From “Hub-and-Spokes” to “Spinning Wheel”

The Japan-U.S. Alliance Hereafter

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Disclaimer

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Motivation of This Research

Trump Administration
- “America First” as its policy principle
- Foreign/defense policy: “Peace through strength”

Interests of allies and partners, including Japan
- Commitment to allies and partners
- Regional / multilateral engagement

Theme of This Research
Direction of alliance cooperation between Japan and the U.S. under the new administration
Security Environment
Global Security Environment

Globalization and innovation are inducing changes in power balance and global security environment. Security challenges and destabilizing factors are becoming complex, diverse, and broader.

Asia-Pacific Region
“The Center of Global Growth”

Maritime Security

Rise of China

Expansion of Russian Influence

Europe

Middle East
North Africa

Global Terrorism
Cyber, Space Security

Note: Any graphics on this map don’t necessarily reflect any official borders or territory.
Asia-Pacific Region

Geopolitical issues, traditional and non-traditional security issues
Development of mutual economic dependency further complicates challenges

The Japan-U.S. Alliance

- Military modernization
- Intensified military activities
- Nuclear / ballistic missile development
- Military provocations
- East China Sea
- Cross Strait Relations
- Naval / air presence, A2/AD capability strengthened
- Domestic political development

Effective regional security institution not yet established.

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U.S. Foreign / Defense Policy Under the New Administration
Policy principles and basic characteristics

- “America First”
- Anti-establishment
- “Peace through strength”
- More emphasis on national interest rather than on values, ideas

Foreign / Defense Policy

- Rebuilding the military: ending defense sequestration, a new defense budget
- Defeating ISIS and other Islamic terrorist groups as highest priority
- Strengthening cyber capability
- Modernizing strategic nuclear triad
- Developing new MD system to counter NK and Iranian missiles
- Oversea operations limited to protecting security of U.S. citizens and allies
## Assessment

### China and Russia
- More cooperative in common interests (e.g. counter ISIS)?
- More confrontational with China (e.g. SCS) while less certain with Russia?

### Force development / defense budget
- Maybe some increase but the scale and priorities remain to be seen

### Overseas operations
- More positive for vital interests and passive for peripheral interests?

### Allies and partners
- More requirements for capability development and more roles?

### Asia-Pacific Region
- Forward deployment, extended deterrence and commitment to allies’ defense will likely continue
- May escalate if taking hardline stance against PRC’s unilateral actions?

### Strategic concept for foreign/defense policy yet to be articulated
Implications for Allies & Partners
Implications for Allies and Partners

- Sustaining balance of power
- Multilateral cooperation to address new security issues (e.g. terrorism, threats against global commons)
- The role of the U.S. remains vital.

Roles of bureaucrats and officers at DOD and DOS

- The U.S. allies, while maintaining the alliances, should:
  - Take on more roles to address regional and global security issues.
  - Continue to strengthen their necessary capabilities.
  - Strengthen cooperation among the allies, as well as cooperation with other regional countries, more than ever.
The Japan - U.S. Alliance Hereafter
From “Hub-and-Spokes” to “Spinning Wheel”

Strengthen allies’ capabilities and resiliencies, and alliance cooperation.

Strengthen cooperation among allies.

Allies will cooperate multilaterally, strive to maintain international order and develop norms.

Previously: “Hub-and-Spokes”

Hereafter: “Spinning Wheel”
How U.S. Allies and Partners Should Approach

1) Continue to strengthen their own capabilities while helping strengthening capacity of other regional countries.

2) Strengthen cooperation among allies as a driving force to:
   - sustain international orders the U.S. and allies have developed,
   - develop international norms, and
   - encourage other countries.

3) The allies, in close cooperation with each other, encourage the U.S. to maintain close communication and exercise leadership with a clear strategic concept.

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Japan’s own efforts
- Strengthen Japan’s defense capability
  - “Dynamic Joint Defense Force”
  - Defense posture in Southwestern Region
- Facilities and areas for U.S. forces
- Continuation of U.S. forward deployment, extended deterrence, and commitment under Treaty

Efforts within Japan-U.S. Alliance
- Strengthen bilateral communication
- ISR, maritime security
- Bilateral exercises

Continue Japan-U.S.-ROK practical security cooperation
- North Korea’s nukes, missiles, provocations
- Japan-ROK, Japan-US-ROK

Continue dialogue & confidence bldg with China, Russia
- Close communication between Japan and U.S.
- Communication with NATO

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Asia-Pacific Region and Global Arena

Global Arena
Strengthen co-op with NATO and major members, drive multilateral co-op and sustain int’l order and norm
- Mutual support in capacity bldg., strengthen interoperability
- Co-op in third parties’ capacity building
- Operational co-op (peace ops, counterpiracy)
- Take lead in promoting int’l norm in global commons (cyber, space, maritime domains)

Asia-Pacific Region
Cooperate with AUS, etc. and drive regional multilateral cooperation.
- AUS
- ROK
- India
- Capacity building
- Multilat co-op: TPP, tng/exs, capacity-bldg.
- Operational co-op: HA/DR

Int’l order and norm
- Maintain Japan-U.S.-AUS trilateral co-op
- U.S. new strategic concept or joint strategic vision
- Support U.S. engagement

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The Alliances with The U.S. Hereafter

- The alliance with the U.S. remains the cornerstone of its allies and partners, including Japan, in the long-run.

- Shift from “Hub-and-Spokes” to “Spinning Wheel” is requested hereafter. The U.S. allies should strengthen own capabilities and expand roles.

- Japan should take on more roles to drive momentum of the Wheel.

- Communication and cooperation among the U.S. and allies based on the detailed strategic concept (ends, ways, means) is needed.
Questions and Comments