Rowen, Albert Wohlstetter, and Ciro Zoppo participated. At this meeting, the basic plan for the joint working group's activities was formulated as the discussion continued on the substantive issues, and the exploration of specific research topics began.

On 16 September, 1974, another meeting was held in London. Present were Makoto Momoi, Kiichi Sasaki, Albert Wohlstetter, Roberta Wohlstetter, and Ciro Zoppo. This meeting continued the exploration of the substantive issues in U.S. relations with Japan to be researched. Among the issues discussed were: the impact of new conventional military technologies on the defense of Japan; and ways to improve U.S.-Japanese economic relations in view of the radical changes that have occurred in the energy field.

On October 17, the first meeting on a paper written for the joint working group took place in Los Angeles. Professor Katsumi Kobayashi presented his draft paper on *The Nixon Doctrine and U.S.-Japanese Security Relations*. This paper was subsequently revised and presented at the Palm Springs conference. Thereafter, the efforts of the joint working group were bent toward the preparation of papers for the forthcoming conferences that were held in Palm Springs and Tokyo in 1975.

IV. CONFERENCES

In January 1975, from the 5th through the 8th, the Seminar held the first of two conferences devoted to the presentation and discussion of papers prepared under the auspices of the joint working group. The conference took place in Palm Springs, California. There were twenty-nine U.S. participants and nine Japanese. [Section II lists conference participants.] Eight papers were presented for discussion; an additional paper was circulated as background material. The agenda which follows outlines conference activities and lists the papers discussed and their authors.

Session I

The Future of U.S.-Japanese Relations
Nakoto Nomi

Myths in Asia -- Its Difficulties for Japan and the United States
Masataka Kosaka

Session II

Exploring Japanese Approaches to Defense Issues
Paul Langer and Richard Moorsteen

The Nixon Doctrine and U.S.-Japanese Security Relations
Katsumi Kobayashi

Session III

The Japan-U.S. Alliance in Southeast Asia
Masashi Nishihara

Session IV

Trade as an Influence in the International Politics of Japan: A Comparison of Pre-War and Post-War Patterns

Robert North and Linda Fields

The Political Outlook for Nuclear Power in Japan

Ryukichi Imai

Session V

Panel Discussion on *The Economic Aspects of U.S.-Japanese Relations*

Participants: Hiromu Fukuda, Richard Moorsteen, Henry Rowen, Kiichi Saeki, and Charles Wolf, Jr.

Session VI

The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: Is There an Equivalent for Mutual Indispensability?

Martin Weinstein

Background Paper

American Attitudes toward Japan, 1941-1974

Sheila Johnson

On 7,8,9 June 1975, the final conference of the joint working group took place in Tokyo, Japan. There were two panel discussions. Four additional papers were prepared for discussion, and another background paper was circulated. A total of eighteen Americans and thirteen Japanese participated. [See Section II.] The agenda of the conference listed below indicates the substantive issues addressed in discussion.

Session I

Panel Discussion on *Problems and Issues After Vietnam*

Session II

Complementary and Conflicting Interests in U.S.-Japanese Relations

Kiichi Saeki and Charles Wolf, Jr.

Session III

Energy Use in Japan and the United States: Questions and Policy Issues

Fred Hoffman

Session IV

Implications of Technologies of Protection for Japanese Security

Henry Rowen

Nuclear Technology Transfer and U.S.-Japanese Relations

Ciro Zoppo

Session V

Panel Discussion on The Issues Surrounding the Current Situation

V. PAPERS

The papers listed and briefly summarized below have been completed for publication as a result of the joint working group's activities during the life of the INR contract.

Erod Hoffman, Energy Use in Japan and the United States: Questions and Policy Issues

The nature of the current energy problem is overviewed, U.S. and Japanese energy policy objectives are outlined, and energy use patterns in both countries are summarized in some detail. Finally, energy use is considered as a problem of international policy, and of the relations between the United States and Japan.

Ryukichi Inai, The Outlook for Japan's Nuclear Future

Japan's nuclear program is analyzed in terms of future energy growth requirements and the current international context in regard to energy. The main concern is, however, the political and bureaucratic factors that affect the Japanese nuclear situation at present and that will shape its future.

Katsumi Kobayashi, The Nixon Doctrine and U.S.-Japanese Security Relations

Japanese perceptions of changes in U.S.-Japanese relations are explained broadly by taking the Japanese understanding of the "Nixon Doctrine" as a starting point. It is stressed that most studies are from the U.S. point of view. Japan's search for a new defense concept, her nuclear policy, and efforts to broaden the framework of the alliance are further subjects of analysis.

Masataka Kosaka, Détente in Asia -- its Difficulties for Japan and the United States

Détente creates a paradox by attempting to sanctify the status quo while at the same time allowing the long-run transformation of the current situation. The differences between the impact of the détente in Europe and in Asia are explained, and the political and strategic issues at the heart of détente in Asia are explored.

Paul Langer and Richard Moorsteen, Exploring Japanese Approaches to Defense Issues

Defense issues produce some of the deepest and broadest divisions among Japanese. This study is an effort to explain the extent and consequences of these divisions by analyzing the atmosphere and the policymaking actors affecting Japanese defense policies. The Japanese Self-Defense Forces are analyzed in an effort to assess the prospects for change.

Makoto Homoi, The Future of U.S.-Japanese Relations

The changes that have taken place in U.S.-Japanese alliance relations are analyzed, from a Japanese perspective, especially in regard to security relationships. A broadened security concept which includes economic relations is outlined, and Japan's strategic options and the problems and issues they pose are discussed.

Masashi Nishihara, Agenda for Japan-U.S. Coordination in Southeast Asia

U.S. and Japanese national interests and foreign policy roles in Southeast Asia are discussed, and four major issues are investigated as future problem areas: leadership succession; economic growth; the territorial and economic zones on land and at sea; and the U.S.-Chinese-Soviet regional rivalry.

Henry Rowen, Implications of Technologies of Precision for Japanese Security

Recent improvements in non-nuclear weapons technology, particularly precision-guided munitions, are surveyed and some of the military advantages they provide are discussed. The implications

for security in general and for Japan of these new technologies are analyzed by discussing doctrines of defense, various modes of deployment, and the possible choices available to Japan.

Kiichi Saeki and Charles Wolf, Jr., *Complementary and Conflicting Economic Interests in Japan-U.S. Relations*

Against the background of recent developments in the international economic environment, the economic interests of Japan and the United States are analyzed in terms of: macroeconomic issues; energy; food; trade with the Soviet Union and China; petrodollar recycling; aid to the LDC's; and the international arms trade.

Martin Weinstein, *The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: Is There an Equivalent for Mutual Indispensability?*

Recent events, policies, and disagreements between Japan and the United States have altered the nature of the U.S.-Japanese alliance. The alleged loss of the previous bond of mutual indispensability is the subject of this essay.

VI. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

The goals stipulated by the INR contract have been met. The Seminar has instituted a dialogue with those in Japan competent and confident enough to discuss security-related issues. U.S. and Japanese participants have produced, in a comparable way, the requisite papers that address the subjects originally identified as important in shaping the future of U.S.-Japanese alliance relations.

The discussions of the joint working group and the bent of the papers prepared by Japanese and American participants emphasized several areas of concern.

Foremost was the concern of the Japanese, in particular, that the U.S. commitment to the security of Japan remained the keystone of the U.S.-Japanese alliance relationship. The papers by Kobayashi on *The Nixon Doctrine and U.S.-Japanese Security Relations* and Momoi on *The Future of U.S.-Japanese Relations* were particularly concerned with this issue but

this theme was constant in the discussions of the joint group's meetings and at the conferences. It became a matter of particularly intense focus during the discussion of Weinstein's paper on *The U.S.-Japanese Alliance: Is there an Equivocal for Mutual Indispensability?*

The tenor of the discussions on this issue by American and Japanese participants alike was overwhelmingly positive on the U.S. commitment to Japan. Japanese participants were gratified by the exceptionally high degree of understanding shown by U.S. participants of the security policy of Japan and the importance of the alliance relationship between the United States and Japan. However, there was a consensus that, because of the new challenges and uncertainties in the international environment, we cannot afford to be complacent. Moreover, it was agreed that the discussions of the joint Seminar endeavor underscored the essential soundness and viability of the U.S.-Japanese relationship.

Another major concern related to the role of the United States in Asia, after Vietnam. The Kosaka paper on *Myths in Asia*, and Nishihara's paper on Japanese-U.S. relations in Southeast Asia, and the extensive discussion of the Korean situation at the Tokyo conference underline the importance given this aspect of our respective foreign policies by those who participated in this joint effort. On the problem of Korea, especially, there was useful clarification of each country's position. Although it became clear that consensus on a joint policy was problematic.

Another major focus for the exchange of views between American and Japanese participants was on the impact of converging and conflicting Japanese and U.S. economic interests on U.S.-Japanese relations, especially in regard to energy. The Sasaki-Wolf paper on this general topic, the Hoffman paper on energy, and the Imai paper on nuclear energy, are illustrative of this concern. A useful clarification of national viewpoints also occurred in this area, although the dynamics and complexity of this area made it difficult to penetrate the issues to the extent achieved in the discussions on security and U.S.-Japanese relations in general.

The premises and a good deal of the data that informed discussions in the meetings and conferences is contained in the papers being submitted in addition to this report.

The breadth and inclusiveness with which these topics were treated in discussion and analysis helped create an iterative process that should

continue among interested individuals in the scholarly and policymaking communities of Japan and the United States long after the publication of papers -- in Japan and the United States -- has stimulated debate on these issues among the informed public in both countries.

By iterative is meant a structured, mutual exchange of views and research findings on agreed upon topics that leads to a dynamic clarification of the major issues existing in the relations between the United States and Japan. This clarification results from repeated discussions of the issues over a prolonged period of time and through the critique of manuscripts exchanged among participants.

Research in this field has been, in the past, highly rigid. There had been some exchange among senior Japanese scholars and Americans but only on an individual basis. The Seminar has succeeded in bringing into the dialogue in addition to authoritative experts some younger Japanese scholars to discuss security matters.

The discussions and papers of the Seminar joint working group on "U.S.-Japanese Political and Military Relations" have contributed concretely toward rectifying the imbalance of views existing in the relations between Japan and the United States.

To conclude, a few observations on the management of joint efforts of this kind may be useful. These are listed following:

- o Because of the participation of U.S. and Japanese government officials, it would be better to exclude journalists from the discussions. Moreover, there should be an explicit commitment by all participants not to discuss the participants and the issues of the meetings with journalists and not to give press interviews either in Japan or the United States.
- o It should be made explicit by all U.S. non-government participants, especially those known to be consultants to our government, that they make clear that they represent their personal views only. These participants should be particularly careful not to appear to be pressuring Japanese officials and colleagues to adopt U.S. government positions.
- o Some guidance should be given to U.S. participants about sensitivities peculiar to their foreign colleagues and to the foreign officials involved so as not to appear to be insensitive to diplomatic protocol. For example, there should be no last-minute changes in commitments

- to conferences and meetings which would embarrass American or foreign colleagues responsible for the administration of the program or which would inconvenience a large number of participants.
- o Domestic politics in Japan may inhibit the participation of officials or even scholars if the financial support of the program for joint efforts is acknowledged publicly. The Department should present a low profile, therefore.
 - o The experience of this joint effort suggests that the Japanese are more forthright and frank in expressing their views when discussions take place in the United States.
 - o The Department should be aware that the U.S. coordinator cannot be responsible for arrangements made by the Japanese regarding activities in Japan.
 - o Having U.S. participants as commentators on Japanese papers and Japanese critics on U.S. papers led to more incisive discussion of the papers presented at the conferences.
 - o The choice of the site for conferences and the scheduling of opportunities for informal individual discussion in smaller groups was an important factor contributing to the success of the discussions in the formal sessions. (The Palm Springs conference is a good illustration.)

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