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 to upgrade US-Japan relations within a new set of parameters. The study group formed by Mr. Richard Armitage, then a security and investment consultant for both American and Japanese interests, wanted to articulate an Asia-centric defense policy for the United States and to counter doubts that the US would withdraw from the region. As events have evolved since the election of President George W. Bush, this Report has helped chart US 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 group participants formed a select assembly of insiders with substantive personal ties and experience with Japan. 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 or their personal relationships with Japanese colleagues to be their best reference. The study group saw their mission to formulate 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 alliance with a focus on stronger, albeit limited security alliance 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 security interests. There appears to be much greater independence of thought by Japan than most Americans believe. Greater examination and analysis of Japanese security literature is needed.

In both Japan and the United States, the 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. 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.

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, Robin H. Sakoda, 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

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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

Institute for National Security Studies (NSS), National Defense University
Director: (October 1999 – Present) Dr. Stephen J. Flanagan

Rand
National Security Research Division http://www.rand.org/nsrd/
Director: Dr. Jeffrey Isaacson (2000-present)
Former Director: Dr. David Gompert
Director: Ms. Nina Hachigian

JAPAN

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

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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


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East Asia Strategic Review. Japan Defense Agency, 1996-1997. [link to article or PDF]

Diplomatic Bluebook 1997: Japan's Foreign Policy in a World of Deepening Interdependence. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997. [link to article or PDF]


Diplomatic Bluebook 1999: Japan's Diplomacy with Leadership Toward the New Century. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999. [link to article or PDF]

East Asia Strategic Review. Japan Defense Agency, 2000 [link to document]


AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES


US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security: Alliance for the 21st Century. April 17, 1996. [link to article or PDF]

Joint Announcement, U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, Tokyo, December 2, 1996 [link to announcement]


TESTIMONY AND SPEECHES

Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama on 50th Anniversary of War’s End. August 15, 1995. [link to announcement]
Understanding the Armitage Report


POLITICAL DOCUMENTS


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. Japan Information Access Project
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

http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/reports/BMD01pb.pdf


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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
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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
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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


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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.

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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/eramar.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

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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
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The Chinese Strategic Rocket Forces: Transition to Credible Deterrence, Bates Gill and James Mulvenon
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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


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.

Under Secretary of Defense (Policy) Japan Futures Workshop (or Japan 2020), December 2000, SAIC, Strategic Assessment Center. Tate Nurkin, Paul Giarra, Enders Wimbush, and Will Young.


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NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES SYMPOSIA


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)


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James Kelly (Pacific Forum; Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs)


Frank Jannuzi (Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Majority)


Edward Lincoln (The Brookings Institution)


Robert Manning (Council on Foreign Relations, State Department, Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs)
http://www.cfr.org/public/pubs/Manning_ForeignAffairs_Review.html


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Kevin Nealer (The Scowcroft Group)  

http://ffip.com/chinawpo


Joseph S. Nye (Harvard University)


Torkel Patterson (Consultant; National Security Council)


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


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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)
http://www.nationalinterest.org/issues/59/Wolfowitz.html

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IV. Armitage Report Supporters

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

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George H.W. Bush

Kent E. Calder


Felix K. Chang

Ralph A Cossa
“Provocation or Extortion?” CSIS Pacific Forum, PacNet #30, August 6, 1999


Patrick Cronin


Richard Drifte

Carl Ford

George Friedman

Richard Haass

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Zalmay Khalilzad


**James Lilley**


**Ronald N. Montaperto**


with Faber, Gerald W.; and Przystup, James. “‘One China’ and Relations Across the Taiwan Strait,” Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) at the National Defense University, *Strategic Forum*, no. 173, September 2000. [http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/sf173.html](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/sf173.html)


**Michael Pillsbury**


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*Japan Information Access Project*
**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.


Hosokawa Morihiro

Kaneda Hideaki

Kato Hisanori

Nagai Yonosuke

Nobuteru Ishihara

Okazaki Hisahiko


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 Armitage Report group felt important to counter.

Doug Bandow

Nicholas Berry

Ted Galen Carpenter


Steven Clemons

Frederick R. Dickinson
Paul S. Giarra


Chalmers Johnson


Rajan Menon


Mike Mochizuki


Kenneth Pyle


Richard J. Samuels


Karel van Wolferen

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


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