

International Relations 1: Notes

David Wessels

国際関係論 1 : ノート

デヴィッド・ウェッセルズ

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1

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For Further Reading

*Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1993)

*Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2001)

Sheldon Anderson, et al., *International Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Global Issues* (Westview Press, 2008)

Edward Keene, *International Political Thought* (Polity Press, 2005)

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Introduction

1. International relations affect our own lives and the lives of the people we hold dear. We may think of the big issues of international politics as remote, but they are close to us. Politics and economics, society and culture have unmistakable global dimensions. The vague but inescapable word “globalization” points to a reality of our world today.

2. To understand contemporary world trends, we need to understand the past. The history of international relations sets the stage for what is going on today. This is a history of individual countries and how they interact in the global setting. But it is also a history of larger regions, civilizations, and the planet earth. It is a history of human beings and their search for ways to relate in different political communities. International relations are one form of human relations.

3. The international relations that happen around us do not simply present themselves to us as facts of life. We know them through ideas and theories which we both inherit from the past resources of human culture and continue to refine and develop and know anew. This is why we study international relations, and why there is field of learning known as “international relations.”

4. The notes in the following chapters are meant as a basis for an introductory course in the field of international relations at the university level. They are not complete in themselves, but they provide both teacher and student with a reference for a systematic study of the theory and reality of international relations at the beginning of the 21st century.

International Relations and History

1. History is not just a recording of the past. It provides the materials with which to understand the present and even a key to preparing for the future.

- * Developments in the international system and changes in the significance of issue areas are products of history.

- * EXAMPLE: imperialism, self-determination, new international order

2. International relations are not new to world history, but the study of international relations as a separate field of learning is new.

- * Thucydides examined the relations among the Greek city-states in his classic work *The Peloponnesian War*

- * The dynasties of China and changes in the political conditions of the Indian subcontinent exhibit characteristics of international systems.

- * In western history, the rise and decline of Rome are particularly important for illustrating a changing international system.

 - + The concept of law / universal empire: Byzantium, Russia

 - + Multiple jurisdictions in medieval Europe (Pope & Emperor)

3. 14th-15th century Italy: development of the state (*stato*)

- * The idea of "international" is linked both historically and conceptually to this period.

- * Spain's *reconquista* and *conquista* (Columbus, 1492)

- * Machiavelli (*The Prince*, 1532): power

- * Jean Bodin (*Six Bookes of the Commonweale*, 1576): sovereignty

4. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

- * Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625)
- * Treaties of Westphalia establish the "Westphalian System" (1648)
 - + Independent and sovereign states / diplomacy / balance of power
 - + Gradual geographic expansion of Europe's system to the Islamic world, the Americas, India, East Asia
 - + International society: behavioral patterns, values, norms, symbols / security and order / legal protection

5. The French Revolution (1789)

- * State and nation: the new dynamic of nationalism
- * Revolution in the Americas: republics / growth of democracy
- * Imperialism, colonialism / Self-determination, breakdown of empire
- * From mercenary armies to conscript armies

6. Technological and economic change

- * Transport, communication / Production, trade, consumption
- * The expansion of a "worldsystem" / Capitalism and socialism
- * The atomic age (1945: development and use of atomic weapons)

7. Terminological change: "international" (late 19th century), "state system" (early 20th century), "international relations" (20th century), "global politics," and so on.

The Actors in Contemporary International Relations

1. International relations are human relations.

*Human relations/behavior can be seen under two aspects:

Action--Empirical theory

Value--Normative theory

*We can speak of a human being as being an "actor" ("agent," "subject").

*A general form of asking about descriptions and explanations of human behavior: WHO does WHAT, by WHAT MEANS, for WHAT REASON?

2. The same actor/behavior can be analyzed from different viewpoints:

*Functional: the person's role; humans seen as "human resources"; economic, military, technical, diplomatic functions

*Organic: the human being within a natural group (family, culture, state); the significance of myths, symbols, and imagination in establishing community

*Responsible agent: identity; ethical choice; policy-making; citizen

3. The levels of analysis are often used to see actors as variables and to look at the same problem from different viewpoints (Waltz, Singer).

*Individual

*State

*International system

4. All human groups can be viewed as consisting of persons/individuals. But humans' freedom to participate in different groups varies.

5. The state is often seen as the fundamental actor in international relations. This is based on a view of the state as sovereign. As a result, it is not unusual to distinguish simply between state and non-state actors. But some observers reverse this view and speak of sovereignty-bound and sovereignty-free actors (Rosenau). Others reject completely the boundary between "domestic" and "international" politics (Ferguson & Mansbach).

6. In contrast to a view of people as actors in international relations, the structure and the system of international relations offer different perspectives.

7. The existence of thousands of international organizations, many of which are very large and powerful, is a challenge to ordinary ways of thinking about international relations. From the point of view of social phenomena or of law, one can ask the question: which is primary, the state or the international organization?

- *Theories of functionalism and neo-functionalism

- *Integration theory

- *Transcending the state: world federalism, world government

8. More specific sub-categories of actors

- *State: government, administrative organs, regions, localities

- *Inter-state actors: universal, regional, and functional international organizations

- *Non-state actors: (international) nongovernmental organizations:
(I)NGOs

- *Transnational actors: e.g., multinational corporations, religions

War and Peace

1. From ancient times, wars have had decisive effects on the structures and processes of international relations.

*Civil wars and struggles for political power have often determined the domestic and international orientation of state actors.

*Empires, dynasties, and unified states rise and fall by the dynamics of war and peace.

*Challenges to the Westphalian System in recent history have arisen from the First and Second World Wars.

2. War and the threat of war have influenced thinking about international relations. Traditionally, war and peace have been the central focus of the study of international relations.

*The old Roman saying still affects planning: “ If you wish peace, prepare for war. ” Armed forces are a major part of the state.

*Alliances have been seen as a way to increase a state s strength in case of war. They create many of the dynamics of world politics.

*Deterrence has been seen as a way of preventing war , but sometimes has contributed to the outbreak of war through arms races.

*The advent of nuclear weapons (and other weapons of mass destruction) has affected the calculation of deterrence.

3. The period of the Cold War (from about 1946 to 1990) saw armed confrontation between the two superpowers (United States and Soviet Union) without direct warfare between them.

*It has also been called the “ Long Peace ” (Gaddis).

*The theory and practice of nuclear deterrence developed during this period.

*Wars involving one of the superpowers directly occurred during this period (United States in Korea, Vietnam, and elsewhere; the

Soviet Union in China, Afghanistan, and elsewhere).

*Numerous other wars throughout the world during those years were conducted with support from the superpowers (so-called "proxy wars").

4. Other wars of a regional or local character have also occurred in recent international history, not directly rooted in the Cold War divisions.

*Conflicts between India and Pakistan, especially over Kashmir and the independence of Bangladesh

*The Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s

*Numerous conflicts in the process of decolonization and independence

*Conflicts within and between countries based on ethnic divisions and other causes (for example, in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in the Sudan)

*The wars involving Iraq (1990-1991 and 2003)

5. Peace is defined in a negative way as the absence of war (negative peace), and in a positive way as human flourishing that is achieved by such criteria as human rights, welfare, and community harmony (positive peace). The awareness of the negative impact of a war-centered study of international relations has led to the emergence of peace research as a field of study.

*The study of how wars are conducted and analysis of their causes and effects has been complemented by research on how negotiations can lead to peace, and how international law and organizations contribute to peace.

*Numerous attempts have been made to re-imagine and re-structure the conditions for international peace: for example, some sort of world federalism, collective security, international organization.

*Religious and philosophical bases for peace are widely discussed and serve as motivations and foundations for peace.

*Democracy, human rights, and other political norms suggest foundations for global peace.

*Local, national, international, and global ideals and institutions can provide a basis for human security.

Thought and Behavior, Empirical and Normative Research

1. Thinking about thinking

- *Understanding, judgment, choice; knowledge can be linked to action
- *Use of analogies, examples, metaphors, “models”
- *Clarification through contrast: anarchy & order; determinism & voluntarism; agent & structure
- *Personal identity & social identity
- *Analysis & synthesis

2. Thinking about theory

- *Different academic fields: political science, history, law, and so on
- *Points of view: “images,” worldviews, ideologies
- *Empirical theory, normative theory
- *Philosophical interpretation, scientific explanation, social construction

3. Empirical theory: knowing what is

- *Different ranges, for example: What caused World War I? What are the causes of wars? What is the significance of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty? Why do states make alliances?
- *Some “actors” or “subjects” of international relations: states, organizations, persons

- *Some issue areas in international relations: peace and security, human development, welfare and equity, justice and human rights, harmony with the natural environment
- *Some problems in the world today: terrorism, drugs, movements of people, ethnic conflicts

4. Normative theory: knowing what should be done

- *Norms in international relations
- *Standards for accountability and responsibility
- *International morality or ethics
- *International law
- *Public opinion
- *Political legitimacy

5. Values (both sources of action and ends to be attained) according to which choices are made include many politically-relevant commitments

- *Ideologies and political programs
- *Worldviews, philosophies, and ethical views
- *Religions
- *Cultural or holistic identity
- *Some recent examples of widely held values: democracy, human rights

6. Critical understanding of international relations theory

- *Using criteria of human understanding
- *Evaluating according to convincing principles
- *Acting according to ideals and conditions

Power

1. The concept of "power" is usually considered the central notion in the theory of "realism."

- * The state has power in a world of "anarchy," according to this theory.
- * Modern Europe's international relations revolved around "sovereign" states (internal and external dimensions of sovereignty).
- * The "national interest" is "power" (Morgenthau).
- * Raw power as the norm: "might makes right."
- * Power as policy in Meiji Japan: "rich country, strong army."

2. Historically, the "balance of power" developed as a related notion.

- * Countries pursue together what they cannot achieve alone.
- * Both the "great powers" and smaller countries are involved.
- * Usually, this involves the calculation of strength and the formation of alliances.
- * A defensive alliance comes into action when war breaks out (*casus foederis*).
- * How many countries are needed for this balance to be achieved?

3. Morgenthau analyzes the "elements of national power" as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| * Geography | * Natural Resources |
| * Industrial Capacity | * Military Preparedness |
| * Population | * National Character |
| * National Morale | * Quality of Diplomacy |
| * Quality of Government | |

4. New concepts and new realities after World War II

- * Poles (polarity) and superpowers in the international system: unipolar / bipolar / multipolar.
- * From "appeasement" to "containment"
- * "Nuclear deterrence"; "balance of terror"; disarmament and arms control negotiations; detente
- * From alliances to "blocs" during the Cold War; from "tight" to "loose" blocs; the role of ideology in bloc formation
- * New roles for international organizations; new forms of cooperation

5. Some comments on the theory of realism in international relations

- * "Pre-realism":

Growth of "idealism" in the inter-war period led to an emphasis on international law and organization, as well as to efforts to prohibit war and to promote disarmament.

The failure of the League of Nations to prevent World War II led to a reconsideration of idealism by both diplomats and scholars.

Twentieth-century "realism" has distant historical roots, but it also is a more immediate reaction to "idealism."

- * "Post-realism":

In recent decades, there has been a new awareness that conditions in the world have changed, and that power is multidimensional: not only military power; but also economic, cultural, epistemic, ideological, and other forms of "soft" power.

New awareness of the values contained in different worldviews.

The "reflective" view on language, discourse, rhetoric and so on is based on an approach to how humans view and construct the world.

Interdependence

1. A view of the planet earth from the face of the moon provides an apt symbol for this approach to international relations.

- * "Spaceship earth" suggests that all the peoples of the earth are together in a voyage which they share.
- * The boundaries between countries are seen as artificial constructs of man rather than natural borders.
- * Developments in transportation and communication, along with the accompanying flows of information and changes in lifestyles; technological progress, environmental problems, the nuclear age, cultural convergence

2. Changes in international relations after World War II

- * East-West rivalry and the realist theory of international relations
- * The emergence of the United States from its historical foreign policy of isolation from Europe
- * Formation of trans-Atlantic and global military alliances
- * A framework of international economic relations led by the U.S. with liberal values as the foundation: free trade, direct investment, foreign aid
- * Stable period of peace among the European powers, accompanied by economic growth and integration
- * Economic and political regeneration of Germany and Japan
- * Decolonization, nation-building, and economic development
- * Re-negotiation of the international financial regime due to emerging economies and the global financial crisis of 2008-2009

3. Actors

- * In Europe, economic cooperation in OEEC and OECD (also involving U.S.A. and others, plus regional integration from ECSC to EEC to EC to EU)
- * Limited but significant role for international organizations (UN, etc.)
- * Multinational corporations (MNCs) and international financial institutions, both private and inter-governmental
- * "Transnational" phenomena in many fields of activity
- * Increasing role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)

4. Issues

- * Greater prominence of economic issues in international relations
- * Environmental problems and the limits to growth
- * Building a security community in a world with nuclear weapons
- * Common markets, regional integration, and institutional issues
- * Human rights and democracy as common political values

5. Theoretical clarification

- * Linkage politics, transnational relations, and economic interdependence
- * Symmetric interdependence (vs. asymmetric dependence): norm / fact
- * Regime theory, neo-institutionalism, multilateralism
- * Globalization in economy, society, culture, and politics: shared values?
- * Cooperation as a possibility and a reality
- * Governance / cogovernance as an approach: diverse actors, empowerment

6. Contrasting positions

- * Asymmetry as a fact in global politics and economics (North-South)
- * Dependency theory as a redefinition of both history and contemporary affairs
- * Autarky or autonomy as an alternative path to development
- * New forms of dominance: know-how, information, regional powers, closed trading blocs

Global Politics and Contemporary Issues

1. Gradual shift in perception of the nature of "international relations"
 - * States system, international politics, linkage politics, transnational relations, interdependence, globalization, global politics
 - * As non-traditional issues attract more of the attention of both statesmen and scholars, the central topics of I.R. change.
 - * This empirical change is also accompanied by a normative shift.

2. "World Order Theory" suggests some traditional approaches from the viewpoint of law and organization. The norm of "order" is a simple but profound focus for discussion. It also reflects and is reflected in the discussion of a "New International Economic Order" in the 1970s.
 - * Identify (postulate, prescribe) goals for the world
 - * Policy-oriented proposals for attaining these objectives
 - * A realization of certain new values for all humanity rather than emphasis on national interest or mere replication of existing models ("modern," "western")

3. World Order Models Project based on "planetary values" (PV)
 - * PV1 - the minimization of large-scale collective violence
 - * PV2 - the maximization of social and economic well-being
 - * PV3 - the realization of fundamental human rights and conditions of political justice
 - * PV4 - the rehabilitation and maintenance of environmental quality

4. The notion of "collective goods" points to the perception that the achievement of these goals is not simply a private benefit to one person, group, or country.
 - * Political theory of the "common good"
 - * Pardo's phrase of the sea as the "common heritage of mankind"

5. Environment, ecology, and development

- * *Limits to Growth* and the Club of Rome
- * 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm
- * World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) Report (*Our Common Future*, 1987): "sustainable development"
- * 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro
- * 1997: Special Session of U.N. General Assembly on Environment and Development, and Kyoto Conference on Global Warming Treaty

6. Maximization of democratic participation in establishing the conditions for social, economic, and political life (PV5?)

- * Participation as a means to economic development
- * Democracy as a political ideal and symbol: freedom and equality
- * Active involvement of the United Nations in holding elections, creating political and social infrastructures, and defending human rights (e.g., Namibia, Kurds in Iraq, Cambodia)
- * Democratization as a process (Charter of Paris, OSCE)
- * Realization of human rights in democratic society

7. International conferences, with corresponding meetings of NGOs, to establish global agendas (1993: Human Rights; 1994: Population; 1995: Women; 1996: Habitat)

Culture and Regions

1. Culture is a fundamental and distinctive feature of human communities.

- * International relations as a field of study includes the cultural aspects of human groups.
- * Social values are important for understanding both current political differences and the potential for future forms of cooperation.
- * Culture provides meaning to human life; economy satisfies needs of production and consumption.
- * Human interaction and cultural interaction are bases for I.R.

2. International regions provide a focus for the study of international relations between the individual nation and the whole world.

- * Cultural and civilizational dimensions of regions
- * Geographical and organizational dimensions of regions
- * Regional integration in the European Union has attracted both political and academic attention.
- * Regional economies, formally or informally organized, have always been important in international relations.
- * What is the potential for development of a North-South American bloc, a Europe-Africa bloc, an East Asian bloc?

3. Historically, diverse "international systems" based on culture and region provide important elements for understanding international relations.

- * The ancient systems of the Middle East
- * Ancient Greece / Macedonia & Hellenization
- * Rome and the Mediterranean world
- * China and East Asia in history
- * Ancient India / the Islamic world
- * Modern Europe: expansion, world system, globalization

4. The movements of people--due to coercion, or for reasons of climate and livelihood, for military and commercial objectives, for religious and cultural purposes--provide the backdrop of many changes in international relations.

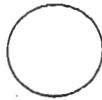
- * Historical examples and contemporary events
- * Refugees, asylum seekers, migrant laborers, and other people on the move; internationally displaced persons and internally displaced persons
- * Cultural friction; international conflicts related to movement of people

5. Graphic representation of diverse worldviews (ideal-types, not actual patterns) affecting international relations:

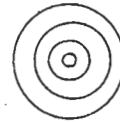
Europe



Islam



China



6. Topics for consideration in today's world:

- * Respect for diverse cultures; multiculturalism as a political ideal
- * Problem of the relation between nation and state, between culture and polity
- * Pluralism and tolerance as political values
- * Institutional development: within countries; at international level
- * The social bases of community: communication, culture, values

Man and International Relations I: Human Rights

1. Human values are expressed in the norms by which societies are ordered and in the political institutions which these societies establish.

*The moral and legal standing of the human person within the polity is an important political value.

*Constitutional, juridical, and political protection of rights has progressed in recent centuries.

*International promotion and protection of human rights have become more widespread in the 20th century, especially after World War II.

2. The Classical Model of Human Rights Development (R. Claude)

Historical Period of Development	Human Rights Policies	Underlying Value Standard	Associated Public Choice Processes	Requisite Ideological Transformation
18 th c.	Civil liberties	Liberty	Market choice	Ideology of the rightful basis of limited political authority
19 th c.	Civil and political rights	Equality	Group bargaining	Legitimacy of ameliorating social inequalities

20 th c.	Socio-economic rights	Welfare	Centralized planning	Recognize need for sharing risks of industrialization
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3. Three generations of rights

- * Civil & Political Rights
- * Economic, Social & Cultural Rights
- * Solidarity Rights

4. The nature of rights

- * Political claims / Entitlements / Constitutional and legal rights / Individual rights and group rights / Rights of persons
- * Avoidance, protection, and aid are necessary for people to enjoy all rights. (H. Shue)

5. Standards, mandates, international law

- 1945 - United Nations Charter (Preamble, Articles 1, 55, 56)
- 1948 - Universal Declaration of Human Rights (30 Articles)
- 1966 - International Covenants (in force from 1976)
- 1968 - Proclamation of Teheran
- 1979 - General Assembly Resolution 34/175 (universal & indivisible)
- 1993 - World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna)
- 1994 - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
- 2006 - Human Rights Council replaced Human Rights Commission (U.N.)

6. Other forums and institutions:

- * ECOSOC (Resolutions 1235/XLII of 1967, and 1503/XLVIII of 1970)
- * Regional organizations: Europe (1950/1953), Americas (1969/1978), Africa (1981/1986)

Man and International Relations (2): Human Security

1. Various views about security

*In a “state of nature,” Hobbes imagined a condition of war of “every one against every one”; there would be “a continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.”

*Along with the rise of nationalism, national power was often viewed as a requisite for security among nations.

*The search for international security has been associated with the development of international organizations in the twentieth century.

*Some ideologies of “national security” focused on threats internal to the state.

*The notion of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) emerged from a study of humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty

2. Paradoxes of security

*The effort to guarantee security through armaments has often led to insecurity because of arms races.

*The security dilemma of nuclear weapons results from the threat which the use of those weapons brings to the attacker as well as the attacked.

*Nuclear strategies of “mutually assured destruction” (MAD)

*The environmental catastrophe of “nuclear winter”

3. Non-military threats to human security

- *Humanitarian emergencies

- *Climatic, geophysical, and environmental dangers

- *Societal threats: terrorism, intrusive government, criminal activity, drugs, anomie

- *Economic insecurity regarding basic human needs of food, shelter, and clothing

- *Economic recessions in interdependent economic systems; unemployment, lower standards of living

- *Dangers from communicable diseases and other health emergencies

- *Movements of people which cause social unrest

4. Migration and refugees in the world community

- *Large-scale human migrations throughout history: “push” and “pull” factors

- *Labor migration within countries and across national borders

- *Political asylum, refugees, and displaced persons

- *Refugee crises: after World Wars I and II; after the Cold War

- *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

5. Security as a personal issue: personal and social identities in contemporary world politics

- *New “nations” in new “states”

- *The discovery of “ethnicity”

- *Changing societies: reactions to “modernization”

- *Problems of social integration and national identity related to the movement of people

- *Perceived threats against society and the rise of exclusivist political movements

- *Changing political identities in the context of informatics and globalization

Japan in the World (1): History

1. The historical development of Japan's political culture has affected Japan's role in international politics.

- * Japan's population and culture have roots in distant lands, especially East Asia.
- * By the Azuchi-Momoyama Period, many Japanese began extensive contacts abroad, especially in Southeast Asia.
- * In both domestic and regional politics, the cultural models from China had great influence.
- * Contacts with the European powers (which began over 450 years ago) have added diversity to the cultural, economic, and political patterns in Japan.

2. Contacts with the western powers in the 19th century required an active response from Japanese society and government.

- * In addition to new technology and products, western political structures and ideas penetrated Japan.
- * By the 20th century, Japan was part of the mainstream of world politics and economics.
- * Military/geopolitical: "Rich country, strong army"; Wars with China and Russia; Empire-building in Korea and China; Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

3. War and Occupation

- * Japan's wars on the Asian mainland and in the Pacific in the 1930s and 1940s led to defeat and surrender in 1945.
- * After World War II, Japan began a new phase of wider and deeper integration into the global political economy.

*Occupation led to a new political system (1947 Constitution) and social change (reforms in land-holding, education).

4. Aspects of Japan's foreign relations after the Occupation

- * Relations with Asia are still affected by history and memories: issues of war responsibility, "comfort women," school history textbooks, territorial disputes
- * Constitutional norms have helped to direct Japan's political relations toward international cooperation and humanitarianism.
- * Economic change has resulted in a "trading state" with global patterns of investment and aid.

5. The United States-Japan Security Treaty has established the patterns of Japan's military and political relationships.

- * Adopted in 1951 and revised in 1960.
- * The treaty declared that Japan and the United States would jointly deal with any attack against Japan. In return for the United States taking the burden of defending Japan, Japan offered the American military the use of bases in Japan to guarantee security of the Far East, including Japan.
- * The treaty's main target was the "Soviet threat."
- * Problems in the treaty from the Japanese side: Will Japan be drawn into wars of the United States? Since Japan has constitutionally renounced war, how can it cooperate with American military activities?
- * Problems in the treaty from the American side: How far should the United States underwrite Japan's defense? When trade frictions become intense, American irritation increases: did Japan become an economic superpower by the United States underwriting Japan's defense?

Japan in the World (2): Today

1. Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)

- * The United Nations has sponsored various peacekeeping operations since the 1956 Suez crisis.
- * After the Cold War, the number and variety of such operations has increased.
- * Japan's 1992 law on cooperation in international peace operations has led to the dispatch of Japanese Self-Defense Forces to foreign countries.
- * The United Nations Transitional Authority for Cambodia (1992-1993) received personnel from Japan.

2. Redefinition of the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation

- * Joint Declaration on U.S.-Japan Security (1996): the summit between Prime Minister Hashimoto and President Clinton called for revision of the "Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation."
- * New Guidelines (agreement of September 1997): specification of guidelines for cooperation between United States and Japan in case of "situations in areas surrounding Japan."
- * Rear area support: Japan is constitutionally prohibited from engaging in warfare, but the Self-Defense Forces may provide logistical support and U.S. forces may use Japanese airports and naval ports.
- * Japan may also engage in search and rescue operations and non-combatant evacuation operations and other activities related to situations in areas surrounding Japan.

3. Japanese policy on the New Guidelines

- * Laws relating to New Guidelines were enacted in 1999, but they did not include provisions for inspection of ships found in the New Guidelines.
- * The definition of “situations in areas surrounding Japan” is those which “will have an important influence on Japan’s peace and security.” This concept is said to be “not geographic but situational.”
- * In particular, this leaves the question of whether Taiwan is included in the area unanswered.

4. Current issues in Japanese diplomacy and security policy

- *Permanent membership on the U.N. Security Council
- *Piracy, terrorism policies
- *Six-Party Talks on North Korea