

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**U.S.-Japan Bilateral Meeting
Renaissance Ilikai Waikiki Hotel
Honolulu, Hawaii
November 2, 2000
1530-1700**

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

Agenda

1. Long-Term Dialogue
 - a. Mid-Term Defense Plan, Ship Inspection Legislation, Peacekeeping laws, Emergency laws (Japan lead)
 - b. Quadrennial Defense Review (US lead)
 - c. INSS Published Paper: "The U.S. and Japan: Advancing toward a Mature Partnership" (U.S. lead)
 - d. Future Roles and Missions (U.S. lead)
2. China -- Bilateral Relations and Discussions on White Paper (Japan lead)
3. Multilateral Activities in Asia-Pacific
 - a. Asia Pacific Regional Initiative (U.S. lead)
 - b. JDA Forum for Defense Authorities in the Asia-Pacific Region (Japan lead)

Opening Remarks

- Let me begin by welcoming you, Mr. Shuto and the members of the Japanese delegation to Hawaii.
- I know that this has already been a very long day for you and your delegation. Traveling from Tokyo to Hawaii, you get to enjoy the same day twice.
- I hope that we are able to make the version of the day spent in Hawaii the more enjoyable of the two.
- We have a full agenda, and not a lot of time, but before proceeding I'd like to invite you to make any opening remarks.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

1. Long-Term Dialogue

- Over the last few years, we have spent a great deal of time and energy on the management of the alliance. And that is very important work.
- But it is also important to take time to look beyond day-to-day matters and consider the visions that we each have for the alliance as we look ahead 5, 10 and 20 years.
- So I am very glad that we were able to include "Long-Term Dialogue" as our first agenda item.
- Your Mid-Term Defense Plan and our Quadrennial Defense Review form an excellent starting point for that discussion.
- Then there are the ongoing activities in Japan related to ship inspection legislation under the Guidelines, and possible future legislation related to peacekeeping operations and emergency situations.
- And the paper about the future of our alliance that Rich Armitage and a bipartisan group in the U.S. have recently issued has fostered further discussion within both governments and in the public at large.
- All of which highlights the necessity for each of us to bear in mind how we might evolve our roles and missions over time to ensure that our alliance remains the foundation of regional stability, and to ensure that it continues to enjoy strong and stable support at home.
- I'd like to begin Mr. Shuto, by asking you to provide us an update on your Mid-Term Defense Plan, the ship inspection laws and developments related to peacekeeping operations and emergency legislation.
- Then I will ask COL Bursley from our Strategy office to provide an update on our Quadrennial Defense Review.
- From there, I propose that we have a general discussion.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

a. Mid-Term Defense Plan, Ship Inspection Legislation, Peacekeeping laws, Emergency laws (Japan lead)

- We are especially interested in your perspectives on the evolving security environment over the five-year period of the MTDP and the impact that this might have on force structure and acquisition decisions.
 - Agree with your stress on information technology, especially as it relates to interoperable communications. Dominance of the battlespace, through acquisition, processing, distribution and utilization of information in a secure environment, while denying adversaries the same, will be critical.
 - Given budget constraints, it is especially important to take advantage of globalization trends in industry as a means of reducing acquisition costs. Especially important in the context of new programs that we each undertake.
 - Look forward to having Mr. Shimbo and Mr. Kozuki visit Washington next week to discuss the Mid-Term Defense Plan in greater detail.
-
- Appreciate the effort you are making on the ship inspection legislation.
 - Recognize that there has been extensive work to reach agreement. Hope that it will allow for swift and effective implementation of the Guidelines.
 - It will be important to use our bilateral exercises to determine the effect of some of the legal requirements included in the law.
 - Especially will want to focus on how the requirements for a UNSC resolution or approval of the flag nation of registry will effect implementation.
-
- Hope that Japan will continue to explore how it might increase its role in international peacekeeping.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- Believe that the region is becoming increasingly accepting of such a role for Japan.
- But the harder question is the degree to which the Japanese people will support such a role.
- Through enhanced peacetime engagement with the rest of the region, we can build an environment in which both the other states of the region and the Japanese people may become more comfortable with idea of an increased role.

-
- Also agree that establishment of a framework of emergency laws, with proper checks and balances, is an essential part of a complete national security structure.
 - Such a framework would also help to clarify legal authorities in the context of the guidelines.
 - Look forward to continuing to hear about how the debate over the Emergency Legislation develops.

[IF RAISED: Maritime Patrol Aircraft]

- Equipment collaboration with Japan has my full support and that of the Secretary.
- But it is important to ensure that it takes place for sound programmatic and operational reasons.
- The primary responsibility for managing this kind of cooperation within DOD should rest with our Acquisition organization and with the responsible Military Department. My staff participates in those processes as necessary.
- It is not entirely clear at this point what policy issues the MPA raises that cannot be solved through the normal channels that we have for equipment collaboration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- So it may be that a formal policy oversight group is not necessary.
- At the same time, it is always the case that if some matter of policy concern related to equipment cooperation arises you can take it up with me or my Deputy Fred Smith or with Admiral Weiss.
- In that context, I appreciate the benefit of having informal points of contact between ISA and the Defense Policy Bureau for cooperation on MPA and other equipment programs.

b. Quadrennial Defense Review (U.S. lead)

[Note: Andy Hoehn has sent COL Clarke Bursley to participate in this meeting for the purpose of briefing the QDR and supporting discussions. In addition, the Japanese will send Mr. Shimbo and Mr. Kozuki from their trilateral delegation to Washington to have more detailed discussions on QDR and MTDP on November 6.]

- Believe most of you are familiar with the outcomes of the last Quadrennial Defense Review in 1997.
- As we discussed at our last meeting in May, the Fiscal Year 2000 Defense Authorization Act mandates another similar strategic and programmatic review this coming year.
- Although some preliminary preparations for the next QDR have begun within the Joint Staff and Services, most of our activity can not commence until after installation of the new Administration in January.
- That said, given the requirement for the White House to produce a new *National Security Strategy* report by June, we would see ourselves working closely with the NSC to ensure both endeavors are well synchronized.
- Similarly, a comprehensive assessment requires close consultations with our allies. As I mentioned earlier, your Mid-Term Defense Plan and our

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

Quadrennial Defense Review provide an excellent starting point for the "Long-Term Dialogue" about the future of our alliance.

- In this regard, I've asked COL Clarke Bursley from the Strategy office to highlight some of the potential QDR issue areas and directions; we hope to benefit from your views and insights.

c. INSS Published Paper: "The U.S. and Japan: Advancing toward a Mature Partnership" (U.S lead)

- The so-called "Armitage group" paper has been widely reported in Japan, so I know that you have all read it.
- It is quite common for this type of paper to come out just prior to elections in the U.S.
- The paper makes many proposals, some of which are somewhat controversial. But more than any specific proposals that it contains, the bipartisan nature of the paper is its most important aspect.
- The paper shows that across party lines in the U.S., there is a fundamental commitment to alliance with Japan.
- And there is a fundamental commitment to working with Japan to continually improve the alliance. The paper should be seen not as a unilateral U.S. prescription, but as a collection of ideas that form a starting point for a discussion among equal partners.
- As we have been discussing, and as the paper describes, Japan is changing. There is a rich and growing debate in Japan about security issues and how Japan should contribute. Should Japan change its position on coalition self-defense? Should it amend the constitution to deal with the structure of the government and to change Article 9? Should it become more involved in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

peacekeeping? Should there be changes in the U.S. forward basing and the roles and missions we each undertake?

- In the long-term, the alliance can only contribute to regional stability to the degree that the alliance is also internally stable. It must reflect the desires and aspirations of both alliance partners.
- So it is incumbent upon all of us as alliance managers to look ahead to where those changes might lead, and ensure that our alliance continues to meet the needs and aspirations of both alliance partners.

d. Future roles and missions (U.S. lead)

- We last discussed our roles and missions under the alliance in a formal way during the 1980s.
- By and large, those roles and missions continue to serve us well.
- But as we look to the future, and consider where the alliance might go, we may need to take on the question of roles and missions again.
- This is not about the U.S. asking Japan to do more as has been the case sometimes in the past. Rather it is about asking ourselves what kind of alliance will best serve as the foundation of regional stability for the next forty years.

2. China -- Bilateral Relations and Discussions on White Paper (Japan lead)

- First of all, I'd like to congratulate your government on its skillful handling of Premier Zhu Rongji's recent visit to Tokyo. By all accounts, the visit was a clear success, and it will pave the way for a further strengthening of ties between your two countries.
- Our ties with China are also on the mend after reaching a low point following the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade last year.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- We continue to stress to the Chinese that sustained, constructive bilateral ties between the United States and China are clearly in the interests not only of both countries but also of the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.
- We also continue to stress to Beijing that the US-Japan alliance remains the cornerstone of our Asia policy and is the foundation of regional security.
- Our military to military cooperation with China has broadened, albeit at a measured pace. We have just completed planning for cooperation next year on holding a humanitarian affairs/disaster relief "sandtable exercise" in Beijing and Chengdu.
- General Shelton is visiting China this week for discussions and a visit to San Jia training area.
- China's recently released Defense White Paper is a positive move with regards to transparency, but has a distinctly harsher edge than the 1998 White Paper in its criticism of the U.S., threats against Taiwan, and discussion of security issues.
- The 2000 white paper is particularly negative regarding the U.S., even though we are not mentioned by name.
- Whereas the 1998 White Paper said China "must have" a capability to defend its sovereignty and security by military means, now China "will have to enhance such a capability, because hegemonism and power politics are further developing." Such rhetoric does not contribute to enhanced or improved relations, and makes deeper cooperation and trust more difficult.
- The paper also characterizes the cross-Strait situation as "complicated and grim," and repeats the troubling threat from the February Taiwan White Paper to use force if Taiwan indefinitely delays the peaceful settlement of cross-Strait reunification through negotiations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- In our view, China should go much further as a means of reducing tensions and suspicions in the region, and as a bureaucratic tool for management of the military budget process—a process we believe remains too opaque.
- The tough political rhetoric in China's new White Paper is more likely to feed than dampen the 'China threat theory.' It will also feed perceptions that the PLA is hawkish and hard-line when it comes to US-China relations, Taiwan, and Japan.

3. Multilateral Activities in Asia-Pacific

a. Asia Pacific Regional Initiative (U.S.)

[Note: Though we have mentioned APRI in meetings with the GOJ, and discussed the APAN at the last trilateral, this will be the first full briefing to the GOJ on APRI.]

- We believe that the trend toward regionalism in Asia is on-going and positive. The region's political, economic and social transition will lead to new security challenges that can cross borders, affecting common security. That will make multinational coordination all the more important for regional security
- During his visits to the region over the past year, Secretary Cohen has raised the idea of a regional defense initiative to promote multinational activities to address a variety of nontraditional security threats and contingencies. Such contingencies include humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, search and rescue, and piracy.
- We have begun to implement a program to support this effort, which we have named the "Asia Pacific Regional Initiative," or APRI. APRI activities include a regional computer network to facilitate the timely exchange of information and expertise on non-warfighting contingencies, and expansion of traditionally bilateral exercises to include additional countries.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

- APRI will help build and improve national capabilities as well as foster combined regional efforts through standardization of tactics, techniques and procedures.
- The intent over the longer term is for APRI activities to promote habits of cooperation and trust that may also have broader implications on relations between states, including those with historical enmities.
- Our intention is to develop APRI and this enhanced engagement step-by-step according to regional conditions while taking into account the view of regional states.
- We realize that there may be apprehension on the part of some nations to engage in multilateral engagement activities. This may be due to either a concern over the inclusiveness of the initiatives or the effect they might have on the bilateral relationship, or both.
- Let me assure you that we have no intention of letting these multilateral initiatives detract from our bilateral relationships. And, since it is clear that almost any military action taken in the region will be done in a multinational context, anything we do to enhance our regional coordination will help our overall security.
- APRI is not intended to exclude any nations. This includes China. During his visit to China in July, Secretary Cohen discussed this initiative with his counterparts. The Chinese agreed to consider participation and we would welcome it.
- The ultimate success of this initiative will hinge on active participation and close consultation with regional allies and partners.

b. JDA Forum for Defense Authorities in the Asia-Pacific Region (Japan)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAY 24 2011

- I want to commend JDA on the success that this forum has become.
- The forum testifies to the visionary role that former Vice-Minister Akiyama played during his years of service at JDA. He was and still is a very good friend of ours at DOD.
- Japan's role as the host of this forum is especially important in terms of what it says about how the region is changing.
- The excellent participation that the forum enjoys makes an equally powerful demonstration of that change.
- For both Japan and the U.S., our bilateral relationship remains at the core of our security policy. But that relationship provides a foundation on which to build broader multilateral ties that strengthen peace and security in the region.
- I think that the emphasis this year on multilateral exercises, and last year's theme of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief are excellent topics.
- I understand that this year there was also some important discussion about the possibility of enhancing the quality of discussions that take place at the Asean Regional Forum (ARF).
- I think that it would be very valuable if the JDA forum can become a catalyst to achieve that objective.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**NATIONAL
SECURITY
ARCHIVE**

This document is from the holdings of:

The National Security Archive

Suite 701, Gelman Library, The George Washington University

2130 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20037

Phone: 202/994-7000, Fax: 202/994-7005, nsarchiv@gwu.edu