

"China, the European Union and the restructuring of global governance"

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The US-Japan alliance and the rise of China: Implications for the East Asian security order and the EU's regional role

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Objective

- dynamics between the US-Japan alliance and China

impact on the evolving security order in East Asia

- potential for a strengthened security engagement of the EU

Structure of the paper

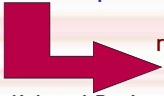
- Introduction
- Alliance enhancement and Japan's security "normalisation"
- Strategic mistrust and a security dilemma in East Asia
- Recent trends of engagement and cooperation
- East Asian security order and Europe's regional involvement
- Conclusion

Alliance enhancement and Japan's security "normalisation"



Alliance enhancement and Japan's normalisation

- external pressures in the 1990s
- regionalisation of the alliance
- Koizumi-Bush era: strategic convergence on traditional security; alliance globalisation
- Japan's normalisation: SDF overseas dispatch, joint US-Japan BMD system, spy satellites
- Factors: North Korea, China's rise, rightward shift in the security debate in Japan (Article 9)

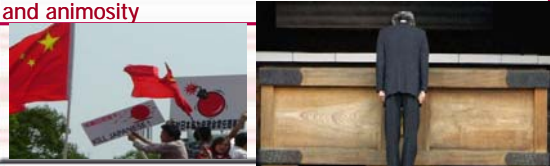


Strategic mistrust and a security dilemma in East Asia



Japan and China

- mutual concerns of strengthened military postures and suspicion of long-term strategic goals
- ▶ Japan: the mere resolution of the Taiwan issue?
- ▶ China: Japan re-emerging as a military power?
- the domestic context: exacerbated mutual distrust and animosity



The US and China

- strategic mistrust, conflicting regional visions
- ▶ the US: wants to preserve a Pax Americana; will China seek to alter the US-led regional order?
- ▶ China: support for multipolarity, yet recognition of, and adjustment to US regional dominance
- ▶ hedging strategy
- ▶ the Taiwan issue



The security dilemma in East Asia

- **alliance reinforcement**: security dilemma with China concerning the Taiwan issue

China needs to deter the US and Japan

- **Japan's normalisation**: a means for the US to balance China and maintain its hegemony in EA?

- the security dilemma defines mutual hedging

- ▶ **the US**: strengthens its "hub and spoke" system
- ▶ **Japan**: internal+external balancing
- ▶ **China**: military modernisation+ active diplomacy

Recent trends of engagement and cooperation



Recent trends: Sino-Japanese relations

- stabilisation of relations, mutual engagement
- ▶ **Japan**: "non-provocative" behaviour on the history issue
- ▶ **China**: promotes a positive image of Japan
- confidence building and enhancement of military transparency

alleviation of the security dilemma

Recent trends: Hatoyama's diplomacy

- **emphasis on Asia**: East Asian Community proposal, "win-win" relationship with China
- **relations with the US**
- ▶ Hatoyama's call for a more "equal alliance"
- ▶ Futenma row: distrust of Japan in the US
- ▶ the alliance has not been "abandoned": deepening of the alliance is expected by the end of 2010

Recent trends: Obama's East Asia policy

- multilateral engagement of East Asia, emphasis of non-traditional security issues



positive for US-Japan-China relations

- elevation of the partnership with China to a global level
- continuity in US-China relations: familiar dynamics at work (the arms sales issue)

East Asian security order and Europe's regional involvement

East Asian security order

- the US "hub and spoke" system remains the main component; China has recognised its benefits
- America is seen as a "stabiliser" in the region
- since the mid-1990s: regional institution building
 - ▷ focus on economic and non-traditional security areas of cooperation
 - ▷ a trend towards "Asians" only multilateralism; China's pro-active role
 - ▷ a security community is unlikely soon

EU's approach towards East Asia

- EU's priorities: support for regional integration; focus on non-traditional security areas; strategic partnerships (ESS)
- relations with Japan: an established non-military security partnership
- relations with China: a basis exists for expanding cooperation in non-traditional areas
- EU's soft power and comprehensive approach to security: welcome in the region (especially, in SEA)

Conclusion

Conclusion

- the US-Japan alliance remains a main pillar of the US-led regional order
- strategic mistrust and security dilemmas are defining features of the evolving order
- emphasis on the cooperative dimension of hedging by all three powers
- regional multilateralism complements the US-led system rather than being an alternative to it
- the EU can further regional cooperation in non-traditional security areas, and engage both J. and C.

Thank you!