



Continuity and Change in Japan-U.S. Relations

Lectures by
Former Prime Minister of Japan
Shinzo Abe
and Vice President of the Democratic Party of Japan
Seiji Maehara
at The Third Japan-U.S. Seapower Dialogue

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L.W. "Bill" and Jean Lane Lectures in Diplomacy
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Based in Honolulu, the Pacific Forum CSIS (www.pacforum.org) operates as the autonomous Asia-Pacific arm of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. The Forum's programs encompass current and emerging political, security, economic, business, and oceans policy issues through analysis and dialogue undertaken with the region's leaders in the academic, government, and corporate areas. Founded in 1975, it collaborates with a broad network of research institutes from around the Pacific Rim, drawing on Asian perspectives and disseminating project findings and recommendations to opinion leaders, governments, and members of the public throughout the region.

Lane Lecture in Diplomacy

The Ambassador L.W. 'Bill' and Jean Lane Lecture in Diplomacy honors the contributions and accomplishments of long-time Pacific Forum CSIS supporter and Board of Governors member Ambassador Bill Lane and his lovely wife, Jean. Bill Lane is former U.S. Ambassador to Australia and Nauru (1985-1989) and former Ambassador at Large and Commissioner General, Japan (1975-1976). A member of the *TIME Magazine* Board of Directors, he served for many years as publisher and chairman of *SUNSET Magazine*. His association with Asia dates back to World War II, when he served in and around the Philippines as a U.S. Navy gunnery officer aboard a troop ship. His interest in East Asia continues to this day. He founded the Pacific Area Travel Association and is a Pacific Basin Economic Council Trustee.



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Introduction

On April 16-17, 2009, the Pacific Forum CSIS cohosted, with the Ocean Policy Research Foundation and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, the third annual Sea Power Dialogue. At those meetings, experts from the United States and Japan held intense discussions that focused on the importance of the oceans as well as the roles that the U.S and Japan could play alone and as allies to secure their respective national interests in the ocean domain.

In addition to those experts, several high-ranking politicians from Japan joined the discussions to lend their views as well as signal the priority that Tokyo attaches to this endeavor. At a private dinner on April 16, the Honorable Maehara Seiji, one of the leaders of the opposition Democratic Party of Japan, provided his assessment of U.S.-Japan relations and his view of how that relationship should evolve if his party wins the Lower House elections that Japan must hold before October 2009. The following day, the Honorable Abe Shinzo, former prime minister of Japan, gave a keynote address to an audience of some 200 people that explored his vision of U.S.-Japan relations and the appropriate role for the two countries in safeguarding their national interests and protecting the vast public domain of the oceans.

The Pacific Forum CSIS is pleased to provide these two visions as part of its Ambassador L.W. 'Bill' and Jean Lane Lecture in Diplomacy series. They offer readers insight into the thinking of top political figures in Japan about their country's role in the world and the future of its alliance with the United States.

Lecture by Honorable Shinzo Abe, Former Prime Minister of Japan

Mr. Chairman, thank you for your kind introduction. Thank you very much for having me today. And let me extend my appreciation, deepest appreciation, to all the people, Japanese and American, who have made this dialog such a huge success, and especially to the Pacific Forum CSIS and the Ocean Policy Research Foundation.

Next year, 2010, will mark the 50th anniversary of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. We must all meet here in Washington, D.C. and in Tokyo to celebrate this remarkable alliance and to honor the vision and courage of the people who created it. Fifty years ago, in 1960, my grandfather, Nobusuke Kishi, was leading Japan as prime minister. I now understand how many risks he took professionally but also personally to bring this treaty to life.

Ever since, the treaty he signed has played an enormous role to make Japan a safe place, to allow the Japanese to live their lives as they see fit, above all to make the waters in Asia free, open, and peaceful, and to make his grandson a proud Japanese. We must join together again next year to celebrate the endurance of this great alliance, what we might call “the Pacific Alliance.”

But 2010 also marks another important anniversary in the history of our treasured relationship. Next year will be the 150th anniversary of the first transoceanic voyage by a Japanese diplomatic mission. 150 years ago, in 1860, a group of samurai visitors were here in Washington, D.C. They were here first to ratify a new bilateral treaty called the Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

Second, and tellingly, they were engaged in the first ever negotiations over the foreign exchange rate between the dollar and the Japanese currency. This is a negotiation that would be repeated many times. President James Buchanan and the American government were generous to the odd-looking, but hugely proud, samurai diplomats. The American side covered all the lodging expenses for the Japanese mission.

They spent one full month in a nice hotel near the White House. Guess which hotel that was. Yes. It was the same hotel – the Willard – we are in now. Because of the hospitality they received, members of the mission came back home with lots of fond memories about America. That is evidence that you already possessed “smart power.”

Of no less significance, however, is that one of the ships they used to cross the Pacific was the first ever ocean-going vessel manned and operated by a Japanese crew, among whom were the early visionaries who founded modern Japan. It was called the *Kanrin-maru*, with “*kanrin*” broadly meaning friendship. Even today, most Japanese know the name of the ship. With the *Kanrin-maru*, Japan demonstrated its intention to join the ranks of modern nation states and foreshadowed its destiny as a natural partner with the great maritime powers like America. A century and a half after the *Kanrin-maru* sailed, America has no better friend than

Japan – true to the name of that ship. And the Pacific is a place of peace – true to the name of that great ocean.

Sometimes I imagine myself viewing the Pacific Ocean from space, realizing that the wide space of blue ocean below is at peace *NOT* by chance, *BUT* because of the security we provide. The United States and Japan are the guardians of that great maritime realm. With the U.S. on the right-hand edge and Japan on the left-hand, the Pacific has provided the world with what Alfred Thayer Mahan said is the great highway of commerce and communications.

So today, I am here only to say a very simple thing. So simple, that it hardly makes news. And that is: America and Japan are the guardians, protecting the order, peace, freedom, and prosperity that have made the Pacific the greatest highway for humankind. And we must remain so from now on, for no one else can shoulder our lofty role.

That is why this year and the next, all of us at this gathering sharing the same vision and mission must work hard, really hard, to further reinvigorate the alliance. And to do that, we can waste neither time nor effort. Together, Japan and the U.S. must offer to the rest of the world something they can continue to count on and to build on. Our countries should jointly be a role model in many respects.

First, as the two largest economies in the world, the United States and Japan must work together to lead the world economy out of its current crisis. By enhancing our own bilateral economic ties, we can contribute to open and inclusive regional and global growth. Let's pave the road now for a Japan-U.S. Economic Partnership Agreement that is advanced, rule-based, open, and transparent, and that is a model for the entire world.

Second, we must ensure that global capital does not resort to narrow-minded "home bias." Japan and the U.S. must encourage free capital flows, both in-bound and out-bound.

Third, we must resist protectionism. You and I know that the menace of the Smoot Hawley Act is a distant memory, never to return, because the alliance between us, the great Pacific Alliance, ensures we will never repeat the same mistakes and we are here to guarantee that the Pacific will remain the highway of commerce and an ocean of peace. This last point bears greater importance this year than usual. Come December, we have the UN conference on climate change in Copenhagen. Climate change is largely a phenomenon taking shape in the seas. Japan and America have accumulated a vast amount of knowledge on how best to tackle climate change.

Yet we also have Doha. And we should never forget that if we fail at Doha we cannot succeed in Copenhagen. Because the dynamics involved are identical. The fault lines are the same. Developed and developing nations must work together to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to expand free trade. We cannot do one without the other. It is for that reason that the Pacific Alliance must lead to keep world trade as free and open as possible and to build a consensus on climate change that bridges the demands of our economies and the needs of our planet.

Fourth, in order for the maritime traffic of goods and commodities to flow freely with no need to fear any interruption, let alone piracy or terror, Japan and the U.S. must work together and with like-minded democracies to ensure that the oceans remain free for safe navigation. These are the new missions of our “Pacific” alliance: first to lead in economic recovery and growth, second to maintain the free flow of global capital, third to push for free trade and shared efforts on climate, and fourth to prevent threats to free and safe passage at sea.

No other two countries can carry these burdens with the same shared capabilities and values of our Pacific Alliance. But we cannot do this alone. We must expand our partnership with other maritime partners like India and Australia. And we must find new areas to work with China even as we encourage Beijing to be more transparent and responsible.

When the world changes economically, ecologically, and in terms of security, we must ensure that the great highway of communications is not harmed. Now is the time for the U.S. and Japan to become the beacon of hope and the guardians of the peaceful order.

For Japan, it’s a tall order. The to-do list is longer for Japan than for America. So I make a pledge here in your presence: I shall work hard to make Japan a country that can live up to our expectations, a “beautiful country” that inspires the greatest hope and confidence from our ally and from the entire world.

Also to my fellow Japanese participants, I shall call upon your support, your dedication, to further strengthen our time-honored alliance so that Japan and America can get the world going as safely, as orderly, and as peacefully as we have over the past 50 years.

Looking back, Japan and America have shaped the world and made it as we know it. The rapid growth of Japan’s postwar development owed very much to the calm waters spreading all the way from Cape Horn to the Strait of Hormuz and beyond. Iron ore, coking coal, oil, and copper, all came to the shores of Japan almost risk-free.

India was the country that helped Japan’s early development with its iron ore. Australia followed suit with natural resources despite the bitterness toward the Japanese then lingering from the wartime past. When a big steel mill was built along Tokyo Bay, Japan had no dredger boat big enough to do the task. That dredger came from California.

There were heroes who made all that happen, whose business was business itself.

There were other heroes, unsung heroes, serving on carriers with the U.S. Navy, or in rifle companies with the U.S. Marine Corps, or in a dozen other dangerous and difficult missions at sea. The Japanese owe a lot to them. When our Prime Minister, Aso Taro, placed a wreath at Arlington Cemetery in February, I know he was thanking those unsung heroes. I am, too.

Japan has played its role. Even when our military missions were constrained, our geography became critical. In the 1980s, Japan and America contained the ambitions of the Soviet Navy. Luck had it that Japan was placed exactly like the cap on a bottle, *vis-à-vis* Far Eastern Russia, or the genie in the bottle if you like.

By greatly enhancing its surveillance and anti-submarine capabilities, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, the Pacific Alliance, checked Soviet naval expansion and helped to win the Cold War and keep the Pacific free. Google Earth will show you that the long stretch of the Okinawa island chain must play a similar role to ensure that another power does not try to push the envelope or to challenge the status quo. Our alliance will face up to that challenge as well.

Such being our life-time achievement, thanks to the alliance Japan has come this far. Thanks to the alliance the world has come this far to thrive on commerce that knows no border. Together, Japan and America must keep it that way.

Two years ago, in the summer of 2007, I was in Delhi, India, and addressed the Parliament. My speech, entitled “Confluence of the Two Seas,” called upon our three nations, India, Japan, and the United States, to shoulder the solemn responsibility to provide the two Oceans, the Indian and the Pacific, with safety, peace, and prosperity. Of late, there is a growing awareness that the greatest triangle of Japan, America, and Australia, covering three corners of the Pacific Ocean, should act jointly as a great stabilizer, as ballast, for the security of the sea.

Of course, we have many more miles to cover for us to rest assured that the greatest highway of humankind remains safe through the joint efforts of the Americans and the Japanese, the Indians, and the Australians, and all peoples who believe in freedom. I know, however, that we have already set foot in that direction. Your call to launch a new union, a Union of Seafaring Nations, is a powerful endorsement of that journey we have embarked upon.

But we should always bear in mind that the Pacific Alliance between us, Japan and America, must act as a strong axle to set the union in train.

The sea, *la mer*, or in Japanese, *umi*: it is no coincidence that in many different languages the word for the sea sounds that broad, gentle, motherly tone. Because life, in its first form, came from the sea. Our future, whether it will be prosperous and sustainable, also rests very much with the sea.

The greatest highway for humankind is also the greatest commons, public goods in the truest sense of the word. That is the reason why the sea needs its custodians. Only we, the seasoned and experienced democracies, can and should play that role. That gives you and me an added reason for us to join together, once again next year, in Tokyo and Washington, D.C., to hail the alliance, the great Pacific Alliance.

Thank you very much.

Lecture by Honorable Seiji Maehara, Vice President of the Democratic Party of Japan

First of all, let me sincerely thank the Pacific Forum CSIS and the Ocean Policy Research Foundation for allowing me to participate in this wonderful banquet and meeting.

We had a House of Councilors election in Japan in July of 2007. At that time, the Democratic Party of Japan had a resounding victory and overtook the party in power. In our country, the Lower House will be dissolved and there will be a general election in September at the latest.

There may be some in the United States that have concerns about a Democratic Party of Japan administration, but we intend, by all means, to win this election and to create an environment in Japan such that it will be possible to have a two major party system, in which there is political alternation of power.

If we were to take power, our stance is that the U.S.-Japan alliance is the cornerstone of Japanese foreign policy. We believe that a growing partnership not only in security but also in different areas such as the environment and energy conservation, finance and economics, is required. Now is the time to restructure the different areas in the total package of U.S.-Japan cooperation.

Last month, I visited Indonesia, Vietnam, and Singapore. I primarily intended to look into the effects of the economic crisis since last fall. However, it was very striking for me that the leaders of the three nations who I met pointed out the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance. Asia is now the global growth center. For this, the stability of the Asia-Pacific region is vital and a U.S. presence for the sake of stability and development is a public good. In view of this, the U.S.-Japan alliance, which works as a bridge, is important. I echo this concern completely. We have to firmly maintain the U.S.-Japan alliance and strengthen relations in the future not only for the security of Japan but also for the stability of the Asia-Pacific region.

But I do think that it's also important that we review the U.S.-Japan security relationship by giving sufficient consideration to our "neighborhood," and by making sure that we are in tune with the times.

For example, the Special Action Committee Report on Okinawa, the SACO report, has still not been implemented, 13 years on. Futenma Airfield is said to be the most dangerous in the world, and it still has to be moved. The U.S. and Japanese governments have stated their intention to move this airfield to Camp Schwab. Even if they're successful, it will take at least 10 years.

In the meantime, if a helicopter, for example, falls into an urban area and there are significant casualties, then the U.S. base presence, which is concentrated in Okinawa, would be shaken to its foundations, and the U.S.-Japan security posture, itself, could be called into

question. In order to avoid that risk, it is necessary for us to take a good look at the Marine Corps' headquarters, its units, its training areas, and to review all of that, and for the U.S. and Japan to sit down together and create a new blueprint.

Also, I think that the stability of governments in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and in Iraq is of extreme importance, but if we look at the way that the fight against terrorism is moving now, I think we have to ask ourselves if our efforts are truly contributing to peace and stability. So, I think that once again we should sit down and take a good look at the entire world and review our thinking.

From this standpoint, the Democratic Party of Japan, if it took power, would stop the current refueling activities on-going in the Indian Ocean and, rather, try to think about what Japan might do to contribute to the stability and prosperity of the region, and to find ways that Japan could rebuild its cooperation with the international community.

We would cooperate with the U.S. and other countries, while creating plans for Japan's contributions. For example, perhaps to have the Air Self-Defense Forces engaged in transport operations in Afghanistan, or to build irrigation systems, to train police, or to have medical activities to contribute to civilian life are also important aspects.

Reviewing policies that have been put in place by our current administration is not equivalent to us denying the importance of our relationship with the U.S. To determine the type of cooperation that we should have in the future of the U.S.-Japan alliance, the U.S. and Japan, independently, should come up with their own ideas, share them with each other, and based on that have solid cooperation.

If Japan were to face a security crisis, one can think of three scenarios. The first would be a North Korean missile launch. The second would be some kind of terrorist activity. And the third would be a violation of our sovereignty in the form of an invasion of one of our islands.

Now, quite a while ago, we had a highly capable enemy in the form of the Soviet Union, and we planned for large scale landings from the air and sea. That scenario has become very unlikely.

As to the first scenario, a North Korean missile launch, just recently North Korea tried another Taepodong-2 launch test. They never intended to launch a satellite, and some people think that their test was a success. I believe that the North Koreans' intentions were, by trying to develop a missile that could reach U.S. territory, to enhance their national prestige. They wanted also to try to consolidate the regime's power, to try to get the U.S. to come back to bilateral talks with North Korea, the U.S. somewhat having lost interest.

Japan is in the process of building up a missile defense system, including SM-3s and PAC-3s, but even if our missile defense system were fully completed, it's doubtful whether we could counter all of those missiles.

According to reports by a research institution, the number of Nodong missiles that North Korea has which can hit nearly all of Japanese territory has increased from 200 to 320. It's also estimated that they may have from five to eight nuclear warheads. The combination of missiles and nuclear warheads is a nightmare for Japan.

In order to prevent this nightmare from becoming a reality, it's important that we patiently gather information, continue our diplomatic efforts to negotiate, and, just in case, build up our system for missile defense and also our capability to strike their missile launch bases. But, including our response to terrorism, there are limits in Japan's information-gathering and missile launch base striking capabilities.

Now, as to the new opening of the Six-Party Talks, other countries, especially the chair, China – say the U.S. and Japan should both make efforts to “reach out to” other countries, including China. And, we also need to prepare, just in case, with a system for military cooperation, which needs to be continually confirmed.

Also, Japan has to make efforts to improve its independent capabilities in information-gathering. We must make ceaseless efforts in this area.

If Japan's sovereignty were to be violated, territorially, the most likely scenarios would be the Senkaku Islands or the Okino Torishima Islands. Japan has actual control of the Senkaku Islands, but both China and Taiwan claim them as their own territory and recently China has conducted maritime surveys without notifying us, and there have been numerous violations of our territorial waters. China and Japan have been able to agree on joint development gas deals in the East China Sea, but in spite of that no substantive cooperation has begun, and China's independent development continues.

Japan must firmly protect its sovereignty by protecting the territory of the Senkaku Islands and Okino Torishima Islands, and also the exclusive economic zones around them. To that end, Japan must continue to maintain its air superiority and its control of the seas.

At the same time, if we look at China's economic development, its military expenditure has been increasing more than 10 percent every year for 20 consecutive years; in the course of these 20 years, military expenditure has grown 19-fold. In addition, it has been pointed out that its military expenditure is two or three times higher than what the Chinese government announced. Japan, with help from the U.S., needs to upgrade to superior fighter aircraft, warships, and submarines, as we believe in quality rather than quantity. Defense Secretary Gates recently announced the discontinuation of F-22 production. Japan is in the course of making a selection of the successor aircraft to the F-4 and monitors this situation with vital interest. As an ally of the U.S., we would appreciate strong support and assistance to the selection of the successor aircraft to the F-4. The trend of the times is co-development and coproduction of military equipment. We consider it to be very important for Japan to review the Three Principles on Arms Exports and especially for both Japan and the U.S. to consider and agree on co-development of a sixth-generation fighter aircraft.

China's military buildup and lack of transparency cause much alarm. But China's peaceful development is a welcome step not only for Japan and the U.S. but also for the world. The rapid economic development of a country with a large population may cause frictions with other countries on issues such as energy security and the environment. However, as pointed out by Former Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, China should behave as a responsible stakeholder and we should enhance U.S.-Japan-China coordination.

The U.S. wants to begin negotiations with Russia on a new START Treaty, with a view to concluding it by the end of the year. President Obama has said that this is merely setting the stage for further reductions, and has said that the participation of other nuclear states will be sought. This is a development that a country like Japan, which does not have nuclear arms and which is the only country that has suffered a nuclear attack, very much loves. But, as President Obama has rightly pointed out, such an effort requires the participation of other nuclear states.

In terms of Asia, this, of course, means China. So, without the participation of China, nuclear arms reduction by only the U.S. and Russia would cause the nuclear umbrella, the U.S.' extended deterrent vis-à-vis Japan, to have its reliability questioned.

As a matter of fact, it's been pointed out that the very core of the U.S.-Japan alliance is the extended deterrent that the U.S. offers Japan, and so if we handle this in a way that is not appropriate, there's a danger the alliance, itself, would be shaken. It ought to be taken up as a serious and weighty matter. Therefore, it's essential that, in seeking a world free of nuclear weapons, that the concerns of Japan and the other non-nuclear states be taken into account and that this process be carried out in such a way that Japan and other non-nuclear states will not have cause for concern. If this is not done right, then the nuclear threat might be something that people worry about even more, and this could end up destabilizing the region.

The U.S. and Japanese governments need to be in close consultation, keeping in view the awareness that both of our peoples have with respect to nuclear threats. And, the substance and the manner of proceeding need to be such that the reduction will be worldwide.

In handling this issue, the U.S. will be called upon to give consideration to these matters, but also, in Japan, there will be a need to try to come up with good ideas as to how to smoothly include China in the process of comprehensive nuclear arms reduction.

Finally, it will be important for the U.S. and Japan to cooperate in various fields as we face the economic crisis of the century. I believe that it is extremely important that the number one and number two economies of the world cooperate in terms of trying to deter protectionism, working on the stability of the financial system, and working together on fiscal and monetary policy.

Specifically, I think there's room to consider the issuance of foreign-denominated bonds, which would be somewhat like "Carter bonds," to contribute to the financing of the American deficit and the stabilization of the dollar.

I also think that there's a lot of room for U.S.-Japan cooperation in the area of nuclear power plants, where Japan has a great deal of expertise. This should be one of the pillars of the "green New Deal."

Now, as I said at the beginning, we need to rebuild U.S. and Japan cooperation as a total package, focusing not just on security but on economics, on the environment, and in this manner to go about broadening the scope of our bilateral cooperation and, thus, contributing to the peaceful development of the world and to the good of the planet.

With such very strong belief, I pledge to make efforts to conduct national affairs in the marketplace.

MR. AKIYAMA: Thank you very much for your comprehensive, security statement. Mr. Maehara is pleased to accept several questions from the group.

QUESTION: The Japanese government has tied the North Korea issue and the abduction issue together. It is not clear to me what is the final solution of the abduction issue and normalizing relations with North Korea. If you take power, what is your party's solution to the abduction issue? And what is your strategy to achieve this?

MR. MAEHARA: I understand our stance toward North Korea, to a point. For us to strengthen sanctions after this missile launch is, in a way, natural. Our final goal, though, is to verifiably denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. So, if there were to be an agreement in the Six-Party Talks, even though Japan does have the abduction issue, I think that Japan should participate in the provision of fuel aid.

The main agenda item of the Six-Party Talks is the nuclear question, and if we get the handling of it wrong, this could have negative effects in terms of proliferation, in terms of the security of the region that would be very serious, and so I think that Japan should continue its firm commitment to dealing with it, and if there were to be some kind of agreement then, as a way to show goodwill, in spite of the abduction issue, I think we should cooperate with that too.

I also think that Japan ought to be very solid in developing its own diplomatic channels to North Korea. For Japan to be critical when the U.S. delisted North Korea as a state sponsor of terror because of the abduction issue or other questions, I think, is just wrong, given that the U.S. has contributed so much.

Our goal should be to create a pipeline for direct negotiations and, based on the 2002 Japan-North Korea Pyongyang Declaration, to go about solving all our issues, including abductions, to create a path whereby we could do so. This could end up being a shortcut to solving the negotiation.

And then, premised on the North Koreans providing information in a manner that was acceptable to Japan, we could begin a negotiation on normalization with North Korea within a decade. A whole solution would have to involve a full disclosure of information by the North, in a manner that Japan would accept.

QUESTION: While we may not have a bipolar world today, we have a world in which the U.S. and Japanese have trusted countries and untrusted countries. One of the problems with untrusted countries is that a lot of them, under our nuclear nonproliferation regime, can say, "All we want is to look like Japan." With all due respect to your comments about nuclear issues, Iran and many other states that I think are on the edge of breakout on pursuing serious nuclear, plutonium-related, programs, want to say, "We just want to look like Japan, have a whole fuel cycle program, to have energy independence, but we don't want a weapon."

What is Japan doing proactively, to actually lead in that area? I understand that you're sort of reacting, and I heard the reactions to your comments, but I don't see the leadership with regard to the way Japan's model of being a nuclear energy nation is somewhat disruptive, when it comes to the appetite of developing states, who may have nuclear weapons ambitions, who use Japan as an excuse.

MR. MAEHARA: I've visited several nuclear power plants, Otaymura and Okisho, and I've seen the nuclear reprocessing facilities. I was rather surprised at the fact that there were several IAEA inspectors always there, and I was surprised at the strictness of the controls. For example, there were a lot of areas that could only be opened by IAEA inspectors. They were under seal. The employees of Japanese power companies were not allowed in. The IAEA inspections of Japan's nuclear power plants and reprocessing facilities are so detailed that they calculate, in detail, to see whether the sums add up, in terms of units of plutonium being added, even down to a level of one gram or two grams.

I would be happy to see the kind of strict controls that we have in Japan spread. Moreover, if there are countries that say they would look to us as a model, then I would ask if they prepared to have the strict inspections regime that we have.

QUESTION: I'm Kevin Maher. I'm the Consul-General in Okinawa. One quick comment about both your statement about Okinawa and the realignment issue, and one question about your statement that the DPJ will need to review security policy.

As regards Okinawa, I think it would be a serious mistake, at this point, to start revising and rethinking or starting over with the plan to move Futenma. It's very far down the road in terms of being implemented. If the DPJ is going to take the position that we're going to move Futenma outside of Okinawa, that's a very difficult thing to do. But, you've made it very clear we need to maintain our capability.

We have a plan that's being implemented. I'm afraid to start over at this point that 10 years from now we'll still be talking about Futenma, rather than solving the problem.

My question involves your statement on reviewing security policy. Is the DPJ talking about fundamental revision or review of the security policy, in terms of the Treaty? The Treaty is very clear. The basic arrangement in the Treaty is that we provide for contributing to the defense of Japan, contributing to the maintenance of peace and security of the Far East. Japan provides facilities and areas. It's a very asymmetrical relationship. But that's fine; it works.

But, are you talking about a fundamental review of that basic arrangement, where Japan provides facilities and areas? “Facilities and areas” means, for us, facilities with troops in those facilities.

MR. MAEHARA: We do not contemplate revising the Security Treaty. And, as you mentioned, Article Five provides that the U.S. defend Japan in the case that another country invades Japan. And Article Six talks about the provision of facilities and areas, in the Far East. These contributions are linked and our basic understanding of that does not change.

I was one of those responsible for drawing up the SACO reorganization. Now, it’s Prime Minister Hashimoto that brought us the fact that Futenma be returned, but the person that went in person to the Pentagon and asked it for the first time was none other than myself.

Now, the understanding that we had then has changed not at all. Secretary Rumsfeld called it, “The most dangerous airport in the world.” It’s right in the middle of a very urban area, and helicopters are rotating and taking off and landing there all the time. If a helicopter were to go down in an urban area and cause some human casualties, it’s completely plausible that this could “light a fire under” a movement to try to remove all bases.

Seventy-five percent of the U.S. bases are concentrated on Okinawa. Twenty percent of the landmass of Okinawa is taken up by bases. And one-third of Ginowan City, where Futenma is, is taken up by bases.

Because Japan did not carry out its responsibilities, Futenma has gone unresolved for 13 years. This should lead us to a question, perhaps, as to whether there might be a more feasible path, for the very purpose of maintaining our alliance.

Now, I would like to pay my respects to those who’ve made efforts to accomplish what has been done so far, and I’m sure that we share the same concerns. But, if we were to make it to power, our party would want to look at a feasible way to get Futenma returned quickly, and we would enter into sincere negotiations to accomplish that responsibly.

Thank you very much.

About the Speakers

Shinzo Abe was Japan's prime minister from September of 2006 until his sudden resignation in September of 2007. Mr. Abe was born to politics: his father and paternal grandfather were both high-ranking members of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and his mother's father was Nobusuki Kishi, Japan's prime minister from 1957-60. Abe studied politics at Seikei University and the University of Southern California and went to work for Kobe Steel in 1979. Abe soon entered government work, getting a leg up from his dad, Shintaro Abe. He was elected to the House of Representatives for the first of five times in 1993 and began moving up the party ranks. He served as the deputy chief Cabinet secretary for prime ministers Yoshiro Mori and Junichiro Koizumi from 2000-03, and made a name for himself when he stood up to North Korea's Kim Jong-il over the North Korean abductions of Japanese nationals. In 2003 he became the secretary general for the LDP, the ruling party in Japan for most of the last 50 years. Abe succeeded Koizumi as prime minister on 26 September 2006. Abe advocated a strong national defense and firmer ties to the United States as a counterweight to future threats from China and North Korea.

Seiji Maehara is a vice president of the Democratic Party of Japan. He serves in the House of Representatives from the Kyoto No. 2 constituency, having first joined the legislature in 1993. He has served five terms in the House. He has served as president of his party for one year. Currently, he is Chairman of the Special Committee on Okinawa and Northern Problems and a member of the Committee on Budget. He is a widely recognized expert on Japanese national security and defense.

