

MATERIALS FOR UNDERSTANDING **The Armitage Report**

A Policy Bibliography

January 2002

A Japan Information Access Project Research Report

*These materials, in part, were originally prepared for a book edited by Dr. Ronald Morse, **Unconditional Success: America and Japan's Choices**, translated by The JiJi Press, published by JiJi Press, Ltd. 2002.*

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

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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

“The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership” [The Armitage Report, The Nye-Armitage Report]. Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, October 11, 2000, 7 pages. http://www.ndu.edu/ndu/SR_JAPAN.HTM

Participants: Richard L. Armitage, Dan E. Bob, Kurt M. Campbell, Michael J. Green, Kent M. Harrington, Frank Jannuzi, James A. Kelly, Edward J. Lincoln, Robert A. Manning, Kevin G. Nealer, Joseph S. Nye, Torkel Patterson, James J. Przystup, Robin H. Sakoda, Barbara P. Wanner, Paul D. Wolfowitz.

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

“A Comprehensive Approach to North Korea,” Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) at the National Defense University, *Strategic Forum*, no. 159, March 1999, 8 pages. <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/forum159.html>

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

Mochizuki, Mike. **“Japan’s Search for Strategy,”** *International Security* Vol. 8, No. 3, Winter 1983/84, 152-179.

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

Patterson, Torkel. **“Future Roles and Missions of Japan’s Self Defense Forces,”** in Cossa, Ralph A., ed. **Restructuring the US-Japan Alliance: Toward a More Equal Partnership.** Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Press, 1997, pp. 128-38.

“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

Bergsten, C. Fred; Ito, Takatoshi; and Noland, Marcus. **No More Bashing: Building a New Japan-United States Economic Relationship.** Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics Press, October 2001, 328 pages. http://www.iie.com/publications/publication.cfm?pub_id=105

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

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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>

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>

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)

Chairman, Takuma Yamamoto. President, Akio Watanabe. <http://homepage2.nifty.com/~rips/e-index.htm>

I. – Primary Sources

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<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/easr98/easr98.pdf>

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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.

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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.

Green, Michael. **Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power**. New York: Palgrave Publishing, May 2001. Study Group formed in 1998 by Michael J. Green. Members: C.S. An, Michael Armacost, Thomas Berger, Daniel Bob, William Breer, Patrick Cronin, Gerald Curtis, Peter Ennis, Joseph Ferguson, Ellen Frost, Paul Giarra, Seth Hurwitz, Kato Yoichi, Kobayashi Hideki, Kono Masaharu, Edward Lincoln, Robert Manning, Nao Matsukata, Mishima Ko, Mike Mochizuki, Ronald Montaperto, Nagashima Akihisa, Kongdan Oh, Douglas Paal, George Packard, James Przystup, Samantha Ravich, Saito Toshio, Robin Sakoda, Richard Samuels, Robert Scher, Benjamin Self, David Shear, Simura Hitoshi, Neil Silver, Richard Solomon, Allan Song, Bruce Stokes, Seth Sulkin, Tada Yukio, Daniel Tarullo, Tanaka Nobuo, Tezuka Hiroyuki, Nathaniel Thayer, Nancy Tucker.

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“**A New Beginning: Recasting the US-Japan Economic Relationship,**” Council on Foreign Relations Study Group Paper by Bruce Stokes. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, July 2000. Study Group Chairs: Senators Amory Houghton and John D. Rockefeller, IV. Study Group Members: Willian Archey, C. Fred Bergsten, Jeff Bingaman, Steve Clemons, W. Bowman Cutter, Eric Gangloff, Michael Green, Merit Janow, Charles Lake II, Tamerra Luzzato, Edward Lincoln, Harald Malgrem, Robert Manning, Richard Medley, Margaret Mihori, Marcu Noland, George Packard, Clyde Prestowitz, Tim Regan, Richard Rivers, Sherman Robinson, Thomas Sawyer, Leonard Shoppa, Ira Shapiro, Michael Smith, Randall Soderquist, Jim Southwick, Daniel Tarullo, Mark Tilton, Robert Van Wicklin, Steve Vogel, Alan Wolff, and Ira Wolf. http://63.236.1.240/public/pubs/Stokes_NewBeginning_Paper.pdf

Ballistic Missile Defense and Northeast Asian Security: Views from Washington, Beijing, and Tokyo. Conference: sponsored by Stanley Foundation, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute. Phase I: November 16-17, 2000, Washington, DC. Phase II: November 30-December 5, 2000, Monterey, California. Chairs: Ronald Montaperto & Phillip Saunders. Rapporteur: Evan Medeiros. Roundtable Organizers: Sherry Gray, Michael Kraig. US Participants: Ken Allen, Peter Almquist*, James Armington, Elaine Bunn, John Church, Michael Collins, Zachary S. Davis, Peppino DeBiaso, James East, Jason Ellis, Gerald Faber*, Richard Fieldhouse, Paul Giarra, Bates

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Gill*, Bonnie Glaser, Michael Green, Philip Greene, Robert Gromoll, John Hill, Frank Jannuzi, Catherine Johnston, Shirley Kan, Brian Kelly, Henry Kenny, Chris Kessler, Richard Kessler, David Kiefer, Robert Manning*, Michael McDevitt, Theresa McNeil, Michael Marti, James Mulvenon, James Przystup*, Brad Roberts, Todd Rosenblum, Lawrence Scheinman, Kathryn Schultz*, David Sedney, Benjamin Self, John Tullius*, Jon Watkins, Thomas Woodrow. Chinese Participants: Chen Zhou, Gu Guoliang, Li Bin, Liu Chao, Wu Chunsi, Wu Jun, Yan Xuetong, Yang Mingie, Ye Ru'an, Zhang Tuosheng, Zhu Feng. Japanese Participants: Kase Yuri, Kawamura Nobuki, Matsuda Yasuhiro, Michishita Narushige, Nakata Masahiro, Suzuki Atsuo, Takahashi Sugio, Tnaka Nobuaki, Urayama Kori. (*-core group participant) Conference Report:
<http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/reports/BMD01.pdf>. Policy Bulletin:
<http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/reports/BMD01pb.pdf>

America's National Interests. By the Commission on America's National Interests, collaboration of Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the Nixon Center, RAND, and the Hauser Foundation, July 2000. <http://www.nixoncenter.org/publications/monographs/nationalinterests.pdf>
Co-Chairs: Robert Ellsworth, Andrew Goodpaster, Rita Hauser. Executive Directors: Graham T. Allison, Dimitri K. Simes, James Thomson. Lead Authors: Graham T. Allison, Robert Blackwill. Members: Graham T. Allison, Richard Armitage, Robert Blackwill, Laura Donohue, Jeffrey Eisenach, Richard Falkenrath, David Gergen, Andrew Goodpaster, Bob Graham, Jerrold Green, Rita Hauser, Arnold Kanter, Paul Kemp, Paul Krugman, John McCain, Sam Nunn, Condoleezza Rice, Pat Roberts, Dimitri K. Simes, Paul J. Saunders, Brent Scowcroft, James Thomson.

Carlucci, Frank; Hunter, Robert; and Khalilzad, Zalmay. **Taking Charge: A Bipartisan Report to the President Elect on Foreign Policy and National Security.** Santa Monica, California; Arlington, Virginia. Rand Press, 2000. Study Group Participants: Gordon M. Adams, George Washington University, Kenneth L. Adelman, former Director, ACDA, J. Brian Atwood, Citizens International, Norman R. Augustine, retired Chairman and CEO of Lockheed Martin Corporation, Jeremy R. Azrael, RAND, Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, former U.S. Ambassador to Portugal and Department of State Senior Advisor, Robert Bates, former corporate secretary, Mobil Corporation, Barry M. Blechman, DFI International, Harold Brown, CSIS, Richard Burt, IEP Advisors, LLP, Daniel L. Byman, RAND, Frank C. Carlucci, The Carlyle Group, Ashton Carter, Harvard University, David S.C. Chu, RAND, Natalie W. Crawford, RAND, Lynn E. Davis, RAND, Thomas A. Dine, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Marc Ginsberg, APCO Global Ventures, David C. Gompert, RAND Europe, Jerrold D. Green, RAND, William Harrop, former U.S. Ambassador, Robert E. Hunter, RAND, Jeffrey A. Isaacson, RAND, Bruce W. Jentleson, Duke University, Zalmay M. Khalilzad, RAND, F. Stephen Larrabee, RAND, Mel Levine, Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher LLP, Samuel W. Lewis, American Academy of Diplomacy, Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (*with dissent*), Dave McCurdy, Electronic Industries Alliance, David A. Ochmanek, RAND, Diann H. Painter, former chief economist, Mobil Corporation, Angel Rabasa, RAND, Michael D. Rich, RAND, John E. Rieilly, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Robert Satloff, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Jeremy Shapiro, RAND, David Skaggs, The Aspen Institute (*with dissent*), Marin J. Strmecki, Smith Richardson Foundation, Loren B. Thompson, Lexington Institute, James A. Thomson, RAND, Ted Van Dyk, Claremont Graduate University and UCLA, Edward L. Warner, RAND, Harlan K. Ullman, CNA and CSIS (*with comment*). Report:
<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1306>. Discussion Papers:
<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1306.1>

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

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

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Economic Instruments to Support National Security: What Has the United States Learned? What Does It Need? by C. Richard Neu
Strengthening the International Financial System, by C. Richard Neu
Trade Policy: A Turning Point, by Ted Van Dyk
A Guide for the Next International Energy Crisis, by James T. Bartis
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
Formulating Strategies for International Collaboration in Developing and Producing Defense Systems, by John Birkler, Mark Lorell, and Michael Rich
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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