in America, Asia and Europe
I dited by Harumi Befu and
Sylvic Guichard Anguis

Japan at Play

The ludic and logic of power Edited by Joy Hendry and Massimo Raveri

The Making of Urban Japan Cities and planning from Edo to the twenty-first century André Sorensen

Public Policy and Economic Competition in Japan Change and continuity in antimonopoly Policy, 1973–95 Michael L. Beeman

Modern Japan A social and political history Elise K. Tipton

Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan Dislocating the salaryman doxa Edited by James F. Roberson and Nobuc Suruki

The Voluntary and Non-Profit Sector in Japan The challenge of change

The challenge of change Edited by Stephen P. Osborne

Japan's Security Relations with China From balancing to bandwagoning Remhard Drifte

Understanding Japanese Society: Third Edition Joy Hendry

Japanese Electoral Politics
Creating a new party system
Fdited by Steven R. Reed

The Japanese–Soviet Neutrality Pact A diplomatic history, 1941–45 Borts Slavinsky translated by Geoffrey Jukes

Academic Nationalism in China and Japan Framed by concepts of nature, culture and the universal Margaret Sleeboom Molecules, markets and the state in the United States and Japan Steve W. Collins

Hiotechnology

Yusaka Horiuchi

Institutions, Incentives and Electoral Participation in Japan Cross-level and cross-national perspectives

Japan's Interventionist State The role of the MAFF Aurelia George Mulgan

Japan's Sea Lane Security, 1940–2004
'A matter of life and death'?

Euan Graham

The Changing Japanese Political System
The Liberal Democratic Party
and the Ministry of Finance
Harumi Hori

Japan's Agricultural Policy Regime Aurelia George Mulgan

**Cold War Frontiers in the Asia-Pacific** Divided territories in the San Francisco system *Kimie Hara* 

Living Cities in Japan Citizens' movements, machizukuri and local environments Andre Sorensen and Carolin Funck

Resolving the Russo-Japanese Territorial Dispute Hokkaido-Sakhalin relations Brad Williams

Modern Japan, Second Edition A Social and Political History Elise K.. Tipton

The Transformation of the Japanese Left From old socialists to new democrats Sarah Hyde

Social Class in Contemporary Japan Edited by Hiroshi Ishida and David H. Slater

The US-Japan Alliance Balancing soft and hard power in East Asia Edited by David Arase and Tsuneo Akaha

## The US—Japan Alliance

Balancing soft and hard power in East Asia

**Edited by David Arase and Tsuneo Akaha** 



First published 2010 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Editorial Selection and matter, David Arase and Tsuneo Akaha Individual chapters, the contributor

Typeset in Times New Roman by Taylor & Francis Books Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Group

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

p. cm. (Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese studies series)

1. United States-Relations-Japan. 2. Japan-Relations-United States. 3. East Asia-Relations-United States. 4. United States-Relations-East Asia. 5. East Asia-Relations-Japan. 6. Japan-Relations-East Asia. I. Arase, David. II. Akaha, Tsuneo, 1949-

JZ1480.A57.J37 2009b 355'.03109730952-dc22

2009018029

ISBN 10: 0-415-48713-7 (hbk) ISBN 10: 0-203-86662-2 (ebk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-48713-9 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-86662-7 (ebk)

	List of tables	ix
	List of contributors	X
	Series editor's preface	xii
	Acknowledgements	xiv
	Introduction: soft power, hard power, Japan, and the US-Japan Alliance	1
	DAVID ARASE	
	RT I pan and the US—Japan alliance	17
I	"Soft" power, interests and identity: the future of the US-Japan alliance PHILIP MEEKS	19
2	Japanese security policy: from soft to hard power DAVID ARASE	35
3	Japan's soft power-hard power balancing act TSUNEO AKAHA	58
	ART II ajor powers' views of Japan and the US—Japan alliance	81
4	Chinese perspectives on the US-Japan alliance JING-DONG YUAN	83
5	North and South Korean views of the US–Japan alliance DANIEL A. PINKSTON	117
6	Russian perspectives on the US–Japan Security alliance SERGEY SEVASTYANOV	13:

CHIUHUS

## 30 Daniel A. Pinkston

28 Jung Sung-ki, "Seoul Slams Tokyo Over Dokdo," *The Korea Times*, May 19, 2008, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2008/08/113\_24427.html.

29 "Japan Agrees to Withdraw Survey Plan in Disputed Waters," Xinhua News Agency, April 22, 2006, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-04/22/content\_4461384.htm; Mark J. Valencia, "Japan and Korea: Between a Legal Rock and a Hard Place," Nautilus Institute Policy Forum Online 06-37A, May 11, 2006, http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0637Valencia.html.

30 B. J. Lee, "A New Kind of Pride," *Newsweek*, May 8, 2006, in Lexis-Nexis, http://www.lexis-nexis.com.

31 Interview with ROK Ministry of Unification official, Seoul, May 12, 2006.

32 Takafumi Ōtomo, "Bandwagoning to Dampen Suspicion: NATO and the US-Japan Alliance after the Cold War," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 3, 2003, pp. 29–55. For a brief discussion on multilateralism as a binding mechanism for a hegemonic power, see David A. Lake, "The Self-Restrained Superpower," *Harvard International Review*, Fall 2000, pp. 48–53.

33 Kim Seong-cheol, "Mi-il Dongmaenggwa Ilbonui Oegyo-anbo Jeongchaek,"

Tongilgveongjae, Spring 2005, pp. 22–32.

34 Kim Chang-suk, "Ilbon Haekpoktanui Kkumul Gyeonggyehara," Hankyoreh21,

No. 596, February 8, 2006.

- 35 Kim Gyeong-min, "Mi-il Daebukjeongchaek Donghyanggwa Han-mi-il Jeong-chaek Gongjo," *Hanbando Anbojeongsebyeonghwawa Hyeopryeokjeok Jajugukbang* [Guknae Anbohaksulhoehu (2004.5.11) Balpyononmumjip] (Seoul: Korea Institute of National Unification, 2004), pp. 35–52. For anther example of the "virtual nuclear power" view, see Kim Jang-sook, "Ilbon Haekpoktanui Kkumul Gyeonggyehara," *Hankyoreh21*, No. 596, February 8, 2006.
- 36 Daniel A. Pinkston, "Japanese, South Korean Plutonium Plants Raise Security Concerns in Region," WMD Insights, February 2006, http://www.wmdinsights.com/Old EastAsia/Feb06/I2\_EA1\_Rokkashos.htm.
- 37 Daniel A. Pinkston and Dave H. Kim, "South Korean Opinion Polls: Majority Favors Nuclear Weapons; 1980s Generation Question U.S. Ties," WMD Insights, December 2005-January 2006, http://www.wmdinsights.com/Old\_EastAsia/DecJan/11\_EA1\_SouthKoreanOpinion.htm.

38 Interview with ROK government official, Seoul, May 14, 2006.

39 Interview with Dr. Han Yong-seop, Director of the Research Institute on National Security Affairs, Korea National Defense University, in Seoul, May 10, 2006.

## 6 Russian perspectives on the US–Japan security alliance

Sergey Sevastyanov

## Introduction

This chapter examines Russia's perspectives on the changing US Japan alliance. To understand them properly several critical considerations should be taken into account.

First, Moscow clearly distinguishes the US as a leading partner in the US Japan alliance, and thus considers Washington's global policy priorities as a defining factor that may affect Russian security interests in the Asia Pacific. In this context it is worth mentioning that though Russian American interests mostly coincide in this part of the world, bilateral differences and growing conflicts elsewhere, especially in Europe, may impede their security and economic cooperation in East Asia.

Second, Russian–Japanese ties are characterized by a controversy: on one hand, during the last fifteen years a network of bilateral contacts (political and economic ties, military and cultural exchanges, etc.) has been pradually growing. On the other hand, a long-term territorial dispute has prevented any substantial breakthrough in bilateral relations. That is why it is important to clarify whether Tokyo's pursuit of the so called "normal state" status and more offensive capabilities for the Japanese Self Defense Forces (JSDI) may become a threat to Russia's interests in the region

From this author's point of view, the complex state of Russian American relations that is poisoned by such issues as the NATO enlargement, Washington's abrogation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, American plans to install National Missile Defense (NMD) in Eastern Europe informs Moscow's perspective on the American role in the US Japan alliance. This analysis will examine how the American use of hard power as well as soft power has changed Russia's post-Cold War policy, and what that experience says about the effectiveness of the use of those two components of "smart" power. The chapter then discusses differences in Russian and Japanese approaches to the territorial dispute and the latest changes in bilateral economic ties as a precursor of a possible Moscow Tokyo compromise to support further strengthening of bilateral relations. This will be followed by a discussion of Russia's assessment of the main components of Japan's