

CHAPTER IV

REASONS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW GUIDELINES

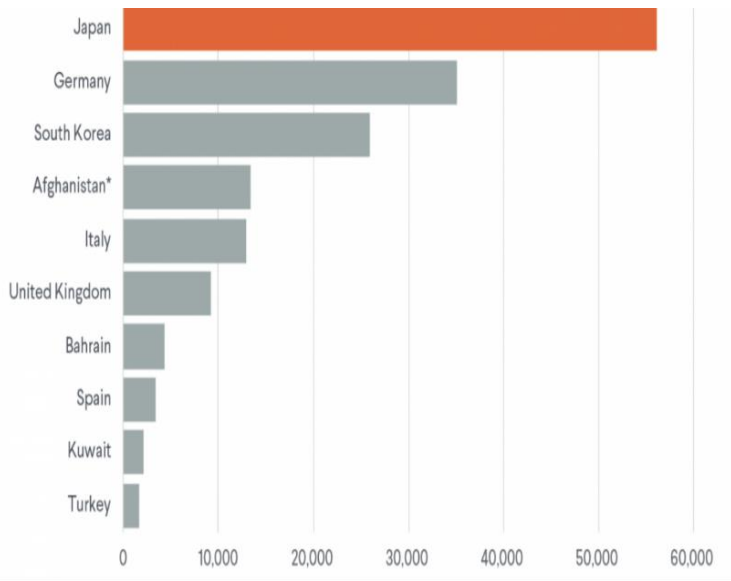
A. Strengthened Alliance Coordination

Strengthening alliances becomes a part from the concept balance of power. Alliances become the substantial part of getting high power. Strengthened alliance is new part of the new guidelines. It shows that alliance coordination is so important in foreign policy especially to balance of power to other great power. The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty was signed in 1951. It gave outlines to Japan in pacific constitution that allowed the U.S. forces for remaining on its soil after Japan had regained the sovereignty. It was renewed with ‘Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security’ in 1960. Japan agreed to provide the U.S. forces with the right to build base on the archipelago with provision that the United States needed to protect Japan from external threat. Those bases became the permanent foothold for the U.S. military in Asia. In 1967, Japan had depended on the U.S. nuclear umbrella to prevent the potential aggressors. (Maizland & Xu, 2019)

The collapsed of Soviet Union made a strong relationship between Japan and the United States. The United States agreed of establishment the 1997 guidelines. The 1997 guidelines made military of Japan could operate from Japan to surrounding areas of Japan. The 2000s became a period of improved defense cooperation. The similar interest between the United States and Japan made both countries increased its cooperation and alliance coordination.

The United States military bases in Okinawa made easier the United States to prevent the aggression from People’s Republic of China and North Korea within cost saving by having its military forward deployed in Japan. Alliance had balanced power, such as Japan increased its defense capabilities and integrated more with the U.S. forces.

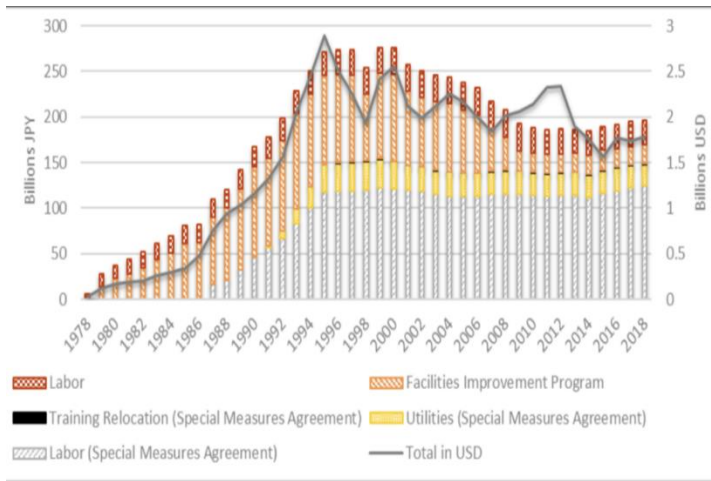
Picture 4.1: U.S. Service Members were Deployment in 2017.



Source: U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense

The diagram showed that Japan is the important alliance for the United States. The U.S. service members that had been deployed in 2017 were more than 50,000 troops. Since 2000, the relationship between the United States and Japan increased. Japan had high capability to protect the U.S. interest in Asia Pacific. Japan also supported the United States in military and economic cooperation with the United States as alliance. Both countries built strong relationship to face outside threats for the United States, Japan, and security partner strategy both countries.

Picture 4.2: Host-Nation Support for the U.S. Forces in Japan



Source: Japanese Ministry of Defense, https://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/zaibegun/us_keihi/suii_table_23-31.html; Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, Federal Reserve Economic Data, “Japan/U.S. Foreign Exchange Rate, Japanese Yen to One U.S. Dollar, Annual, not seasonally Adjusted,” <https://fred.stlouisfed.org>.

Japan need to pay \$1.7 billion to \$2.1 billion every year depending on the exchange rate to offset the direct cost of stationing the U.S. forces in Japan. There are two funding sources in Japanese host-nation support: The Facilities Improvement Program (FIP) and Special Measures Agreements (SMAs). SMAs generally covered five years. It has obligation for Japan needs to pay some money for labor and the utility costs of the U.S. bases and to relocate the exercise training away from populated areas. Japan paid ¥189 billion per year under the SMAs and at least ¥20.6 billion per year for FIP. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, 2019)

B. Increased Japan's Arms Defense to Balance of Power toward China and North Korea

The commitment of the United States for rebalance Asia-Pacific made the United States faced obstacles. The real obstacles came from People's Republic of China (PRC) and North Korea. Both countries were strong countries. The rise-up of China with its program one belt one road showed its interest in Asia-Pacific, especially the conflict of South China Sea. PRC is not only a problem of the United States, but also for the U.S. alliances.

The collapsed of Soviet Union was not enough for the United States. Soviet Union and Germany became the threat of the United States' interest in Eurasia. The foreign policy of the United States was changed to pivot Asia-Pacific. The new threat of the United States came from People's Republic of China (PRC). The other threat came from the strong enemy of the U.S. ally, South Korea. Strong enemy of South Korea was North Korea. North Korea becomes a global threat of global society for its development nuclear and missiles.

1. China as the Central Focus of the U.S. and its Alliances

The strategic partnership of the United States and Japan had increasingly focused on People's Republic of China (PRC). The rise-up of China disturbed the mission of the United States toward Asia-Pacific. The United States and Japan focused on PRC as the main of regional military power after decades from the armed-force modernization fueled by a large economic and fast-expending defense budget. The rise-up of China on economic aspect and the perception of the United States decline, Beijing had increased its diplomatic and military forces. The United States and Japan felt the rise-up of China in Asia-Pacific areas, especially East Asia and Southeast Asia. The rise-up of China become a direct challenge of Japan's territorial disputes to the Senkaku Islands administration. Beijing was so ambitious to claim Senkaku Island for its multi-continent programs of infrastructure which

stretched across Asia into Africa and seek tie those regions more firmly to China's economically and politically. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance*, 2019) In the early 2010s, Washington's attention changed direction toward Asia-Pacific regions through expended diplomatic, economic, and security engagement with Asia-Pacific. Japan also supported Washington's goal of the curtailing China's growing influence in Asia-Pacific areas. (Wu, 2018) The National Defense Program Guidelines released in late 2013s took a purpose that Beijing had not clearly stated about China's goals and purposes of its military build-up. The United States and Japan become strong alliance to face People's Republic of China. Tokyo hoped to maintain good relations with peaceful and responsible People's Republic of China. Japan refrained from taking initiative which could be excessively provocative by People's Republic of China even the territorial claims and historical problems in East China Sea. The triangle relation of the Japan-U.S.-China was stable from Japan's perspective because the uncertainty intention of China was offset by the sufficient trust in the United States security commitments.

PRC lobbied Japan to obviate Taiwan from the area of the U.S.-Japan alliance. (Mochizuki, Berger, & Tsuchiyama, 2007) The debates in Japan as the hard-lines opposed the Democratic Party and the opposition party about Japan's cooperation with PRC. People's Republic of China became the major threat for the U.S.-Japan's relationship. The future cooperation of China-Japan will give impact to the mission of the United States in Asia-Pacific, especially ASEAN. PRC also wanted to spread its power in ASEAN. PRC and ASEAN started formal relationship since 1991. (Afadlal, Mariana, Inayati, Akbar, & Sungkar, 2011) PRC and ASEAN did a lot of efforts to increase their relations. The Chinese economic growth also supported the ASEAN's economic growth. ASEAN also pretended the conflict of South China Sea. The United States and Japan took the South China Sea conflict as the tool to build strong relationship toward ASEAN. PRC has

engaged the giant infrastructure buildings project and reclamation works in South China Sea since 2014. PRC also had positioned military equipment on some of the islands it controls since 2014. Japan had been overshadowed by rise-up of China with number of submarines, ships and aircrafts. PRC had a lot of advantage in the over Japan. PRC increased ships, submarines, and aircraft since the establishment of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation in 1997. The high commitment of PRC on South China Sea disputes and its interest in Asia made PRC increased its defense equipment faster.

Table 4.1: China Naval Weaponries

Year	Ship	Submarines
1995	62	56
2000	60	64
2005	67	61
2010	78	56
Ordered in 2015	91	69

Table 4.2: China Aircraft Weaponries

Year	$\leq 3G$ Fighters	$\geq 4G$ Fighters	AEW&C	Tankers
1995	5.500	26	0	0
2000	3.138	125	0	6
2005	1.513	334	2	13
2010	1.098	507	9	13
Ordered in 2015	864	913	9	13

Source: Chang, F. (2013). A Salutation to Arms: Asia's Military Buildup, Its Reasons, and Its Implications. Retrieved December 20, 2019, from Foreign Policy Research Institute: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2013/09a-salutation-to-arms-asias->

The United States decided to review the old guidelines in 1997 became the new guidelines in 2015. The establishment of the 'New Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015 had reason because the United States wanted to make Japan as a shield on rebalance Asia-Pacific of the rising People Republic of China. Increased the number of ships, submarines, and aircrafts of China made the United States and Japan felt insecure. The grand strategy plan of the United States and Japan-China territorial dispute made the United States and Japan agreed to renew the 1997 guidelines on defense cooperation. It gave benefit to both countries.

2. North Korea as the Second Focused of the New Guidelines

The United State became the only nation to possess nuclear weapons in 1945. Some of nations also joined the nuclear club, they are Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, China, India, North Korea, and Pakistan. In 2002, Japan sent food aid to North Korea and engaged in negotiations with the United States over its missile program. On October, 2006, North Korea conducted an underground nuclear explosive test. The United States, United Nations, and European Union prevented Iran becoming nuclear power. Bill Clinton presented Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to Senate for ratification in 1996. The treaty was ratified by ninety-three nations. (Bardes, Mack C. Shelley, & Schmidt, 2008) The United State agreed the expansion program of nuclear weapon capability in Asia-Pacific toward Japan to curtail the threat of the development nuclear and weapon North Korea. North Korea would never give up for its development nuclear and weapon capabilities. The development nuclear and missile of North Korea became a serious threat of United States and its allies, especially Japan and ROK. The conflict of North Korea and ROK raised-up the North Korea nuclear capability. The new geopolitical reality that North Korea has boosted its leverage against the United States and other countries foes, ROK and Japan. North Korea also becomes the real threat of all nations. (Delaney, 2017)

1. Japan Increased Arms Defense to Balance of Power to China and North Korea

The United State prepared Japan to be strong alliance in Asia-Pacific to balance of power the rise-up of China and development nuclear and missile of North Korea. The establishment of ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ in 2015 prepared defensive alliance of the United States. Japan increased its order on armed-defense since 2015 to respond the rise-up of China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea.

Table 4.3: Japan Naval Weaponries

Year	Ship	Submarines
1995	62	16
2000	54	16
2005	54	16
2010	52	16
Ordered in 2015	54	17

Table 4.4: Japan aircraft Weaponries

Year	≤ 3G Fighters	≥ 4G Fighters	AEW&C	Tankers
1995	160	165	10	0
2000	110	160	14	0
2005	110	200	14	0
2010	65	245	14	4
Ordered in 2015	60	240	17	4

Source: Chang, F. (2013). A Salutation to Arms: Asia’s Military Buildup, Its Reasons, and Its Implications. Retrieved December 20, 2019, from Foreign Policy Research Institute:
<https://www.fpri.org/article/2013/09a-salutation-to-arms-asias-military-buildup-its-reasons-and-its-implications/>

New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' to balance of power in Asia-Pacific, especially from China. The other challenge for United and Japan was North Korea. After Japan announced that Japan left ban on arms export, North Korea launched three short-range projectiles off its east coast. Japan responded the rise up of China and the development nuclear & missile of North Korea with increased its military defense budget. Japan bought 105 more advanced F-35 fighter jets.

Most of the Japan's defense hardware from the United States came from the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. The United States sold about \$40 billion of equipment every year. The FMS provided access to get the highest quality defense equipment at the best value. In 2014, the United States chosen Japan as one of two countries that services the F-35s in Asia beside Australia. Kawasaki made antitank guided missile only for the Japanese market. Kawasaki also showed a scale model of its P-1 maritime surveillance plane for submarines detector. (Soble, 2015)

Japan had nuclear fuel-cycle programs that produce reactor-grade plutonium. Japan also has M-V and H2-A rockets, which have potential intercontinental capabilities. The United States wanted to develop a nuclear-armed of Japan as a tool for balancing power toward China and North Korea from the demand that the United States and Republic of Korea (ROK) dismantled a missile defense shield deployed by the United States Navy in ROK.

C. Cutting Cost on the U.S. Defense Development

The history of Japan boom Pearl Harbor of the United States made Japan lost its economy and military bases. Since WW II, Japan has been so famous with high technology on arms equipment and electronics things. The United States made Japan's defense became disable. The year of 2000s became a good miracle of Japan. The establishment of 1997 guidelines on Japan's arms export restriction because of the

collapsed Soviet Union. After 1997, Japan can send arms to the U.S.-Japan alliances. Even there was permission for Japan to send arms, but it was still under circumstance.

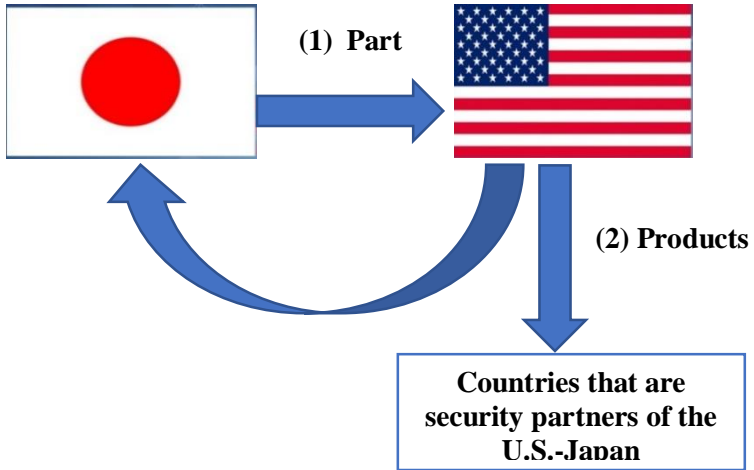
In 2009, the economy of the United States was decline. It was proven when the United States and Japan signed pact that Japan need to pay the Okinawa base maintenance for supporting the U.S. military expanses. Japan needs to pay remilitarization with shoring up the U.S. grand strategy agenda to face the rise up China. (Miere, 2013) The United States thought that Asia has geopolitical assets. (Sugai, 2016) The agenda of Japan on Abenomics programs supported grand strategy of the United States. It helped to support military and defense expenses of United States. The United States also needed to join arms defense cooperation with Japan.

On January, 2017, the Japanese Defense Minister stated that “Japan’s portion from the total cost for the U.S. forces stationed in Japan was more than 86%.” (Cost for the Stationing USFJ, Japanese Share is 86%, Ministry of Defense Calculations, 2017) The Japanese firms took a key role of development or production of the U.S. companies. In the production process, Japan’s firms needed to send parts or components to the U.S. companies. Bilateral cooperative system had shown on that cooperation. Japan needed to supply components to the United States. After that, the United States could do production with the U.S. standard. The final product was sent to Japan and security partners both countries. (Hirose, 2014)

The bilateral system on defense joint development between the United States and Japan gave benefit for both countries. It cut the cost and time of production for the United States. The U.S. companies bought components from the Japanese companies which have license from the United States. A lot of Japanese defense companies got the U.S. license. It showed that companies of both countries can increase

cooperation on defense equipment and technology for maintaining their interest.

Figure 4.3: Supply

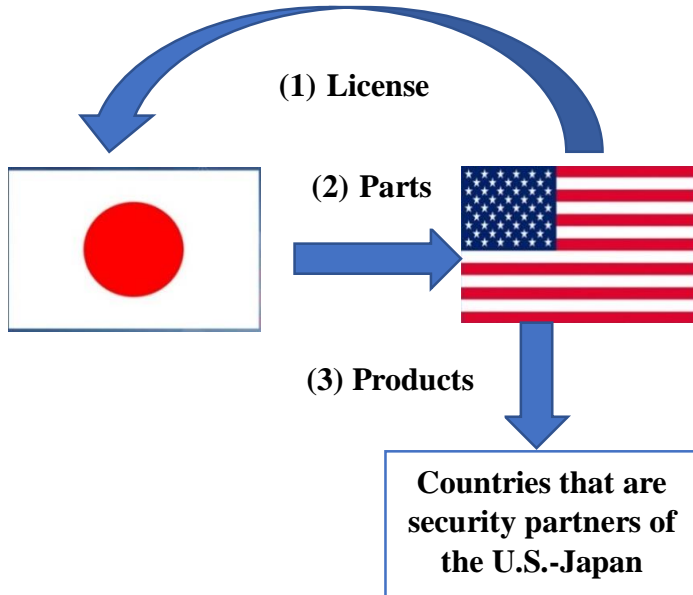


Source: Hirose, T. (2014, 10 14). *Japan's New Arms Export Principles: Strengthening U.S.-Japan Relations*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from CSIS: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/japan's-new-arms-export-principles-strengthening-us-japan-relations>

Overseas defense transfer is based on the provision of services and parts which related to the licensed product of the United States. It ensured a sufficient market. The equipment should be used the United States, Japan, and the U.S.-Japan security partners. The equipment production of the United States should have been reduced or stopped. It made the arms transfer gave beneficial to both the U.S.-Japan industries. On July, 2014, the largest Japanese arms manufacturer, Mitsubishi Heavy Industry supplied high performance sensors for the “PAC-2” surface to air missiles to Raytheon (the U.S. defense company). The Raytheon Company provided the “PAC-2” to Qatar. The Raytheon Company is the major the U.S. defense contractor and industrial cooperation. Qatar is a security

partner of the U.S.-Japan. Both companies are big defense companies in the United States and Japan. The United States gave license to Japanese companies, including jets, parts of surface-to-air missiles, helicopters, engines for aircraft and ship, and missiles launchers for ships.

Figure 4.4: Licensing



Source: Hirose, T. (2014, 10 14). *Japan's New Arms Export Principles: Strengthening U.S.-Japan Relations*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from CSIS: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/japan's-new-arms-export-principles-strengthening-us-japan-relations>

Increasing bilateral defense equipment and technology cooperation allowed Japan and the United States enhancing economic interoperability efficiency. It also strengthened the alliance coordination. The military security cooperation would lead the economic collaboration both countries and tighten industrial cooperation. It strengthened the U.S.-Japan

relationship. The new guidelines in 2015 gave clear interest of the United States to share the cost on defense cooperation.

Japan became a main purchaser of the United States on producing the defense equipment. Japan also have the status of a 'NATO Plus Five' countries. 'NATO Plus Five' countries referred to NATO, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and Israel. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institution, "Japan became one of the 10 top recipients from the actual deliveries of major conventional weapons from the United States. Japan spent US\$363.9 million per year." It was accounted between 83% and 97 % of Japan's arms export. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, The U.S.-Japan Alliance, 2019) 'The Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics Agency' (ATLA) stated that the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' Nagoya Aerospace System Works in Aichi provided maintenance, repair, overhaul, and upgrade (MRO&U) for the F-35 airframe and IHI Corporation's Mizuho plant in Tokyo provided MRO&U support to the aircraft's Pratt & Whitney F135 engine. It focused on 'MRO&U' instead the local assembly and production influenced by the U.S. decision in 2014 to assign Japan as MRO provider for F-35 airframe and engine in the Northern Pacific area. Some equipment of the Japanese companies got the U.S. companies' license, included the sophisticated systems, such as F-15SDJ fighter aircraft, F-15J and the F-35A. (Grevatt, 2019) The United States has authorized high profile purchases of the defense equipment and technology of the United States through the FMS, such as:

1. F-35 Joint Strike Fighters
2. E-2D "Hawkeye" airborne early warning and control aircraft
3. Aegis Weapon System
4. V-22B "Osprey" tilt-rotor aircraft
5. KF-46A "Pegasus" aerial refueling tankers