INTRODUCTION

The Armitage Report (*The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partner*) was the result of election-year discussions among a select group of American, Japan policy professionals. This group met over the spring and summer of 2000 to outline a new and effective strategy for managing the US-Japan security relationship. The main objective was map a path toward upgrading US-Japan relations within a new set of parameters what would actuate a true security alliance.

The study group formed by Mr. Richard Armitage, then a security and investment consultant for both American and Japanese interests who had served as an appointee in State and Defense Asia posts in previous Republican administrations. Mr. Armitage was known at the time as a “back channel” for Japan in Washington, especially within the defense establishment. He wanted to articulate an Asia-centric defense policy for the United States and to counter doubts that the US would withdraw from the region. He was also focused on securing a solid, working alliance from Japan for the US to balance an emerging China. An underlying, unsaid assumption of the report and the men involved was that Japan would, of course, be supportive of American foreign policy goals and means. As events have evolved after the election of President George W. Bush in November 2000, the Armitage Report proved to be a central philosophy uniting Bush Administration policy toward Japan and Northeast Asia.

This bibliography introduces you to the better-known people and groups involved in discussions of US Asia security policy. All have influenced the intellectual atmosphere surrounding the Armitage Report. The Armitage study participants formed a select group of insiders with substantive personal ties and experience with Japan. None had close ties to any women security professionals and a woman was added to the team as an afterthought, primarily to take the first few sets of notes. Nearly all the participants interviewed strongly rejected suggestions that there was a body of literature that shaped their thinking. Most found real-time information summarized by *The Oriental Economist* or *The Daily Japan Digest* (no longer published) or their personal relationships with Japanese colleagues to be their best reference. The study group saw their mission as formulating a new perspective on Japan based on each participant’s experience and knowledge.

Japanese security literature and Japanese research organizations were also important influences on the Armitage Report. Japanese reevaluation of the US-Japan security relationship can be traced to the “Nixon Shocks” of the early 1970s with fuller discussions of the issue emerging in the 1980s. Replacing the
rocky economic dependency with a focus on stronger, albeit limited security pact appears early as a theme among Japan’s foreign policy professionals. It is unclear how Japanese security policy evolution affected or was affected by US’s own security interests. The Japanese appear to have held much greater independence of thought than most Americans believed.

In both Japan and the United States, this study group report is a popular format for providing policy-relevant analysis on Asia. Most participants are senior policy professionals. Many have had government service. The participants are generally men and well known to each other. The study group reports are summaries of the discussions and discussions are summaries of personal impressions. On occasion, original research papers are commissioned for discussion.

THE REPORT


Timed to coincide with the 2000 US presidential election. One of several studies released in 2000 to highlight the views and expertise of potential Japan advisers for a new administration. The report has neither footnotes nor a bibliography. Mr. Armitage, the report’s convener and was selected as Deputy Secretary of State by President Bush, is a fan of biographies of President Teddy Roosevelt and General George Patton. Dr. Nye’s involvement was secondary and a protective move by Mr. Armitage in case a democratic administration was elected.

Most participants received Bush Administration appointments with the exception of: Dan E. Bob, Kurt M. Campbell, Kent M. Harrington, Frank Jannuzi, Edward Lincoln, Kevin G. Nealer, Joseph S. Nye, James J. Przystup, and Barbara P. Wanner. (As of January 2002)

BLUEPRINT


Participants: Richard L. Armitage, Johannes A. Binnendijk, Peter T.R. Brookes, Carl W. Ford, Kent M. Harrington, Frank S. Jannuzi, Robert A. Manning, RADM Michael A. McDevitt, USN (Ret.), James J. Przystup, GEN Robert W. RisCassi, USA (Ret.), Paul D. Wolfowitz

The recognition this report received in Republican foreign policy circles led its principals Richard Armitage and James Przystup to consider a similar format for one on Japan.

FIRST REEVALUATION OF US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS


A very well-received first analysis of changes in Japanese security doctrine. The author, now a professor at George Washington University, found that the “Yoshida Doctrine” of relying on the US alliance for defense was beginning to be questioned in the early 1980s. His work on this new thinking, termed “military realism,” led the way for Americans to consider expanding areas of military cooperation with Japan.
FIRST ARTICULATION OF ARMITAGE REPORT CONCLUSIONS


“I believe that all roles and missions except the last [for Japan becoming a global military superpower], are both acceptable and achievable for Japan. These missions and roles should not be limited by artificial geographic boundaries, and they should certainly include operations in the Middle East. In order to maintain regional stability, interdependence with the United States, and greater operation latitude, Japan’s force structure should continue to be interoperable and complementary to the US military. Restrictive interpretations relating to collective security and, especially, collective self-defense are anachronistic in the post-Cold War era, weaken Japan’s moral and political authority in the international community, and should be revised.”

This paper was prepared for discussion at one of the many Pacific Forum Conferences. Mr. Patterson, a former naval officer, is the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Asia or head of the Asia Office at the National Security Council in the Bush Administration (resigned late January 2002).

THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE OF THE ARMITAGE REPORT


This book was intended as another election year report to advise a future administration. However, the report was delayed because the Japanese author became a Japanese government official in the middle of the project, thus delaying its release until October 2001. This timing coincides with Japan’s increasing economic crisis. The book, which includes footnotes, expands on the hands-off economic section, no gaiatsu approach of the Armitage Report. It includes a security chapter that echoes the Report’s conclusions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Reviews prominent literature on US-Japan security relations published from 1992 to 1996. Some discussion of the Japanese literature. (Dr. Green is the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Asia at the National Security Council in the Bush Administration)

THINK TANKS INFLUENTIAL TO THE ARMITAGE REPORT

UNITED STATES

Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies
President: Mr. Ralph Cossa
Former President: Mr. James Kelly (1994-2001)
http://www.csis.org/pacfor/index.htm

Institute for National Security Studies (NSS), National Defense University
Director: (October 1999 – Present) Dr. Stephen J. Flanagan
Former Director: Dr. Hans Binnendijk (1994 - August 1999)
http://www.ndu.edu/inss/insshp.html
Understanding the Armitage Report

Rand
National Security Research Division
http://www.rand.org/nsrd/
Director: Dr. Jeffrey Isaacson (2000-present)
Former Director: Dr. David Gompert
Center for Asia-Pacific Policy
http://www.rand.org/nsrd/capp/index.html
Former Director: Ms. Nina Hachigian

JAPAN
Okazaki Institute
Chairman Okazaki Hisahiko http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/okazaki-jap.html

Okamoto Associates
Chairman, Okamoto Yukio http://www.yukio-okamoto.com

Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS)
Chairman, Nakasone Yasuhiro http://www.iips.org

National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS)
http://www.nids.go.jp/english/nids-home.htm

Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS)

I. – Primary Sources

US GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

“A Strategic Framework for the Asian Pacific Rim” (East Asia Security Initiative I, EASR), Department of Defense, April 1990.


JAPAN GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS


Japan Information Access Project
Understanding the Armitage Report

http://www.ndu.edu/inss/macnair/mcnair31/mcnair31.pdf


**Mid-Term Defense Build-up Plan (FY1996-FY2000).** Adopted by the Security Council and by the Cabinet on December 15, 1995. [http://www.jda.go.jp/e/policy/f_work/chukibou/index_e.htm](http://www.jda.go.jp/e/policy/f_work/chukibou/index_e.htm)


**AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES**


Understanding the Armitage Report

Joint Announcement, U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, Tokyo, December 2, 1996
http://www.jda.go.jp/e/index.htm


TESTIMONY AND SPEECHES


POLITICAL DOCUMENTS


Japan Information Access Project
II. Conference Reports & Meeting Notes

PRIVATELY SPONSORED

Nearly all these conference reports were written to highlight expertise on Asian security and economics for the 2000 presidential candidates of the United States. Many of the reports have appeared as books or monographs with one or more “authors” or “editors.” Where possible we have listed the meeting or study group participants. Dr. Edward Lincoln, a specialist on the Japanese economy at The Brookings Institution appears as the most common participant in among the study groups. Dr. Michael Green, a think tank, Japan security specialist who is now with the National Security Council, was the most common organizer.


Understanding the Armitage Report


Carlucci, Frank; Hunter, Robert; and Khalilzad, Zalmay. Taking Charge: A Bipartisan Report to the President


U.S. Grand Strategy: Setting a New Direction, by Zalmay Khalilzad
U.S. Policy Toward European Defense, by James Thomson
NATO Enlargement: Decisions for the New President, by Robert E. Hunter

Japan Information Access Project
Understanding the Armitage Report

U.S. Alliance Relations in the Global Era, by David C. Gompert
Prospects and Possibilities for U.S.-Russian Relations, by Jeremy R. Azrael
U.S. Strategy Toward China, by Zalmay Khalilzad
Policy Toward Greece and Turkey, by Ian O. Lesser
The Balkans: Challenges and Priorities for the Next Administration, by F. Stephen Larrabee
South Asia: U.S. Policy Choices, by Ashley J. Tellis
Preserving Stability and Democracy in Indonesia, by Angel Rabasa
Presidential Policy Options Toward Iran, by Jerrold D. Green
U.S. Policy Toward Iraq, by Daniel Byman
Challenges in Latin America Confronting the Next Administration, by Angel Rabasa
U.S. Foreign Policy and Sub-Saharan Africa, by Bob Bates and Diann Painter
Strengthening the International Financial System, by C. Richard Neu
Trade Policy: A Turning Point, by Ted Van Dyk
Humanitarian Intervention, by Richard N. Haass
Proliferation, by Lynn E. Davis
Nuclear Strategy, by Glenn Buchan
Presidential Transition Team Issues: Terrorism, by Bruce Hoffman
National Security Resources, by Gordon Adams
Military Science and Technology, by Loren B. Thompson
Transforming Military Forces, by Paul K. Davis
Getting the Quadrennial Defense Review Right, by David Ochmanek
Nuclear Weapon Initiatives for the Next Administration, by David McGarvey
Intelligence Issues for the New Administration, by Abram Shulsky
Fixing Three National Security Deficits: Purpose, Structure, and People, by Harlan Ullmann
The Infrastructure of American Diplomacy, by William C. Harrop


McDevitt, Michael; Gause, Ken; Stewart, Jessica “Japan's Evolving Security Policies: A Workshop Report,” November 10, 1999, Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia: Roundtable discussion. Attendees include:
Understanding the Armitage Report

Kurt Campbell, William Breer, Ralph Cossa, Carl Ford, Doug Paal, James Auer, Mike Green, Eric MacVaden, Robert Manning, and Paul Giarra.


CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, PACIFIC FORUM CONFERENCES
The Pacific Forum evolved into the primary forum for both the essential discussions and the selection of the participants for the Armitage Report.


Roles and Missions of the United States and Japan in the Japan-U.S. Alliance, Tetsuya Nishimoto, http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/doc/emar.nishimoto.doc


The China Problem, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security of Taiwan, Benjamin L. Self, http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/doc/benself.doc


American Bases in Japan: Strategic Importance, Local Treatment, Paul S. Giarra, http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/doc/giarra.05.07.doc


GOVERNMENT SPONSORED


Avoiding Déjà vu All Over Again: Lessons From US-DPRK Engagement, Mitchell B. Reiss

The New US Administration and North Korea Policy: A Time for Review and Adjustment, Daryl M. Plunk

North Korea’s Historic Shift: From Self-Reliance to Engagement, Don Oberdorfer

North Korea’s Engagement: Implications for South Korea, Kongdan Oh

The Ultimate Oxymoron: Japan’s Engagement with North Korea, Victor D. Cha

China and a Changing North Korea: Issues, Uncertainties, and Implications? Jonathan D. Pollack

Engagement with North Korea: Implications for the United States, Michael McDevitt

East Asia And The United States: Current Status And Five-Year Outlook, National Intelligence Council, Conference Report, September 2000.

Japanese Attitudes And Approaches Toward US Policies And Presence In The Region, Susumu Awanohara

Trends In Chinese Assessments Of The United States, 2000-2005, Bonnie S. Glaser

US-ROK Relations: Trends At The Opening Of The 21st Century, Scott Snyder

Southeast Asian Perspectives, Marvin C. Ott

Convergence/Divergence In Political Interests, Values, And Policies, William Watts

Economic Interests, Values, And Policies, Marcus Noland

The Perils Of Being Number 1: East Asian Trends And US Policies To 2025, Robert A. Manning


Pragmatic Policy Progress: Recent Changes in and the Outlook for Japanese Economic Policy, Adam Posen

Understanding the Armitage Report

Interim Report From an Evolving Alliance: Japan’s Changing Security Policy – Listening All These Years, Paul Giarra
Implications of Economic Reform in Japan for US Economic Interests, Edward J. Lincoln
Japan’s Changing Security Debate: Implications for US Policy, Michael J. Green
Japanese Foreign Policy and US National Interest, Mike M. Mochizuki

The Chinese Strategic Rocket Forces: Transition to Credible Deterrence, Bates Gill and James Mulvenon
Chinese Chemical and Biological (CBW) Capabilities, Eric Croddy
The Changing Character of China’s WMD Proliferation Activities, Evan S. Medeiros
Chinese Proliferation of Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Issues for US Policy, Shirley Kan
Chinese Views of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Michael D. Swaine
Weapons of Precise Destruction: PLA Space and Theater Missile Development, Mark A. Stokes
Key Indicators of Changes in Chinese Development and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Kenneth W. Allen

http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/bluhor/blucont.html

OFFICE OF NET ASSESSMENT REPORTS

This Office associated with the Office of the Secretary of Defense and directed by Andrew Marshall prepares reports to advise the Secretary on the changing security environment. These studies are always influential and often only appear in a briefing format. Most of the participants in the Armitage Report have received grants from this office or participated in these studies. This office has been the principal funder of studies identifying the economic, political, and military threats from China.


Organized by the Advisor to the Secretary of Defense for Net Assessment, Department of Defense, July 25 –August 4, 1999. Participants: S. Enders Wimbush (Chairman), Michael F. Brooker, Victor Cha, Nicholas Eberstadt, Aaron Friedberg, Graham Fuller, Stuart Gold, Karl Hasslingker, Juli A. MacDonald, Rajan Menon, Thomas J. Moffatt, Ross H. Munro, Abram N. Shulsky, George K. Tanham, Ashley Tellis


III. Armitage Report Participants

Following each participant’s name is information on the position of the participant during the writing of the Report (Summer 2000) and his current position as of October 2001.

Daniel E. Bob (Office Senator William V. Roth; Law firm of Reed & Smith)

Kurt Campbell (CSIS)


with Mitchell, Derek J. “Crisis in the Taiwan Strait?” Foreign Affairs, July/August 2001.


Michael Green (Council on Foreign Relations; National Security Council)


  Robert Manning (Council on Foreign Relations, State Department, Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs)


Kevin Nealer (The Scowcroft Group)


Joseph S. Nye (Harvard University)


“Redefining the National Interest,” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 4, July/August 1999.


Torkel Patterson (Consultant; National Security Council)


James Przystup (Heritage Foundation; National Defense University, Institute for National Security Studies)

Japan Information Access Project


Robin Sakoda (Armitage Associates, AALC, Ltd.)

Barbara Wanner (Japan Economic Institute; French & Company)


Paul D. Wolfowitz (Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; Deputy Secretary of Defense)

IV. Armitage Report Supporters

David Asher (AEI, Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State)
http://www.aei.org/ps/psasher.htm

http://www.aei.org/oti/oti12763.htm

http://web.mit.edu/mit-japan/Products/wp00-01.html


Kent E. Calder


Felix K. Chang

Ralph A Cossa
“Provocation or Extortion?” CSIS Pacific Forum, PacNet #30, August 6, 1999
http://www.csis.org/pacfor/pac3099.html


Patrick Cronin


Richard Drifte

Carl Ford
Understanding the Armitage Report

George Friedman

Richard Haass


“Foreign Policy by Posse,” The National Interest, No. 41, Fall 1995, p. 58.

Zalmay Khalilzad


James Lilley

Ronald N. Montaperto


Michael Pillsbury
Understanding the Armitage Report


Condoleezza Rice

Brent Scowcroft

Bruce Stokes


Michael Swaine

S. Enders Wimbush


Robert B. Zoellick


V. Security Literature Japan

Among the Armitage Report participants, Funabashi Yoichi’s book Alliance Adrift was mentioned the most. Oakazaki Hisahiko appears to be the most publicly influential contact.


Funabashi Yoichi


Hosokawa Morihiro

Kaneda Hideaki

Kato Hisanori

Nagai Yonosuke

Nobuteru Ishihara

Okazaki Hisahiko


Understanding the Armitage Report


Ozawa Ichiro

Takemura Masayoshi


   Futoshi Shibayama, “Road to Alliance Missile Defense (AMD),” http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/doc/ezakBMDshibayama.doc


VI. Loyal Opposition

The following authors influenced the thinking by outlining views of the US-Japan relationship and China that members of the Artmitage Report group felt important to counter.

Doug Bandow

Nicholas Berry

Ted Galen Carpenter


Japan Information Access Project
Steven Clemons

Frederick R. Dickinson

Paul S. Giarra


Chalmers Johnson


Rajan Menon

Mike Mochizuki


Kenneth Pyle

Japan Information Access Project


Richard J. Samuels


Karel van Wolferen

http://www.npq.org/issues/v91/p45.html


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